

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ARTHUR S. FLEMING:
HIS IMPACT ON FEDERAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING
PROGRAMS RELATING TO AGING DURING THE PERIOD 1958-1978

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
in
Educational Administration

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March, 1985

Blacksburg, Virginia

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I wish to acknowledge my committee: Dr. Harold Stubblefield, Chairman; Dr. Maxine Enderlein; Dr. Thomas Hunt; Dr. Marcie Boucouvalas; and Dr. Larry Mullins. I appreciate the willingness of Dr. Enderlein and Dr. Mullins to travel from other states in order to participate in my dissertation defense, and the willingness of Dr. Boucouvalas to serve on my committee during the seventh year. Also, thanks are due to Dr. Ron McKeen for his willingness to serve on my defense committee. Second, I wish to thank those members of my family who assisted me during the seven years of dissertation effort. Third, I wish to express deep appreciation to my son, _____, for his patience and understanding of my limited financial support of his college education during the last four years of dissertation revision. Also, I wish to thank _____ and _____ whose encouragement made possible the completion of my graduate education. I wish to express my appreciation to the staff of the Library of Congress and to _____ of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare Library. Finally, it is a pleasure to thank Dr. Arthur S. Flemming for graciously allowing me the opportunity to study one small part of his remarkable career of service to the American people.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Description of the Problem Situation

The emergence of aging adults as a growing minority of society with special needs and concerns has been due to rapid societal and demographic changes, as well as the elimination and improved treatment of childhood diseases. Since the turn of the century when family elders held integrated social and economic positions of land ownership in the predominantly rural population, there have been marked changes in both their relative numbers and their positions of voting power (USBC, 1975).

As a group, not only its percentage of the population but its organizational advocacy and political importance has increased. Voting participation in 1968, 1972, and 1974 for persons over 65 years of age was approximately 64 percent (USBC, 1978). For example, the largest senior citizen organization, the American Association for Retired Persons, which was founded in 1958, had over 9 million members by 1978. Politicians and gerontologists have expressed concern that the unaddressed needs of the aging might precipitate a new voting minority, or "gerotocracy", which would demand their entitlements (USDHEW, 1970:47; Shock, 1950).

One reality of the aging is that their economic and social positions have deteriorated in the present highly-urbanized and technological milieu. In 1975, 23 percent of elderly families and 72 percent

of unrelated elderly individuals over 65 years of age had total incomes below the poverty level of \$5,000 per year (USDHEW, 1977). Another reality is that today's aging adult is educationally disadvantaged (WHCA, 1971). According to McClusky (1979a; USDHEW, 1972c), in any random sample of the population, the aged and aging are the most poorly educated; about 20 percent are functionally illiterate; about 60 percent have up to an eighth grade of formal education; and persons over 50 are acutely underrepresented in educational and training activities.

In 1900, approximately three persons per one hundred were 65 years of age or older; by 1950 there were about seven persons per one hundred; and by 1975 there were about eleven persons per one hundred or twenty-two million persons over the age of 65 (USAoA, 1975). If the "young-old" from 55 to 64 years of age are included, there are now forty-five million aging adults who comprise 20 percent of the total population (Pfeiffer, 1973). Recent estimates of persons over 60 years of age were 32.8 million who comprised 15 percent of the total population in 1977; and 8.9 million persons who were over 75 years of age (USAoA, 1978a). For those aging persons 65 years of age, 1.4 million persons reach age 65 annually and 1.1 million of them die. Thus, the nation's 65+ population alone increases each year by about 300,000 persons. Compared to the longitudinal growth of the national population from about 76 million in 1900 to 200 million in 1970, there was a three-fold increase; the 65+ elderly who increased from 3 million at the turn of the century to 20 million showed a seven-fold growth rate. The growth rate reflects an increase in life expectancy from 47 to 71 years, due in large part to the control and eradication of life-threatening

childhood diseases (USDHEW, 1970). For the combined non-white racial groups in the United States, life expectancy at birth is 65 years; but those of other races who do reach age 65 have an expectancy of roughly 15 additional years of life. However, extension of life expectancy for the 65+ group is not a major factor. Those men who reached 65 in 1900 had a life expectancy of 11 years whereas the same age group in 1970 had a life expectancy of 13. For women, however, the change over these 70 years was from 12 years to 16 years. Unfortunately, early twentieth-century population figures for the highest ages are not available for comparison.

It is of sociological significance to note that there was (and is) an absence of consensus about the definition of an aging adult. Today, the criteria for labeling a person as "aging", or "old", or "aged", still depends on the frame of reference: the Social Security Administration uses age 62 or 65 for initiating retirement benefits; senior citizen discounts from commercial units and public transportation systems are offered to persons 60 years or older; the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) and many senior citizen clubs offer membership to persons 50 years or older. Whatever the criterion, the rapidly growing aging sector has assumed greatly increased political importance and federal recognition of its growing vote potential (Donahue and Tibbitts, 1962; Brotman, 1978; USBC, 1978).

Federal concern for the aging was focused in June of 1950 when President Truman stated to Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, that older persons comprised a far larger proportion of the total population than in the past and urged Mr. Ewing to explore the

implications and problems related to the aging (USFSA, 1951b). Later that year, Presidential initiative led to the first National Conference on Aging, but there were no federal legislative consequences for the aging.

When the Federal Security Agency was reorganized as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1953, federal involvement in aging concerns was centered in programs of income indemnity by the Social Security Administration and the Railroad Retirement Board. Although twelve departments and agencies had areas within their programs which included the aging, the overall effect was one of uncoordinated fragmentation. In an effort to coordinate programs benefiting older persons, President Eisenhower established a Federal Council on Aging (USDHEW, 1956). Eisenhower's efforts at coordination had little effect upon overall program fragmentation among the agencies. In 1958, however, a major step was taken when Congress enacted the White House Conference on Aging Act (Public Law 85-908), thus bringing to national attention the problems and potentials of an aging population as described by the aging delegates and other sectors of society.

In the emergence of the federal role in aging affairs, the years 1958 to 1978 were of singular importance because a new federal agency evolved under the departmental umbrella of DHEW from the modest Special Staff on Aging to the Administration on Aging (AoA). In 1958, the organizational activities of the first White House Conference on Aging had been designated as the administrative responsibility of the Secretary of DHEW, Arthur S. Flemming. In 1959, Flemming became Chairman of the Federal Council on Aging (FCoA), which had been designated for the first

time at Cabinet-level status (Appendix F). In the early sixties, Flemming was asked by Secretary Ribicoff, DHEW, to contribute to a special panel organized to review the current programs for older citizens and propose courses of action. Flemming was Chairman of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, and in 1972, the Special Consultant on Aging to the President. Recently, President Carter appointed Flemming at age 74 Deputy Co-Chairman of the 1981 White House Conference on Aging (WHCA) (USAoA, 1980). This was the fourth president* to acknowledge Flemming's continuing interest and commitment as a federal administrator and private citizen to the importance and needs of the aging.

It was the purpose of this historical study to describe the impact of Flemming's beliefs, values and activities in his role as federal administrator upon the shape of federal education and training programs directed to the aging and aged sector of the population. It was also the purpose of this study to describe the contemporary historical background, from 1900 to 1958, of federal intervention in the problems and needs of the elderly, including some of the major social, economic, and political sequences of events from which the present federal role emerged.

Statement of the Problem

The problem investigated in this historical study was: What was the impact of Arthur Sherwood Flemming on federal education and training programs relating to aging during the period 1958-1978, that

* Previous Presidents were Eisenhower, Nixon, and Ford.

is, what was Flemming's impact on these programs relative to the time frame during which he was the Secretary of DHEW and then Commissioner on Aging?

To focus the collection of data, the following research questions were used as guidelines:

1. What was the historical background of the present federal concern about the aging and the aged?

1.1 What were the major social, economic and political factors related to the aging that led to the first national legislative initiative: The Social Security Act of 1935?

1.2 What was the origin of the term "social security" in 1933 and why did it exclude education and training for older adults?

1.3 When did the federal government first disburse old-age benefits to its own employees?

1.4 What were the generally-held attitudes of the American people in the 1930s toward the educational needs and entitlements of the aging and the aged?

1.5 During the continuing controversy over old-age entitlements from 1935 to 1942, how did Flemming's federal administrative activity and public statements indicate his beliefs about the aging and the aged?

1.6 During the World War II period (1942-1947), what was the changing federal practice toward the education and training of the aging and aged work force and what was Flemming's administrative participation in those changes?

1.7 Since the federal social security entitlements for

aging adults already existed, what major events led to the first Presidential authorization for a National Conference on Aging in 1950?

1.8 In the 1950s, what was the distribution of services and programs designed to meet the needs and problems of the aging and the aged among the federal agencies?

2. What were the training, experience, and beliefs relative to older adults that Flemming brought to his position as Secretary of DHEW in 1958, and what was the Presidential explanation for Flemming's appointment as Secretary of DHEW?

3. What was Flemming's involvement in educational and training programs relative to aging adults during his tenure as Secretary of DHEW from 1958 to 1961?

3.1 What evidence indicates Secretary Flemming's beliefs and activities about educational programming for the aging?

3.2 What federal educational programs concerning the aging were recommended to Congress from 1958 through the 1961 WHCA and which programs were enacted into law?

3.3 In what federal educational programs or activities did Secretary Flemming provide guidance?

3.4 What was Secretary Flemming's role as Chairman of the Federal Council on Aging?

4. What were Flemming's federal and private sector roles and activities which had an impact on educational programs for the aging from 1962 to 1972?

4.1 What evidence identifies Flemming's beliefs and activities about training and education of, for, and about the aging

from 1962 to 1972?

4.2 What evidence identified Flemming's activities in higher education programming related to the aging?

5. What impact on education and training programs did Flemming have as Commissioner on Aging from 1973 through 1978?

5.1 What changes had occurred in Commissioner Flemming's beliefs about education and training programs since his Secretaryship of DHEW?

5.2 Which educational programs had been recommended to Congress by the 1971 White House Conference on Aging and which programs were supported and recommended to congressional committees by Commissioner Flemming?

5.3 What cooperative initiatives did Commissioner Flemming accomplish between AoA and other federal agencies and non-federal organizations to develop education and training programs to meet the needs of the aging?

Objectives of the Study

The major objective of this study was to describe the impact of Arthur S. Flemming upon education and training programs related to aging adults while he was in positions of administrative responsibility from 1958 to 1978. The associated objectives were: (1) to describe pertinent events in the historical background of the present federal concern about the aging and the aged; (2) to ascertain Flemming's beliefs about education relevant to aging, his beliefs about aging, and his role in educational program development related to aging adults; (3) to describe

Flemming's activities as a federal agency executive with the responsibility for the education and training programs designed to address the needs of the aging; (4) to identify the educational programs which were sought at the 1961 and 1971 White House Conferences on Aging and the fate of these programs during Flemming's tenure; and (5) to determine which federal legislation, policies and programs Flemming promoted concerning education and training related to aging.

Significance of the Study

The importance of the study rests upon the historical analysis of the roles of Arthur S. Flemming in positions of responsible federal leadership related to educational programs designed to address the needs of the aging. This study contributes to the knowledge about the power and constraints of Flemming as an agency executive: the responsibility toward the President, the discretionary supervision by congressional committees and individual congressmen; the constituencies of the agency; the public, private, local, national and political pressure groups; namely, the tactics and values used by Flemming to deal with the forces that deal with the administrator. Also, this study contributes to a better understanding by adult educators of the ability and negotiating skills of Flemming in the decision-making process of federal administrators involved in education and training programs related to the aging adult. An increased knowledge about the role of federal administrators can contribute to the improvement of direct interaction procedures between federal agency executives and adult education practitioners whose professional organizations' legislative lobbying efforts are

circumscribed by their tax exempt status. In general, increased understanding by practitioners of the external and internal factors providing, or preventing, educational programs to benefit millions of aging adults can improve the accuracy of the educators' focus and assessment of federal attitudes. For example, the federal government has been considered by many educators and others as a standard for fair employee practices, but a Senate Special Committee on Aging report revealed that federal training programs are informally off limits to persons 45 years or older (USCS, 1972a).

Delimitations

The focus of this study was upon Flemming's role in the formation of educational policies and programs pertaining to the aging. This study did not examine federal programs and policies concerning other needs of the aging and the aged. Social security programs and social welfare programs such as housing, health delivery and public health; nutrition, recreation, and transportation services; research and demonstration programs which did not relate to education or lack educational components; and all other non-educational aspects of programs for the aging were outside of the subject area of this study, except as historical background.

The period of Flemming's tenure, from 1958 to 1978, included events of historical significance, such as the assassination of President Kennedy, the resignation of President Nixon, the Korean and Vietnam conflicts, and the refusal of second term in public office of President Johnson. In this study, however, these major political episodes were

delimited, except as points of historical reference specifically related to Flemming's role.

Educational programs at the federal level which were related to the aging were identified, but operationalizations of these programs at the state and local levels were excluded, except as related to Flemming's role.

Definition of Terms

The important terms used in this study were defined as follows:

Educational programs related to aging -- refer to both formal and informal educational programs which: (1) address the learning/training needs and desires of the aging; (2) address the learning/training needs of those adults who administer to the needs of the aging; and (3) address the learning needs of the general population to increase their knowledge about aging.

Aging -- for the purpose of this study, persons 60 to 70 years of age were considered as "aging" and persons 71 years or older were considered as "aged". This does not mean to imply that either aging or aged persons show clear symptoms of physical decline; many persons in both arbitrarily defined groups are still active in economic, civic and cultural activities. Some of these aging and aged persons render valuable and sometimes indispensable services to their communities and to the larger society.

Impact -- effect on, influence on (Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1968). The effect could be negative or positive, and could result from activity, lack of activity, advocacy, opportunism or

opposition.

Belief -- for the purpose of this study, acceptance of, or confidence in, an alleged fact or body of facts as true or right without positive knowledge or proof (Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1968).

Responsible administrative position -- an administrative position which possesses authority to establish, advise, regulate, establish guidelines assign personnel and funding for the implementation of federally mandated programs. In this study, the position refers to the status of federal agency executive, the Cabinet, membership on policy-making commissions or committees, and university administration.

Values -- for the purpose of this study, those ideals, customs and institutions of society which have worth and are held in esteem by an individual.

Organization of the Study

This study is arranged into an introductory chapter, four chapters arranged chronologically describing the history of federal intervention in concerns of the aging and Arthur S. Flemming's impact on federal education and training programs related to the aged and aging, and a concluding chapter.

The introductory chapter presents a statement of the problem, its background, significance, a series of research questions, and defines important terms used in the study. It also states the objectives and delimitations of the study, describes the organization and methodology of the study, and reviews relevant literature.

The second chapter describes the historical background of federal intervention in aging concerns and Flemming's initial appointments as a responsible federal administrator. Chapters 3 through 5 describe Flemming's activities from 1958 to 1978. Chapter 3 covers the period of 1958 to 1961, Flemming's tenure as Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Chapter 4 covers the period 1962 to 1972, the interim years; and Chapter 5 covers the period 1973 to 1978, Flemming's tenure as Commissioner of the Administration on Aging. The concluding Chapter 6 provides a summary and conclusions.

Review of the Relevant Literature

Historical documentation related to our entire existence as a nation has been mainly concerned with the President as maker of crucial decisions and policies. Of necessity, decision-making is also delegated to subordinate levels of leadership: Cabinet members, congressional leaders, ambassadors, senior military staff, federal agency executives, and ex officio consultants who were former government officials, such as Bernard Baruch. Comprehensive studies of historically significant national figures, however, infrequently focus upon administrators of federal agencies, except as adjunct to a Presidential administration. The policy decisions and program implementation of federal administrators in areas of public health, law enforcement, taxation, national resources, education and citizen assistance have had widespread historical effects on the safety, security, and the quality of life of our society at the community level.

For this study of Arthur S. Flemming, who has held many executive

positions in the academic and federal sectors, several types of literature were reviewed. First, a search was made to determine in what relationship and framework other agency administrators have been presented. Secondly, the official vitae of Arthur S. Flemming were collected from several sources and a composite was made (Table 1). These vitae appeared in the proceedings of congressional hearings for appointment, confirmation, and in official agency histories, both published and unpublished. The general question considered in reviewing this type of documentation was: what experiential depth and expertise did Flemming bring to the office of Commissioner on Aging? The depth of his administrative experience is clearly evident in Table 1, a composite vita reviewed and validated by Dr. Flemming.

The Historical View of Federal Administrators

Among the many contemporary federal agency administrators in office during Flemming's career, three who would be considered high on the list of historical personalities were Henry A. Kissinger as Secretary of the State Department, Robert S. McNamara as Secretary of the Department of Defense, and Bernard Baruch as unofficial "Park Bench Statesman" and advisor to Presidents and administrators.

Graubard (1973) presented Kissinger's role as Secretary and advisor on national security to be the outcome of Kissinger's effective preparation as a scholar and professor of international affairs. Graubard described the persons and environments which directed Kissinger toward Harvard University and his eventual profession in government. The central belief which shaped Kissinger's strategies and analytical system of diplomacy was the search for a stable international order.

The analytical system described as the implementation of the central belief was Kissinger's "personal diplomacy", an inseparable combination of strategy and domestic politics based upon individual action at the highest levels of government. Kissinger's interest in the nineteenth century revolved around the state problems of Metternich in war and in peace-making. Kissinger developed a distinctive belief which he maintained in his federal role, namely, that a government was either legitimate or revolutionary and that states, when they accepted an international order as legitimate, were capable of adjustment of their differences through negotiation, i.e., "personal diplomacy". Graubard's presentation of Kissinger's role of Secretary of State was essentially the historical development of his career and strategies as stemming from years of scholarship rather than his associations with Nelson Rockefeller.

Roherty (1970), on the other hand, felt that in order to understand the role of an agency chief such as McNamara, it was necessary to understand the recent history of the office as a basis for comparison and as a presumed description of the defined role of the Secretary of Defense. Although the role remained largely undefined, the author described the precedents which were used as definition of the authority and controlling directives of the Secretary of Defense from James Forrestal in 1947 to Thomas S. Gates, Jr., in 1960. Using the term "generalist", Roherty described the general or broad authority which Forrestal demanded for his role: all three military services were to lose Cabinet status and become subordinates within the Department of Defense. Secondly, he successfully opposed the First Hoover

Commission on Government Organization's recommendation for a Defense Comptroller with budgetary control. President Eisenhower, at the recommendation of Nelson Rockefeller who served on the First and Second Hoover Commissions, as did Arthur S. Flemming, recovered ultimate authority for national security policy, but conceded the authority to the Secretary of Defense for implementation of presidential policy directives.

Roherty referred to the role of Secretary of Defense as "McNamara's active management" role. The latter was a combination of beliefs about cost-effectiveness, economic planning and programming as the basis of McNamara's decision-making. Roherty stopped short of suggesting that the former Secretary Forrestal-initiated establishment of vast authority in a single executive was precedent-setting force for McNamara's role, nor did the author attach McNamara's former role as President of the Ford Motor Company to his own description of industry, "American corporations not known for their decentralization provide one overriding principle: the consolidation of management authority in a single executive" (Roherty, 1970:36). Nevertheless, McNamara's beliefs successfully emerged as a determination that the role of Secretary of Defense required firm control over both the premises of decision and management tools.

Another example of administrative influence was Bernard M. Baruch, an accumulator of a vast fortune, who became an influential force in American life without the problems associated with accountability or public criticism. Although Baruch was Chairman of the War Industries Board in World War I and was involved in the Treaty of

Versailles, he also directed the survey on synthetic rubber during World War II and originated the "Baruch Plan" to control atomic weapons at the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in 1946. He is best known in American history as informal advisor to six Presidents and counselor to those in positions of administrative and legislative power. The fifty-year career of this statesman was framed in biographical style by Pulitzer Prize winner Coit (1957), who included every known personality and historical incident surrounding Baruch's long life. This was history written with a novelist's pen and the network of powerful industrialists, statesmen, and military staff who were associated with Baruch crisscrossed familiar episodes of American history. Coit's narrative brought Baruch's forward-looking viewpoint on aging into a surprisingly current perspective.

To Baruch health was a 'great adventure,' and his own vibrant constitution led him to say, "To me, old age is always fifteen years older than I am.' After seventy, he seemed to draw on an extra vital force. His walk was fluid stride.... To Baruch there seemed 'vast human waste material' in the numbers of aging individuals, 'full of fears, hopes, despairs'.... He subsidized a book, Gerontology, a scientific study of the aging process written in layman's language.... Also he called for a moderate version of socialized medicine in the form of compulsory health insurance.... And he spoke out against private pension plans because they encouraged early retirement and discouraged the hiring of older workers (Coit, 1957:96).

Historical studies of federal administrators have revealed dissimilar approaches to describe their legitimate roles, scope of authority and personal contribution. It becomes incumbent upon the historical writer to clarify a perspective. This study, however, will not depend solely upon either an intellectual evolution such as Graubard's or upon the historical evolution of a federal office such as Roherty's, nor will it use the techniques of historical biography such

as Coit's. Instead, Flemming will be presented in several historical perspectives: (1) the sequence over his forty-year career of his beliefs that relate to the aging and retired; (2) the development of his experiential skills in organization and education; and (3) the policies and programs planning for, by, and about the educational efforts for aging adults during Flemming's tenure in responsible administrative positions.

Composite Vita of Arthur S. Flemming

Table 1 is a chronology of Flemming's simultaneous functions in several demanding administrative responsibilities. His forty-year career in academic, civic, religious and federal organizations, agencies, committees, and commissions indicates his diversity of interests and activities. He was uniquely placed in time; his leadership positions were at times of pioneer quality and some of his activities affected the lives of millions of Americans.

Summary

The literature reviewed in this study provides a perspective for the historical analysis of Arthur S. Flemming in positions of federal administration which concerned educational programs related to aging. Although there exists a considerable body of historical literature on Presidents, their personal lives and the issues and personalities involved in presidential administrations, there are few historical studies about the power and constraints of an agency administrator such as Flemming, whose activities extended over nine presidential administrations. The literature about Cabinet-level executives such as McNamara, Kissinger, and Baruch illustrate that men who are uniquely

placed in time can have a significant influence on events that shape the lives of people at the community level. Similarly, Flemming was uniquely placed in time and was in positions of responsibility in education and government, which influenced the shape of federal programs for education and training related to the needs of the aging. The focus of this study was to examine the impact of Flemming, his tactics, values, successes, and constraints in the development of educational programs related to aging.

Research Methodology

In order to study the interrelations between past events and the roles of Flemming in federal adult education programs related to aging persons, the historical method was used. Historical research provided a documentation of the events occurring from 1958 to 1978. In this manner, Flemming's impact on educational programs for the aged and the aging was assessed most appropriately. The historical method provided a developmental perspective in its interrelationship of events, time, and the roles of individuals.

Historical analysis consists of the discovery, examination, authentication or verification, analysis, synthesis, and interpretation of materials, data, and evidence. It was the responsibility of the historical writer to frame an area of the past and to interpret the events for the present perspective. The historical writer also has the responsibility to be critical in order to discover inconsistencies in materials from different sources.

Specifically, the time frame focus of this research was from

1958 to 1978 and centered around the activities of Arthur S. Flemming when he held positions of responsible federal leadership between the ages of 53 and 73.

Sources of Data

The four principal sources of data used in this study were: (1) published materials, (2) unpublished materials, (3) Arthur S. Flemming, and (4) eyewitness accounts from persons associated with the Congress, the federal agencies and with the 1961 and 1971 White House Conferences on Aging.

Published materials. The primary source of published materials was the official documents resulting from congressional activities. Published materials relating to Flemming included the following four types of congressional publications: (1) committee hearings held to obtain public opinion and information regarding legislation, nomination, or appropriation and which result in published testimony, discussions, statistics, letters of protest or support, research studies, and other data; (2) House or Senate reports containing recommendations and analyses of legislation, or a summary of the hearings, or history of the problem, or even a minority view of the committee members; (3) committee prints containing information of special value and researched by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress; and (4) House, Senate, or Executive documents including presidential messages regarding legislation or a proposal for Senate ratification. In addition, the House or Senate also issued special publications, such as compendium. These publications represented the basic working papers of the several

hundred committees and subcommittees of the Congress. The final publication of the national Public Laws were obtained from the Congressional Information Service Annual, which includes histories of legislation.

Publications which related to Flemming on the topic of educational programs concerned with the older adult were utilized, such as educational and gerontological professional journals, conference reports, organizational newsletters, and books by authoritative writers in the fields of gerontology, adult education, history, sociology, and others.

Unpublished materials. The principal unpublished materials used in this study were the speeches, addresses, and letters of Flemming as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. These were available in the collection of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare Library. Special library collections and private papers became available for inclusion in this study. These included the Library of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare special collections and unfiled papers; the Civil Service Commission Library dated collections of boxed, unfiled papers; and the Library of Congress unpublished materials.

Eyewitness accounts. There were various persons associated with Dr. Flemming who provided data related to this study. Dr. Flemming agreed to cooperate with personal interviews and some relevant documents concerning his vita. In addition, interviews were sought from the many persons who were participants in the events relating to Flemming's activities. Some of the persons interviewed were listed in Table 2

Table 2

Eyewitnesses*

Bertha Adkins	Chair, Federal Council on Aging Assistant Secretary of DHEW	1977-1978 1958-1961
Decker Anstrom	Administrative Assistant to the Commissioner on Aging	1973-1978
Len Aries	National Conference of Christians & Jews, Coalition of Adult Education Organizations	1969, 1976
William Bechill	Commissioner on Aging	1965-1969
Herman Brotman	Research Analyst, Special Staff on Aging; Assistant to Commissioner on Aging; J. Martin Consultant, Senate Committee on Aging	1958-1961 1969-1973 1973-1978
Barbara Chandler	Division of Adult & Occupational Education, Office of Education, DHEW	1973-1978
Wilbur J. Cohen	Assistant Secretary for Legislation, DHEW Under Secretary, DHEW U.S. Secretary DHEW	1961-1965 1965-1968 1968-1969
Nelson Cruikshank	President, National Council of Senior Citizens; Member, National Council of Churches; Chair, Federal Council on the Aging	1961 1964 1973-1978
William Cusenza	Recorder, Meeting of Community Educators & Regional Directors on Aging	1976
Lloyd Davis	Member, Coalition of Adult Education Organizations	1976
Carol Dingledein	Project Officer, Administration on Aging	1973-1978
Wilma Donahue	President, International Center for Social Gerontology	1973-1978
Paul Delker	Division of Adult & Occupational Education, Office of Education, DHEW	1975-1978
James Dorland	President, Coalition of Adult Education Organizations, Executive Director, NAPCAE	1976 1976

Table 2 (continued)

Clavin Fields	Director, Institute of Gerontology, University of the District of Columbia	1973-1978
Sandra Fisher	Model Program Project Officer, AoA	1974-1978
Arthur S. Flemming	Commissioner on Aging U.S. Secretary DHEW	1958-1961 1973-1978
Gerald R. Ford	President of the United States	1974-1976
Paul Hadley	President, National University Extension Association; Member, Coalition of Adult Education Organizations	1969
Gene Handelsman	Director, Office of State & Community Programs	1973-1978
Jarold Kieffer	Assitant to Secretary of DHEW for Program Analysis	1960-1961
Maggie Kuhn	National Convenor, Grey Panthers	1971-1978
Deborah Kilmer	Professional Staff, Senate Committee on Aging	1973-1978
Rosalind Loring	Member, Coalition of Adult Education Organizations	1976
John McKenzie	Vice President, Coalition of Adult Education Organizations; President, University & College Labor Education Association	1976
Howard McClusky	Co-Chairman, Education Committee, White House Conference on Aging	1971
Barnard Nash	Deputy Commissioner on Aging	1971-1972
William Oriol	Majority Staff Director, Senate Committee on Aging	1973-1978
Jack Ossofsky	Executive Director, National Council on the Aging	1971-1978
Steven Parsons	Director, Cooperative Extension Program for Community Education, VPI & SU	1975-1978
Donald F. Reilly	Deputy Commissioner on Aging	1973-1978

Table 2 (continued)

Warren Roudebush	Executive Director, Federal Council on the Aging	1959-1961
Richard J. Schloss	Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner on Aging	1973-1978
James Steen	Administrative Assistant, AoA	1973-1978
Hamilton Stillwell	President, Coalition of Adult Education Organizations	1969
Clark Tibbitts	Director of Training, AoA Chair, Technical Staff, White House Conference on Aging Director, National Conference on Aging	1968-1972 1968-1971 1973-1978
Willard Thompson	Organizer, First Wingspread Conference on Adult Education Organizer, Second Wingspread Conference on Adult Education Director of Adult Education, University of Wisconsin	1969 1976 1969-1976
Sandra Timmerman	Head, Institute of Lifetime Learning, AARP	1975-1978
Paul Tremper	Advisor on Community Education, Office on Education, DHEW	1976
Betty A. Ward	Research Assistant, Office of Education DHEW Member, Education Committee, White House Conferences on Aging	1958-1961 1961, 1971
Howard White	Project Officer, Research Evaluation, AoA	1973-1978

* Additional eyewitnesses provided information in personal interviews but requested complete anonymity.

together with their dates of contact with Flemming and their position titles; however, there were additional eyewitnesses who were interviewed but who refused to be listed. The latter were assured of anonymity in the study and are not included in Table 2.

Data Collection

Documentation research was conducted using the sources and materials listed above and information related to this study was extracted. Schedules of questions were prepared for each person being interviewed, depending upon their relationship to Flemming's activities. During these investigations, those being interviewed identified individuals reputed to have important information. Interviews were then sought from such individuals. Elderly and frail persons to be interviewed were selected first; but the dates of their interviews were held at the convenience of the interviewees. Next, those persons who were of closest proximity to Flemming's activities were selected. Some persons agreed to be interviewed but requested total anonymity; others permitted their names to be listed but refused to be directly quoted. Some persons refused to be interviewed.

The collection of documents and other materials were arranged chronologically beginning with Flemming's background during the early federal concern with the aging in the 1930s and 1940s and then his appointment as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in 1958. Within the constraints of voluntary interviews, the appointments were arranged to roughly coincide with related document acquisitions. In this way, the opportunity for verification and synthesis of data was enhanced. For example, when a letter to former Secretary DHEW Wilbur

Cohen was located, Dr. Cohen was contacted and an interview was requested.

Criteria

The criteria used to describe Flemming's administrative expertise and beliefs over time focused on the following: (1) the effectiveness of his persuasion and advocacy to obtain enabling federal legislation to initiate, continue, or expand educational programs concerning aging; (2) his ability to marshal presidential support for aging programs; (3) his ability to obtain congressional appropriations for educational programs under his administration; (4) his administrative responsiveness to the needs and interests of his constituencies; (5) his combination of administrative accomplishments and personal qualities that brought persistent requests for his services from both Democratic and Republican administrations.

Harold Stein (1952) explained the usefulness and limitations of the study of a public administrator such as Flemming:

...public administrators are bound by public law and are engaged in executing it, and in developing and formulating it, too.... But the behavior of individual administrators can also be studied, and usefully so, because personality can play a significant role in determining administrative action.... What is essential is the study of the administrator's understanding of his objectives, and of his relations with his political environment; these are of crucial importance, and directly or indirectly they condition all administrative decisions...to neglect them is to study public administration in a political vacuum--a realm where public administration does not exist...the concept of public administration as used here is designed particularly to refer to the administrator's understanding and pursuit of his objectives and his relations with the social environment outside his agency.

Concepts like process and politics when used in the study of public administration do not lead to the formulation of rules and principles that can provide the administrator with automatic guides to the right answer and permit the student to grade administrative

decisions on some mathematical scale...sound judgment in this field does not include the ability to make absolute [or quasi-absolute] predictions such as are made in the physical sciences, nor to propound absolute standards for administrative decisions. Thus, there are obvious limits on what can be learned (Stein, 1952:18).

This study described the historical evolution of federal intervention in aging concerns, and the roles of Arthur S. Flemming in one area of program development--the education and training programs to serve the needs of the aging and the aged.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to describe the impact of Arthur S. Flemming on federal education and training programs related to the aging from 1958 to 1978, it is necessary to first describe the origin and development of two earlier major factors: (1) the first federal intervention in the needs of the aged and aging, between 1900 and 1938, and (2) the federal concern with the education and training of older adults from 1939 to 1957. At the turn of the century, there was no federal intervention in the concerns of the aging and aged, except for veteran pensions. There were discussions and writings among a small educated sector by those in religious and social work, banking, insurance, and politics (USBL, 1893; Monroe, 1897; Rubinow, 1904; Vanderlip, 1905; Hoffman, 1908, Baldwin, 1950; Squier, 1912). Fueling the opinions expressed were the various voluntary and obligatory social insurance plans and old-age pension schemes which were already being tried in Europe (Appendix A).

Social Insurance

Before 1930, it was conventional wisdom and societal expectation that most Americans would marry and have one or more children who would be supportive of, and responsible for, their aged parents (USCES, 1935a). Those unfortunates of modest means who did not marry, or who outlived their children and responsible relatives, spent their last years in the

poorhouse (Figure 1).

The almshouse or 'poorhouse' was once a home for the poor. Today [1934] it is a home primarily for those who are old as well as poor. No one knows how many men and women over 65 years of age are dependent on this sort of charity today, but experts estimate about 50,000. The predominance of the aged in almshouses is a sign of their increasing dependency, and available figures show that between 1880 and 1923 the proportion of the poorhouse population increased from about 25 percent to nearly 54, although their increase in the population was much smaller (USCES, 1934:16).

The minority of aged with adequate economic resources had access to the more affluent homes for the aged, which were "among the noblest institutions of America, [and] can barely touch the rim of the difficulty" (The Independent, 1906:703). There were two opposing reasons given for poverty and unmet needs among the aging: (1) individual improvidence, or (2) that daily subsistence from earnings left almost nothing for annuities or savings for old age (Squier, 1912). Concerns about the aged focused initially on economic factors.

In 1900, American factories were an established and thriving economic system. More types of products were being manufactured, and they were being produced more rapidly. Jobs and industrial careers were obtainable in the cities, and there were already 28.4 million city dwellers, compared to 47.6 million people living in rural areas (USBC, 1975).

By 1910, the population had increased by 16 million persons, but the change in the urban/rural distribution was startling: 42.6 million urban to 49.3 million rural residents. Each succeeding decade ended similarly, with huge population growth in the cities and almost no rural population increase (USBC, 1975). Rural migrants brought the lifestyle and beliefs of people who had been socialized to the socio-

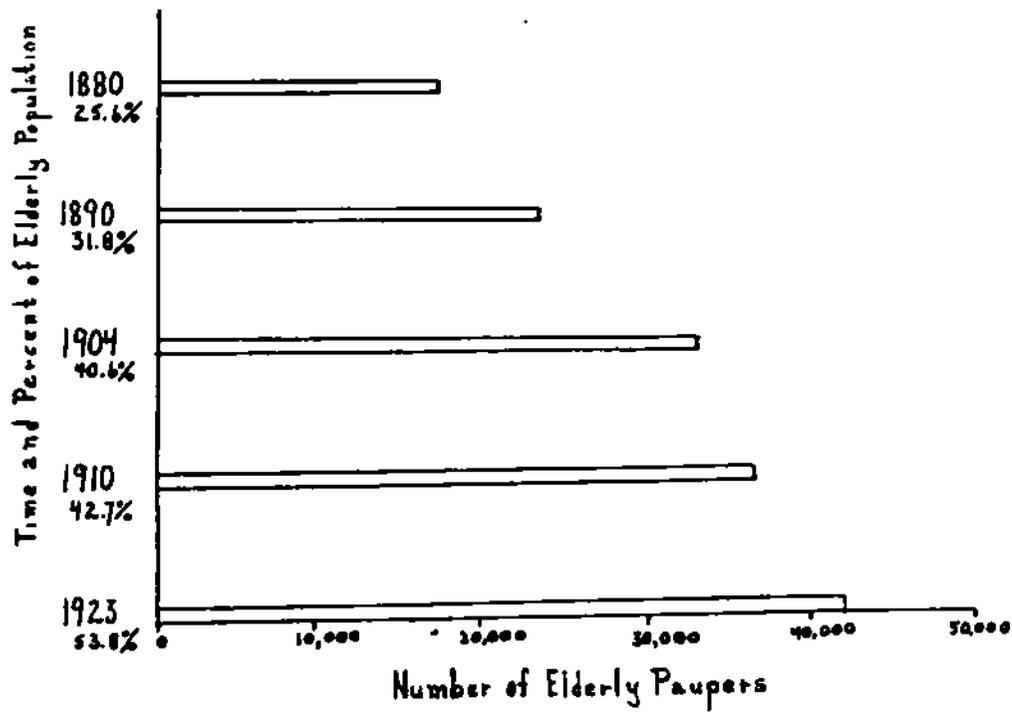


Figure 1. Paupers 65 Years and Over in Almshouses, 1880-1923.
(USCES, 1934)

economic necessities of farm life. For example, farm families were accustomed to children working and they accepted child labor in the cities, including factory labor. The dependence of some families on the earnings of their children was reported in the 1910 census data on child labor (USBC, 1914). The data showed 25 percent of the children in the United States between the ages of 10 and 15 were gainfully employed that year. In the southern states, however, the ratio was 50 percent.

To advocates of social insurance as a means to prevent pauperism and destitution in old age, the child labor and wage earners income data demonstrated most families' inability to provide for either emergencies or old age (Rubinow, 1904; Lewis, 1909). Millions were being spent annually for poor relief with the prospect of even greater expenditures in the future as the aging population increased. The solution proposed at that time was social insurance (Hoffman, 1908; Seager, 1910; Brandeis, 1906; Phelps, 1909; Baldwin, 1950), which rested upon the insurable character of the risks of injury, disease, death, unemployment, and old age. It was acknowledged that only under a government-sponsored program of compulsory insurance could any national system be achieved. Unless the system were national in scope, it would not reach those most in need of it, and those who lacked sufficient resources to purchase insurance. It was contended that by substituting insurance benefits for poor relief, it would reduce the burden on public and private aid. The claims made for national social insurance schemes, however, rested on supporting evidence from the experiences of other nations whose social and economic conditions were not the same as those

in the United States.

In 1883, Germany had initiated an obligatory insurance plan at Chancellor Bismarck's insistence. Five years earlier, he had pressed the Reichstag to mandate repressive measures against a growing socialist opposition, but the Social Democrats increased. Therefore, to weaken the socialists and gain wider support for his policy of economic nationalism, Bismarck instituted a program of social reform. Between 1883 and 1889, laws were passed providing for sickness, accident, and old-age insurance; limiting woman and child-labor; and establishing maximum working hours. Under the insurance plans, workingmen and employers paid equal sums regularly into a government insurance service. The German government furnished an interest rate adequate to the workers' annuity payment, constituting the first national old age pension plan to be implemented in Europe (Taylor, 1955). Earlier, the first national old-age pension bill drafted was introduced in England in 1773, but it took 135 years to obtain passage of a similar statute in Parliament in 1908 (Squier, 1912). The British pension plan, which was non-contributory, was replaced in 1925 by a contributory insurance pension plan.

In an early description of the German system, requested of an eminent clergyman, Reverend Brooks, by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the German compulsory social insurance system was credited with:

- (1) an improved quality of medical care and public health;
- (2) reduction in poverty;
- and (3) efficiency in the national pension program for the aged wage earner (USBL, 1893).

A later observer from England was in general agreement with Reverend Brooks about the merits of the German system, but emphasized that savings in poor relief were irrelevant

compared to the marked improvement in the quality of life of aged workingmen in Germany (Woodbury, 1915). It is reasonable to assume, however, that the savings in poor relief payments did not go unnoticed by government administrators both in Europe and the United States. The cost effectiveness of the German program was substantiated by Vanderlip (1905:932), President of the First National Bank of New York, that the sickness and accident insurance arrangements were increasing work output "out of all proportion to their cost." An interesting benefit mentioned by the American banker was that the social insurance helped prevent a trend toward socialism and increased workingmen's loyalty to their welfare state type of benefits. Discussions of social insurance from 1900 to 1920 selected workingmen and their families as the population to benefit from the system. Thus, from the earliest efforts by western social reformers interested in reducing pauperism in old age, wage earner pension insurance coverage was considered a practical limitation due to collection problems in other groups.

According to a U.S. Committee on Economic Security report, investigations into the extent of old age dependency by state commissions began as early as 1903 when the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics attempted to calculate the cost of an old age pension system (USCES, 1935a). From that time to the period of the economic depression of 1920 (Figure 2), opponents of state old age assistance expressed the attitude that poverty and pauperism were the result of personal inadequacy and indolence. Attempts to offset or control business cycles had been made since 1920 (Mitchell, 1929). The 1920 to 1922 depression was severe and shortlived; but the speculation which

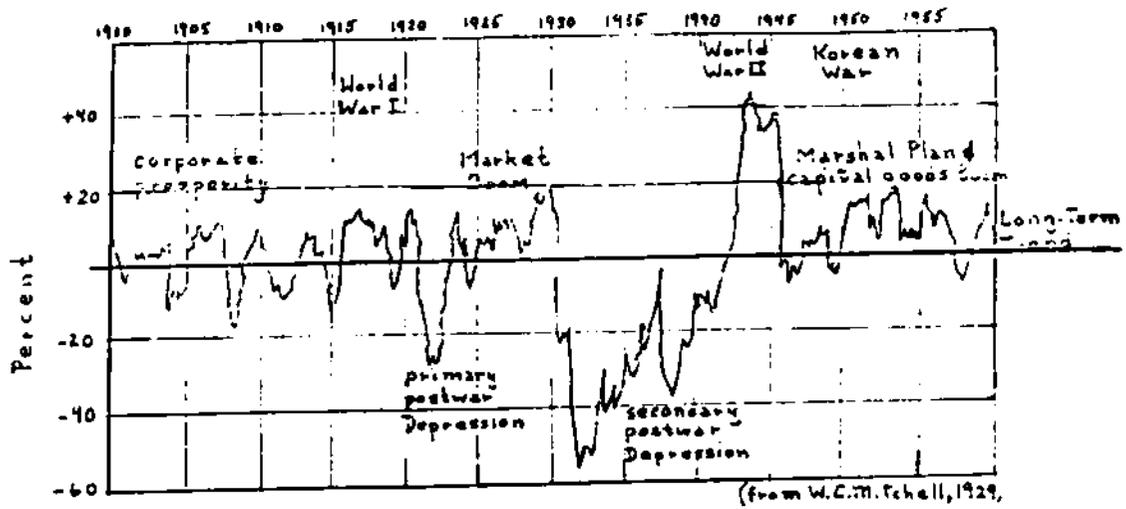


Figure 2. Fluctuations in U.S. Business Activity, 1900-1958.

began during World War I had contributed to the stock and commodity price crash. The economic repercussions, however, on the middle class and industrial wage earners were indicated in the loss of funds in American savings accounts (Figure 3) and the subsequent loss of provision for old age. In 1920, American banks had loaned 75 percent of their funds available from depositors.

During the 1920 depression, none of the states had an old age pension law in force. After the loss of both employment and savings by thousands of wage earners during the 1920 depression, the state commissions considering old age pension plans abandoned the charge of personal fault for poverty. In 1923, however, Montana passed an old age assistance law which remained on the statute books. By 1928, only six states and one territory had legal provisions for their aged. In all these states*, adoption was left to the discretion of the counties. As a result, for 1179 pensioners, about \$200,000 was spent in 1928 by all six states. In 1929, however, California set a precedent by making adoption of the old age assistance system mandatory upon the counties. Massachusetts and New York followed within the year with both mandatory county adoption and state/locality cost sharing. In reality, because of lack of funds in the states and counties, many eligible aged did not receive assistance (USCES, 1935b).

Unlike the American process, by 1928 twenty-five foreign countries had passed contributory old age insurance laws and seven had mandated old age grants which did not require contributions from the

* The states were Colorado, Kentucky, Maryland, Montana, Nevada, Wisconsin, and the Territory of Alaska.

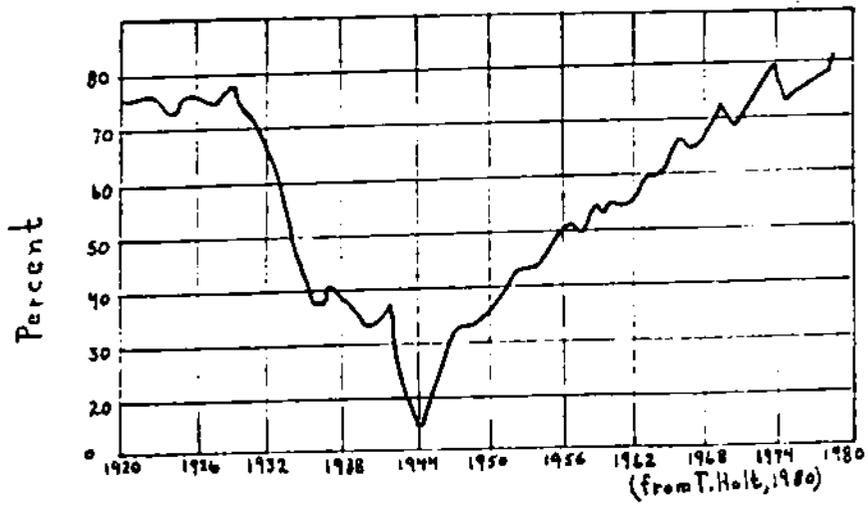


Figure 3. Loan/Deposit Ratio of the U.S. Banking System, 1920-1980.

aged (Appendix B). Non-contributory pension plans, however, generally shifted to contributory insurance because of escalating costs, and objections to the "means test" for aged applicants (USCES, 1935b:10-13). Pension plans for the aged were restricted to either wage earners or paupers due to the practical difficulties of collecting contributions from the self-employed (USCES, 1935b). Thus, other countries of the western world preceded the United States in providing national, or government-sponsored, contributory old age social insurance schemes to address some of the problems of the aged.

Sociopolitical Differences, 1900-1920

There were marked differences, however, between the social and political qualities of the first decade of the twentieth century and the second decade. During the first decade, it became the fashion to champion the poor, expose corruption and denounce the rich in imitation of the popular personalities in journalism, politics, social work, and religion. The rapid increase in population paralleled the increase in wealth and political power, as well as the growth of slums. Magazines such as McClures, Colliers, and Cosmopolitan published lively exposes on Standard Oil's empire-building methods, municipal corruption, small-investor fleecing, patent medicine fraud, and shady life insurance methods. Journalists such as Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Samuel Hopkins Adams, David Graham Phillips, and Upton Sinclair, among others, were called muckrakers for documenting the harsher aspects of contemporary American life. Social workers attributed the crowded social agencies, reformatories and jails to unemployment, low wages, slum

housing, limited education, and inadequate public services (Beard and Beard, 1937). Representative of these attitudes was Director Devine, New York Charity Organization Society, who stated in his presidential address at the 1906 National Conference of Charities and Corrections that poverty was communicable, curable, preventable, and that the task was to end the social causes of dependency (NCCC, 1906). Reverend Walter Rauschenbush of the Rochester Theological Seminary described capitalism as the kingdom of evil and urged the coming of the kingdom of God through democracy in politics and nationalization of natural resources (Allen, 1931). In general, these objectives reflected an emphasis on reform of the existing system, not its replacement. The reformers viewed economic privilege and monopoly as a threat to American individual freedom and free enterprise; they responded through the existing political machinery to restore popular control of the government through election reform.

By the end of the first decade, all but two states had replaced the party-printed ballot by the secret ballot; two-thirds of the states had established direct primaries; and eight states had enacted laws for voters' referendum. The regulatory powers of the federal government had been extended in the Hepburn Act of 1906, granting the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to nullify unreasonable rates, and the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910 permitted the ICC to investigate railroad rate increases and to fix maximum rates. At the same time, the federal government established a postal saving system, parcel post service, the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, the Federal Employees Act of 1908 for workmen's compensation, and legislation for the conservation of natural

resources (Allen, 1931; Beard and Beard, 1937). A new concept was emerging of the federal government's role for supporting public services which were in the national interest. These reforms and legislative measures had provided an era of change in which the advocates of social insurance had presented their objectives.

In the second decade, a major reform effort continued when the Declaration of Social Faith of the Council of Churches of Christ in America was adopted in 1912. The Council had pledged Protestant churches to support abolition of child labor, a living wage, the right of workers to organize, and provision for unemployment, industrial injury and old age. The American Association for Labor Legislation formed a Committee on Social Insurance in 1912. The 1912 National Conference of Charities and Corrections had established goals similar to the Council of Churches, but added the eight-hour day and federal standards for industrial safety and sanitation. Direct election of senators had won congressional approval in 1912 and became the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913. By 1915, women could vote in presidential elections in twelve states. Congress established a Children's Bureau in 1912 and the Department of Labor in 1913 (U.S. Congress Public Act, 1912 and 1913). The short-lived Progressive Party platform of 1912 had pledged to work for the adoption of a system of social insurance against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment, and old age (Porter, 1924). In 1914, the Committee on Social and Industrial Justice of the Progressive National Service, among whose members were Gifford Pinchot, Jane Addams, Raymond Robbins, and Paul Kellogg, had recommended a congressional inquiry into social insurance (PNS, 1914). From 1914

to 1918, however, World War I displaced social insurance and other reforms from public prominence, which was not regained in the postwar era.

The Post-World War I Period

The period between the 1920 depression and the stock market crisis of 1929 contained significant social changes. By 1921, the American Association for Labor Legislation had turned its attention from social insurance to the improvement of workmen's compensation. Support for social insurance within the social work field had diminished, and interest had increased in information about adjustment of the individual to the environment. In part, these developments reflected the defeat of efforts to establish national health insurance. The leading opponent of national health insurance was the American Medical Association (AMA), who also opposed prepaid health plans and group practices, but who approved of tax-based public health programs which popularized the periodic health examination by physicians (AMA, 1921). AMA opposition continued to defeat health insurance measures during the 1920s, including the defeat of funding for the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1929, which ended the public clinic health work of the Children's Bureau as "tending to promote communism" (AMA, 1930:44). The prestige which the AMA had gained by using state licensing standards for physicians, exposing medical quackery and urging standardization of drugs and medicines was diluted, however, by the results of a five-year study by fifteen health and social leaders who organized the Committee on Costs of Medical Care. The Committee's five-year study, financed by eight foundations and the Social Science Research Council, revealed

that the overall population was severely underserved by the existing medical practitioners. Despite public and private health education efforts, less than 7 percent of the population had annual check-ups and about 5 percent had been immunized against diphtheria or other diseases. By 1929, there was a physician:population ratio of 1:800 and the low-income population had two times the death rate of the middle and upper income groups from major diseases, i.e. tuberculosis and heart disease (Collins, 1927).

In a decade in which national health insurance had been resoundingly defeated and in which few reforms had occurred, the adoption of several old age pension laws from 1920 to 1929 stood in sharp contrast. Among those groups in the country with old age protection were about 500,000 federal employees for whom Congress had enacted a contributory retirement system in 1920; about 250,000 veterans and veteran survivors who were aged, but whose payments were recognized as veteran benefits rather than old age pensions; and about 200,000 state and local government employees with various retirement programs (Latimer, 1929).

In 1924, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor concluded that federal old age pension legislation was an uncertain source of economic security and had decided instead to place funds and education efforts to support the Union Labor Life Insurance Company for old age benefits (AFL, 1924). The National Association of Manufacturers' Committee on Industrial Betterment dismissed old age insurance programs as "unsound economically, placing an unknown burden upon the healthy" in 1922, and in 1929 that pensions would "propagate pauperism and fraud, encourage improvidence and suppress self-reliance" (NAM,

1929:8, 112). The latter sentiments were similar to those which had been expressed by A.F.L. President Samuel Gompers* in 1922, shortly after a depression and widespread unemployment. The 500,000-member Fraternal Order of the Eagles, the New York City Welfare Council and the American Association for Labor Legislation financed a study in 1929 of the non-institutionalized aged poor served by private agencies in New York (Beman, 1927; Minton and Stuart, 1940).

Unlike the wide range of legislative issues advocated by the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Association for Old Age Security first organized in 1927 focused solely on old age pensions. The newly formed Association was led by Abraham Epstein, former director of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age from 1917 to 1921, and from 1925 to 1927. From 1923 to 1925, Epstein was Executive Secretary of the short-lived Pennsylvania Old Age Assistance Commission, and had published three books on the subject (Epstein, 1922, 1926, 1928). Epstein attracted persons of national prominence in the area of social welfare or as spokesmen for humanistic causes to the new organization: Jane Addams, John R. Commons, Stephen S. Wise, I. M. Rubinow, Miles M. Dawson, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell. Epstein's view was:

The existing means of aged relief are ineffective, inadequate and entirely undesirable. The stigma of public charity is inseparable from the almshouse...and of his opponents, [they] are sure that the very fear of the poorhouse underlies our economic advancement and constitutes the basis of the American zest and spirit. Any tinkering with the ancient system of poor laws might endanger these qualities (Epstein, 1928:37).

* "Paternalism either in government or in industry is abhorrent. It takes away the initiative of the workers who should themselves prepare for old age" (Conant, 1922:168).

The Association's original objective had included state, federal, or contributory old age pensions. By 1929, old age pensions had been endorsed by the National Consumers League, the League of Women Voters, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and the General Synod of the General Conference of the Evangelical Synod of North America. National opposition was centered in the National Civic Federation, which objected to "an excessive and progressively increasing tax burden" and advocated: (1) education for thrift; (2) industrial pensions and voluntary insurance; and for the destitute, (3) poor relief and improved almshouses (NXF, 1929:8). At the National Conference of Social Work, John A. Lapp (1927) had reported that about 5 million persons had received relief, 9 million people had received medical care at free clinics, and that 500,000 dependent children had been placed in the care of welfare agencies.

The major economic document of the twenties was the government report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes, which had emphasized the strength and balance in the economic system, namely, increased industrial productivity, and expanding service industry, an adequate credit supply and rise in the national standard of living (NBER, 1929). The seventeen Committee members represented industry, agriculture, labor, and government and had as chairman Herbert Hoover. From 1922 to 1929, the average industrial wage increased 12 percent, compared to a 40 percent rise in national income and a 100 percent increase in the rate of corporate profits. Some contemporary economists had suspected that faults in the economy might lead to a crisis. In a summary of the staff reports that the National Bureau of Economic Research submitted to the Committee on Economic Changes, Wesley C. Mitchell made a

prophetic statement:

Recent developments may appear less satisfactory in retrospect than they appear at present. Even on the face of affairs, all is not well.... That we have not had a serious crisis since 1920 or a severe depression since 1921 is not guarantee that we shall be equally prudent, skillful and fortunate in the years to come.... There are signs that the caution inspired by that disastrous year [1921] is wearing thin (Mitchell, 1929:909, 910).

As Stuart Chase (1929) pointed out in Prosperity: Fact or Myth, farm prices had failed to recover from the 1920-21 collapse, and there had been depressed conditions in the cotton and wool textile industries, in leather products, coal mining, and shipbuilding.

On October 23, 1929, a selling panic occurred on the New York Stock Exchange and 6 million shares changed hands, followed the next day by 13 million shares and the following week by 16 million. By December 1929, unemployment had reached almost 3 million; poverty among the aged was widespread as both stock equities and family income suffered losses. The depression of the thirties had begun. About 30 bills related to social insurance for the aged had been drafted for congressional consideration, but not one of them ever reached a congressional committee agenda (Allen, 1931).

Social Security

It was not until the economic crises of the thirties that the first federal intervention in a social insurance program to benefit the aging became a reality. During the Great Depression, which began in 1929, there occurred the economic characteristics of: overexpansion of production, overextension of investment and speculation, contraction of production, numerous bankruptcies, rising unemployment; and

eventually, falling prices and lowered wages (Wecter, 1948). Because of the international nature of trade and credit, the depression in the United States also had international repercussions; solutions had to arise from within the nation. The congressional efforts to ameliorate the suffering were: (1) extension of relief to farmers left destitute by the drought of 1930; (2) creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to provide business loans; and (3) passage of the Emergency Relief Act for increasing numbers of paupers (Wecter, 1948). Despair deepened when unemployed veterans camped on federal property in Washington to urge Congress to pass laws for payment of bonus certificates; federal troops were used to forcibly evict the veterans. In December 1932, a serious banking crisis developed; poverty and pauperism had already caused immeasurable suffering. Particularly, the depression had caused severe human problems of dependence in old age. Among the campaigns to treat the lack of security of the aged was the Townsend movement, which was led by Francis E. Townsend, M.D. By 1933, the Townsend Plan* had begun to create a demand for action at the congressional level due to the millions of postcards sent by citizens to their congressman at the urging of Dr. Townsend and his supporters (IRRA, 1976).

The Origin of the Term "Social Security"

By 1933, the economic structure of American capitalism was endangered and an unopposed national banking holiday was declared by a reform President, one who believed in federal protection against

* The plan proposed a \$200-per-month federal pension for persons over 60 years and the sum had to be spent within 30 days to stimulate business. Funding was to be obtained by a 2 percent federal sales tax.

economic insecurity and crisis "from cradle to the grave" (Moley, 1939:41). That same year, in a statement issued by the Board of Directors of the American Association for Old Age Security on May 18, a change in name to the American Association for Social Security was formally announced:

The [state] old age pension laws in existence today can at best give security only to persons 65 years of age or older. Hundred of thousands of persons are left helpless many years before that age through the ravages of sickness or...employment and the discrimination against the hiring of older workers.... The need for such a comprehensive program has long been recognized in European countries. While extending its activities the organization, under the new name of American Association of Social Security, will relentlessly continue its efforts, in behalf of the dependent aged (NCOASS, 1933:3).

Although the Presidential message on June 3, 1934, used the term social insurance, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Arthur Altmeyer, reported the problems and progress made by the Committee on Economic Security and did use the term social security several times on September 28, 1934 (Appendix C). The announcement by Epstein was the first published use of the term social security* but the origin of the term was due to an earlier informal change encounter between Abraham Epstein and Emil Frankel in Harrisburg in 1926. In a letter to Wilbur J. Cohen and the Social Security Board on March 4, 1941, Epstein stated:

I am indeed glad to have your letter of yesterday regarding the origin of the term 'social security'...I was sure that fifty years after I am dead some historian would ask that question but I wasn't sure whether he would get the right answer.... We hit upon the word 'security' during a walk in Harrisburg with my friend, Emil Frankel. I believe the credit for the term 'security' really goes to Frankel. I had definite reasons for using the term 'social security' rather

* The term "social security" did not appear in the Oxford English Dictionary, the New York Times Index, or other periodical indexes or encyclopedias prior to 1935.

than 'economic security' or 'social insurance'.... I definitely did not want 'social insurance' because this would give it the German twist of the actuarial insurance concept in terms of compulsory savings which do not justify governmental contributions.... My aim was...the English system of social protection [with governmental contributions].... I am convinced that the naming of the Perkins-Witte committee 'economic security' was a deliberate attempt to get away from our name.... Namely, I was quite happy that Congress restored our name (USSSB, 1941).

In a letter of October 1949, Emil Frankel wrote to Wilbur J. Cohen:

It is somewhat breathtaking to me as I ponder this inconspicuous incident in Harrisburg [Penna.] that the word 'security' had been incorporated in all social legislation in this country [and] has become a household word in the United States (USSSB, 1949).

The "Perkins-Witte" committee referred to in Epstein's letter was the Committee on Economic Security, created by Executive Order 6757, issued on June 29, 1934 (Appendix D). According to Witte (1962), the preliminary planning and naming of the committee had been carried out by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and her Assistant Secretary Arthur Altmeyer, Harry Hopkins of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and Attorney General Homer S. Cummings (1934), who verified the constitutionality of the Committee and its subordinate structure. Under Chairman Frank Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, members of the Advisory Council represented academia, business, and labor. Witte had not been involved in the naming or organizational structure of the Committee; he was notified of his nomination one month after the Committee had been established. According to Witte (1962), neither he nor the others on the Committee were aware that F.D.R. had placed all relief matters unofficially in the hands of two of the Committee members, Hopkins and Morgenthau. When Witte and the others became aware of it after the fact, they eliminated relief matters from

their studies and recommendations. The planning of the studies and meetings was assigned to the Technical Staff of specialists. Among them were: Wilbur J. Cohen, J. Douglas Brown, Arthur J. Altmeyer, Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong, Murray W. Latimer, Otto C. Richter, Josephine Roche, Aubrey Williams, Otto Beyer, Corrington T. Gill, Herman J. Oliphant, Stuart Rice, Thomas Eliot, Isador Lubin, Jacob Viner, Alexander Hotzoff, Winfield Riefler, Victor Valgren and A. H. Hansen. The permanent name of the Committee was derived from the phrase "economic security from the cradle to the grave," F. D. Roosevelt's often-repeated statement (Moley, 1939:41).

The Committee on Economic Security

The introduction of the Wagner-Lewis Bill, H.R. 7659 in February 1934, which proposed a program of unemployment compensation, preceded the creation of the Committee on Economic Security; but the Roosevelt-backed bill died in the Ways and Means Committee by June of 1934. Due in part to the failure of the Wagner-Lewis Bill and to the urging of Frances Perkins and Harry Hopkins for more comprehensive social insurance, a special message was given by the President to Congress on June 8, 1934 (H.R. Document No. 397):

Next winter we may well undertake the great task of furthering the security of the citizen and his family through social insurance. This is not an untried experiment.... Hence, I am looking for a sound means which I can recommend to provide at once security against several of the great disturbing factors in life--especially those which relate to unemployment and old age (Witte, 1962:7).

Both the new federal role in the social insurance scheme and the description of the funding structure were made matters of public record.

Furthermore, the reassurance of carefully thought-out studies

were promised and there was a general expectation that a comprehensive social insurance program would be presented at the 74th Congress:

I believe the funds necessary to provide this insurance should be raised by contribution...that social insurance should be national in scope...states would meet at least a large portion of the cost of management, leaving the federal government the responsibility of investing, maintaining and safeguarding the funds constituting the necessary insurance reserves (Witte, 1962:7).

By December, the President received the recommendations of the Committee on Economic Security, which he presented on January 17, 1935, to the 74th Congress (Appendix E). Major recommendations of the Committee on Economic Security were dictated by practical considerations but were designed to address the broad objectives of providing safeguards against the hazards leading to dependency. In brief, the recommendations consisted of the following:

1. Public funds were to be used to fund public-work programs and stimulate private employment.
2. Compensation payments to wage earners with an employment history would assist in maintaining consumer purchasing power.
3. To provide economic security for the aged, there were several measures: (a) non-contributory old-age pensions for those now old and indigent; (b) a contributory system of old-age pensions for those now young; (c) a contributory system for middle-aged and aging wage earners to be assisted by a partial subsidy; (d) a voluntary and contributory system for the professional and self-employed persons of modest incomes; (e) no federal aid for old-age care in institutions.

Ultimately, it was the final recommendation of the Committee on Economic Security to both the congressional Ways and Means Committee

and the Senatorial Committee on Finance which served as the basis for debate on the social security legislation. Without an in-depth knowledge of sociopolitical factors in the southern states, however, the Committee members and Executive Director Witte* were opposed and defeated in their recommendation that a federal agency should hold both administrative and regulatory power over the states in matters of old age assistance programs. Witte commented with candor:

Some southern senators feared that this measure might serve as an entering wedge for federal interference with the handling of the Negro question in the South.... The fact is that it had never occurred to any person connected with the Committee on Economic Security that the Negro question would come up in this connection (Witte, 1962:143).

During the hearings on the Social Security bill in 1935, the Ways and Means Committee eliminated the following provisions:

(1) states could not bar any group of persons from old age assistance; (2) states must supply "a reasonable subsistence compatible with decency and health"; (3) administration in the states must satisfy the federal agency; (4) federal administration was to be under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; and (5) old age insurance in the form of retirement annuities, payable as a matter of right, was due to wage earners on retirement from funds to which they had contributed (Witte, 1962:143-147). Thus, the Southerners' strong beliefs in states' rights modified and reduced the coverage under the 1935 Social Security Act and placed the administration under a new federal agency, the Social Security Board, rather than a Cabinet-level department.

* Committee members Perkins and Morgenthau came to Washington, D.C., from New York, Wallace and Hopkins from Iowa, Cummings from Connecticut, and Witte from Wisconsin.

Other exclusions from old age benefits were employees of educational, religious and scientific organizations, churches, and charities. These exclusions were due primarily to efforts of the Church Pension Fund Conference lobby on the House and Senate committees. Equally successful were the personal persuasion efforts of Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, who requested exclusion of agricultural and domestic workers from the old age insurance taxes and benefits. The federal administrator convinced both committees that it would prove administratively impossible to collect payroll taxes from agricultural workers and domestic servants. After 35 years, however, the exclusions from coverage under the Social Security Act were eliminated; most employed and self-employed persons were covered by 1961 (Witte, 1962).

If one considers the severe depression of 1920 and the widespread economic need of that time, it is of historic significance to know why some form of social insurance legislation was not passed during the 1920s instead of the 1930s. Dr. Wilbur J. Cohen, who had been an assistant to Witte in 1934-1935 and Secretary of DHEW in 1968-1969, stated:

As Senator Robert F. Wagner noted, the Presidents of that decade, Harding, Coolidge and Hoover were sincere believers in the 'dogma of self-reliance and individual thrift,' even for those who were too old or too young to work and therefore in no position to save for the future. A system of compulsory contributions against time of need--the cornerstone and strength of the present social security program--was viewed by some as 'un-American.' Their [presidential] administrations were supported in this philosophy by the nation's chambers of commerce and manufacturing associations ...[also] by the American Federation of Labor [AFL], which did not officially change its position and support social insurance until 1932 (Ahern, 1976:46).

Social, physical, and educational needs of the aging were not

among the recommendations in the 1935 legislation. Despite the change of the term from economic security to social security, however, the recommendations of the Committee addressed the minimum income survival needs of old age (Appendix E). The Great Depression of the 1930s had placed as first priority the severe human problems associated with financially dependent and impoverished old age in an industrial society where widespread unemployment and bank failures had displaced the family wage earners. In addition, with 10 million unemployed and 18 million on relief and many with young families to support, there was little interest in training or educating the older worker to enter the diminished job market (USCES, 1935c).

World War II

During the 1930s, a world-wide Depression and a sequence of military events heralded another world war: the second Sino-Japanese War in 1931, Adolph Hitler recreated the German army in 1933, Benito Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935, Francisco Franco won the Spanish Civil War in 1939. The Second World War began on September 1, 1939, when Germany invaded Poland. This invasion was followed by the invasion of Denmark and Norway on April 9, 1940; of Luxembourg, Belgium, and the Netherlands on May 10, 1940 and the blitzkrieg outflanked the French Maginot Line on May 13, 1940 (Marshall et al., 1947; Stimson and Bundy, 1948).

The impact of the war in Europe was intensified in the United States when the Low Countries were invaded and the failure of the Maginot Line to protect France became a reality. In May 1940, when

the President called for 50,000 planes, a new current in public management and personnel administration was set in motion. Most federal agencies had already established personnel offices due to the recommendations of the President's Committee on Administrative Management in 1937 (Brownlow, 1937).

The Debate and Decision of 1940

In May 1940, when congressional hearings occurred on the first large defense appropriations, both the War and Navy Departments proposed that their agencies should be exempt from the merit system by reason of expedience. The merit system provided by the Civil Service Act of 1883 was a partial redress to the spoils system of political patronage. In the congressional debate with the War Department and business executives from other agencies was Arthur Flemming, minority Republican Commissioner* (USCH, 1943). Commissioner Flemming made a vigorous appeal to retain the Civil Service Commission as the central personnel agency. Flemming assured the committee that all deadlines would be met, and argued that uncontrolled competition for manpower would obstruct the war effort. He stated that the Commission had the flexibility to recruit the best-qualified available persons in the shortest period of time. According to Kammerer (1951), Commissioner Flemming looked upon his promise as a solemn contract to deliver the employees requisitioned in the number, to the place, and at the time required by all agencies directly involved in the war program. Harvey commented:

* During World War II, there were three Commissioners: two Democrats (H. B. Mitchell and L. F. McMillin) and one Republican (A. S. Flemming).

An anomaly of the period was that the minority member of the Commission--not its president--was the guiding light and recognized leader of the Commission...it was Arthur S. Flemming...who provided both the internal and external leadership and who directly and imaginatively guided the development of flexible policies for both wartime staffing and conversion to peacetime operations (Harvey, 1970:20).

The congressional decision was that Flemming's recommendations should stand and the issue of Commission responsibility for recruitment was not raised again in either house of Congress. Three presidential orders (Executive Orders Nos. 8257, 8564, and 9063) gave the Civil Service Commission authority to act and to enable it to adjust its procedures to demands for field establishment personnel (White, 1945). Recognizing the need for expediency, the Commission delegated Flemming full responsibility for working out the necessary changes for defense and warfare. This responsibility prevailed throughout the wartime emergency and facilitated rapid decision-making, such as the encouragement of training programs and efforts to remove politics from defense personnel decisions (Flemming, 1940-1941). Among the many changes and innovations introduced under Flemming's authority were the three Commission-sponsored "J" training programs* developed by the War Manpower Commission. The War Manpower Commission was created in 1942 and Commissioner Flemming served as Chairman of its Labor-Management Policy Committee. An example of Flemming's role in complex problem-solving was "War Manpower Commission Number 10", involving Congress, the War Manpower Commission, labor unions, the Civil Service Commission and the President (Appendix F).

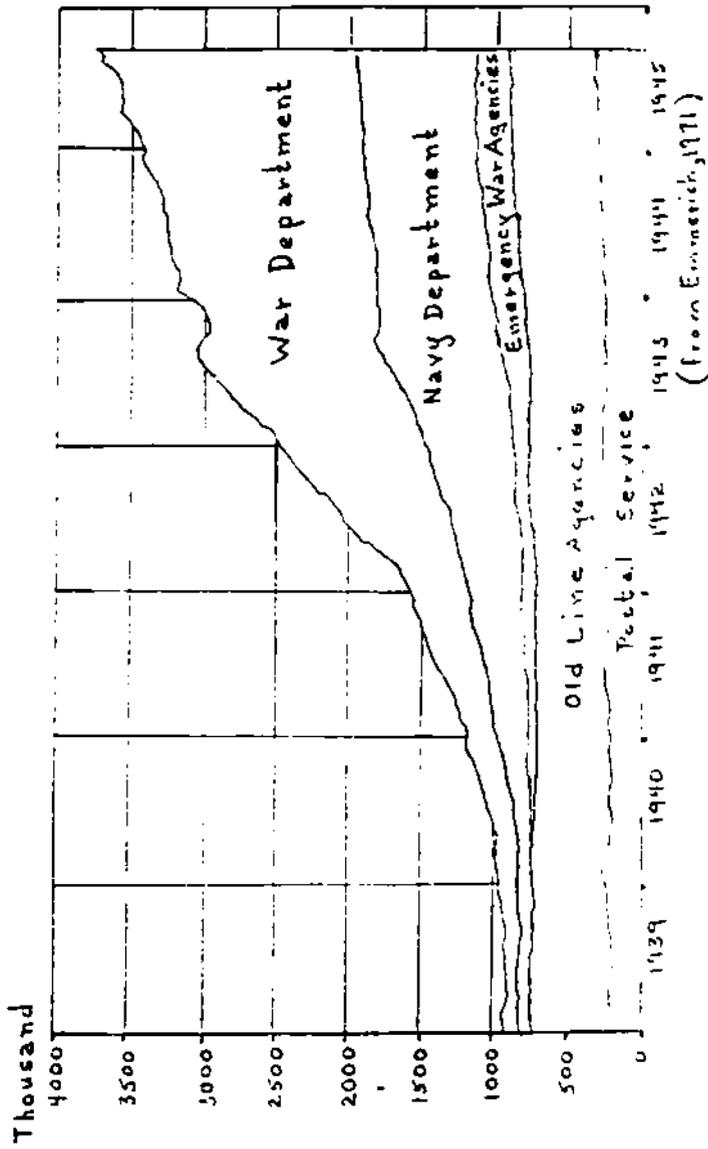
* Job Instruction Training, Job Methods Training, and Job Relations Training.

Commissioner Flemming utilized the aging and retired by including appeals with monthly Social Security checks asking recipients to apply for jobs in industry or government (Civil Service Commission Circular No. 4083, November 12, 1943); asking retiring federal employees to remain in their positions during the wartime period (Civil Service Commission Circular No. 400, December 31, 1942); and inviting retired federal employees to return for temporary war-service appointments, under permission of 54 U.S. Statutes 678 (1940) and 56 U.S. Statutes 13 (1942). The relaxation of standards regarding age was aided by labor market shortages and not by congressional concern over maximum age limitations from employment (USCH, 1943; Reeves, 1944).

That the Civil Service Commission under Flemming's responsibility contributed effectively to the administrative management of federal employees during wartime is well illustrated in Figure 4. From June 1, 1940, through December 31, 1944, the Civil Service Commission processed and appointed 5,250,000 civilians for military field services and 7,750,000 civilians to agencies of the federal government (White, 1945). Although the demands on the Commission were staggering and the federal service tripled its size in a four-year period, the system was not made vulnerable to abuse, according to Harvey (1970). At the close of the war, the Commission converted to peacetime procedures and developed competitive programs for previously unknown positions, including protection of veterans and wartime career employees displaced by the abolition of war jobs. Typical of the letters of acknowledgment was the statement of General B. B. Sommervell:

It [Civil Service Commission] has done everything within reason

Figure 4. Civilian Employment in the Federal Government, 1939 to 1945.



and within the law to get us the people we need. I cannot overstate my personal appreciation of cooperation and aid. I think the Commission had done an excellent job.*

As Kammerer (1951:13) had asserted in an assessment of the wartime Civil Service Commission:

It has as its most important asset vigorous leadership at the top in the person of the minority member, Arthur S. Flemming. As further advantages it had a close link to the White House through the new Liason Officer for Personnel Administration: William McReynolds, himself an old civil servant; some powerful advocates in Congress led by Robert Ramspeck, who in 1942 became Democratic Whip; as well as the new Council of Personnel Administration [composed of chiefs of agency personnel offices].

Although there was congressional complaint about the Civil Service investigators' loyalty probes and effectiveness, and over Flemming's efforts to increase federal salaries of executive managers to \$10,350 (which was \$350 more than a United States Senator), Flemming was regarded as having made good his public promise of 1940 (Kammerer, 1951). In addition, because of the many personnel deadlines reached in time under considerable difficulties, Flemming changed the opposition of the military agencies to an attitude of appreciation. Flemming's administrative accomplishments during the forties established his managerial expertise, his speaking persuasiveness, his capability for hard work and his ability to include those citizens such as the aging who had been set aside from the mainstream of American life.**

* Statement made before the Committee on Civil Service of the House of Representatives on June 15, 1943.

** At the Annual Conference of AEA/US, November 1979, Flemming stated that as a Civil Service Commissioner who had responsibility for the federal retirement system, he reached the conclusion that retirement was unsound public policy, a lazy person's way of avoiding the assessment of individual employee worth and a more difficult personnel decision.

In 1947, one year before he left the Civil Service Commission to return to academia as the president of Ohio Wesleyan University, Flemming was asked to serve as one of the twelve commissioners of the first Hoover Commission.

The First Hoover Commission, 1947-1949

The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, usually referred to as the Hoover Commission, was established by the 80th Congress, the first Republican Congress in sixteen years. It needed data in order to reduce the public payroll and executive activities to prewar proportions which, in turn, would justify tax reductions to encourage private investment. In early 1947, there was widespread belief that a Republican president would replace Truman in 1948, and that an audit would reveal widespread waste and opportunity for economy. The Lodge-Brown Act was passed on July 7, 1947. The Hoover Commission was composed of six Democrats and six Republicans with Herbert Hoover as Chairman. The eleven commissioners were: Dean Acheson, George H. Mead, Joseph P. Kennedy, Professor James K. Pollock, Professor James H. Rowe Jr., Senator George D. Aiken, Senator John L. McClellan, Congressman Clarence J. Brown, Congressman Carter Manasco, and from the Executive Branch, Arthur S. Flemming and James V. Forrestal. The Commission's Concluding Report, however, was silent on the economies to be realized and it was claimed that the more effective reorganization of government would in itself establish economies (Emmerich, 1971; Lyons, 1959). The first commission was credited with providing structures and methods for improved adminis-

trative management and political accountability. The commissioners' recommendations clarified lines of authority, management control, and the assignment of executive branch functions (Emmerich, 1971).

Federal Aid to Education

Although historians emphasize the Land Ordinance of 1785* as the beginning of federal aid to education, sustained aid did not occur until after a series of changes in American society: the Great Depression, World War II, and the postwar "baby boom". By 1803, however, Congress vested in the state legislatures control of the public land it had set aside for educational purposes; and the public school systems have remained under the authority of the states.

The state university systems for agriculture and engineering were encouraged by passage of the Land Grant College Act of 1862, the Morrill Act, and 30 years later, the second Morrill Act. In 1867, a non-Cabinet Department of Education was created by Congress. The small department was renamed the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior in 1870.

According to Miles (1974), President Harding had asked Commissioner of Education Claxton to prepare a bill establishing a separate Cabinet-level Department of Education and Welfare. Claxton complied, but stated his preference for a non-partisan National Board of Education. Harding's bill was buried in congressional committee. Claxton's resignation was requested and he was removed from office in the spring of

* One square mile in every township of 36 square miles was to be set aside for educational purposes.

1921. Thus, from its creation until World War II, the Office of Education remained a token of federal concern for education, having fiscal responsibility for a set sum to land grant colleges. The department status for education, which began with Harding, took over half a century to occur.

In 1934, the Bureau of Education became the Office of Education, comprised of 160 employees and its activity centered around collection of facts and statistics on the condition of education. In 1939, the Office of Education was transferred to the Federal Security Agency where its budget doubled and its staff was increased to 219 permanent employees. Under national defense programs administered through the Office of Education during World War II, over 14 million persons were given some type of training for defense jobs in war industries and agriculture. These programs included 1.8 million college students being trained in engineering and science. During the early forties, there was still a reservoir of unemployed persons willing to get training for defense jobs (Ewing, 1950a). In 1946, the GI increase of college enrollment reached 2 million (Miles, 1974).

The First National Conference on Aging

In his 1950 annual report to the President, FSA Administrator Ewing (1950a) listed seven major questions to be addressed at the first National Conference on Aging in August 1950 because basic social security benefits had left unfulfilled personal, social, and economic needs:

1. What were the personal, social, and economic effects of a

fixed retirement income?

2. What health protection was needed for the relatively robust and what relationship existed between chronic disease and old age?

3. What was known about the physiological and psychological variations in old age?

4. What problems and liabilities existed due to age prejudice?

5. What types of housing and living arrangements were needed for older people?

6. How can education and leisure open new doors for the aging?

7. How can religious services and programs better serve older people?

When the Conference was being organized, the FSA had difficulty identifying 500 persons in the United States concerned with aging and only two states had official committees on aging (USFSA, 1952; Tibbitts, 1979).

Participants at the 1950 National Conference on Aging* summarized their four major descriptors of the aging, after electing not to specify a definition of old age in chronological terms: (1) there were 11.5 million aging persons 65 years of age or more, (2) only 25 percent of the aging were employed, (3) about 65 percent had family responsibilities, and (4) work opportunities had been rapidly decreasing while the retirement period and lifespan had increased.

There was general agreement that the best solution to these problems, from a psychological, social, and economic standpoint, was to

* Conference Chairman Dr. Clark Tibbitts is currently consultant to AoA at age 75.

enable the aging to do productive work. In this regard, three recommendations were made: (1) increase facilities, prevention and treatment of degenerative and debilitating diseases; (2) chronological age limits for employment should be removed or greatly advanced; and (3) research and action to provide employment opportunities suitable to various capacities of the aging (USFSA, 1941).

Present on the Planning Committee of the Conference was Dr. Edwin E. Witte, Chairman, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin, who had been Director of the Committee on Economic Security in 1935 (USFSA, 1951b).

According to the participants' view, the paramount goals of education were to foster programs designed to change attitudes toward aging and to promote in the individual an intelligent viewpoint toward growing old. In a specific reference to adult education, a timely view was presented:

The concept of continuous learning throughout maturity renders obsolete the view that the objective of adult education is that of remedying deficiencies in the education of youth...[and] gave attention to the areas to be included in educational programs for the aging...[1] Early preparation for economic security; [2] The development of secondary skills of possible vocational value; [3] Physical health and comfort; [4] Personal adjustment and mental health; [5] Satisfactory family and group membership; [6] Recreational satisfactory leisure-time activities; [7] Social participation and civic responsibility; [8] Religion (USFSA, 1951b:135).

It was pointed out, however, that in a survey of 2,500 schools, less than 1 percent indicated programs were designed specifically for older people. Also stressed was the lack of a clear line of demarcation between education through cultural, vocational, and recreational programs. It was concluded that education for the aging would rest

with business groups, professional clubs, churches, libraries, unions, civic groups, veteran and fraternal organizations because the development of methodology for the implementation of educational programs for the aging was in its infancy. Furthermore, materials for use in educational activities for older people were declared to be almost nonexistent. Finally, a resolution was passed to recommend that the Federal Security Agency provide an administrative unit, since existing committees and organizations represented special interest groups. The resolution resulted in the establishment of the Committee on Aging and Geriatrics of FSA in January 1951. Dr. Clark Tibbitts was the first Committee Chairman. A serious handicap experienced by both the conferees and the FSA was the paucity of research data on educational concerns related to aging. Among the organizations which were considered capable of program leadership were the National University Extension Association, the National Education Association's Department of Adult Education, the National Association of Adult Education, and the Federal Security Agency. It was stated that:

Because of existing social and cultural values that tend to place a premium on maximum production for monetary gain...the present pattern of American society...has encouraged neglect of its older members, and professional education has followed this cultural pattern (USFSA, 1951b:232).

One early contribution of professional education, however, was an innovative program inaugurated at the University of Michigan's Institute for Human Adjustment and the Extension Service (Donahue and Tibbitts, 1950). One participant, Dr. Nathan W. Shock, underscored two needs which would remain as ongoing educational concerns: (1) to increase our knowledge about the aging and the aged, and (2) to develop

programs for increasing the utilization of elderly people (Donahue and Tibbitts, 1950). To address the research needed, Shock noted the lack of trained personnel and insisted that in spite of limited knowledge about aging, programs must be initiated to prepare the middle-aged for retirement, to retrain older workers for new activities, and to educate both young and old to the social usefulness of older people.

In the 1951 Annual Report of the Federal Security Agency, Ewing stated:

As a member of the Manpower Policy Committee, the Administrator represented the Agency's concern, not only for defense training but also for the rehabilitation of handicapped workers and for the employment of older workers. During 1951 many pilot projects added new proof that these two groups offer a dependable supply of workers.... Meantime, at least as many as 1.2 million people 65 and over were in paid jobs by January 1951, a rise of about 40 percent over the year before. Yet the backlog of potential manpower in both groups was still in the millions (USFSA, 1951a:6).

Again in 1952 Annual Report of the Federal Security Agency, Ewing stated:

In developing defense strength, the disabled and aging represent important sources for expanding the labor force. The [FSA] helped the Manpower Policy Committee, Office of Defense Mobilization, to make a thorough analysis of steps necessary to make full use of the disabled.... There are 17 million women 50 years of age and over and nearly 9 million men 60 years of age and over in America. Some 13.4 million of these women and 3.4 million of the men are not in the labor force (USFSA, 1952:15-17).

In 1951 and 1952, Flemming was Assistant Director, Office of Defense Mobilization, as well as Chairman of its Manpower Policy Committee (Table 1) and was a positive factor in that decision (White, 1946).

At the first Conference of State Commissions on Aging and Federal Agencies, Federal Security Administrator Ewing (1952) listed the other five federal agencies directly concerned with the problem of aging: the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, Housing and Home Finance,

the Bureau of the Census and the Veterans Administration. The 130 officials from 30 states who attended the Conference were reminded by Ewing that in 1950, when the first National Conference on Aging had been held, there had been only two official state commissions functioning in the field of aging, whereas in 1952 there were fourteen states with Commissions or Committees on Aging and forty-four universities offering courses on aging for professionals. Another development that resulted from the 1950 Conference was the creation of the Committee on Aging and Geriatrics within FSA, which included representatives of federal agencies who had cooperated with the Conference. Dr. Clark Tibbitts was Chairman of the Committee and was the first editor of the magazine Aging, which began publication in 1951.

The Second Hoover Commission, 1953-1955

In 1953, the Ferguson-Brown bill created a second Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, known as the second Hoover Commission (Emmerich, 1971). Upon taking presidential office in 1953, however, Eisenhower appointed a three-member President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization (PACGO) consisting of Milton Eisenhower, Arthur S. Flemming, and Nelson Rockefeller.* This advisory committee was active throughout Eisenhower's two terms and preceded the establishment of the second Hoover Commission. Its existence was evidence that the second Hoover Commission, which now had the power to recommend abolishing programs, was a creation of

* President Eisenhower's Executive Order 10432.

partisan congressional action. The task forces and committees of the second Commission were, according to Emmerich (1971:106) "heavily weighted with representatives of business and the professions who could hardly have been called disinterested." For example, the task force on Water Resources and Power consisted of persons identified with private utilities; its report was subsequently modified by Hoover and the commissioners. Not one major federal program was abolished as the result of the Hoover Commission. By contrast, PACGO, which was appointed by the President in 1953, accomplished thirty-one major actions to improve federal management and organization. Rockefeller, who was replaced by Dean Don K. Price of Harvard's Graduate School of Public Administration in 1958, reported the advisory committee's work method, time, and effort:

For the first three months after it was established the Committee was in almost daily session. During this time it had a major part in the development of the ten reorganization plans which were transmitted to Congress and became law in 1953.

In November 1953 following a summer recess, the Committee appointed a full-time staff director and a small staff. Since that time there have been 65 committee meetings, or an average of once a month. In addition, the Committee members have participated in frequent informal consultations. Throughout its existence the Committee has met with the President on many occasions and also has attended cabinet meetings when government organization items were on the agenda (Emmerich, 1971:175).

The other two advisory committee members Emmerich (1971:175) described thus:

The able and energetic Arthur S. Flemming...Milton Eisenhower who had been a career man in government for almost twenty years.... This triumvirate constituted a top drawer privy council on government organization.... I predict tat this small, close-knit, knowledgeable, continuous and diligent presidential commission will prove to have made more constructive and durable contributions to federal organization and administrative management than was produced by all the massive forays of the task forces... of the

second Hoover Commission put together.*

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare

In 1953, the government reorganization during the Eisenhower administration resulted in the replacement of FSA with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW). Prior Presidential efforts to elevate Ewing and the FSA to Cabinet status had been opposed by congressional opponents of national health insurance, for which Ewing was often spokesman, but the newly-emerged DHEW held department status and its first Secretary, Oveta Culp Hobby, became a Cabinet member (Miles, 1974). In March 1955, Secretary Hobby established an informal inter-departmental Working Group in Aging, which became the Committee on Aging, then the Special Staff on Aging in October 1956. On April 2, 1956, the Federal Council on Aging was established by Presidential memorandum, and by June 1956, the Second Conference on State Commissions and Federal Agencies was held. Eisenhower's (1956:9) statement noted a new emphasis of the U.S. Office of Education "to develop educational services to retrain adults for work opportunities suited to aging persons...to keep aging citizens competent...and to encourage use of older persons in appropriate educational services."

In 1957, Secretary Folsom stated that (1) the national population had doubled, but those aging 65 and older had quadrupled; (2) their basic condition of life was economic security; and (3) additional needs

* The papers of the President's Advisory Committee on Government Organization have been deposited in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas.

were listed as health service, suitable housing, opportunities for education, recreation, and community participation (USDHEW, 1957). To further strengthen DHEW activities for the aged, the Special Staff on Aging was placed in the Office of the Secretary. The Staff's activities were to provide consultation to states, serve as a clearinghouse for information, issue the monthly magazine Aging, and serve as the secretariat for the Federal Council on Aging.* Of the 10.3 million beneficiaries of the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance in 1957, 8.5 million or 82 percent were aged men and women. Concomitantly, old-age assistance caseloads declined by 20,000 by year end, a drop from 23 percent in 1950 to 17 percent in 1957.

In 1958, Folsom resigned and Flemming was appointed Secretary of DHEW. It was "one of Washington's worst kept secrets" (Time, 1958:6). According to Parnet (1972:205), Eisenhower had continuing confidence in Flemming:

After his swearing-in, one of President Eisenhower's first moves was to call on an academician who knew something about controls, Arthur Flemming, the president of Ohio Wesleyan who had served 'Electric Charlie' [Wilson of General Electric] in the Office of Defense Mobilization and was already involved with Nelson Rockefeller and Dr. Milton Eisenhower in the study of achieving an economic reorganization of the Executive department.

The Cabinet-Level Federal Council on Aging

In 1958, the Federal Council on Aging was reconstituted by a presidential letter to the new Secretary of DHEW, Arthur Flemming,

* The Council was represented by members of twelve federal agencies in 1956-1957: Agriculture; Internal Revenue; Labor; Housing; National Science Foundation; Veterans; Treasury; Commerce; Civil Service; Health, Education and Welfare; Interior; and Small Business.

charging him as Chairman of the Council (Appendix A); and until 1961, the Council was organizationally attached to the Cabinet. After almost three decades of executive administrative responsibility, Flemming had established a reputation among voluntary organizations, Congress, the military, the leaders of both political parties, the news media, his administrative peers and his subordinates as a hard-working, task-oriented and pragmatic administrator who reached his goals on time.

CHAPTER 3

THE YEARS AS SECRETARY OF DHEW, 1958-1961

The third Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (DHEW), Arthur S. Flemming, was sworn in on August 1, 1958. He succeeded Marion B. Folsom, who had served during Eisenhower's first term. At that time, Flemming was on leave from Ohio Wesleyan University to serve in three executive administrative positions: (1) Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, (2) member of both the Cabinet and the National Security Council, and (3) appointee to the three-man Presidential Advisory Committee on Government Organization (PACGO). During the Eisenhower Administration, Flemming was also a member of the second Hoover Commission (1953-1955) and the International Civil Service Advisory Board (1950-1964).

To those interested in the education and training of the aging, the period of 1958 to 1961, when Flemming held Cabinet status as Secretary of DHEW, is noteworthy because of several factors: (1) the change of emphasis in public education resulting from the Soviet satellite successes; (2) the continued disregard of education and training needs of the aging by leaders in industry and government; (3) the preeminence of health care issues over all other aging concerns in the 1961 White House Conference on Aging (WHCA); (4) the dearth of policy and programs in education for aging at the federal department level at the time of the 1961 WHCA; and (5) the destruction of three major pieces of educational legislation in 1961 in congressional

committees. Three significant age-related political events that occurred at the national level also affected Flemming's term. One event, the passage of the White House Conference on Aging Act of 1958, preceded him. The second event was the series of public hearings on aging concerns that were conducted in seven cities by Senator Pat McNamara's staff in 1959. The third was the three-month political project in 1960 called "Senior Citizens for Kennedy." Flemming was not directly involved in the controversy over passage of the WHCA Act or in the multi-city Senate staff hearings on aging and the aged, but he was an active campaign participant for the Republican Party candidate, Richard M. Nixon, during the Democratic Party innovation of a senior-citizen pressure group in the 1960 Presidential election. "Senior Citizens for Kennedy" was the first purely political activity of the aging, but it was limited in scope and had little effect on the election's outcome.

The Status of DHEW and Voluntary Organizations, 1958-1961

In order to describe Flemming's role as a federal administrator whose activities had implications for education for aging, it is first necessary to place him in sociopolitical time in terms of (1) the internal structure of DHEW in 1958, (2) the historical perspective of the major organizations concerned with adult education during that period, and (3) the major events and organizations concerned with aging during Flemming's tenure.

The Organization of the Department of Health,
Education and Welfare

The departmental structure inherited by Flemming was a melding of agencies concerned with various aspects of health, education and welfare. DHEW's predecessor, the Federal Security Agency (FSA), had been organized in 1939 into a holding-company type of federal agency, since its constituent units had previously held independent statuses. FSA bureaus were grouped into one agency with a central grant structure by Congress, primarily to reduce the President's control over each bureau. Every unit of the former bureaus attempted to function as closely as possible to their previous status. Common grants policy and programs, however, resulted in the states having one central agency to deal with for large and varied areas of national programs (Greenberg, 1972). Although the executive branch, and the President's budget in particular, set the overall trend, there were DHEW budget items that were politically uncontrollable because of two factors. These factors were congressional support or hostility, and the authority of the Bureau of the Budget to set priorities among the approved DHEW budget items (Fenno, 1959). Given the array of external constraints, support from the White House to the Secretary of DHEW was crucial in order for the Secretary to (1) successfully appeal to the Bureau of the Budget for his favored program; (2) have credibility in congressional committees when asking for legislative changes; and (3) resist intra-departmental pressure groups (Greenberg, 1972). Flemming's concurrent appointments as Secretary of DHEW and as a member of PACGO were highly visible indications of strong Presidential support.

In the presentation of his DHEW program, Secretary Flemming had

referred to President Eisenhower's reorganization plan of 1953, which first raised DHEW to the status of an executive department and its chief officer (Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby) to the status of Cabinet member (USDHEW, 1960). Since 1953, Flemming had been a member of PACGO, an informal committee created by Eisenhower. Because of its informal structure, PACGO was not subject to congressional review or control and its three members, Nelson Rockefeller, Milton Eisenhower, and Arthur Flemming, were perceived as politically potent. Some informants believed that Flemming had influenced the new structure of DHEW and the Cabinet status for its Secretary. It was thought that if Flemming had placed a high priority upon education and training for older Americans, his political influence could have resulted in federal programs in this area. Such assumptions may be more apparent than real, however, when viewed against Flemming's lack of success in his efforts to change the mandatory retirement age within DHEW during his position as Secretary (USCS, 1959a). Flemming had prior experience with the valuable contributions made by older workers during World War II, but he tried in vain to extend the work life of older employees who were forced to retire from DHEW at age 65.

In his address to the American Council on Education (October 9, 1958, Chicago, Illinois), Secretary Flemming referred to himself "as a former college administrator," and to DHEW as "a large Department with far-flung operations" that presented "challenging opportunities to keep open the channels of communication" (Flemming, 1958-1961:72).

I believe that the most effective device for keeping open these channels of communication within the Department [HEW] is the Secretary's weekly staff meeting. I will not make any major policy decisions until after a carefully prepared staff paper dealing with

the matter in issue has been considered at one of these staff meetings. This means, for example, that the United States Commissioner of Education is the Secretary's principal adviser in the field of education in fact as well as in name.... Then, there is another step that I am taking as Secretary which I hope will help to keep open the channels of communication to the Department in the field of education.

I have asked the head of each operating agency in the Department, including the Commissioner of Education, to invite the heads of national organizations that have an interest in their respective programs to come to Washington for one day to talk with me about matters of mutual interest.... There will be two of these conferences in the field of education, one for elementary and secondary education and one for higher education.

I believe that our ability to survive will depend to a very considerable degree on our ability to give all of the citizens of this nation an equal opportunity to realize their highest potential (Flemming, 1958-1961:72).

The above statements by Flemming were verified by interviews with employees and professionals who had worked in DHEW during his tenure (Roudebush, 1980; Ward, 1980). The willingness of Flemming to consider various points of view through face-to-face discussions was a hallmark of his public administration style from 1958 to 1978.

Secretary Flemming also utilized an internal procedure of periodically speaking to his entire Washington-based staff of about 300 employees to explain policy and programs, a practice which was uncommon among agency administrators of Cabinet rank. Flemming earned a high degree of cooperation and high employee morale by this direct contact (Ward, 1980). Broad-based support among agency personnel was valuable because of the autonomous control over daily operations within each of the agencies that comprised the Department. At that time, DHEW agency chiefs were appointed by the President and confirmed by Congress, which reinforced their perception of their statutory right to independent agency action.

In most administrative actions that had national implications,

Flemming carried out congressional, judicial, or executive directives. Nevertheless, on his own initiative, Flemming's own philosophy led him to urge national action for standards of quality in education. For example, both the importance to Flemming of ethical standards for education and the scope of authority of the Secretary of DHEW was demonstrated in one of his frequently-scheduled news conferences, which was held on October 29, 1959:

Degree mills have become such a blight on the American educational scene that I have come to the conclusion the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has a responsibility to do something about them.

At my request, therefore, the U.S. Commissioner on Education, Lawrence G. Derthick, is today launching a program to help combat these fraudulent institutions (Flemming, 1958-1961:75).

In his role of Secretary of DHEW, Flemming had presented the NDEA of 1958 as carrying out the mandate of the operation of a federal partnership, which did not invade the prerogatives of parents, communities, or states; it reinforced them; and as "the Department [that] assists communities, through consultation and financial aid to pilot and demonstration projects, to develop programs to meet these needs" (Appendix G). Flemming's posture of cooperation in financial aid to the states helped to minimize criticism of excessive federal control over the desegregation of state educational programs. Flemming created resentment among some congressmen and state officials because of his assertive administration against segregated public schools. His opposition to segregation remained a cornerstone of his attitude toward educational equity for all of the nation's children. Although Secretary Flemming had a number of executive and legislative constraints, his administrative style and authority at that time indicate that he was able to shape and influence some of the DHEW activities from 1958 to 1961.

Adult Education Organizations, 1958-1961

During Flemming's tenure, the National Education Association (NEA) was a major educational voluntary organization whose development had influenced activities and attitudes in the field of adult education. In his discussion of the evolution of adult education as a concern of the NEA, Director Robert A. Luke (1971) cited the NEA Department of Immigrant Education as the unit which became the Department of Adult Education in 1924. Under the NEA umbrella, departments were separate voluntary organizations that received small subsidies. Unlike its department subsidiary, NEA also totally funded its own administrative Division of Adult Education Activities. In 1951, the Department of Adult Education, a voluntary organization representing the public school sector, was absorbed by the American Association for Adult Education and renamed the Adult Education Association of the United States (AEA/US).

Since the AEA/US was located in Chicago, its Washington office was provided by the NEA administrative Division of Adult Education Services. From 1952 to 1962, the NEA administrative Division led the group dynamics movement, although its position was not accepted by all adult educators. In 1952, the Division sponsored the National Association for Public School Adult Education (NAPSAE) and the executive staff of NAPSAE received financial support from NEA until 1969. Again, the NEA separated the public school educators in NAPSAE from the AEA/US and created a sharp division between the adult education of the public school system and other adult education organizations during Flemming's tenure as Secretary. Thus adult education advocacy from 1958 through 1961 came from a mosaic of separate organizations that presented the

views and advocated the issues of their special adult constituencies: the public school systems, university continuing education, labor education, cooperative extension, and others. As a result, there was no effective unified advocacy or policy position presented to Secretary Flemming or to congressional committees.

The presence or absence of voluntary organizational spokesmen can be a critical element at the federal administrator level, particularly in relation to congressional hearings. For example, during the Depression of the thirties, when congressional committees were in need of new types of solutions, it was possible for an agency chief's opinion to exclude thousands of citizens from a new federal program. Indeed, this exclusion did occur when Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau posited in a hearing that Social Security payments could not feasibly be collected in certain types of employment (see Chapter 2). With no opposing testimony, the Treasury chief's opinion prevailed even though his assessment subsequently proved to be incorrect. The lack of advocacy resulting in the loss of federal benefits for many aging citizens was a painful lesson to learn for leaders and senior citizens in voluntary organizations concerned with aging and retirement. For leaders of organizations of adult educators, it has become apparent that advocacy at the federal level enables their views to be known by congressmen and by federal administrators.

The Activities of Aging Organizations: 1958-1961

During Flemming's tenure, there were few organizations that could have responded to the needs of the aging. Of twenty-one voluntary organizations involved in aging concerns today, only seven

were in existence by 1961. Two of the seven existing organizations, the National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC) and the American Association of Homes for the Aging (AAHA) were founded toward the end of Flemming's administration (Appendix N). The highest priority for most of the voluntary organizations was health care for the aging, and Flemming was sensitive to the consensus of concern about the health care issue being advocated (Cruikshank, 1980).

Several political observers have commented on the lack of organized political activism by the aging voluntary organizations (Holtzman, 1954; Donahue and Tibbitts, 1962). Holtzman (1954) posited that changes begun during the New Deal years made major political institutions so responsive to aging needs that the intensity of political action by the aging seen during the Townsend movement was unlikely to occur in the sixties. Arnold Rose contended that a few of the organizations already in existence at the time of the 1961 WHCA were beginning to assume the dual character of pressure groups and service providers (Donahue and Tibbitts, 1962). Angus Campbell thought that heterogeneity and diverse interests among the aging prevented the development of a cohesive political movement (Donahue and Tibbitts, 1962). Riley and Foner (1960) reported a 25 percent annual membership turnover in senior citizen clubs. This had a dissociative effect on organized activity, such as political activism, especially when it was compounded by a lack of organizational experience. In view of the difficulties in enlisting active membership and advocacy among the aging, the early federal efforts to stimulate state programs for the aging were of considerable importance.

Beginning with the pioneering efforts of Clark Tibbitts, head of the FSA Committee on Aging, states assembled study committees or permanent councils from 1952 to 1956. These bodies and their staffs later formed a small growing cadre of professionals in aging at the WHCA. For example, as interest in the aging increased, the six entries under "Older Persons" in 1953 in the Congressional Record grew to one and one-half columns in 1957 (Sundquist, 1968).

Among the aging, there were indications of interest in group activity, such as senior centers and clubs that were being organized, particularly in the cities. A 1961 survey reported that New York State had two hundred and eighteen senior citizen centers and about two thousand senior citizen clubs organized under various religious and social sponsorships (Maxwell, 1962). The early outreach educational efforts of social workers, church workers, psychologists, sociologists, union leaders, and educators began to build a group consciousness of their needs and interests among a growing number of the aging. Not since the earlier agricultural extension workers' educational campaigns among farmers to develop a group effort about common problems, such as anti-erosion land practices, had such an outreach educational effort been attempted at the community level. The local initiatives were based on the realization that retired and elderly citizens had to be located, visited, and informed about services available and about access to their local senior citizen clubs. Havighurst (1960) estimated that there were about 250,000 older persons organized by different groups into various local senior citizen clubs at the time of the 1961 WHCA. These relatively small numbers of people were the core of the present

3,000,000-member National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC).

Many of the clubs and major organizations in the fifties, e.g. National Council on Aging, which received \$4 million from the Ford Foundation, were not encouraged by their leaders to become centers for age-based political activity due to their dependence on outside financial support. At the 1961 WHCA, Charles Odell of the United Auto Workers (U.A.W.) pointed to the paradox of leaders who urged increased participation of the aging, but inhibited their activities about the political and social issues which affected them (Donahue and Tibbitts, 1962).

In addition to the lack of political activism among the organizations of the aging, there was not a committed interest in aging among the majority of congressional leaders during the fifties. The congressional disinterest became apparent when AFL-CIO officials Nelson Cruikshank and Andrew Biemuller tried unsuccessfully to convince Democrats on the 1956 House Ways and Means Committee to sponsor a health care bill. Later, Representative Aime J. Forand (RI) reluctantly introduced such a bill. Although the bill died in committee, it aroused enthusiastic support from his aging constituency in Rhode Island. A similar senior citizen response occurred in 1959 when Senator MacNamara's staff held hearings in seven cities. One of MacNamara's staff later commented, "We knew we had a popular issue, but we didn't realize it would be that popular.... This gave the Medicare movement its first big push on the national scene" (Harris, 1969:99). Despite the limited congressional support, however, it was evident that Secretary Flemming had neither well-organized aging

constituencies at the local level nor national organizations capable of effective advocacy at either the national or local levels. There did exist a small but important congressional group led by MacNamara and Fogarty, whose efforts in behalf of the passage of the WHCA Act of 1958 made possible the critical funding that stimulated pre-Conference interest in the aging at state and local levels.

Secretary DHEW Flemming and Education for Aging, 1958-1961

In 1958, interest in education for the aging began to be expressed in published form by DHEW. Flemming had specified that the Commissioner of Education and his staff were to develop and implement educational programs, and that he would provide the leadership as Department spokesman to minimize conflicts with various groups outside of the agency. Commentaries that were presented by the Office of Education were published over the signature of the Secretary of DHEW. Unlike some federal administrators, it was Flemming's practice to read every item published over his signature and to personally sign every internal and external document (Handlesman, 1981; Fisher, 1981).

The Status of Education Related to Aging, 1958-1961

One document published over Flemming's signature was prepared by Ambrose Caliver, Chief of the Adult Education Section, Office of Education, DHEW. Caliver described the growing interest at the local level in education for the aging (Ward, 1958). The Section Chief cited changes that were occurring among older Americans as increases in:

- (1) numbers and percentage of the population;
- (2) mobility and urbanization;
- (3) chronic disease;
- (4) unemployment;
- (5) leisure time; and

(6) financial insecurity, frustration and loneliness. Despite these changes, education for the aging existed in few jurisdictions and organizations. Regarding the low level of interest in education for senior citizens, Caliver listed suggestions that could lead to solutions to the problems of a changing society through the educational process:

There must be a change in the concept of education by many persons ...including teachers, supervisors and administrators...members of boards of education, legislative bodies...and the public generally.... The kind of broad educational reorientation suggested here requires the acceptance of the following propositions: (1) education is a lifelong process; (2) adults can learn, want to learn, and will learn when given an opportunity; (3) while education is primarily concerned with the intellect, it is also concerned with other elements of personality.... (4) the education curriculum...must be based on their life experiences, needs, interests and motivations; (5) individual differences are more marked among adults than among children and youth (Ward, 1958:viii).

Caliver suggested that adult education and education about aging be integrated into both public school systems and institutions of higher education. The acceptance of the five propositions listed by Caliver had not yet occurred in the majority of the state legislatures, state departments of education, designers of educational curricula, or among the majority of the aging. While there was some interest expressed at the federal level in the education and training of older persons, there was a lack of policy, planning or activity. At that time, learning acquired by children and youth was generally accepted as preparation for life. Federal administrators and the Congress were faced with the immediacy of national classroom shortages, problems of school desegregation, teacher shortages, and perceived academic deficits in science and mathematics. These needs were addressed by Secretary Flemming through the implementation of the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

The suggestions by Caliver were supported by a minority of adult educators. In fact, even a decade later, education for the aging was notable for its absence from the "Imperatives for Action" of the first Wingspread Conference on Adult Education. Leaders in adult education such as Lee Jacobs, AEA/US Section on Education for Aging, projected little optimism over the implementation of educational services to older adults. Jacobs (1961b:7) observed that a majority of the educational offerings for middle-aged and older adults, having originated less than a decade ago, and about 50 percent within the past six years, trial and error in programming still loom large." Regarding negative attitudes toward education for older Americans, Thomas Van Sant of the New York City Bureau of Community Education stated, "a shockingly high percentage of our best educated and most talented people dread the approach of old age and, when it comes, often look upon this period as wasted years." He further noted that "there are and should be few illusions about any nationwide system of public school adult education. It simply does not exist" (Dixon, 1963:53). Instead, on August 26, 1959, Flemming expressed his opinion of aging as only a newly-emerging major societal issue:

...funds available to the Department for the forthcoming White House Conference on Aging [the WHCA Act of 1958] will make it possible to move forward effectively in making this a major national forum in an area of rapidly increasing importance in our national life (Flemming, 1958-1961:41).

While Flemming considered aging as a newly-emerging issue, there was neither an official nor unofficial indication that he considered education for aging or middle-aged adults as an immediate agency concern. In addition, President Eisenhower made clear his total

opposition to any significant federal role in education in earlier campaign statements. Nevertheless, due to unforeseen sociopolitical events, Secretary Flemming was to utilize the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) as a vehicle to improve many areas of public and private elementary education, as well as higher education for young adults.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958

Before Secretary Flemming took office, major changes had recently occurred in national policy, in President Eisenhower's attitude toward a federal role in education, and led to the Administration-backed passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA). The passage of NDEA, in turn, resulted in new missions for the Secretary of DHEW, in expanded programs and staff of the DHEW Office of Education, and in altered relationships of state education to the federal government (Henle, 1982; Dickson, 1982). The change in Eisenhower's attitude began on October 4, 1957, when a small, man-made Soviet satellite, Sputnik I, was orbited in space (Schauer, 1976). Senator Henry Jackson called the event "a devastating blow" to American scientific, industrial and technological prestige (Eberhart, 1982:221). Appeals for improved science and mathematics programs were coupled with attacks against programs of fine arts and socialization. The American failure to be first in the field of space was blamed in large measure on the schools (Pounds and Bryner, 1965).

On October 15, 1957, physicist I. I. Rabi proposed to Eisenhower that the position of an academic Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology be created. As an early step in

the reordering of national priorities, James R. Killian, Jr., President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was appointed as the first presidential science advisor. Budgets were then redrawn for civilian and military space developments and educational priorities were reevaluated (Manchester, 1974; Schauer, 1976). Dickson (1982) cited the resulting changed landscape of American education.

In direct reaction to the Sputniks, Congress created the National Defense Education Act to meet critical national needs. Signed into law by President Eisenhower less than a year after Sputnik I, NDEA would pour billions of dollars into the educational system over the next decade to pay for language labs, the 'new math', and the broad curriculum overhaul of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Between 1958 and 1968, NDEA also provided loan money for more than 1.5 million college students--fellowships directly responsible for producing 15,000 PhDs a year (Dickson, 1982:127).

The elements of NDEA had been developed by Secretary DHEW Marion Folsom (1953-1957) and his assistant secretary Elliot Richardson, but it remained for Secretary Flemming to implement NDEA. Appropriations for NDEA were small in relation to the need and gradually increased from \$50 million to over \$200 million during Secretary Flemming's tenure. The law (NDEA) "stood as evidence that it was possible to get the nation's lawmakers to use federal tax resources to expand federal aid to education (Miles, 1974:145).

The Changing Federal Role in Education, 1958-1961

An important result of criticism directed against American schools during Flemming's tenure was the ensuing view that schools in particular, and educational institutions, in general, were now seen by the public and by administrators as tools for helping society (1) cope with problems, (2) achieve power, (3) increase the educational level of the workforce, and (4) modify or reform society (Hanson, 1976:90-92).

Beginning with the National Defense Education Act of 1958, another aspect of public criticism of schools was the partial shift in emphasis from local power, based on property tax revenues, to the federal funding of school districts. Until 1958, the Office of Education had been the federal educational structure within DHEW, which functioned as a clearinghouse for information, but under NDEA mandate during Flemming's tenure, it was changed to include a mechanism for the distribution of federal funds.

During Flemming's administration, federal legislation enabled DHEW grants to be assigned to every state public school system; to vocational programs for pre-engineering technicians; to language programs; and loans to be made available to non-profit private schools for expansion of mathematics and science programs (USDHEW, 1960). Colleges and universities were aided by DHEW regulations in providing increased facilities, were enabled to establish student loan programs for full-time students, and were assisted in establishing testing and counseling services under the National Defense Education Act of 1958. About \$900 million were added to the public and non-public educational enterprise during Flemming's tenure (USDHEW, 1960).

Although Brookings Institute economist Rivlin (1961) considered the National Defense Education Act a "hodgepodge" of deliberate compromises to fund education under the label of an emergency defense measure, the legislation supported by Flemming avoided confrontation over aid to non-public schools and contributed millions to the physical facilities and student aid in both public and private institutions of higher education. Under Flemming's administration, the church/state

controversy was kept in abeyance until 1961, when the disastrous efforts were attempted for a general program of federal aid to education of the young and young adults.

Increased emphasis on education for the young. Secretary Flemming's overriding concern about access to quality education for the nation's youth was derived from various effects of the high birthrate during and after World War II. By 1958, the "baby boom" had already caused severe educational problems at the local level due to shortages of classrooms, teachers, and materials from the elementary school level through graduate school (USDHEW, 1960:21-22). Throughout the nation, these shortages posed some of the major problems that Flemming's administration addressed through the enabling legislation of the NDEA. Both the mandate and the major focus of the DHEW Office of Education from 1958 to 1961 were to educate the youth of the nation not only through recommendations and dissemination of education information, but through discretionary grants.

In addition, controversy over segregated schools for Black children, to which the media gave nationwide coverage, served to reinforce the emphasis on youth. Also, segregated schools deeply offended Flemming's religious convictions (Flemming, 1981). The emerging federal issues of equal access to education, which had begun earlier with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954 of *Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, gave added impetus to the issue of upgrading the public school systems under NDEA. Continuing controversies over desegregation in the public schools kept education for the young in the center of public attention. For example, in

September of 1959, nine public schools in Virginia and four in Arkansas expressed opposition to desegregation by school shutdowns, and on June 22, 1959, Secretary Flemming commented:

Now that the school year is over I am summarizing the effects of shutdowns...in the hope that these effects will be carefully weighed...by school officials, school board members, parents and others.... If the effects are carefully considered, there can be only one conclusion, from any point of view and particularly from the point of view of what is morally right: We cannot and must not slam shut our school doors in the faces of our children and young people (Flemming, 1958-1961:67).

Moreover, as the sixties began, there was an absence of organized lobbying effort among adult educators, voluntary organizations, and trade unions for federal legislation which might have provided funding for the educational programs needed by older workers. There was instead a consensus that included business and other organizations to address both the training needs of the working younger adults displaced by technology, and the educational deficits of young high school dropouts. The philosophy of the business community was expressed in their perception of education as primarily an entitlement and institution for the young and was underscored by Dr. K. Brantly Watson, a spokesman for the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A.

It should be clear at the outset of this testimony that the national chamber endorses and advocates the highest quality in education and the full development of the talents of American youth.... (USCH, 1959:409).

Dr. Watson focused the value of the American educational system to the nation only in terms of its service to the youth and young adults.

In quantitative terms, the accomplishments of our educational system under State and local responsibility are unprecedented. Forty-five million persons, one-fourth of the Nation, participate in full-time formal education. Ninety-nine percent of the children, age 6 to 15, and 80 percent of those aged 16 and 17 are enrolled in school.

One third of our young people enter college (USCH, 1959:411).

Similarly, John Corson, the director of McKinsey and Company, described industry's concern with the underutilization of young men and women.

There is the problem of manpower absorption. Over the next 10 years, it is estimated a total of 29 million men and women, most of them young, will enter the labor market...it is clear that the economy of this country must absorb a net of 13 million.... The economy has not been growing rapidly enough to absorb the younger people seeking jobs.... When young men and women drop out of high school and out of college for financial reasons...we are wasting manpower (USCS, 1961:128).

During the hearings on manpower and training, Senator Allott (CO) presented an analysis of education by the corporate fiscal manager, Roger Freeman, vice-president of the Social Science Research Institute of Washington (USC, 1959). The analysis had been presented to the Economic Club of Detroit and recommended more education for our dollars by intensifying curriculum requirements. Freeman also described the magnitude of the institution of education that existed during Flemming's tenure.

Whether we like or not we are in competition with the Russians... we cannot afford to fall behind in this 'war of the classrooms'.... In size and numbers our educational system is something to behold. Forty-five million people--one fourth of the Nation--are enrolled in educational institutions. The educational establishment--public and private combined--employs more than 3 million persons and expends over \$20 billion a year. That ranks it with the country's biggest industries. In the public sphere, education is by far the largest service of government next to national defense. More persons are employed in education than by the Federal Government. About half the State and local government payroll is in education (USC, 1959:5355).

Also, Senator Proxmire (WI) entered into the Congressional Record of June, 1959, a resolution of the Wisconsin Association for Vocational and Adult Education in opposition to an earlier recommendation

of President Eisenhower for the elimination of federal aid to vocational education. The resolution cited vocational training as "so essential to successful competition with the Communist world" and described the target population as "youngsters who drop out of (or graduate) the academically oriented public high schools" and for "adults who wish to develop an avocation or hobby" (USC, 1959:10726). Updating skills, career change or reentry of older workers into the workplace were not mentioned by either the Wisconsin educators or Senator Proxmire. In the congressional hearings on manpower development and training from 1958 through 1964, not one page of testimony was presented as support for the education and training needs of older Americans.

Flemming's role in efforts to obtain general education legislation. During Flemming's tenure, for the field of education, NDEA set a precedent for strong federal support of state-directed public and higher education, but NDEA did not fulfill the desired scope of general education legislation. Flemming favored federal assistance to many areas of curriculum. The lack of federal general education legislation was testimony to congressional opposition and disinterest, and within this larger legislative framework, education and training specifically for older adults was viewed by organizations interested in aging as desirable but unattainable. In the face of the deficit in general education legislation, Secretary Flemming energetically utilized NDEA to upgrade what he, the public, and the Eisenhower administration perceived as educational under-achievement in science, math and languages in public schools and higher education. Indeed, the concept

of national crisis and national security supported by President Eisenhower had activated congressional legislation mandating only a limited federal role in the state educational enterprise.

The leading Republican conservative, Senator Barry Goldwater, consistently opposed federal aid to education at any level; he did not "believe that we have an educational problem which requires any form of Federal grant-in-aid program to the states" (USCS, 1961:538). Goldwater viewed education bills as a step in the path of reducing local government to subordinate divisions of the federal government (Munger, 1962). By 1958, the American Legion and the American Farm Bureau (which supported federal aid to education since 1930) shifted their position to ally themselves with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to oppose all legislation that would alter complete state control over public education (USCS, 1961; USCH, 1959).

Southern Democrats with rural constituencies were adamantly opposed to a federal role in education that might challenge their segregated school systems, and in 1954 had supported Eisenhower's opposition to federal intervention. In 1956, however, when Eisenhower gave moderate support for a school construction bill, the opposition of the Southerners to the segregation issue caused the bill's defeat in the House. Eisenhower's original opposition to federal aid and his subsequent support of the NDEA of 1958 has been attributed by several informants to Flemming and Milton Eisenhower in their roles as informal advisors to the President in PACGO. In essence, opposition to federal aid to education during Flemming's tenure as Secretary of DHEW centered around the issues of racial segregation, state control of education,

and separation of church and state.

By 1961, three important internal congressional changes had occurred which weakened the congressional committee opponents of federal aid to education: (1) the shift from Graham Barden (NC) to Adam Clayton Powell (NY) as chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1961; (2) the revision of the party ratio in the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1959; and (3) the enlargement of the House Rules Committee in 1961. From 1945 to 1955, proponents of federal aid to education had been unable to have bills reported from the House Committee on Education and Labor. According to Munger and Fenno (1961), Graham Barden had utilized his considerable power as chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor to kill school aid proposals during his eight-year tenure. When Barden retired in 1960, Adam Clayton Powell, the Black Congressman from New York, utilized his power as chairman of the Committee to report out the Education and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1961. To reduce opposition, Powell agreed to omit a desegregation amendment. The church-state issue then became the singular limiting factor for the bill's defeat in the House Rules Committee.

From 1955 to 1965, the House Rules Committee, chaired by Howard Smith (VA), allowed federal aid to education to die in committee (Bendiner, 1964; Munger and Fenno, 1962; Peabody and Polsby, 1963). Another obstacle to ESEA, as Masters (1961) pointed out, was that assignments promoted by the Democratic Party favored the appointment of outright pro-labor members while Republican leaders favored pro-management members. Since both parties stressed appointment to the

House Committee on Education and Labor on the basis of the members' views on labor, not education, the political parties also contributed to the lack of consensus on the school aid issue.

Although Flemming's tenure ended in January 1961, he soon made himself available to participate in the fight to preserve and extend federal aid to education. During the controversies involved in the congressional hearings of the education bills, the pivotal role of the Secretary was demonstrated by the use of Flemming's statements shortly after he left office in January 1961. In February, Congressman Cleveland Bailey (WV) referred to Flemming's recommendations of January 19th for an average increase of 50 percent for teachers' salaries by 1963; improved pre-service and in-service teacher education; the need for 607,000 classrooms; and that "action on the part of the Congress in the elementary and secondary area as well as in the area of higher education is long overdue" (USCH, 1961:1707, 1708). On March 21, 1961, Flemming returned to the House Committee on Education and Labor to repeat the recommendations in detail and promoted his view of public policy in education. He explained that there had been a mandated single system of education in the public schools that was available to every child, but there was federal funding of a dual system of both private and public institutions of higher education. Flemming supported these policies because of the nation's inability to find revenues to improve the nation's public schools and also support the cost of children in private schools. To Flemming, the upgrading of elementary and secondary schools was essential. He also made clear that there had never been a national commitment to support every young adult

with higher education, but that national security demands for manpower dictated federal assistance to both private and public colleges and universities. In the interest of sound public policy, Flemming recommended loans to private and parochial schools at interest rates comparable to those in the private sector. In this way, Flemming avoided the criticism that below-market interest loans were grants in disguise that promoted religious institutions at federal expense. In these hearings, Flemming also revealed that in 1961, education to him meant a commitment to the young. He reminded the Committee members that his administration of loans to private and parochial schools under Title III of NDEA had not given rise to conflict over issues in the traditional separation between church and state (USCH, 1961). Of course, there had been some degree of opposition to Flemming's view of public policy in education and, in particular, Congressman Lee Metcalf (MT) had ridiculed "Flemming's formula" for education in 1958 (USC, 1958). Metcalf was not reelected.

Although the NDEA was not due for extension until 1962, President Kennedy and Congressman Herbert Zelenko (NY) favored amendments to NDEA as the solution of the church-state controversy over the 1961 ESEA. The Senate voted favorably on the amendments on May 25, 1961, but the House, which had not passed a general school-aid bill since 1870, created opposition. The House Education and Labor Subcommittee met June 1, 1961, in hearings on amendments to NDEA, which lacked support either in committee or in the administration. Commissioner of Education Dr. Sterling McMurrin and Secretary of DHEW Abraham Ribicoff did not take official oppositions. Congressman Thomas O'Neill (MA) and James

Delaney (NY) would not support the amended NDEA bill in the Rules Committee because the bill granting aid to parochial schools was not also before the Rules Committee, and both men joined the opposition of Chairman Howard Smith, William Colmer (MI), and five Republicans. On July 18, 1961, Congressman Delaney made a motion to table all three education bills: (1) the public school aid; (2) extension of NDEA of 1958; and (3) the administration's higher education bill. By a vote of 8 to 7, the three education bills died in the Rules Committee six months after Flemming left office. The congressional destruction of the legislation in three areas of education in 1961 pointed out the necessity of resolving the church-state issue. It was a major defeat, both for education in general and for Flemming, that the unassailability of the flexible NDEA was destroyed in the 1961 church-state controversy. NDEA had been the major funding tool which Flemming had used to improve many areas of need in both the public schools and higher education (USCS, 1961; USCH, 1961), and he would return in several years to deal with the church-state controversy from a different position of influence.

The stereotype of older people's mental ability. The fact that older Americans were not included in either the equal access to education decision as an underserved minority in congressional manpower development and training hearings, or in the \$900-million appropriations in federal aid to education under the NDEA during Flemming's tenure, was due in some measure to the prevailing negative stereotype of the mental ability of older people. The influence of some education professionals on the thinking of leaders in the federal area of public administration also contributed to the attitude that the education and training of older

adults were of little importance (USDHEW, 1972b:7).

One example of the negative attitude toward the intellectual ability among older adults was the writing of the author of the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS). From 1950 to the early 1970s, the WAIS was the foremost testing instrument for adult intelligence (Lehman, 1953; Dennis, 1966; Reed and Reitan, 1963; Welford, 1961; Hoyt, 1965). In 1958, the well-established author of WAIS, Dr. David Wechsler of Bellevue Hospital, declared, "that most human abilities, insofar as they are measurable, decline progressively, after reaching a peak somewhere between ages 18 and 25.... We have advanced the hypothesis that the decline of mental ability with age is part of the general organic process which constitutes the universal phenomenon of senescence" (Wechsler, 1958:viii). Data refuting the assumption of intellectual decline with age were beginning to emerge also (Barclay, 1968; Havighurst and Orr, 1956; Hoyt, 1965; Lorge, 1941a, 1947, 1950; McClusky, 1958; Oden, 1968; Thorndike, 1971). Of course, more recent writers such as Wechsler were pale detractors of mental ability among older persons when compared to the prestigious Dr. William Osler of the Johns Hopkins Hospital:

I have two fixed ideas well known to my friends.... The first is the comparative uselessness of men above forty years of age.... My second fixed idea is the uselessness of men above sixty years of age, and the incalculable benefit it would be in commercial, political and professional life, if as a matter of course, men stopped work at this age (Osler, 1905:243).

Osler's sweeping generalizations are indeed a paradox when viewed against his own history of important contributions. The most important of his contributions occurred during his career at the Johns

Hopkins Hospital, which he began at age forty.

In 1959, Dr. Jack Botwinick of the Duke University Medical Center and Center for the Study of Aging and Human Development felt that there were few studies carried out "to specifically test the notion that non-cognitive factors, rather than learning factors, produce performance deficits with age" (Botwinick et al., 1959:87).

Prior to and during Flemming's administration, education for aging had been poorly conceived. In fact, since the 1950 Conference on Aging, in only two of the state, regional, or national conferences on aging, had the topic of education for aging received extensive consideration (Donahue, 1955a; Jacobs, 1961a). The disinterest and negative views toward education for aging, such as those described above, were held by many individuals and organizations. These views inhibited effective recommendations regarding education or training of older adults by the state groups which held meetings under the stimulus of the 1958 White House Conference on Aging Act.

The 1961 White House Conference on Aging (WHCA)

During the first week of August 1958, when Flemming was sworn in as Secretary of DHEW, the Bureau of the Budget submitted their views from the Executive Office of the President, opposing H.R. 9822, a bill to provide for a WHCA to be held by September 30, 1960. In the letter (Appendix K), the Deputy Director of the Bureau explained to Senator Lister Hill that (1) President Eisenhower had already created the Federal Council on Aging in 1956 as a central point of contact between the executive, agencies, and the public; and (2) the Bureau suggested

the alternative of research and experimentation at the local level. Presidents generally consider White House Conferences to be a pressure and lobbying mechanism that engenders a high level of publicity. Since some aging groups were already advocating various federal health programs and President Eisenhower had made campaign promises against promoting such health schemes, Eisenhower would not endorse the WHCA. After the WHCA Act was passed by Congress, however, and aided by Flemming's persuasion as a member of PACGO, Eisenhower signed the WHCA Act (P.L. 85-908) on September 2, 1958.

The White House Conference on Aging Act of 1958

Originally, the WHCA Act had specified the DHEW Special Staff on Aging to direct the Conference, but in the final version of the bill, leadership for the WHCA was transferred to the Secretary of DHEW. Flemming utilized his Cabinet status and influential position as member of PACGO to ensure cooperation from relevant federal agencies and more efficient function of the Conference structures and activities. He assigned Under Secretary of DHEW Bertha Adkins to oversee the Conference organizational procedures which had been assigned originally to William Fitch, Director of the Special Staff on Aging, DHEW.

During Flemming's administration, the few major organizations that were concerned with senior citizens, such as NRTA/AARP and NCoA, did not take political advocacy positions on federal policy. Since there was neither Administration nor organizational grass roots support, congressional advocates for the aging endorsed Congressman John E. Fogarty's unique proposal in the WHCA Act of 1958 for funding extensive state-level conferences that preceded the 1961 WHCA. With federal funds

from the WHCA Act, both state official support and grass roots involvement were stimulated before the 1961 Conference took place.

A major purpose of the WHCA Act funding, according to Congressman Fogarty, had been "not to accumulate or identify more problems, but to arouse interest [in aging] at every level," and about 100,000 people participated in pre-Conference hearings at the state and local levels before 1961 (USDHEW, 1961a:11). In this purpose, the WHCA Act produced an immense national success when compared to the level of disinterest in the 1950 conference, when it was difficult to assemble 800 participants (Tibbitts, 1980). In fact, there had been so little interest in aging across the nation that Tibbitts (1980) had to invite "people who should have been interested," such as governors and state health officials. The 1950 conference had been meagerly supported and had few national consequences. For example, the most important result of the 1950 conference was the establishment of the understaffed and under-funded Special Staff on Aging, whereas the 1961 conference of 3,500 participants led four years later to the establishment of the Administration on Aging, Medicare legislation, and state agencies and committees on aging (Brotman, 1980). Only twenty-two states had established legislatively-based agencies on aging at the conclusion of the 1950 conference (GSG, 1955). It became apparent to Flemming and many other leaders that the state level conferences constituted the major difference between the results of the 1950 and 1961 conferences on aging.

Indeed, the WHCA Act of 1958 stands as a historical lesson in political strategy at the congressional level. The strategy was

designed to defuse Administration opposition and build local support toward the creation of a new federal agency for aging concerns. The stage had been set eight months before Secretary Flemming assumed office. Congressman Fogarty had initiated the legislation* that subsequently provided a national forum on aging and assigned the organizational fate of the first WHCA to the interest, support, and expertise of the Secretary of DHEW. Fogarty stated his longstanding interest in aging:

When I speak of my displeasure, I go back 17 years to the days when Oscar Ewing was head of the Federal Security Agency...I asked [Ewing] 17 years ago, "What are we doing about the problems of the aging?" The answer then was, "Practically nothing." ... I have repeatedly challenged the responsible authorities to develop action programs (USCH, 1963:8).

Senator Pat MacNamara, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on the Aging and the Aged, was an important ally of Fogarty. MacNamara's staff had held hearings in 1959 in cities across the nation in order to assess and report on the needs of the aging. These hearings also served to focus the attention of the Eisenhower administration and Congress on aging concerns (USCS, 1960).

In February of 1959, Senate Resolution 65 authorized the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare to establish a Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging. The role of the subcommittee consisted of four tasks: (1) to conduct a comprehensive study; (2) to survey existing public and private programs; (3) to examine the federal services to the aging; and (4) to prepare a report with recommendations for additional federal programs to meet the "needs of America's older

* Congressman John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island introduced the White House Conference on Aging Act on January 8, 1958, and it was passed on August 2, 1958, as P.L. 85-908.

population" (USCS, 1961a:v). From the historical perspective of the federal role in aging, it is of importance to note that this subcommittee was the first congressional structure concerned with "the needs of 16 million Americans 65 and older as well as the millions of young 'aging' men and women" (USCS, 1961a:v). In practice, both houses of Congress deliberate on legislative measures that are presented to them from the congressional committees. Congressional subcommittees are used as fact-finding bodies or public forums for the committees. For example, the recommendations of the 1961 WHCA were sent, not to Congress, but to the appropriate congressional committees where they were either acted upon or "died in committee."

Among the 1961 WHCA recommendations which were not addressed by the congressional committees as a high priority in the subsequent Older Americans Act of 1965 were those concerning education for the aging. The lack of inclusion of senior citizens in federal education and training programs might have reflected the low percentage (13 percent) of the aging among WHCA delegates and the low percentage of professional educators (10 percent) in the Education Section (USDHEW, 1961b). These low levels of delegate participation were in sharp contrast to other groups, such as the health professionals, who were singled out for criticism in the opening remarks of Senator Pat MacNamara on the first day of the Conference:

Ninety-two percent of the doctors and dentists in Group One have been assigned to the Workgroup on financing medical costs.... It is unfortunate that the ANA continues to devote such massive effort to promotion of its 19th century philosophy (USDHEW, 1961b:39).

Two informants stated that after MacNamara's speech, Secretary Flemming and Director John Kean rearranged the voting participation

procedure so that decisions on health cost issues were more representative of the cross-section of delegates. Federal funding for health care of the aging was subsequently endorsed by the WHCA in 1961.

Flemming's Role in the 1961 White House Conference on Aging

In the closing days of Secretary Flemming's tenure, on January 9 to 12, 1961, the first White House Conference on Aging was attended by over three thousand delegates, 13 percent of whom were senior citizens. The timing of the 1961 WHCA, in the political hiatus after John F. Kennedy's election victory in November 1960 but before Eisenhower left office, led to two results. One result was to create public pressure on the Kennedy administration to include aging initiatives in their program proposals. The other was to reduce the outgoing administration's constraint on Secretary Flemming during the WHCA (Harris, 1969).

In addition to the reduced administrative constraint, Flemming was able through his leadership of the Federal Council on Aging (FCOA) to organize the public endorsement of the WHCA by other agency administrators who were required to contribute agency personnel to assist the Conference. The FCOA had been reconstituted at the Cabinet level by Eisenhower to assist the Secretary with the WHCA (Appendix A). The leadership of the Federal Council on Aging consisted of Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of DHEW, as Chairman; Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Treasury; Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture; Frederick H. Mueller, Secretary of Commerce; James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor; Sumner G. Whittier, Administrator of Veterans Affairs; Norman P. Mason, Administrator of Housing and Home Finance Agency; and Warren P. Roudebush, Executive Director of the FCOA. The FCOA was involved in

coordinating and planning activities, as well as serving to sponsor programs for foreign visitors. These activities served to heighten awareness of aging concerns among the agency chiefs and their staffs. Technical advisors from agency personnel were selected to assist the WHCA committees and provide information needed by the delegates.

In addition to gaining support from other agencies and to heighten interest in the WHCA, Secretary Flemming had persuaded President Eisenhower to add his prestige to the Conference by addressing the delegates on January 9, 1961:

This is the last time I shall have the privilege of bidding welcome to a group of Americans assembled here in the capital city ...all of us certainly do recognize that in a world changing as rapidly as ours, when we have gone from a pioneer civilization to a highly industrialized and complicated civilization in a matter of less than a century, there are new problems emerging...that affect...senior citizens. I hope that out of your deliberations will come some kind of guidance that the Congress can use (Ribicoff, 1961:52).

The President not only acknowledged the existence of unaddressed new problems of the aging; he made clear in the same speech that despite his earlier opposition to the WHCA, "the Congress did a good thing in passing a joint resolution asking the President to call this Conference." This statement encouraged Congress to increase its interest in the WHCA recommendations. Eisenhower's Vice President, Richard Nixon, would be persuaded by Flemming to address a similar Conference ten years later.

The organizational responsibility for the WHCA has held by Secretary Flemming, who selected Robert W. Kean, former Congressman from New Jersey, for appointment as the Advisory Committee Chairman, and also appointed 150 Advisory Committee members by June of 1959. With the assistance of liberal Republican Kean, Flemming addressed the

complaint of Senator MacNamara about the appointment of medical delegates to the Health Committee's Section on Health Care Costs. Flemming and Kean unexpectedly sent the medical costs recommendation to the Section on Income Maintenance, which had a broader representation of delegates. Organizational preparation and procedures were established nationwide from the office of Flemming's Under Secretary of DHEW, Bertha S. Adkins. She was recruited by Flemming and delegated to administer the organizational planning of the states and territories, fact-finding surveys, state reports, and those of voluntary organizations. These reports and surveys subsequently shaped the agendas of the twenty-two committees of the 1961 WHCA, one of which was the Education Committee.

1961 WHCA: Education Committee Recommendations

In terms of educational consequences at the federal level for the nation's senior citizens, the 1961 WHCA was a failure. While the Education Committee of the WHCA issued 13 recommendations that were approved by the Conference (Appendix I), they were not crystallized as priorities in the 1965 Older Americans Act. Despite the occasional rhetoric of administrators such as Caliver, DHEW's Office of Education produced no significant program development for the education and training of older persons during or after Flemming's tenure. There were contributory factors outside of the federal sector, however, that inhibited the development of a positive attitude at the national level toward education and training of older adults.

One factor of importance was that the decade preceding the WHCA had been marked by an increase in pension plans with fixed retirement-

age provisions and a concomitant increase in voluntary retirement. Therefore, it was not surprising that research studies reported that retirement was perceived as an expected and desirable lifestyle for aging (Donahue, 1957). As retirement from the work force became institutionalized and pension plans increased the mechanisms for early retirement, there was a growing assumption that the economy had the capacity to support retirement incomes. While educational institutions and agencies merely encouraged participation of older adults primarily through reduced fees, the program planners in religious, service, and recreation groups sponsored the establishment of about 7,000 clubs for older adults (Tibbitts, 1960).

When Cummings and Henry (1961) presented their theory of disengagement, positive organizational activities and attitudes for the aging were hampered by some degree of ambivalence toward aging among various educators, researchers, and program planners. The theory emphasized mainstream disengagement, introspection, and narrowing of lifestyle and life space (Kleemier, 1961). Another decade was to pass before this influential theory would be balanced by significant arguments and activities among adult educators for positive re-engagement, social involvement, independence, and an awareness of the need of younger people for aging people's experience and work contribution.

An even greater impediment to the aging person's independence, social integration, self-worth and work-force retention was the promotion of education and training programs among young adults to "serve older people" by agencies within DHEW (Tibbitts, 1960:801; CSWE, 1959:86). Although there was an eighth-grade median of education at that time,

ten percent (1.6 million) of the senior citizen population had college-level attainment (USBC, 1961). Nevertheless, an aggressive outreach and recruitment effort among the aging for paid managerial service to their peers was never mandated by Congress nor encouraged by federal regulation. Finally, the impediment to personal growth and career development among the aging was work obsolescence that was created by progress in industrial technology (CPAE, 1961). In the early sixties, training for new careers and updating of skills among the aging remained only a concept because federal programs did not assume leadership and address this educational need of older Americans. The highly developed skills of aging craftsmen, artisans, professionals, and managers were severely underutilized or lost due to retirement.

During Flemming's tenure, there had been three stages of recommendations that concerned education and training for aging: (1) the 1959 Senate Subcommittee on Aging and the Aged hearings and recommendations; (2) the state pre-Conference recommendations to the WHCA; and (3) the 1961 WHCA Education Committee recommendations which were influenced by the preceding two sets of recommendations.

After national hearings and staff research, Senator MacNamara's Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging had reported its extensive findings and made important suggestions to meet the education and training needs related to aging:

There are only a few notable instances where educational agencies such as public schools, colleges and universities, and libraries have developed specific programs for the aging. While it is true that most classes and activities developed by them do not exclude older persons on the basis of age, relatively few are planned with the older age range in mind...the need of older people to understand themselves...of those approaching retirement...of the general public for education about the problems of aging..of both the professional

and the lay person working with older people.

One set of approaches includes the following:

1. Vocational education for extended employment; continued training for older employed people; retraining for those displaced because of age or technological change; and vocational preparation for those who wish to develop second careers.
2. Fellowships to assist able older people who wish to make contributions to society through creative effort.
3. Opportunities for voluntary community service through volunteer training programs.
4. Identification of the unique roles which older people can play in a community.
5. Education of the business and industrial community to utilize the available talent and skills of older people and to institute preretirement and counseling programs.

A second approach is that of...all kinds of educational opportunities for adults. These would include: 1. General adult education activities for older people to enrich the later years. 2. Preretirement preparation programs. 3. Educational activities to help young people understand their later needs and to keep older people abreast in an everchanging society and world. 4. Community efforts to inform the public about aging. 5. Training opportunities for those who work with older people, especially by assisting educational agencies to develop training programs for this purpose (USCS, 1960:21).

In addition, the Subcommittee report emphasized that social integration, self-respect, and independence in the aging depended on two factors: (1) a person's inner resources, and (2) programs that federal, state, and local jurisdictions devised to provide them with adequacy and a meaningful role in their community. The alternative cited by the Subcommittee was a universally higher suicide rate.

It is of interest that while the Senate Subcommittee's report contained one set of approaches focused on the aging participant, the second set focused primarily on retirement skills and training young adults to serve the aging. The 1961 WHCA Education Committee recommendations more closely resembled the second set of approaches.

Between 1960 and 1961, the state conferences had submitted their recommendations to the WHCA 150-member Advisory Committee. Many state committees on aging that hosted the state conferences were organized

specifically for the 1961 WHCA and were not permanent bodies (Tibbitts, 1980). Among the state-based recommendations were those that called for increased activity in education and training for older Americans (USDHEW, 1961:14): (1) Government organizations should develop prere-tirement education and eliminate employer age requirements; (2) Federal funds should supplement state and local adult education funds; (3) Access should be provided for public information and professional counseling in adult education programs; (4) Increased research and curriculum development should be invested in adult education; (5) Federal sponsorship and scholarships should be established for the training of professional personnel for leadership in community organizations serving the aging; (6) Federal financing should initiate a cultural educational program for the American Indian population.

The Education Committee of the 1961 WHCA submitted its policy statement (Appendix H) and thirteen recommendations (Appendix I) for subsequent considerations by Congress. Some recommendations from the Education Committee to Congress were of consequence; others had little effect. The first recommendation was similar to those from the other committees and contributed to the consensus for the creation of a federal agency devoted to aging concerns. The second and twelfth led eventually to the mandate for all states to create agencies on aging. Recommendations four through nine, which were directed to educational programs, remained subjects of controversy because groups interested in the design, development, and implementation of education related to aging at the state level often became pressure groups for narrow interests. In addition, the Education Committee was mandated in the

1958 WHCA Act to advise Congress, not state and local jurisdictions where budget priorities were set. Recommendations ten and eleven were requests for advocacy by the media in the private sector, rather than for congressional mandate. Recommendation thirteen for retraining and flexible retirement policy was directed both to Congress and industry, but was not addressed by either group during the sixties. Given the almost total focus on education and training needs of youth and the young adult by industry, education, Congress, and voluntary organizations, the recommendations produced few results.

In part, the Education Committee misdirected its recommendations because of the composition of the participants, few of whom were senior citizens or educators. Many of the delegates had never attended a gathering of this size or responsibility. The organizational inexperience of the delegates and the post-WHCA slump were perhaps best expressed by one of the delegates, who became the first Deputy Commissioner on Aging in 1965:

Having vented our feelings, we went home and addressed ourselves to the crab grass. This is unfortunate because three million dollars of the taxpayers' [money] was spent on it.

I don't think the 1961 Conference anywhere near achieved what the 3,000-plus delegates who were there envisioned for it. But we have to blame ourselves and not the government or any particular culprit. And we can learn a lesson from that conference, which, I think, will lead to more of the dreams we had becoming reality. The idea is that we must have some organization to our recommendations. We must identify who is responsible for what--not just say that something has to be done, but who should do it and put forth some techniques for accomplishing it (Nash, 1970:86).

The 1961 WHCA Education Committee recommendations (Appendix L) were remarkable for their naivete. Rather than directing their requests and recommendations to Congress as specified in the 1958 Act, they

constituted a wish-list directed at many segments of society. The thirteen recommendations presented an ideological view of the best of all educational worlds for the aging. In fact, if the six recommendations (six through eleven) addressed to the universities, state public school systems and the mass media had been omitted, the remainder might have been more persuasive to the congressional committees that subsequently drafted the Older Americans Act of 1965.

In referring to the Education Committee's recommendations, Secretary Flemming stated candidly the budgetary constraints that the committee's recommendations implied but did not address:

As taxpayers and as private contributors we are going to have to make a far greater investment in the field of education if we are to take full advantage of our opportunities in terms of all age groups. This Nation, in my judgment, has not yet traveled the sacrificial second mile in support of education. I believe far more must be done and that includes far more activity on the part of the Federal Government than is the case at the present time (Ribicoff, 1961:87).

Flemming's assessment to the delegates was based on his knowledge of his Department's efforts to implement the security-crisis legislation, the 1958 NDEA. He was well aware that effective education and training related to aging required the allocation by Congress of significant funding from federal revenues to the states. The expenditure of \$900 million under the National Defense Education Act of 1958 had made possible improvements in public schools and higher education. Flemming's assessment was also based on his knowledge of the ongoing resistance of congressional committees to general education legislation.

Bertha S. Adkins, Under Secretary of DHEW, worked closely with Flemming and described to him the general apathy of retired teachers at that time. Adkins (1981) had served as Headmistress of Foxcroft School

at Winchester, Virginia. She stated that as a national group, there had been a lack of commitment and a reluctance apparent among retired schoolteachers to contribute to the education or training of aging Americans. The combination of lack of voluntary educational activities for aging by retired teachers, lack of available funds and lack of even general education legislation made education and training for aging in the sixties highly improbable to Flemming (Adkins, 1981).

Conclusion

Secretary Flemming had placed his convictions, opinions, and plans for the future on public view in his address to the closing session of the WHCA. He shared with the delegates his frequently-expressed religious convictions, but it is of interest to note his independent positions in that he dissented from the majority view on Social Security coverage and from the minority view on health care. He also made a public commitment about his primary future plans as a private citizen for advocacy on a blue-ribbon panel devoted to health insurance:

The divine imperative is still addressed, 'Thou shalt love the Lord and thy neighbor as thyself'...it places upon us just one obligation, and that is never to pass up an opportunity to help our fellow human beings achieve their highest potential. The person serving in the position that I have been occupying...has an opportunity to identify the major issues...of health, education and welfare...has an obligation to do something about translating his convictions into action.... This I intend to do...I am going to be looking for pressure groups to join provided they are... consistent with my convictions.

The issue of medical care for the aged is one of the major issues confronting our Nation today...this issue cannot be resolved by relying solely on private, voluntary efforts...I favored the Javits Amendment and I still favor it...I differ somewhat with those in

the majority and those in the minority...the majority report does not make provision for those senior citizens who are not under the Social Security system...I also obviously differ with the minority in that the Kerr-Mills Bill* takes care of the [health] problem.... It does not.... I like the suggestion...that a distinguished group [could] study all aspects of the problem...resolving the Nation's differences, and getting us...into the 'action' state (Ribicoff, 1961:77).

Flemming made clear his ability to change on the basis of new evidence by his departure from his earlier support of the Kerr-Mills program, because that program was never supported by all of the states. He now took a new position of federal support for extended Social Security coverage and for a minimum program of health care for the aging regardless of their state of residence. Flemming's views on health needs of the aging and expenditure for education related to aging were not those held by the most conservative wing of the Republican Party, including Senators Dirksen and Goldwater (USCS, 1960). Nevertheless, it was characteristic of Flemming that he would take even an unpopular public stand on human and policy issues that he strongly felt were correct.

Flemming demonstrated both his concern for fair citizen representation and his parliamentary skill when criticism was made by delegates and by Senator MacNamara that the medical profession was overrepresented in the 1961 WHCA Health Committee. Flemming reassigned committee agendas to ensure broader representation and avoided negative media treatment of the WHCA (Ribicoff, 1961).

Flemming's reputation for quiet diplomacy and hard work were

* Kerr-Mills Program, Medical Assistance for the Aged, October 1, 1960, was modified to become the state-based Medicaid program.

well known in the Nation's capital, but of equal importance was his tenacity. For example, his efforts as Secretary DHEW toward legislation for aid to elementary and secondary education (ESE) had been defeated due to a church-state dilemma. But, in 1965, Flemming took the opportunity as representative of the National Council of Churches of Christ to again testify persuasively in favor of the ESE Act.

According to Meranto:

This statement of general approval by the first important Protestant group representative [Flemming] to testify before the House committee clearly added further support for the [Johnson] administration's bill. Other Protestant organizations expressed additional backing for the legislation (Meranto, 1967:73).

Flemming was followed by representatives of the Baptist Joint Council, the Lutheran Council, the Methodist Board, the Episcopal Executive Council, and the Presbyterian General Assembly. The latter commented that the new effort was a "fantastically skillful break in the stalemate...of the church-state dilemma" (USCH, 1965a:771). Flemming's unswerving commitment to increased federal funding to improve public education had resulted only in repeated legislative defeat. His tenacious activities in cooperation with others were finally rewarded when Congress passed and funded the ESEA in 1965.

Although the National Defense Education Act of 1958 had empowered the Secretary of DHEW to fund changes in educational facilities, personnel, curricula, programs, and materials for both children and young adults, the educational needs for the aging in these categories were not included in the same legislation. These needs remained essentially bypassed. Educational needs for the aging were not addressed either by Congress or by Secretary Flemming, because

there was an absence of lobbying and effective organized advocacy for appropriate legislation by any of the groups concerned: the aging, adult educators, educational institutions, or the Commissioner of Education. It is important to note that from 1958 to 1961, there were few voluntary organizations for aging such as the National Council on the Aging, or the AARP, which was created in 1958 (Table 4). There was not a realistic possibility at that time to develop a volunteer activity devoted to educating the aging. A proposed bill that would have authorized education for aging was never given serious agenda consideration and simply died in committee (Brotman, 1980; Tibbitts, 1980).

During his tenure, Flemming's energies and attention had been completely occupied by (1) implementation of the 1958 Act; (2) the enforcement of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation in the public schools; (3) the deep needs for health care among the aging; (4) providing organizational leadership to the 1961 WHCA; and (5) struggling with congressional and religious leaders in order to enlarge and extend federal support for public schools and higher education. He addressed each of these priorities with commitment and unswerving attention.

According to Miles (1974), Tibbitts (1980, and Ossofsky (1981), the education recommendations of the Conference were not given congressional consideration, but other recommendations were to have profound impact on the nation's awareness of aging, and on national policy and legislation about older Americans for years to come. Among the aging at the WHCA, Flemming was widely respected as a devout, hardworking,

capable, and honest leader. As a federal administrator, he was held in awe to some extent, not as Mr. Secretary, but because he had worked closely with several Presidents of the United States and persons from the corporate power elite. Flemming's defeats, including the loss of the NDEA amendments and his unsuccessful efforts toward the passage of general education legislation in 1960 and early 1961, were largely ignored by the media. Even at the height of his political power, Flemming's support for national general education legislation could not prevent its defeat, but his mobilization of support helped to set the stage for later passage of similar legislation in 1965. He had won some battles and made influential friends, but he had lost others and made powerful enemies. Nevertheless, among both Democratic and Republican eyewitnesses who knew him as Secretary of DHEW, there was remarkable consensus about Flemming's hard work, integrity, and the sincerity of his beliefs.

For several years before and after the 1961 WHCA, various bills were initiated in both Republican and Democratic administrations that proposed the establishment of a new federal agency for aging concerns (Morgan, 1955; USCH, 1958; USCH, 1963). All such proposals were defeated until 1965. It was pointed out by Fitch that after Flemming left DHEW, there was a "drought of neglect" of aging needs and problems (USCH, 1963:165). In the same congressional hearings, Donahue (1963) criticized institutions of higher education for their neglect of aging in their failure to develop courses and research in gerontology after the 1961 WHCA. Flemming's speech at the conclusion of the WHCA had occurred a few days before he was replaced by the Democratic

Secretary of DHEW, Abraham Ribicoff, who submitted the official report of the WHCA. Shortly after the 1961 WHCA, Flemming returned to academia as President of the University of Oregon, but he also retained contact with the federal government as chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the Peace Corps and several other supervisory committees.

CHAPTER 4

THE INTERIM YEARS, 1962 TO 1972

Upon leaving his position as Secretary of DHEW in 1961, Flemming again* accepted an administrative academic position, president of the University of Oregon, and that was followed by the position of president of Macalester University from 1968 to 1971. During the preceding decade, he had held ten major overlapping positions, including eight years of service as a member of the Cabinet. Although Flemming was a university president from 1961 to 1971, he accepted additional federal consultation and committee responsibilities, including Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the Peace Corps, President's Committee on Labor-Management Policy, Chairman of the Social Security Advisory Council, DHEW Special Panel on Aging, and Chairman of the National Committee on Health Care for the Aged. The latter committee activity proved to be important to the nation's aging, for as sociologist Dr. Ethel Shanas of the University of Chicago stated:

You can only get what's feasible. And in 1961 many of us thought that the moment had come for medical insurance for the aged ...and we were not yet going to divide our energies.... You have to take what you can get in the real world, not in the world of good intentions (Shanas, 1971:83).

Flemming was in agreement with Dr. Shanas. To him, it was also the right moment for some type of federal health program.

* Flemming had been president of Ohio Wesleyan University from 1948 to 1958, except for leave of absence from 1951 to 1953 for federal service in the Office of Defense Mobilization.

Flemming's Activities for Aging in the Sixties

During the 1961 WHCA, Flemming had stated that health care for aging Americans was his major concern. In keeping with his earlier promise to the WHCA delegates, Flemming joined a group compatible with his philosophy; he became a vigorous chairman of the National Committee on the Health Care of the Aged in 1962. He engaged in public debate and advocacy for federal support for uniform health care benefits for the aging. Health care issues were a major focus of Flemming until Medicare became a federal program in 1965. It seems paradoxical that the emotionally-charged health care issues overshadowed the importance of a federal agency devoted to aging, the need to shape policy and future programs in another White House Conference on Aging, and the emerging organizational changes in adult education, including education and training for aging persons. Although he had been a member of the Republican Party Cabinet, he cooperated with the incoming Democratic administration to help advance programs to benefit the aging, such as an advisory panel on aging to the subsequent Secretary DHEW. After Medicare became a reality, Flemming observed that survival needs of older people were their primary concern for the seventies, and he subsequently encouraged President Nixon to allocate greater financial support to programs for the aging. He later served on the National Advisory Committee for the 1971 WHCA.

DHEW Advisory Panel on Aging, 1962

On February 2, 1962, Secretary DHEW Abraham Ribicoff sent letters of invitation to professionals and others with a demonstrated

interest in aging to serve on a panel of public advisors in matters of policy and programs in aging, especially the diverse programs within DHEW. Among those who accepted the invitation to serve was Dr. Arthur Flemming, then President of the University of Oregon (USDHEW, 1962).

Flemming's opportunity to serve was short-lived, however, because on May 14, 1962, the Federal Council on Aging (which had been established by a Presidential letter to Secretary DHEW Flemming on March 7, 1959) was abolished by Executive Order 11022 and replaced by the President's Council on Aging (Appendix I). The official historical comment of DHEW was:

A 29-member panel of nationally known specialists was appointed to advise the Secretary on problems of the aging and, upon recommendation of the Department, a President's Council on Aging was established in May 1962, to coordinate all Federal programs for older people (USDHEW, 1972a:9).

Secretary Ribicoff resigned in June 1962 and was replaced by Secretary DHEW Anthony J. Celebrezze, who did not utilize the panel of advisors, and who subsequently testified against the formation of a separate federal agency on aging (Flemming, 1980b; Roudebush, 1980). Even though the panel was abolished because of administrative changes, this incident indicated Flemming's willingness to volunteer his time and expertise to serve the aging. This episode also emphasized the importance of the type of individual administrator in the position of Secretary DHEW.

National Advisory Committee for the 1971 WHCA

While Flemming was president of Macalester University, he was asked to serve on a committee to help establish the upcoming 1971 WHCA. In a news release, it was announced that a National Advisory Committee for the 1971 WHCA was established by Secretary DHEW Elliott Richardson

to assist Commissioner on Aging Martin with conference plans, policies, and procedures (AEA, 1970). Among the appointees were Arthur Flemming, Chairman; General Lucius Clay; Dr. Milton Eisenhower; General Alfred Gruenther; composer Duke Ellington; Dr. Robert Havighurst; George Meany, AFL-CIO; Dr. Mary E. Switzer; Governor Earl Warren; and Paul Dudley White, M.D. As a member of the advisory committee, Flemming became increasingly involved in leadership roles in the 1971 WHCA.

Peter G. Meek described Flemming's role during the planning stage of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging:

When planning for the 1971 White House Conference on Aging...Flemming and others began to view independent living as the most desired and desirable arrangement for most older persons. Prior to the conference, Flemming called together a group of representatives from national health, welfare, and professional organizations that provide services to older people to discuss in-home services for the aging.... (Meek, 1978:4).

This organizational effort subsequently led to the formation of the National Voluntary Organizations for Independent Living for the Aging (NVOILA) in 1974, a program unit of the National Council on Aging (NCOA).

Flemming's Evolving Concept of Medical Care For Older Americans

In 1960, the first congressional legislation for health care for the aging had been passed and was named the Kerr-Mills legislation, Public Law 86-778, Medical Assistance for the Aging (MAA). This health care legislation for the indigent aged had been constructed for implementation at the state level, but it was not mandatory that a state accept the MAA plan. Secretary DHEW Flemming's personal efforts toward acceptance and implementation of MAA by the states was described in the Committee report:

The role of the Federal agency in implementing a new program of this sort is limited as in any State-Federal grant-in-aid program. Nevertheless within these limitations, the Department has proceeded to encourage maximum implementation of the intent of Congress. On September 15, 1960, only days after enactment of Public Law 86-778, the Secretary [Flemming] of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare indicated his support for the new program by writing each Governor a letter describing the special provisions for aged persons, and offering the Department's assistance to the States to enable them to proceed with their planning (USCS, 1963a:68).

Without the pressure of federal mandate, however, only 32 of the 54 states and territories voluntarily enacted legislation enabling them to receive federal funds for medical assistance needed by the aged poor. As a result, the Senate's Special Committee on Aging* reported:

Although all 50 State legislatures have met since this program was enacted into law, 3 years ago, only 28 States and 4 other jurisdictions now have the program in operation.

...In July of 1963, only 148,000 people received MAA assistance ...of 7.6 million aged population with no income or annual income of less than \$2,000...and types of benefits vary widely.... Administrative costs of [state] MAA programs remain too high.... The distribution of Federal matching funds under MAA has been grossly disproportionate, with a few wealthy States, best able to finance their phase of the program, getting the lion's share of the [federal] funds (USCS, 1963b:1).

Because of MAA failure to provide medical assistance to the aged in all the states, Flemming now supported a federal minimum program of health insurance combined with private insurance.

Upon his return to civilian life, Flemming kept the promise he made to the delegates assembled at the close of the 1961 WHCA concerning his efforts to help bring about health care insurance for older Americans as the most important problem of the aging. Flemming became involved in two major activities. First, Flemming became Chairman of the National Committee on Health Care of the Aged, a study panel composed of 12

* Formerly named the Subcommittee on Aging and Aged until 1961.

eminent citizens: Mr. Winslow Carlton of Group Health Insurance, Inc.; Dr. Harold L. Bost, University of Kentucky Medical Center; Dr. Dickinson W. Richards, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons; Dr. Russell Nelson, President, Johns Hopkins Hospital; Dr. James Dixon, President, Antioch College; Marion B. Folsom, Director, Eastman Kodak Co. and former Secretary of DHEW; Dr. Arthur Larson, Duke University; Dr. Russell V. Lee, founder of Palo Alto Clinic; Mr. John C. Leslie of Community Service Society of New York; Dr. Vernon W. Lippard, Dean, Yale Medical School; Thomas M. Tierney, Director, Colorado Hospital Service; Hubert W. Yount, Liberty Mutual Insurance Companies.

Secondly, Flemming became one of the major advocates for health care for the aging who publicly opposed the powerful American Medical Association. He was selected as spokesman by the newly-founded National Council of Senior Citizens. As the result of discussions held in January at the 1961 WHCA, a new organization was formed in July 1961, the National Council of Senior Citizens for Health Care under Social Security (the name was later shortened to National Council of Senior Citizens). Retired Congressman Aime J. Forand (RI) was selected as its first president. It was Congressman Forand who had introduced the first Medicare bill in Congress on August 27, 1957, and ironically, who was forced to retire from Congress three years later due to ill health.

In 1961, the AMA had established the American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC) for organized medicine. Subsequently, in the 1962 congressional elections, "AMPAC spent seven million dollars in efforts to elect anti-Medicare candidates" (Cruikshank, 1970:1). In an article in Good Housekeeping Magazine, which had wide circulation,

Flemming explained the various health insurance plans being considered by Congress and reproached the American Medical Association for issuing "irresponsible nonsense" that was "simply not the truth" (Flemming, 1962:11). This printed confrontation by former Secretary of DHEW Flemming led to a debate which gained national recognition (Appendix J). In October of 1963, Senior Citizen News (1963:3) carried the report:

Under the auspices of the Speech Association of America and the National University Extension Association...thousands of debates ...in the Nation's high schools [during the 1963-4 academic year] on the role of the Federal Government in providing medical care for the aged...and a special symposium...in Denver, Colorado... featured two of the most outstanding debaters in America--Dr. Arthur S. Flemming...and Dr. Edward R. Annis, President of the American Medical Association. At the invitation of former Congressman Forand, Dr. Flemming represented the National Council of Senior Citizens... and supported the principle of hospital care for older Americans financed through the Social Security system.

It was not until two years later that legislation was passed containing some of the measures advocated by Flemming and his national committee.

Shortly after the Denver debate, Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (AK) of the House Ways and Means Committee informed the House Rules Committee, which clears legislation to be acted upon on the floor of the House, that he would not request the Committee to rule on placing Medicare on the House agenda. Instead of reporting Medicare out of the Ways and Means Committee, Mills announced future hearings on the hospital insurance legislation, which had already been in his Committee for over six years (Senior Citizen News, 1963; New York Times, 1963). Mills' refusal to act did not go unchallenged. From another quarter, Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York issued a Report of the New York Office of Medical Economics in October 1963 in which it was reported that twenty-five states having the Medical Assistance for the Aged (the Kerr-

Mills law) had not realized their objectives of helping the large group of low-income, indigent aged. The study stated that the fifty percent of the aged who had individual health insurance was heavily weighted with aged persons under seventy years who were still in the labor force. Further, their premiums were reported to average \$225 per annum for insurance that paid only part of medical costs (New York Times, 1963).

An opponent of all federal health insurance bills was Senator Barry Goldwater (AZ), who opposed the various Medicare bills* and suggested that participation in the Social Security system should be voluntary. Senator Goldwater quoted former Secretary DHEW Flemming's report that fifty percent of the aged had private health insurance and predicted that this percentage would increase if federal health insurance were not passed (USCS, 1963b). After Senator Goldwater's defeat as a candidate for the U.S. Presidency in 1964, the AMA advertised an expanded Kerr-Mills plan for the aging poor called "Eldercare" (Cruikshank, 1970). There was no support for this state-based health care plan of the AMA.

In February of 1965, the House Ways and Means Committee hearings ended. The King-Anderson bill became Medicare; the Javits provisions proposed by Flemming in his debate, testimony, and articles became Part B of Medicare and the expanded Kerr-Mills, federal-state health program for the needy, became Medicaid. The AMA suffered its first major congressional defeat since it had become a significant spokesman for

* The King-Anderson bill (S. 909, H.R. 4222) by Senator Clinton A. Anderson (NM) and Congressman Cecil R. King (CA); the Javits bill (S. 2664) by Senator Jacob Javits (NY); the Lindsay bill (H.R. 11253) by Congressman John V. Lindsay (NY); and the Bow bill (H.R. 10981) by Congressman Frank T. Bow (OH).

organized medicine in the early 1900s. To date, the AMA never again engaged in public debate with a spokesman of Cabinet rank such as Arthur Flemming.

Education and Training Related to Aging In the Sixties

The 1961 White House Conference on Aging recommended that institutions of higher education develop future educational programs suited to older adults. Although older Americans had sent their children to institutes, colleges, and universities in the sixties, the overwhelming majority of the aging had severely limited access to higher education. To many older people born in the early twentieth century, higher education was the symbol and means for a higher standard of living for their children. Now, the aging were themselves in need of a higher standard of living, and higher education was perceived by some gerontologists and educators as one of the factors that could help the aging to improve their economic security and personal independence. While college-trained senior citizens were interested in higher education programs, senior citizens with limited education had no knowledge or expectations about the costs or benefits of university-based programs (Dunn, 1964; Houle, 1965; Blau, 1973). According to Vaccaro:

In 1900, less than two percent of American youth attended college; by 1970 nearly fifty percent of college age youths are expected to enroll in institutions of higher education...the average citizen in 1900 would never have considered as attainable the proposition that every eighteen year old should obtain a high school education... and regarded it as unthinkable that the federal government would carry out a program of general retirement benefits (Vaccaro, 1970:300).

Attitudes and Problems About Education
For the Aging in the Sixties

In the year after Flemming had indicated to the 1961 WHCA that the problem of federal funding was central to the educational concerns of the aging, a survey of thirty university extension divisions indicated dissatisfaction with their own educational programs related to aging. The study noted the need for financial assistance:

A subsidy would permit a systematic study of needs, the addition of staff specialists, and the inauguration of an inservice program of major proportions. The University cannot put this substantial program on the road without financial assistance.... The limiting factor at present is financial.... Funds are essential to defray costs.... The White House Conference on Aging recommended that retirees be permitted to register for educational courses free of charge or at a reduced rate. Our budget does not permit us to adopt this recommendation (Kelley, 1962:20).

Unfortunately, the 1961 WHCA recommendations failed to ascertain, or even suggest, sources of funding for higher education courses, programs, short term institutes, or workshops. Neither the Congress, the federal Office of Education, nor state legislatures were urged to address the costs of education and training after the WHCA.

Instead of training or education for coping or problem solving, advocacy in the early sixties emphasized the address of the most urgent needs of life-support, namely, food, shelter, and medical care. The centrality of these basic needs was underscored by Secretary DHEW Celebrezze, who reorganized the DHEW Office on Aging as a unit of the Welfare Administration of DHEW (USDHEW, 1963). A different view was stated by Hendrickson and Barnes (1964:16):

...a major assumption... is that any educational agency, public or private, so heavily endowed with money, buildings, facilities, and staff, as our colleges and universities are, has a heavy responsibility to assist society in solving its problems in which education is the key factor. Here it may be noted that education as a process

applies not only to specific needs which older adults may have for education per se; but also...the complex problems surrounding the aged...these also require the extensive use of educational processes for their solution.

In an address which was to have been given in Dallas, Texas, on November 2, 1963, less than an hour after his assassination, John F. Kennedy expressed a societal value about education. These comments were consistent with the prevailing view of many Americans, namely, that lack of education was deleterious to the national security. Fully educated people were needed to cope with society's complex problems:

...the Dallas Citizens Council...and the Graduate Research Center of the Southwest...represent the best qualities of leadership and learning [that] are indispensable to each other.... This link between leadership and learning is not only essential at the community level. It is even more indispensable in world affairs... ignorance and misinformation can handicap...a city or a company... but they can...handicap this country's security.... Finally, it should be clear by now that a nation can be no stronger abroad than she is at home.... Only an America which has fully educated its citizens is fully capable of tackling the complex problems and perceiving the hidden dangers of the world in which we live.... We in this country, in this generation, are--by destiny rather than choice--the watchman on the walls of world freedom..."Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." (Kennedy, 1963:3).

Two years later, President Lyndon Johnson sent twelve recommendations to Congress for the Older Americans Act of 1965. The recommendations for education were:

Encourage Federal-State programs of general university extension for older people seeking advanced education. Enable States to establish programs of basic education for older adults. Increase library services (USCH, 1965b:5).

However, there was a lack of consensus during the sixties about either the description of educational needs of the aging or the degree of responsibility of educational institutions for the needs and problems of the aging (Thomason, 1968). Commissioner Attard of Nassau County,

New York*, summarized the main organizational problem at the local level in the late sixties that were due in part to inadequate university curricula:

Prior to 1970, planning for aging programs was done on a short range or crisis-to-crisis basis. Services were fragmented, often coming out of complex welfare or social services agencies without any orientation towards the special needs of the elderly.... University curricula had not prepared social workers to serve the aging, and providers often lacked the expertise to identify and respond to the rapidly emerging needs patterns of this fast growing segment of the population (Attard, 1982:5).

Although leaders and planners in education and government were in agreement about the overriding need and positive results to be derived from a responsive educational community, the issue of health care far outweighed the interest in education as a means of solving problems in aging. Indeed, the minority who urged education as a solution were in conflict with the majority who urged health care as the primary foundation of independence and security.

In retrospect, the establishment of educational programs about health care and how to gain access to health care benefits were serious omissions from the 1961 recommendations. The major focus of recommendations on the needs of the aging related to survival. After the 1961 WHCA, medical care for older Americans, not education, loomed as the major federal concern to Flemming and to congressional and voluntary organizational leaders. Thus, Flemming's priorities and activities during the early sixties were focused on uniform health care benefits as a national program.

* Adelaide Attard was appointed chairperson of the Federal Council on Aging in 1981.

Education and Training in the Older Americans Act of 1965

Almost obscured by the Medicare debate was another significant item of legislation benefiting the nation's aging, the Older Americans Act of 1965, P.L. 89-73. In 1965, Flemming did not directly contribute to the passage of the Older Americans Act because he was engrossed in aging concerns related to national health care issues, as well as federal aid for elementary and secondary schools and his university presidency. The Act was introduced into the House of Representatives by John E. Fogarty as H.R. 3708; it provided assistance through grants to the states and established within DHEW an operating agency, the Administration on Aging. Authorization for appropriations of Titles IV and V of this Act extended from the date of approval, July 14, 1965, to June 30, 1970. Funding for Titles IV and V were designated for "programs to help older persons" and "for community planning, services and training" (U.S. Code, 1963:1449). In the Act, training was defined as training of special personnel needed to carry out such programs and activities (Title III, Sec. 301(3)). These education and training entitlements were directed primarily to graduate students and services delivery personnel.

Although one of the original ten objectives of the Act called for "Pursuit of meaningful activity within the widest range of civic, cultural, and recreational opportunities" (Title I, Sec. 101(7)), educational programs for the aging were not specified. Unless a State Plan developed an educational program as "relating to the special problems or welfare of older persons," educational programs were provided only to managerial and direct service personnel (Title III,

303(a)(3)). Again, unless a State Plan included educational programs for the aging in Title IV research and development grants "to develop or demonstrate new approaches, techniques, and methods...which hold promise of substantial contribution toward wholesome and meaningful living for older persons" (Sec. 401(b)), education for the aging was not provided. Title V Training Projects "for the specialized training of persons employed or preparing for employment in carrying out programs" (Sec. 501) made no mention of aging persons for such "specialized training." Both Title IV and Title V applicants for training funds were required to obtain "consultation with" the state agency before becoming eligible for funding under the Older Americans Act of 1965. All community planning, demonstration, and training grants of Title III were applied for through the state agency. In general, the Older Americans Act intended that "the Federal Government should support small, short-term [up to 2 years] experimental or demonstration action projects" (U.S. Code, 1963:1569).

It is of interest to note that in 1963, almost thirty years after the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, the President's Council on Aging* had described not self-sufficiency but the continuing desperate need among 14 to 30 percent of the aging:

...the situation of some 18 million Americans who collectively share the problems of 'the Older American.' The figure '48 million' is of special significance when one realized that included in this group are: Two ex-Presidents, Nearly 10 percent of the Nation's population. Over 2.3 million war veterans. Nearly 1-1/2 million people living on farms. More than 3 million people who migrated

* Established by Executive Order 11022, May 1962, as the replacement of the Federal Council on Aging; both Councils were advisory to the President.

from Europe.... One out of eight--2-1/4 million people--are on public assistance...supplemented by medical care payments averaging \$15 a month...over 30 percent lived in substandard housing which lacked a private bath, toilet or running hot water...10 to 15 percent of the health costs of older people are reimbursed by [private] insurance...our urbanized and industrialized way of life has destroyed the useful and satisfying roles which the aged played in rural and small-town family society (U.S. Code, 1963:1570-1).

This view of the aging as essentially frail, dependent persons had contributed to the placement of the new Administration on Aging under the Welfare Department of DHEW by Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze in 1962. Secretary Celebrezze (1962-1965) recommended passage of H.R. 3708 to address aging problems in a letter of April 8, 1965, but added the qualification, "We would prefer to have the responsibility...vested in the Secretary.... We do not favor amendments adopted...which would limit the Secretary's authority to make research and development projects and training projects" (U.S. Code, 1963:1572). Nevertheless, Celebrezze's request did not prevail and the state agency consultation and state authority amendments were not deleted from the Act. Each state plan, as interpreted by the state agency, determined the programs made available to the aging in the state's various localities; inclusion of adult education programs for the aging was a rarity. The Act had created the Administration on Aging (AoA) as a structure within DHEW, rather than as an independent agency as had been recommended by the 1961 WHCA and by Congressman Fogarty.

The Early Years of the Administration on Aging

The first Commissioner on Aging, William Bechill (1965-1969), was a former social worker from California. During the early years, the activities of the AoA were essentially service-oriented to the most

economically disadvantaged aging and had little impact on the majority of older Americans: the borderline poor and the middle class. According to Bechill (1981a), the first four years of AoA were occupied with internal organization and the establishment of information pertaining to programs and regulations for the various state agencies or committees on aging. The first Commissioner on Aging stated that the limiting factor in program development for the borderline poor and middle class aging groups was the lack of federal personnel with training in either gerontology, geriatrics, or the administration of programs for older people. Another limiting factor was the \$6.5 million AoA budget.

Economists such as Leon Keyserling and Juanita Kreps held different views about the first four years of AoA (USCS, 1968a; WFTU, 1969). Keyserling posited that the agency budget should have been allocated in part to those aging persons who would contribute to economic growth, if they had been assisted by job training that held the potential for increased purchasing power. According to Kreps, because benefits were not tied to real income growth, general revenue financing was necessary. She raised questions about the extent and the mechanics for retirees to share in the growth of real national output. Also, Fitch, a spokesman for the National Council on Aging testified that programs for counseling of senior citizens should have been based on joint efforts between AoA and established voluntary organizations in the private sector (USCS, 1969). Gerontologist Harold Sheppard of the University of Michigan held that there had been both a failure to reeducate and update the skills of those 40 to 50 years of age in preparation for

later years, and a lack of outreach and counseling to "stress the importance of a second education" (Sheppard, 1970:99).

Flemming's Role in the Wingspread Conference of 1969

For the first time, on November 13, 1969, Flemming interacted with the field of organized adult education by accepting the invitation of Dr. Willard Thompson to become chairman of the Wingspread Conference on Adult Education (Thompson, 1981; Stillwell, 1980). The Wingspread Conference organized by Dr. Thompson was funded by the Johnson Wax Foundation and was held prior to the Galaxy Conference on Adult Education of December 6 to 11, 1969. According to an interview with Dr. Thompson, Flemming was selected to lead the Wingspread Conference in developing an agenda for adult education organizations for the following reasons:

He had remarkable leadership ability. Flemming was quick to see the great need for adult education. He rapidly became knowledgeable about the field, although this Conference was the first time he took an active part in adult education groups. Too, he had demonstrated his concern for education in general at both Macalester [University] and the University of Oregon. He was a distinguished educator. He was both capable and influential (Thompson, 1981).

As President of the University of Oregon, Flemming had been instrumental in the establishment of the first multidisciplinary university institute on aging in the Northwest, the Institute for Studies in Gerontology, and had received the American Association of University Professors' Meikeljohn Award for Academic Freedom in 1962. He had testified in favor of federal funding of public and private elementary and secondary education. Flemming had diplomatically suggested that students, not schools, be assisted by resources loaned,

not granted, to private schools (USCH, 1965a). At the time of the Wingspread Conference, Flemming was also Chairman of the American Council on Education, President of the National Council of Churches, and President of the National Council on Social Welfare. Cruikshank (1981), who had been a member of the National Council of Churches at the same time and was later appointed Chairman of the Federal Council on Aging, stated in an interview, "If he had chosen to enter the church, he could certainly have been a bishop." Even though he left the federal government at Cabinet rank, Flemming's combination of academic, political, and religious leadership in the private sector continued to enhance his stature. Flemming earned the appreciation and respect of the delegates for his organizational efforts at the Conference (Thompson, 1981; Carlson, 1970; Aries, 1971).

Under the leadership of Flemming, who was then president of Macalester University, forty-five leaders in education, business, and government met at the Wingspread Conference, where a set of eight "Imperatives for Action" were developed:

(1) the elimination of educational deficiencies; (2) the strengthening of adult and continuing education and community service efforts of community colleges and universities; (3) the necessity of adult and continuing education in the arts and humanities, public affairs.... (4) improving financial support for adult and continuing education; (5) ...appropriate opportunities in adult and continuing education for persons in low-income groups; (6) the strengthening within education institutions of supporting structures.... (7) the urging of national non-governmental organizations to strengthen their roles; (8) increasing public awareness; (9) the achievement of higher levels of federal support and coordination (Carlson, 1970; 244).

The Imperatives were guidelines for future action that expressed the general agreement of the Conference participants for increased organizational growth of adult education and financial support from

the local and federal levels of government. Education and training for older adults, however, were not among the areas of agreement.

The Coalition of Adult Education Organizations

In order to accomplish the "Imperatives," the Coalition of Adult Education Organizations (CAEO)* was established; its purpose was to support areas of common concern. The first president of CAEO was Hamilton Stillwell. A second organization, the Organization for Political Action, was founded as a political action unit for adult education to influence legislation at state and federal levels. At the first meeting, however, the political action group engaged in disputes over (1) the shape of political advocacy, (2) the unwillingness of some adult educators to engage in political action, and (3) the hierarchy of status among the leaders of the various adult education organizations (Aries, 1981). In these disputes and rivalries, Flemming acted as peacemaker and sought unanimity for the main purpose of the Wingspread Conference, namely, the development of a plan of action for the upcoming Galaxy Conference. Subsequently, the 1969 Galaxy Conference of Adult Education approved the "Imperatives for Action" on December 10, 1969, by a unanimous vote (Carlson, 1970; Aries, 1981).

In October of 1970, at the joint conference of AEA/US, NAPCAE and CNO, Ambassador Sargent Shriver, who was the keynote speaker, extended the "Imperative" approach in adult education to the older

* CAEO: NAPCAE (National Association of Public Community Adult Educators); NABAE (National Association of Black Adult Educators); NUEA (National University Extension Association); ASTD (American Society of Training Directors); AUEC (Association of University Evening Colleges); CNO (Council of National Organizations).

American:

The constituency of continuing education includes every able man and woman in the United States.... But nobody knows how many adults take part in all the countless forms of education...outside the educational establishment...we need to know what the federal and state governments are doing...and how that compares with what they do in the regular schools for the young.... Education is not a "preparation" for life.... Education does not end when you graduate.... Until now, we have placed almost all our official governmental resources behind an effort to provide sixteen consecutive years of classwork to young people between the ages of six and twenty-two. This allotment of resources is not satisfactory for young people...[they] do not have enough experience to benefit by prolonged classwork. It clearly is not satisfactory for older people...who are not given the opportunity to inquire, to study, and to develop new [and updated] skills (Shriver, 1970:148).

Flemming had been Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the Peace Corps when Shriver was Peace Corps Director and was familiar with Shriver's views. At the time of the Galaxy Conference, Flemming had been well aware of the growing need for lifelong learning and for education and training of adults for leadership in most areas of the management of the aging programs growing out of the Older Americans Act of 1965 (Aries, 1981; Thompson, 1981). Thus, even before the 1971 WHCA was proposed, Flemming was more concerned about the inadequate, outdated, or absent education and training of those adults who were managing and providing services to the newly-established programs of the AoA, than about education for the aging (Flemming, 1980c). To Flemming, it was most critical that aging services be effectively managed by trained personnel.

The 1971 White House Conference on Aging (WHCA)

After the 1965 congressional measures became law, many older persons still suffered significant declines in the quality of their

everyday lives. Economic factors such as inflation, lack of employment, escalating property taxes and increased costs for inadequate health service delivery were major factors. Proprietary nursing homes were underregulated. Both national aging policies and those agencies with programs related to aging were in serious need of coordination. Aging advocates in the public and private sectors had favored another White House Conference in order to stimulate increased interest in aging concerns at the local level. Most of the state directors on aging were political appointees who changed positions when political change occurred at the state level. There were few state organizations on aging that existed by legislative entitlement; some were governor-appointed state committees.

Congressional Hearings on the 1971 WHCA

In 1968, hearings were held on the Senate Joint Resolution to call a WHCA for the seventies (USCS, 1968a). Commissioner Bechill of AoA suggested that the Conference be called by Secretary Celebrezze instead of the President. Bechill also testified that several milestones had been passed since the 1961 WHCA; Medicare, the Older Americans Act of 1965 (OAA), the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, and Amendments to the OAA of 1967. Other milestones included the growth of voluntary organizations involved in aging and important amendments to national legislation.(Appendix N).

The role of the senior center as a grassroots structure for change was emerging during the sixties. In a systematic study conducted in 1969, members of senior centers or clubs were significantly more

active than non-members and mixed generation club members in their likelihood to discuss political and social issues (Trela, 1971). Other research supported these data about the aging, which showed differences not based on educational or socioeconomic levels (Rose and Peterson, 1965). The organized senior citizens segment of society has been one with which many aging persons still do not identify; but even with limited participation of its total constituency, advocates in the clubs and organizations have had some impact at the congressional level. According to Tiedt (1966), the heightened influence of newly organized power groups led to increased pluralism within community power structures and to new legislation guaranteeing human rights. Another factor was the increased level of education being attained by lower socioeconomic groups in the post-World War II period (Tiedt, 1966).

The Amendments of 1967 had called for a study to assess the need for training persons to serve the aging, as well as the types of training needed for those already employed. Anthropologist Margaret Mead testified that another WHCA was needed to specify changed conditions and the value to society of incorporating senior citizens' knowledge and experience in the changes that had occurred in order to avoid intergenerational gaps, "People are going to be born in one world, grow up in another, and die in a different one...we must incorporate experience" (USCS, 1968b:72). It was evident in these and most other testimony that the 1961 WHCA had acted as a stimulus in aging concerns, but that existing changes and problems required another WHCA for the seventies.

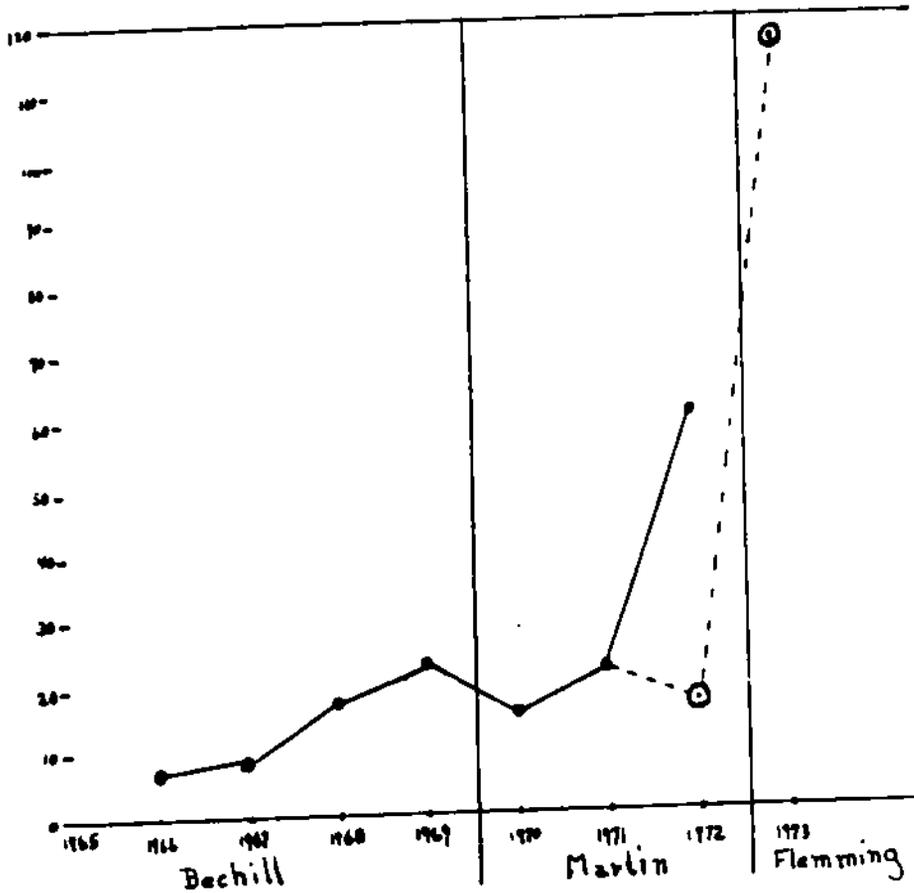
For example, in the final report of the 1971 WHCA to the President by Secretary DHEW Richardson, the underlying need for the

Conference was described:

Evaluation of the action taken during the last decade reveals that in spite of great strides, [Medicare, Medicaid, increased Social Security benefits, the Older Americans Act, the Administration on Aging] progress was at best sporadic and its momentum slowing. There was still no comprehensive set of national policies on which levels and parts of government were working together.... Older people were increasingly...in the desperate, life destroying circumstances of dire poverty.... Inflation was continuing.... Employment opportunities for retirees did not materialize.... Taxes, especially property taxes, climbed...new housing for the elderly lagged.... Health services remained fragmented.... Institutional care was increasingly allocated...to proprietary nursing homes, which needed stronger regulatory measures.... (USDHEW, 1972b:3).

The 1971 WHCA was a subject of conflict in Congress. Among other differences, conflicts in Congress occurred when the Senate Joint Resolution 117 on May 1, 1968, authorized \$4 million but a House Joint Resolution 1371 authorized only \$1.3 million; enabling legislation was finally made possible by a compromise Joint Resolution that became Public Law 90-526 on September 28, 1968.

Also listed as a problem was the reorganization within DHEW that occurred in 1965 when Secretary Celebrezze downgraded the Administration on Aging by placing it under another administrative unit, the Welfare Administration, "when two-thirds of its program responsibilities were gradually transferred to other units and agencies, and when the appropriation requested by the Department [HEW] for aging programs in 1967 was a fraction of the amount authorized by Congress" (USDHEW, 1972a:4). Secretary Celebrezze's reduced allocation of funds was another method for restricting the organizational development of AoA from 1965 to 1969.



Adapted from DHEW chart of Social and Rehabilitation Services in
Evaluation of Administration on Aging and Conduct of the White
House Conference on Aging, U.S. Congress, Senate, 92nd Cong.,
2nd Sess., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972, p.629.

Figure 5. Appropriations for the Administration on Aging,
 1966 through 1972* (in millions).
 ○ Request for funds
 ● Funds appropriated

Reorganization of the 1971 WHCA

In 1969, John B. Martin had been appointed Commissioner on Aging by President Nixon. The 1971 WHCA leadership consisted of Commissioner Martin, who served as Conference Director; Deputy Commissioner on Aging Willis M. Atwell, Conference Coordinator; and Webster B. Todd, Jr., Conference Executive Director.

Several of the persons interviewed for this study indicated that the organization of the WHCA had not proceeded on schedule and senior citizens' complaints about the 1971 WHCA leadership to their respective congressmen had increased. In order to improve people's response to the WHCA leadership and to broaden the base of support for the WHCA, President Nixon was urged by many individuals to bring Arthur S. Flemming to Washington in a position of Conference leadership. The President concurred. Flemming resigned as President of Macalester University and accepted the appointment of Conference Chairman in March, 1971.

Flemming's Role in the 1971 White House Conference on Aging

On March 29, 1971, Secretary of DHEW Elliott Richardson stated that the WHCA had been strengthened that week by the appointment of Flemming, who had been serving as Chairman of the WHCA Planning Board, to serve instead as full-time Chairman of the WHCA (USCS, 1971). At the same time in joint committee hearings, Senator Church criticized Commissioner on Aging Martin for the acceptance of the decrease in funds requested for training, development, and research. Figure 5 shows the difference between Martin's request and actual appropriation, as well

as Flemming's subsequent request.

Flemming found an important difference between the 1961 and 1971 White House Conferences on Aging. In 1961, few State Offices on Aging had been officially established. In 1971, however, largely as a result of the passage of the Older Americans Act of 1965, which mandated state plan approval as a prerequisite for federal funding, all fifty states and territorial units had either agencies, committees, or offices on aging. In support of the WHCA, Flemming directed the state agencies and offices on aging to carry out four major responsibilities: (1) survey the older population; (2) provide leadership training and instructions for community and state conferences; (3) provide organizational assistance for community conferences; and (4) promote and organize state conference activities (USDHEW, 1972b).

Flemming encouraged local flexibility in setting priorities. Regional conferences were organized and each region selected its own topic of highest priority. For example, Region I (Boston office) examined "Health Services--Intermediate and Long-Term Care"; Region II (New York office) "Needs of the Elderly in a Variety of Housing Situations"; Region III (Philadelphia office) "Methods to Improve the Income of Older Minority Groups"; Region IV (Atlanta office) "Roles and Activities of Older Persons"; Region V (Chicago office) "Health Maintenance"; Region VI (Dallas office) "Needs and Problems of Older Mexican Americans"; Region VII (Kansas City office) "Rural Transportation"; Region VIII (Denver office) "Education for the Elderly"; Region IX (Seattle office) "State Reports" (USDHEW, 1972b:29). The regional conference variations indicated the wide range of priorities and

differing major concerns in the regions.

Similar to his role of coordination of federal agencies in support of the 1961 WHCA, Flemming promoted assistance for the 1971 WHCA among the following ten agencies which contributed agency personnel and conference assistance: the Departments of Agriculture; Commerce; Defense; Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Affairs; Labor; Transportation; Treasury; the Veterans Administration; and the Office of Economic Opportunity. In addition, Flemming supported the invitation of twenty-two foreign nations, which subsequently sent observers to the Conference. These organizational promotions increased visibility and publicity for the WHCA.

The 1971 WHCA Papers on Background and Issues

In order to provide information for the discussions of the issues for policies that affected aging persons, Background and Issues papers were prepared for the WHCA (USDHEW, 1972c). The issues section for each background paper, however, was drafted by each of the 14 Technical Committees for that subject area. Serving each Technical Committee was a Secretariat of federal agency personnel, which acted in an advisory capacity. Committee members who were selected on the basis of proven competence in their fields sometimes provided direct guidance instead of advice. After consideration of background papers, salient issues were drafted by the Technical Committees for the consideration of the delegates to the WHCA. An issue was defined as follows:

An issue is a question--resolvable in two or more ways--formulated for the purpose of determining what broad policy or action would be taken to move toward a specific, goal-oriented objective (USDHEW, 1972c:12).

The Technical Committee focused the delegates' attention to issues they perceived as significant by describing the above issues before any recommendations were considered by the Education Committee. Not all issues of importance to the education and training of older people were listed or considered.

Recommendations to Congress were prepared by the delegates after they deliberated the issues presented to each of the 14 sections: Education; Employment and Retirement; Physical and Mental Health; Housing; Income; Nutrition; Retirement Roles and Activities; Spiritual Well-Being; Transportation; Facilities; Programs and Services; Government and Non-Government Organization; Planning, Research and Demonstration; and Training.

The Technical Committee on Education

Of special interest to this study is the report of the Technical Committee on Education, prepared with the collaboration of Dr. Howard Y. McClusky, Professor Emeritus of Education at the University of Michigan. This committee framed the issues to be considered by the WHCA delegates on the Committee:

...we have been arriving at a state in societal development where learning is an essential condition for participation in the world about us...and if that learning is to be relevant to one's particular situation, any consideration of the education needs of the older person must confront the realities of the impact of change in that state of the life cycle...and should lead to an educational program markedly different from that associated with the 'credential' system.... Education for aging...is a comparatively recent step-child of the educational establishment...it is discouraging to report that there is no unit in the Federal Government to which education for aging has been explicitly assigned as a major or exclusive function; there is none in the Office of Education, and none in the Administration on Aging...the American Council on Education and the National Education Association. Since its

founding in 1961, the Adult Education Association...has had a section on education on aging.... [I]n both public and private domains at the national level...it will be found in the programs of...the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Council on the Aging.... [O]f all the 50 states, only New York has a unit devoted exclusively to education for aging (USDHEW, 1971:5).

From this critical review, several noteworthy issues were identified. Foremost was the clear demarcation between educational programs for the aging and the traditional programs produced for younger adults. Of almost equal importance was the discouraging revelation that there was no unit for education for aging in any federal agency, and only one state unit in all of the 50 states. It is of interest that even in McClusky's critique, no office, individual, political process or organization was listed as being responsible. It is perhaps even more surprising that in an interview, former Commissioner on Aging John Martin (1981) stated that he could not recall any type of request for education for aging persons.

In terms of the sociopolitical framework during the 1971 WHCA, all sectors of society had been affected in some way by the Vietnam War, a controversial war in which significant numbers of teenagers and young men refused military service. Many educational institutions suffered rioting, lock-outs, bombings, demonstrations, sit-ins, and other forms of protest against "irrelevance", "lack of responsiveness to student needs", "lack of student representation", in the decision-making process of the educational enterprise (Butz, 1967; Scranton, 1970; Conde, 1971; Dickstein, 1977). Therefore, it seemed reasonable to the 1971 WHCA delegates to hear the same type of criticism about unresponsiveness to the needs of education for aging at both federal and state levels:

In the case of these agencies [schools, churches, unions, libraries, associations, etc.] education for aging should appear as an explicit and separate commitment in both statements of purpose and as a line item in budget. It should not be allowed to become buried...or lost in general expressions of pious intent. This point is particularly relevant at the Federal level. Nowhere does the Federal Government take specific and primary responsibility for leadership in the field of education for aging--neither in the Administration on Aging nor in the Office of Education. This deficit is a scandal and should be liquidated in the immediate future...for immediate purposes, the bulk of education for older persons will be devoted to helping them cope...[but] society's stake in the education of older persons...is an investment by society in resource development. It is based on the assumption that older persons have experience and special assets which society needs (WHCA, 1971:15).

At the time of the 1971 WHCA, there was a lack of commitment to education and training for the aging in almost all sectors of society. It was apparent from McClusky's statements that there had been little discernable progress in this area of aging concerns since the 1961 WHCA.

The eight issues drafted by the Technical Committee on Education were presented to the delegates as an either/or construction:

1. Public funding for older people would be either (a) minimal compared to the young because of their fewer years of life expectancy, or (b) related to their population percentage because of the legitimacy of their educational needs.

2. Priority of education should be (a) higher because relevant educational programming could increase coping ability, or (b) remain low because it is designed to fill leisure hours.

3. Primary responsibility for education should be vested in (a) U.S. and state Office of Education, or (b) the AoA and the aging network at the community level.

4. Implementation of education should be (a) for age peers, or (b) for persons of a range of ages.

5. Funding priority of education for aging should be (a) for research, or (b) implementation of successful demonstration programs.

6. Education about the political process should stress (a) knowledge of group techniques, or (b) knowledge of individual participation.

7. Education services should be directed toward older persons who (a) actively participate in education programs, or (b) those aging persons difficult to reach.

8. Educational programs should be (a) designed and offered by educators for the elderly, or (b) offered only when older people request and help develop educational services.

The eight issues did not mention as an alternative the possibility of utilizing elderly educators to educate and train other older persons.

The recommendations passed by the delegates and submitted for congressional consideration were based upon the assumption that education is a basic right or entitlement of all persons of all age groups in the United States. A system of priorities to guide the legislators was not provided by the delegates. The delegates made these recommendations: (1) access to educational opportunities for all older persons, including special populations and non-English speaking elderly; (2) public libraries and the Library Services and Construction Act to be utilized for older persons; (3) matching funds, tuition, transportation barriers to be eliminated; (4) funding, be increased proportional to the aging persons who should participate in program design in service organizations and the federal government; (5) a national awareness campaign be conducted through mass media and

educational systems; (6) knowledge about aging be included in all levels of education; (7) public education be responsible for preretirement education and higher education be responsible for professional preparation of specialists in aging; (8) the AoA be accorded status and financing appropriate to its tasks; and (9) a Division of Education for Aging be established in the Office of Education and every state department of education have full-time staff to implement programs in education for aging (USDHEW, 1972c). During the seventies, the Education Committee recommendations were to be treated in congressional review and evaluation of the 1971 WHCA as part of the senior citizens' 900 directives to both Congress and the Commissioner on Aging.

Although the Senate Committee on Aging report in March recommended that reliable projections be developed for the aging and specifically recommended three bills be enacted, the Committee's legislative thrust was not in keeping with President Nixon's proposals (USCS, 1972). The Committee's three bills were the Federal Employees Pre-Retirement Assistance Act (S. 1392), the Adult Education Opportunity Act (S. 1037), and the Community School Center Development Act (S. 2689). The rationale for the legislation is of interest because of the indirect or potential benefit to the aging. For example, for S. 1392, it was hoped that other employers would imitate the federal pre-retirement programs; for S. 1037 and S. 2689, it was hoped that education programs and community school centers would serve people of all ages and backgrounds, without designating these groups and their specific benefits.

But President Nixon proposed a totally different approach and allocation of funds: (1) program development in each state to create

consumer education for older citizens; (2) encourage the provision of more space for senior centers within housing projects for the elderly; (3) a national program to expand employment opportunities for persons over 65; and (4) a DHEW Technical Advisory Committee on Aging Research to develop a comprehensive plan for economic, social, psychological, health, and education research on aging (USCH, 1972).

Despite the President's program to expand job opportunities for older persons, older federal employees lost both opportunities for jobs and training. In May of 1972, a report to the Senate's Special Committee on Aging by Heidbreder (1972) described six results of the Office of Management and Budget order for an across-the-board 5 percent cut in agency personnel (RIF) and a reduction in grade levels scheduled for completion by June 1972:

1. Compared to 1969, discontinued service or involuntary early retirement increased sixfold.
2. The majority of involuntary retirees were between the ages of 50 and 59.
3. Early retirement annuities averaged losses greater than one-third of full career provisions.
4. Senior career employees narrow job descriptions prevented competition for jobs with lower ratings.
5. RIF statistics showed 38 percent who were laid off were age 50 and over, and 62 percent were 40 or over.
6. Upper age limits on some federal training programs prevented participation by employees over 45, and in some cases, 35.

Except for the reduction in tuition barriers and professional

preparation of young and middle-aged specialists in aging, the delegates' recommendations for education were unanswered. It would have been a matter of important administrative leverage to the next Commissioner on Aging if a Division on Education for Aging had been established as part of the national and/or state offices of education.

Flemming's Appointment as Special Consultant
in Aging to the President

One of the unexpected events occurred toward the end of the WHCA when it became known that Flemming had been urging President Nixon to increase the AoA budget four-fold to \$80 million. The President stated:

Now, Dr. Flemming is known to you from having presided over this Conference. He is also known as a great educator. I knew him as a member of the Cabinet. Beneath that very genteel exterior is one of the most tenacious men I have known. So you have a good representative there speaking for your problems.

The second step I have taken is that I have directed that your recommendations be put at the top of the agenda of our Cabinet-level Committee on Aging, in which Dr. Flemming also plays a leading role.

Finally, I have asked Dr. Flemming to create a post-Conference board to act as your agent in following up on your proposals. When matters that affect the interests of older Americans are being discussed in the White House, I am determined that the voice of older Americans will be heard. That is my commitment to you.

...We want to begin by increasing the present budget of the Administration on Aging nearly five-fold--to 10 million dollars. Now, you may wonder where I got that number. I must say, I heard from a number of you and I heard from Arthur Flemming. He didn't know about the number until this morning because it was 80 million dollars last night, and I decided, why not 100 million dollars? (USDHEW, 1972b:141).

The President had made a public commitment to recommend to Congress a huge percentage increase in AoA funding due to Flemming's persuasion, and to retain Flemming at the executive level as an advocate for the aging in the new role of Chairman of the Post-Conference Board of the WHCA.

Flemming's Post-Conference Views on Education
and Training for Older Adults

After the 1971 WHCA, Flemming presented his views on education and training for older Americans to the industrial and business sector:

We want to continue to be involved in life, we do not want to be put on the shelf. This message, it seems to me, is being transmitted by older persons--poor, middle income, and wealthy.... It is my conviction that our society must endeavor to provide genuine opportunities for second careers for those who are involuntarily oftentimes separated from their first careers because the calendar has caught up with them.... I believe that there can be involvement in life on the part of older persons without older persons being put into competition with persons in the regular labor force. This will happen if we put our emphasis on seeking involvement in the service functions of life.... I believe that it is possible to work out full-time, part-time, voluntary employment opportunities in the service occupations without getting into direct competition with the regular labor market.... It is clear to me that older persons regard their Number One problem as the problem of income.... Deep down this is the prayer of each one of us, that in terms of constructive service to our fellow human beings, our last days will be our best days (USDHEW, 1972b:11-19).

In these comments to the private sector, Flemming included himself among the aging and indicated that the aging of all socio-economic groups were being by-passed by the mainstream of society. He presented the possibility that the creation of part-time, full-time and voluntary work opportunities for the aging would integrate more aging persons into the larger society and provide needed income. He expressed his belief that the types of work selected by older persons usually would not place them in competition with younger adults. At this time, Flemming indicated that the aging needed to reenter or remain in the work force. But they also needed to serve as visible volunteers in the community and have the opportunity to have their last days be their best days.

Conclusion

Even before Flemming completed his follow-up activities as Post-Conference Chairman, his priority for health care for the aging had broadened to concern over basic daily survival needs, especially the elderly poor and isolated. During his activities on the 1971 WHCA, Flemming was impressed with the widespread need for in-home care of the aging, preferably by trained older health workers. He believed that with a network of senior citizen health aides, the hospitalization and institutionalization of many of the nation's elderly could be postponed or entirely avoided. Teachers at the community school and college levels, however, were themselves untrained for teaching health aides to serve less independent older people. He was also deeply concerned about the local delivery of nutrition programs and other services by untrained people (Flemming, 1980b). His priority for the daily survival needs of the aging would affect his future decisions about the use of education and training funds from 1973 to 1978.

In order to understand the level of accomplishment achieved by Flemming as Chairman of the 1971 WHCA, it is important to note the major organizational difference between the 1961 and 1971 conferences. In 1961, few state offices on aging were in existence, but after 1965, the AoA funds were released only after state plan approval. Appendix O shows a three-level flow chart of the national network on aging before Flemming's tenure. By 1971, pre-conference activities by state organizations provided local conference experience to thousands of state delegates, as well as training, publicity, and some demographic infor-

mation about state aged populations. The major thrust of the 1961 conference was to create public awareness of aging issues, but in 1971, the conference focused on explicit interests for the AoA and Congress to address (McClusky, 1979b). Flemming obtained both personal support and funding commitments from President Nixon during the 1971 conference, but had obtained limited commitments from outgoing President Eisenhower. During both the 1971 conference and the Wingspread Conference that preceded it, Flemming functioned as leader and peacemaker. In an interview statement, McClusky added:

It was reassuring to us to have a status person like Flemming in a position of leadership because he added prestige to the field of adult education. The Wingspread Conference was a policy meeting, but aging was not in our thinking. When there were problems, he would be called as an expeditor. In both conferences he made his own signals, but he was certainly sensitive to other people's signals. Flemming's power was his religious convictions, his capability and credibility. He was respected by people of all political persuasions (McClusky, 1979).

Also, it is of interest to note a major similarity, namely, in 1971 and 1961 some education recommendations were distributed among the other conference sections, such as the pre-retirement section. Other similarities were broad idealistic requests for: (1) a national priority for education for aging; (2) a national education information campaign; (3) elimination in higher education of matching funds, transportation and other costs; (4) full-time staff for aging education in state education departments; and (5) no funding mechanisms for implementing the education recommendations.

Flemming's activities to strengthen the flagging support among the aging and their organizational leaders demonstrated his ability to reconcile grievances and achieve consensus by the end of the 1971 WHCA.

For example, before the 1971 WHCA took place, various detractors testified before Congress (USCH, 1971). Several delegates stated that (1) the gerontology leadership was slow to recognize education as an area of concern, and (2) there were few area agencies on aging, which would provide advocacy for education and training issues at the local level (Appendix 0). The Gerontology Society wanted research to be the main task for the seventies rather than recommendations from "committees of citizens" (USCS, 1971:116); Senators Church and Prouty wanted the status of AoA upgraded in DHEW structure (USCS, 1971). The National Council of Senior Citizens were critical of Commissioner of AoA Martin's support of administration budget cuts (USCS, 1971). The National Association of State Units on Aging were critical of Commissioner Martin's permitting grant awards under Title IV and V, Older Americans Act, to be "pirated" by the Social and REhabilitation Services Administration, DHEW (USCS, 1971:46).

As a member of the Peace Corps Advisory Committee, Flemming had the opportunity to learn about the striking effectiveness of trained leadership in creating important improvements in the quality of life at the local level. Flemming's view of the role of higher education to serve the needs of older adults was to conduct research, educate practitioners in aging as program managers and train those involved in the delivery of services to the aging and frail elderly at the local level (Flemming, 1980b). Flemming's awareness of the need for a network of area agencies on aging and for trained people to provide services and leadership to aging at the community/neighborhood level was to shape aging programs during his tenure as Commissioner on Aging, from 1973 to 1978.

CHAPTER 5

THE YEARS AS COMMISSIONER ON AGING, 1973-1978

In June 1973 at age 68, Arthur S. Flemming was sworn in by DHEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger as U.S. Commissioner on Aging in a division of DHEW, an agency which he had directed 25 years earlier. As both an educator and experienced federal administrator, Flemming raised expectations of addressing educational needs of all socioeconomic groups of the aging population among educators and gerontologists. During his tenure, Flemming interacted with leaders in adult education, 1971 WHCA participants, university and college gerontology program leaders, voluntary associations, aging organizations, geriatric specialists, gerontologists, and most intensively, with the leadership of the state and local area agencies on aging and the public and private sponsors of area agencies on aging. Flemming's formal and informal advocacy roles with congressional committees, Administration White House staff, foundations, and private sector leaders were directed toward the assessment and development of programs and structures to best serve the aging. The subsequent administrative innovations, successes, and failures during Flemming's tenure serve as lessons in organizational accomplishment, legislative liaison, and the political pragmatism necessary in public administration. His contributions to education and training which benefited older Americans were shaped by the WHCA, the Administration policies on educational benefits, the congressional committees, and Flemming's assessment of educational priorities for the aging.

The Post-White House Conference on Aging Reports, 1973

In June of 1973, Flemming submitted the final reports of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging to the 93d Congress. The first report, "Toward a New Attitude in Aging--April 1973," presented the Administration's continuing response to the recommendations of the Conference delegates. The second report presented the responses of two groups to Conference recommendations: (1) a study panel composed of established experts and representatives of minorities, the aging, rural, and youth, and (2) state agencies, state legislatures, and the private sector. The reports were submitted as one document to the Senate Committee on Labor and Welfare, Special Committee on Aging, and Subcommittee on Aging (USCS, 1973a). The document was also submitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives because the House Select Committee on Aging was created in the 93d Congress, 2nd Session, by H.R. 988.

In their response to the AoA reports, the joint Senate committees stated:

...for an Administration to want to put its best foot forward.... "Towards a New Attitude in Aging" does just that...the report is significant because it apparently represents official policy which has been cleared by the Office of Management and Budget. We must point out that the authors of this report identify some actions that were initiated by the Congress and enacted, very often, in the face of vigorous Administration opposition. Fortunately...study panels of the Post-Conference Board have made available...information which, on occasion, challenges Administration goals or the Administration version of past history (USCS, 1973a:iii).

Implicit in the Senators' reaction was their jealously-guarded prestige and pride in creating national laws that affect the lives of residents of the United States, as well as their appreciation of the

constructive accomplishments of the knowledgeable citizens on the study panels. The utilization of informed citizen panels had been a useful methodology in Flemming's past administrative experiences, e.g., the two Hoover Commissions. Flemming had obtained the President's approval to establish the Post-Conference Board and act as the conferees agent and his study panels earned the Senators' acknowledgment of his organizational skill.

The Administration Attitude on Aging in 1973

In the first report, "Toward a New Attitude on Aging," the Nixon Administration's strategy to obtain independence for the aging consisted of "an intense new effort to develop coordinated services" among the federal resources for services to older persons "to make sure that those large sums are spent in such a manner as to be of maximum benefit" (USCS, 1973a:vi). In describing the Administration support of certain activities, such as voluntary community services, the type and level of support was clear:

Volunteer programs for older persons have been markedly expanded, including a doubling of funds for the Foster Grandparents Program, and a tripling of funds for the Retired Senior Volunteer Program.... (USCS, 1973a:viii).

In discussing educational opportunities, however, the language specificity lessened and terms such as "due consideration," "policy of encouraging," "benefiting," and non-numerical "funds" are used to describe the Administration's four recommended actions:

Guidelines furnished the States under the Older Americans Act will provide that due consideration be given to educational services in planning of service programs.

The Administration will support the use of Administration on Aging model project funds to inaugurate in conjunction with the Office of

Education demonstration projects designed to establish education services for older persons.

The Administration will pursue a policy of encouraging States, local school districts and institutions of higher learning where appropriate, to use a large proportion of federal funds allocated to them, including vocational and adult education funds, to provide older persons with educational opportunities.

The Veterans Administration is actively engaged in educational programs benefiting elderly veterans (USCS, 1973a:viii).

Within the same report, a table of estimated federal funds for all aging programs, including trust funds, placed in sharp contrast the Administration's low priority for educational opportunities to increase independence (Table 3). The smallest allocation was made to the Office on Education. These attitudes and the low educational budget allocation were the Administration's response to the Conference recommendations to provide education and training for older persons.

Later follow-up hearings on the 1971 WHCA by Congress revealed that about 160 community colleges had subsequently responded and had offered free or reduced tuition to older people. Also, AoA had supported workshops and short-term programs in retirement counseling, consumer education, health care workshops, housing assistance, and training programs for nursing home staff. In view of the Administration's policies, recommendations of the WHCA for further development of educational opportunities for the elderly were not addressed by AoA (USCH, 1976:42).

Summary of the 1971 WHCA Recommendations on Education

In general, the recommendations were couched in philosophical terms and fell short of estimating their target groups, predicting

Table 3

Total Federal Funds Serving the Needs of Persons 65 and Over
(USCS, 1973a)

<u>Trust Fund Financing</u>	<u>Income and Services</u> (estimated in millions)*
Civil Service Commission/Retirement Health Benefits	2,546
DHEW, Social Security Benefits	40,722
Labor, Unemployment Compensation	282
Railroad Retirement Board, Retirement/ Health Benefits	2,054
 <u>General Revenue Financing</u>	
ACTION	40***
Agriculture	412
Defense	516
DHEW, Office of Education	2
DHEW, Public Health Service	68
DHEW, Social and Rehabilitation Service	3,291
DHEW, Social Security Administration	2,454
Housing and Urban Development	446
Labor	20
Office of Economic Opportunity	101***
Transportation	12
Veterans Administration	2,880

* Subject to adjustments resulting from final congressional action
on the President's Fiscal Year 1973 budget request

** for persons 60 years and over

*** for persons 55 years and over

desirable outcomes, or identifying the agency or congressional committee or administrator to be responsible for a particular recommendation. Also, developing recommendation consensus among the delegates presented difficulties because the voluntary aging organizations at the 1971 WHCA had diversity of internal structure, mutual jealousies, and different constituencies which threatened Conference collaboration in many areas, including education. Flemming, "who was able and willing to serve in the role of mediator," held group leaders meetings in his suite and had created areas of consensus among the leaders (Pratt, 1976:130).

The majority of the delegates in the Education Section had described educational needs for both information or general knowledge, and for coping skills for those programs and societal changes that their parents' generation had not needed to learn. Most of the 1971 WHCA delegates were well aware of the increased funding required for educational programs and they recommended federal, state, and local funds be distributed according to the proportion of aging persons in the jurisdictions. They also recommended that public libraries be used as primary learning resources. There was no mention, however, of professional librarians' lack of training as educators, or awareness that architectural constraints made some libraries unsuitable for group activity for the aging. There were recommendations for formal and informal adult education to be made available, flexible, free, convenient, and for subsidized transportation to be provided. There was no recommendation for federal funding legislation to require educational institutions and state departments of education to comply with these recommendations. That the Administration's "Assistant

Secretary of Education will personally urge chief state school officers to give more consideration to the needs of older persons" was a far cry from withholding federal funds for non-compliance with federal mandate (USCS, 1973a:67).

Summary of the Study Panel Report on Education in 1973

As Chairman of the Post-Conference Board, Flemming appointed a study panel for each of the major sections of the 1971 WHCA. Each study panel had responsibility to (1) assess the recommendations, (2) identify the agencies and organizations suitable to take action on the recommendations, and (3) to provide new strategies for implementation. It is of interest to note that the Post-Conference Board divested itself of any attachment to the attitudes and responses of the several parties:

The Post Conference Board takes no responsibility for the resources for the Administration listed under each recommendation or the Congressional report listed in the Appendix.... The evaluating of the response, and the Board findings and opinions are contained solely in the Study Panel responses (USCS, 1973a:208).

The Study Panel's review of the Administration's responses to the thirty-two recommendations on education for the aging shared the Administration's inability to perceive of new programs of adult education for the older population. The Panel merely suggested that adult education include older members, and education about aging should be integrated into education for all age groups. In addition, the Panel contended that expansion of adult education programs would not be implemented until the U.S. Office of Education was charged with an ongoing commitment to educate older adults and was given the necessary staff support. The Panel urged that courses with new formats outside

of traditional education or state departments of education illiteracy programs be explored. Two examples suggested were "using older persons as teachers for people of all ages and different settings such as libraries" (USCS, 1973a:217).

Three actions designed for the 1970s were presented by the panel: (1) that a fixed percentage of AoA research and demonstration funds be allocated for education for the aging, (2) that steps be taken to address the educational needs of minorities and other underserved aging, and (3) that the AoA Title V training program must be continued in order to address the critical shortage of trained persons to work in education and other areas of aging. The Panel expressed concern over the Administration's decision to discontinue Title V. The first two actions suggested by the Panel were severely underfunded, but not opposed by the Administration; however, the critical shortage of trained persons needed to serve the aging and aged became a topic of controversy in the Senate Special Committee on Aging during the latter part of 1973. With candor, the Study Panel strategy pointed to an important sin of omission by both the educators and the aging in relation to national and local leaders:

It is a matter of some importance that as yet older people themselves have not seen fit to insist on educational opportunity, and that those who might be expected to be their advocates have not made themselves heard.... In the final analysis, however, the entire process of developing educational opportunities for older Americans will be at a standstill until such time as national, state, and local leaders perceive educational opportunity for the elderly as a social imperative...and mandate the development of programs by providing fiscal support (USCS, 1973a:805).

By 1973, only three items of national legislation mentioned the education and training of older Americans and were included in the

proposed Older Americans Comprehensive Service Amendments, H.R. 15657 and S.4044.: (1) A Model Projects program concentrated on special problems of the elderly, including continuing education; but which shared limited funding with housing, transportation, pre-retirement counseling, and social services. (2) A program established Multidisciplinary Centers of Gerontology to conduct basic and applied research on (a) education, work and leisure of older Americans, (b) living arrangements, (c) the economics of aging, and (d) related areas of research. (3) The Middle-Aged and Older Workers Training Act provided training, counseling, and special supportive services for the unemployed or underemployed poverty group aged 45 or older, and included recruitment and placement. The latter Training Act was first introduced as a Comprehensive Service Amendment, but the conference bill had been pocket-vetoed by the President on October 30, 1972. On January 4, 1973, the Training Act was reintroduced as Title X of the Service Amendments and passed by the Senate, but Title X was deleted from the House version of the bill, which passed on March 13, 1973. The elimination of education and training for older persons from the protection of national legislation reduced the independence and income security of both the middle aged and aging poverty groups and contributed to their removal from the work force. During the Nixon Administration, education and training for older people was almost dead. Paradoxically, the Research on Aging Act (S887-H.R. 6175) established the National Institute on Aging (NIA) at the National Institutes of Health in 1974 to conduct biomedical and psychosocial research to improve the viability, vitality, mental well-being, and functionality of older Americans. As Robert N.

Butler, Director of NIA, recently reiterated, "The inherent or natural lifespan has never really been extended, rather the life expectancy or survival into old age has been improved" (USCS, 1980:11). The invigorative effect of accessible education programs of different levels of complexity remained available only to the illiterate elderly and the more affluent older Americans. According to Pratt (1976), the impact of the 1971 WHCA recommendations was best seen in the strong presumptive evidence of legislative accomplishments and AoA programs, which subsequently occurred during Flemming's tenure as Advisor to the President on Aging in 1972 and as Commissioner on Aging in 1973.

Congressional Testimony of Commissioner Flemming
on Education and Training

Historically, it was a unique presidential appointment when Dr. Arthur S. Flemming became Commissioner on Aging in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare because of the shift in relationships. Flemming had been Secretary of DHEW when President Nixon had been Vice President of the United States. Due to the prior political relationships, Flemming enjoyed the confidence of the Chief Executive. Nevertheless, in common with all presidential appointees, Flemming was required to present Administration policy positively in testimony before congressional committees.

Congressional committee staff members stated that if negative personal opinions were given to Congress by appointees, they were censured by the Administration or even asked to resign (Oriol, 1981; Kilmer, 1981). Testimony was important because it was in congressional

committees and before legislation was reported to the floor of the Senate or House that facts and opinions were sifted, compared, criticized, and weighed for social relevance and political consequences. Then, legislation was written and reported out of committee, or allowed to die. Ultimately, the limiting committees were those that controlled the appropriation of funds in both houses of Congress. For example, the Higher Education Act of 1976, Title I, which included education for older adults, was mandated at \$100 million, but funded at only \$10 million for the development and assessment of a national education program.

Flemming's Testimony Before the Senate Special Committee on Aging

On June 21, 1973, Flemming appeared before the Senate Special Committee on Aging for hearings on training needs in gerontology (USCS, 1973c). The U.S. House of Representatives had not yet created a standing committee on aging. Assistant Secretary of Legislation of DHEW, Stephan Kurzman, commended Flemming's stature and dedication to aging before the hearing's opening statement by Senator Chiles (FL.). Senator Chiles' statement emphasized that gerontology training programs at colleges and universities would be curtailed or terminated if the Administration's proposal to phase out training funds were implemented; he was specifically concerned about second-career students such as those enrolled at the University of South Florida. Senator Chiles cited the testimonies of previous witnesses, including Dr. Walter Beattie of Syracuse University, who stated that universities had not been given time to seek alternative funding, and Dr. Percil Stanford of California State University, who said that in addition to the general shortage of

trained persons to work with the aging, there were even greater shortages of persons to work with various minorities. After stating that many of those who worked with programs for the elderly never had training in aging matters or in the aging process, even though services under the Older Americans Act had been expanding, the Senator concluded that "the need for personnel trained in the gerontology field is not only desperately needed but is now suffering from the lack of specialists in the field" (USCS, 1973c:96).

Assistant Secretary Kurzman introduced three DHEW agency chiefs, including Flemming, and three division staff directors of the agencies to the senators. One of the division members present was Dr. Clark Tibbitts, Director of Training at AoA since 1966. Tibbitts explained that up to that time, information from the training programs had been impressionistic, but there was in process a study to provide a comprehensive assessment. He selected several factors from the study as committee testimony:

1. At the onset, AoA decided to focus on the recruiting and provision of career preparation in aging to address the critical shortage of trained people.

2. The training was directed to service practitioners and teachers for federal, state, and community programs because the Public Health Service had large training resources for health manpower, which could be shared with health programs in the field of aging.

3. In 1973, there were 47 colleges and universities conducting AoA-funded programs in which 2,596 students and 779 graduates (most at the Masters level) were enrolled.

4. Short-term training was provided to about 23,000 persons.

5. Grants were awarded to develop training materials, higher education curricula, national surveys of college-level courses available to the aging by the Adult Education Association of the United States (AEA/US) and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges (AACJC).

6. The total seven-year training investment since 1966 was \$20.7 million.

Tibbitts reported that three-fourths of all trainees, including those who left the field of aging or were unemployed (31 percent), retained a strong interest in the field of aging. He commented that the bold entry of Brandeis and Minnesota Universities had a domino effect on other institutions which subsequently incorporated gerontological education.

Dr. Andrew Korin, AACJC, criticized the lack of emphasis on service provider training at the paraprofessional level.

Trained researchers, planners and administrators must be complemented with trained paraprofessionals.... The nation cannot afford the luxury of a trained corps of professionals working with untrained service-rendering personnel.... How can funds under education legislation be pooled together with the 'Older Americans Comprehensive Services Amendments of 1973' to support manpower development programs? (USCS, 1973c:170).

This criticism proved to be prophetic. According to Donahue (1980), there was an oversupply of graduate level gerontologists for the management level positions funded; and Flemming (1980a) stated that there was an undersupply of trained paraprofessionals, such as homemaker aides.

During the verbal exchange between Kurzman and the senators,

Kurzman stated that the Administration's reason for phasing out categorical student assistance funds to institutions was to eliminate the opportunistic use of educational funding by universities and, instead, substitute opportunity grants to students to attract strongly motivated students to the field of aging. Kurzman submitted that in 1974, centers for aging and institutions would also get greater funding from demonstration training projects and research, e.g. AoA \$7 million, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) \$11.8 million, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) \$4.5 million for radiation effects on aging and degenerative processes, and the Veterans Administration (VA) \$.5 million for research on aging. Senator Chiles questioned the premise that research dollars from DHEW would benefit training students or university aging programs. The critical tone of exchange altered when Kurzman turned to Flemming, who explained that thirteen federal departments and agencies had authority and resources for research programs in aging but were "traveling their own paths" (USCS, 1973c:104). Flemming proposed that AoA would provide one focal point of research information for grants on aging that would produce a broad basis of federal support rather than depending on the fate of one program. Senators Chiles and Fong (HI) questioned Flemming's power to obtain interagency cooperation, to which Flemming replied:

Having been on the other side of the table for 10 years [as university president] I know that it is difficult for any one institution to identify all of the departments and agencies of the government that are involved in research in aging.... The President ...established a Cabinet-level Committee on Aging and the Secretary of HEW is the chairman.... [Now] the Secretary with the concurrence of the President...as executive chairman...expects me to coordinate all of the executive branch's activities in the field of aging.... The 1974 budget request includes \$196 million for these programs

as contrasted with \$44.5 million available at the present time (USCS, 1973 :105, 109).

After reminding the senators that he was an academic as well as an agency administrator, Flemming indicated the President's personal support for his coordinating role even though interagency coordination was usually reserved for Cabinet-rank department chiefs. Senator Chiles felt that his congressional authority had been usurped and the Congress should have something to say to this matter of budget for aging. To which Flemming replied:

Of course, the Congress will make the final determination of that recommendation, as it appropriates the funds for 1974...[DHEW] is simply taking note of the decision reflected in the President's 1974 budget...Congress might arrive at different conclusions.... The President, through his budget...does give the individual student the maximum opportunity of freedom...not unduly influenced ...[by] financial inducements.... I personally favor a policy which gives the individual student maximum freedom in making his decision...aging has not been singled out here in the President's 1974 budget. It is part of a broad policy decision that affects quite a number of areas (USCS, 1973 :108, 120).

Several academic administrators and gerontologists, who neither wished to be listed as interviewed nor quoted, felt that Flemming's concurrence with the Administration made it more difficult to maintain a gerontology program budget on the basis of direct grants to students. In one case, Flemming was blamed for university administration's loss of interest in gerontology as either curriculum or program material because of direct student grants.

Similarly, on February 23, 1973, in Washington, D.C., the Gerontology Society statement agreed:

We feel that the burden of proof lies on those who assert that continued special investment in gerontological training is not needed. The fact is that the elderly in this society face cultural biases...attitudes and institutional barriers limit that attract-

iveness of gerontology as an interest which competes effectively with alternate careers (USCS, 1973c:131).

The former Commissioner on Aging, John B. Martin (1968-1973) also testified that the news media were reporting "terrifying neglect of the aged" in proprietary facilities and posited that AoA experience had demonstrated that training programs can change attitudes and improve performance toward the aging. He concluded, "I would urge that a sound training program not be abandoned" (USCS, 1973c:146). In subsequent written testimony to the Committee, Kurzman pointed out that AoA had been unable to make fiscal year 1973 awards to educational institutions or organizations for the purpose of evaluating any and all programs (USCS, 1973c:151).

Congress then overrode the rescission of funds recommended in the President's budget, and Flemming had observed appointee protocol by presenting the administration's policy and supporting the President's budget. Thus, for fiscal year 1974, on recommendation of the Senate Committee on Aging and despite Administration opposition, \$9.5 million was appropriated to AoA for training under Title IV, part A of the Older Americans Act, as amended.

Flemming's Indirect Funding Strategies in Congress

In October 1974, the House of Representatives created the Select Committee on Aging, and one of the mandates of the Committee was that it determine the response to the 1971 WHCA and oversee the results produced by AoA. Flemming's circumspect funding strategies had earned congressional respect. An example during the oversight inquiry was Congressman Roybal's (CA) leading question on revenue sharing, "On this

matter of revenue sharing, what was the statement that you made with regard to senior citizens receiving a percentage? Was it less than 1 percent?...Is there anything that can be done?" (USCS, 1976:41).

Flemming replied, "We have made an award to document the extent to which general revenue sharing has not been utilized for older persons...we can get the area agencies to get the organizations of older persons to work on this" (USCS, 1976:42). Congressman Roybal selected another target, "The other thing I want information on is the Title XX of the Social Security Act that provides \$2.5 billion a year to the states. Who sees to it that that money is actually used for senior citizens?" To this question, Flemming demonstrated the authority of a skilled agency administrator:

Under the law now the Governor of each State makes the final decision on the allocation of the funds allocated to his State. That is why we are saying to the Governor when he submits a plan on aging to us for approval that we are not going to approve it unless provision has been made for tying these two programs together...under the Older Americans Act, he develops a plan (USCS, 1976:45).

Congressman Randall (MO) commented, "That is nothing short of a salute to you...you are not going to approve...until they tell you what they have done in Title XX" (USCS, 1976:47). Flemming actually read every plan; it was common knowledge in AoA that Flemming read every document that he signed (Fisher, 1981; Handelsman, 1981; Schloss, 1981).

Flemming could be equally effective with repartee. Congressman Randall asked Flemming for his observation on whether there was merit in the 1971 WHCA recommendation for an advocate for aging at the executive office of the President. To which Flemming replied that a President with concern about objectives in the field of aging could be

helped by such a staff person. Congressman Randall quipped, "Perhaps someone who might be in the 60 or 65 bracket." Flemming answered, "I am always in favor of older persons...participating.... That may reflect a personal bias but that is the way I feel about it" (USCS, 1976:67). Congressman Randall, who was also Chairman of the Select Committee on Aging, answered, "The Chair has a conflict of interest in that area, I guess." To which Flemming replied, "So does the witness" (USCS, 1976:67). Flemming had illustrated to the House Committee, as he had to the Senate Committee, that he responded to questions with candor and that he responded to high priority problems with direct action and hard work.

Five years later in another matter of great importance to Flemming, ageism, he was less successful. The chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, John Brademas (TX) asked Flemming if he would list the one principal concern that affects older people (USCH, 1978). Flemming responded that it would be the effective implementation of the Age Discrimination Act of 1975.

...It was really amazing to me the insidious way in which ageism has crept into the way in which our society operates...Federal administrators have taken laws that were intended for the general population and have administered them in such a way as to deny their benefits in many, many instances to older persons. State administrators have enacted laws which have the same effect when applied to benefit and service programs financed in whole or in part by the federal government (USCH, 1978:685).

Recently, in an annual conference speech, Flemming (1981b) reminded the leadership of the state and area agencies on aging at their joint meeting of a job never done, "We have a long trip, and we have hardly begun our work on age discrimination."

Flemming's AoA Budget Authority for Educational Programs

The negative attitude of some educational institutions and organizations toward Flemming resulted in part from the utilization of his authority within AoA to disburse appropriated funds by assigning half of the training funds to the state agencies on aging to be utilized for state short-term training needs. In response, some academicians perceived the sharing of limited funds with state agencies on aging as a threat to their young gerontology programs.

In 1975, Flemming testified before the Senate Committee on Aging and presented the President's budget proposal:

As you know, the proposed 1975 budget did not contain any proposal for funding training programs under Title IV, Part A...there was included in the President's recision message a proposal to rescind the funds appropriated by the Congress...no funds were included... in the proposed 1976 budget (USCS, 1975:174).

After describing the 1974 training funds disbursements, Flemming described his strategy for state training programs to spend half of state training funds in support of courses provided by educational institutions. In reply, Senator Chiles expressed his continuing opposition to the Administration:

I wonder if OMB understands what this is costing...Congress puts in the funds [for training].... The administration rescinds the funds, and Congress overrides the recision, and the next year the administration does not put in the funds again...and I wonder if they ever get the message that we are going to see this funded (USCS, 1975:176).

Flemming expressed a more oblique comment:

I have been in and out of Government over a considerable period of time and this experience, in coming to the Appropriations Committee on recisions, is a brand new experience.... When I began to serve as Secretary of HEW, the first argument I had with the then Budget Bureau was over a proposal to, in effect, impound some funds.... I happened to win that argument, but I have also lost some. I think the new law is an improvement (USCS, 1975:177).

The role of the Office of Management and Budget was discussed in the above testimony with full observance of protocol and it was understood by both sides that Congress could and would override the decision. Communication with Congress involved both formal protocol and informal procedures limited by discretion. Perhaps the Staff Director of the Senate Special Committee on Aging in an interview phrased Fleming's combination of persuasion, etiquette, and discretion most appropriately:

He was a bridge builder. The Hay Adams [Hotel] breakfast table where he was always addressed as, "Mr. Secretary," had been the launching pad for many finishing touches of American policy which were delicately developed (Oriol, 1981).

Despite the efforts of OMB and the Administration to obtain some savings by cutting the small AoA training budget, national legislation was obtained and training of professionals and service providers in aging occurred. In part, it was due to the effectiveness of Fleming's testimony, informal persuasion, and his "ability to somehow bend national law in order to expand its purpose and helpfulness" (Kilmer, 1981). Fleming's informal persuasiveness was as well-known as it was undocumented; more than half of the informants made reference to it.

Fleming's Priorities for the National Aging Network
Training Needs in the Seventies

Although a political appointee usually does not testify against Administration policy, Fleming could and did answer leading questions. For example, Senator Bartlett asked: "Commissioner Fleming, what, in your opinion, is the most important educational program that needs attention...that needs changing, or needs to be broadened, or more people should be interested in?" In responding, Fleming made clear his agency's need for resources beyond those specified by the

Administration:

I feel that it is important to make it possible for educational institutions to introduce programs, particularly at the graduate levels.... At the same time, I think it is important for us to do everything we can, within the resources that are made available to us, to provide inservice training.... As you know, we have established this new network in the field of aging within the past year.... (USCS, 1975:179).

Flemming then summarized the organizational growth and newly created job opportunities in the field of aging: (1) The state agencies had increased their staff positions. (2) All area agencies on aging had recruited new people. (3) Nutrition projects (665) had recruited people. (4) Public and private organizations which were authorized through grants to deliver services to the aging had recruited service delivery personnel. He added that some of these people were almost untrained in aging.

He also described an arrangement with the Bureau of Labor Statistics to develop blueprints for educational institutions to have sound estimates of supply and demand, an AoA evaluation program for funded educational institutions, and an AoA evaluation program for funded state short-term training programs. These accomplishments of 1973-1974 were best expressed by Dr. Clark Tibbitts during an interview:

In 1965, the Older Americans Act required each state to set up an aging agency. But things were still somewhat chaotic because each state acted individually and there was not a standardized national system of state agencies. In 1973, Flemming got a federal, state and area agencies network completed in a remarkably short time. The speed was unusual. For one thing, Flemming was an indefatigable traveler and he flew back and forth over the country. Sometimes he spoke in three different cities in one day. What was even more surprising, he got the nutrition program working at the same time (Tibbitts, 1979).

Flemming's herculean efforts to establish a network on aging

extending from the federal level to the local area agency on aging was a remarkable success. When a comparison is made of the organizational structure of the aging network at the beginning of Flemming's tenure (Appendix O) and at the end (Appendix P), the increased complexity is apparent. These two figures were compiled from handouts to participants of the combined annual meetings of state and area agencies on aging in 1980 and 1981. Less successful was his AoA staff development.

Flemming's direction of AoA was often delegated to capable staff members who were responsible for converting his directives on day-to-day work detail and transmitting important staff responses back to Flemming. Some internal problems were not addressed because Flemming showed a reluctance to terminate employees who were not highly productive. All administrative tasks, memoranda, and decisions in writing, however, were signed by Flemming. It was a hallmark of Flemming's administrative style that when he was not on travel leave, he arrived each day about 6 a.m. in order to read every document that required his signature (Fisher, 1981).

Federal and Private Support Services to Older Americans

In general, federal programs were designed to answer the needs of the aging for support services and protection other than educational benefits. Service programs such as: (1) the minimum income assistance of Supplemental Security Income (SSI); (2) service benefits such as Medicare, Medicaid, rent subsidies and food stamps; and (3) the Older Americans Act nutrition program and Meals-on-wheels were programs designed to help the less affluent, the isolated, and those aging in need of health screening services. These services were coordinated at

the state level under the regulations and guidelines constructed at the federal level, as mandated in the Older Americans Act and amendments.

At the federal level, the protection of the older Americans was mandated by: (1) the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1978; (2) the Employment Retirement Income Security Act of 1976 that set minimum private pension standards; and (3) the Research on Aging Act of 1974, which first created the National Institute on Aging. The latter made physicians participants rather than antagonists in the area of aging health needs. These protection and support health services were important in answering deep needs of the aging and the frail elderly. In addition to national legislation that benefited older people, the National Association of Area Agencies on Aging (NAAAA) was established in 1975 (Appendix N). The NAAAA provided a national forum for the local advocacy of hundreds of area agencies on aging.

Gold (1974) described six types of federal programs important to the aging during Flemming's tenure: (1) cash transfer programs that were related to income maintenance, such as Supplemental Security Income (SSI), which replaced the Old Age Assistance Program; (2) income-related benefits, such as Medicare and food stamps; (3) employment-related protection, such as the Age Discrimination in Employment Act and the Employee Retirement Income Security Act that set minimum standards for private pension plans; (4) research in aging by the National Institute on Aging under the Research on Aging Act of 1974; (5) services delivered to the aging under Titles III and VII of the Older Americans Act; and (6) coordination by the aging network through organizations of resources and programs available at the state and

local levels. Flemming was, and is, a strong supporter of biomedical, social, and behavioral research related to the aging and lobbied vigorously for the establishment of the National Institute on Aging in 1974. Flemming's advocacy included AoA information dissemination about these federal programs through the national aging network and through conferences with private groups and organizations.

In addition to federal programs that benefited specific target groups, some organizations with total or partial emphasis on aging received federal grants to provide training, counseling and services to the newly established aging network. Those organizations that were primarily involved in matters concerning the aging also had varying components of advocacy. The largest organizations of older persons, the National Retired Teachers Association/American Association of Retired Persons (NRTA/AARP), had been a strong advocate of pensions, tax benefits, and private group insurance for the aging. Until recently, the NRTA/AARP sponsored the Institute of Lifelong Learning activities at several sites. Most of these low-cost educational activities have been discontinued due to the growth of the community college systems. The Institute is now engaged in advocacy, services, and information dissemination through its periodicals, newsletters, and NRTA/AARP chapter activities. Two additional mass organizations were the National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC), which had its origins in efforts to obtain congressional enactment of Medicare since the 1961 WHCA, and the National Council on the Aging (NCOA), which had provided a central organizational focus since 1950 for many social welfare organizations and agencies having aging concerns. The National

Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE) was organized in 1921 and had opposed employment barriers based on age, and still favors the abolition of mandatory retirement in public and private sectors and preretirement education. The Gray Panthers has been an activist and policy group which had vigorously opposed age discrimination since 1970.

The trade associations with aging concerns included the American Nursing Home Association, the National Council of Health Care Services, the American Association of Homes for the Aging, the National Associations of Home Health Agencies, the National Association of State Units on Aging, the National Association of Area Agencies on Aging, the American Geriatric Association, and the Urban Elderly Coalition.

Many religious organizations participated in some form of national advocacy for the aging and aged, including the Evangelical Covenant Church Board of Benevolence, the Catholic Golden Age, the Council of Jewish Federations, the National Conference of Catholic Charities, B'nai B'rith, National Center on Ministry with the Aging, Lutheran Church in America, National Benevolent Association of the Christian Church, National Jewish Welfare Board, and the United Church of Christ Board of Homeland Ministries (Green, 1980).

Many of these organizations, and the National Council on the Aging in particular, were dependent upon funding from the U.S. Administration on Aging for their conferences, research, workshops, and information exchange (Green, 1980). These activities served to educate and inform the organizational constituencies, produce new research data, cement interorganizational bonds, and increase both national and community awareness of the needs and interests of the older American.

Nevertheless, despite federal, state and private programs, the highly prized positive factors of personal freedom and expectations of independence in old age to which most of today's healthy aging were socialized were often limited or unobtainable. Also, the unemployment, poverty, and helplessness which most aging had either experienced or observed during the Depression of the thirties created in many older Americans an important negative factor of fear or apprehension. Thus, the mandatory retirement, reduced income and exclusion from the workplace of productive older people was not balanced by effective education and training programs to retain those older workers who wished to enter, or return to, paid or volunteer work (Flemming and Kieffer, 1970; USCS, 1975; USCS, 1973b). Personal freedom and independence obtainable through education and training for older Americans remained the province of the affluent and the well-educated.

The Second Wingspread Conference on Adult Education

In 1976, Flemming was again invited to play a peacemaker role with the leaders of adult education organizations. During the three years following the first Wingspread Conference on Adult Education which gave rise to the creation of the Coalition of Adult Education Organizations (CAEO), the "Imperatives for Action" had become an informal charter because each member organization adopted them. The CAEO had stimulated cooperation and understanding of the members' programs and problems, and several of the member organizations would temporarily join together in common action (Dorland, 1981; Mackensie, 1981). On July 16, 1973, CAEO was formally incorporated.

In 1974, Dr. Leonard Aries, who was ending his term as president of CAEO, felt that there was a need for an update of the "Imperatives for Action" that had been developed in 1969. Dr. Aries contacted Dr. Williard Thompson, who had organized the 1969 Conference, and requested that he organize another Wingspread Conference on Adult Education. Again, the chairman selected was Arthur Flemming, who was then both U.S. Commissioner on Aging and Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. On October 21 to 23 in 1976, the second Wingspread Conference was held at the Johnson Foundation Center at Racine, Wisconsin, under the co-sponsorship of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and the Institute for Educational Leadership's Post-Secondary Education Convening Authority of George Washington University.

In December of 1975, the Lifelong Learning Act introduced by Senator Walter Mondale (MN) was enacted by the 94th Congress as Part B, Title I, of the Higher Education Act. The program was assigned to an Assistant Secretary for Education, but the coalition of educational groups was unsuccessful in its efforts to get the legislation funded. Lifelong Learning died in the Appropriations Committee because of lack of unity of its advocates (Hoffman, 1980; Mondale, 1976).

The Organization for Political Action that had been organized at the 1969 Wingspread Conference, and which was described as a "paper organization," had been dissolved by 1976 as inoperable because of dissention and "turfism" among its members (Hadley, 1981; Aries, 1981).

The New Imperatives of CAEO

On October 23, 1976, Chairman Flemming presented the workshop with drafts which he had requested from each group. He then directed

the consideration of each draft, sentence-by-sentence, so that the final draft reflected some degree of consensus among the participants. In two days, the 51 working delegates developed the new "Imperatives for Policy and Action in Lifelong Learning." The imperatives for policy and action in lifelong learning were presented as two sets of imperatives related to adult learning needs and program implementation, which are summarized below. The five learning needs of adults were described as follows:

(1) All adults must be provided opportunities to learn, grow, and change throughout life by utilizing the array of learning resources in our society; (2) Special access to learning must be provided for the underserved: the poor, poorly educated, displaced workers, unemployed, minorities, women, the aging, and the unemployable; (3) a better learning bridge must fill the gap between the worlds of work and learning; (4) Learning must include emphasis on the democratic process and public affairs; (5) Learning must include emphasis on the importance of (a) peace through international understanding, and (b) the preservation of basic human rights.

The eight factors useful for program implementation to meet adult learner needs included: (6) Services for information referral and counseling must be expanded, and every community should have a current inventory of learning resources. Programs must be taken to the people; (7) Adult educators must operate from their special perspective: the needs and interests of individuals come before those of educational institutions; (8) Public awareness of adult learning opportunities and resources must be broadened and targeted outreach programs be mounted; (9) Financial support must be given higher priority in both public and

private policy agendas. Expenditures must be perceived as prevention of economic dependence; (10) The scope of research and development in adult education, both basic and applied, must be enlarged; (11) Fiscal, programmatic, personnel resources for adult education must be better utilized and advanced adult learning programs be imported; (12) Appropriate relationships between agencies and the various sectors of the adult learning community must be developed and legislative barriers removed; and (3) Continuing interactions must be sustained among national organizations concerned with adult learning.*

The Imperatives were both a statement of policy that described a general framework for learning throughout life and the types of actions that were needed for implementation by various organizations and jurisdictions.

The Office of Education (OE) Conference on Lifelong Learning

One of the reasons for the timing of the development of a new policy and action statement from the Wingspread Conference was aimed at having an impact on the Office of Education-sponsored Bicentennial Congress on Lifelong Learning scheduled for January 1977. Subsequently, the Congress was cancelled. According to several informants who were then in the Office of Education, cancellation was due to lack of preparation of the needed materials and a lack of interest in adult learning by agency administrators. The prevailing perception of the Office of Education mission by the administrators interviewed was

* Handout to participants of the Second Wingspread Conference on Adult Education in 1976.

primarily to serve the public school system designed for youth and secondarily for vocational education of youth and adults. It is of interest that about half of all eyewitnesses interviewed felt that the Office of Education bureaucracy was both youth-oriented and reluctant to broaden the application of their public school system orientation.

The Wingspread Conference Role of Arthur Flemming

There was a marked consistency of information about Flemming's role among nine of the informants who attended the 1976 Conference. In general, Flemming was perceived as being able to provide continuity because of his pioneering leadership during the 1969 Wingspread Conference and where he had done "a masterful job of developing consensus from 4 or 5 differing points of view," according to an interview (Thompson, 1981). He was held in high esteem by the organizational leaders partly because he showed concern for adult education by accepting leadership at the Conference "instead of one keynote speech and an overview." While he was at Racine, he "gave unstintingly of his time, his opinions and guidance" (Thompson, 1981). Of Flemming's personal value to the second Wingspread Conference on Adult Education, 1976 CAEO President James Dorland (1981) stated in an interview, "He added class, dignity, and style."

In the development of consensus, it was apparent to Flemming that the field of adult education was often a house divided against itself. Leaders in adult education, however, had made clear where the responsibility was for the development of programs for the education and training of older adults. Marcus and Havighurst emphasized that established educational principles and practices work for the aging,

and that adult educators were responsible for meeting the learning needs of better educated and mentally vigorous adults. The authors added that most research findings about education for aging in the seventies indicated that (1) such education was essentially untapped; (2) the learning capacity of older people was not limited; (3) all educational sponsors could have helped expand the field; and (4) the primary focus on social and recreational programs should have been changed (Boone et al., 1980). Adult educators faced social responsibility for the doors they opened and the people they opened them for. Since participation in continuing education had been shown to be related to educational level and socioeconomic status, meeting only the education and retraining needs of young and middle aged adults did not benefit the rapidly growing aging society (Cross, 1981).

Federal Education and Training Programs Related to Aging,
1973-1978

In congressional testimony from 1973 to 1976, the Administration policy regarding education and training related to aging was visibly absent or clearly negative. Although there were almost 300 narrow, categorical manpower training programs at the national level, there was no single federal policy toward lifelong learning (Christoffel, 1977-1978). The majority of these programs were funded through project grants to postsecondary educational institutions and nonprofit groups, and through contracts to profit-making organizations. Although federal employee training programs had received several hundred million dollars annually during some administrations, hidden agendas had successfully

filtered out employees over 45 years of age (Heidbreder, 1972).

While the President's Budget from 1975 to 1977 did not request appropriations for AoA manpower programs, Congress nevertheless provided funding in each training area (Pollak, 1977; USCH, 1976). According to Conrad and Cosand (1976), with the exception of affirmative action, there was Administration withdrawal of direct federal involvement in postsecondary education during the seventies. Although there were total increases in federal money appropriated, there was a decrease in both constant dollars and as a percentage of the Gross National Product. When funds were appropriated in spite of the budget recision or Presidential veto, however, the funds were directed primarily to the shortage of younger persons trained to serve the aging. Also, other agencies did have related training programs.

The Veterans Administration initiated a training program for physicians in geriatric medicine. ACTION, the Administration for Public Service, the Community Services Administration, and the Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture contributed to the development of voluntary manpower providing services to the elderly. Through the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program, the Department of Labor contributed training and some employment of older workers (USCS, 1976).

Of the 1,041 AoA discretionary project grants awarded from 1965 through 1978, 179 were for training (Humbaugh, 1979). In some states, efforts were made to recruit aging trainees for second-careers in aging; however, education of the aging was not funded unless a state plan to qualify for AoA funds included such programming. As Dale Mann pointed

out, state educational policy was developed through interactions with the legislature, the governor's office, state agencies, state boards, interest groups and their clientele (Milstein, 1976). In addition, state departments of education formed a revenue sharing intersection between the federal sources of educational funds and the local target. Federal sources reflected the Administration's lack of interest in the education and training of older persons. Before 1973, Title V funds supported only short-term training programs and curriculum research projects. The need for trained practitioners in aging had reached a critical stage when Flemming assumed office as Commissioner on Aging.

Despite a lack of support from the Administration, Flemming exerted strenuous efforts to develop education of the aging through a combination of persuasion and interagency agreements. Within DHEW, the mission of education resided in the Office of Education. Flemming initiated meetings with administrators of the Office of Education, including Commissioner Edward Aguirre and Executive Deputy Commissioner Duane J. Mattheis. Over time in these informal conferences, Flemming introduced the concept of adult education as applied to the aging to the administrators. He also presented examples and materials to answer questions that were raised. As the result of these personal efforts, two interagency agreements were ultimately developed and signed (Appendix H). Flemming's advocacy role in support of the 1973 Amendments enacted by Congress contributed to the replacement of Title V, with Title IV-A, that provided for career training of practitioners in aging. In Title IV-A, Sec. 402 (b), the Commissioner on Aging was required to assess the state of those professions dealing with aging and issue an annual

report to present the funds and needs for well-educated personnel to staff such programs.

Early AoA Education and Training Program Development

From 1966 until the 1970s, there had been a modest provision of funds to support all AoA programs. Career training funds provided financial assistance to traditional students preparing for careers relating to the aged. Until 1971, the majority of these grants were awarded for the support of graduate students. Complementing these grants were Title V funds for the support of short-term training programs and curriculum development projects. Other agencies in DHEW developed new programs in health care, such as those mandated by Social Security amendments. These new programs further expanded the need for more trained personnel to serve the aging.

The policy thrust of early AoA career training activities had been support for doctoral students provided by both AoA and the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD). NICHD tended to support the study of aging within traditional disciplines such as physiology, biology, medicine, biochemistry, and sociology. In contrast, the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) had funded training for social workers, and AoA limited funds had been directed toward masters level social gerontology, recreation specialists, and senior center directors (USAOA, 1973). The critical need for trained personnel had remained unfulfilled when Flemming assumed office as Commissioner on Aging in 1973.

Training Resources Amendments to the Older Americans Act

The 1973 Amendments to the Older Americans Act contained a provision charging the Commissioner on Aging to pursue and report the needs for workers and training programs in the field of aging. AoA contracted with the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) in the Department of Labor for a series of related studies examining characteristics, supply, and demand for personnel to serve the aging (USCH, 1976b). Personnel needs ranged from those with doctoral level specialization to those with only a few basic skills. Many professionals and most para-professionals in service occupational areas had little if any formal training in skills pertinent to the aging. All organizations and agencies had problems in turnover of employees. Further, there was a dearth of training and staff development programs.

The 1973 Amendments to the Older Americans Act mandated a threefold increase in training resources, Title IV-A. Bechill (1981b) stated that Flemming had provided strong leadership in the passage of the 1973 Amendments that provided the increased funding. The new legislation permitted AoA to increase its support for state-managed inservice activities, national conferences, and career training in colleges and universities. Career training activities in higher education institutions focused on degree certification in management and administration. AoA career development efforts resulted in the funding of nearly 75 percent of the students enrolled in gerontology programs. The Multidisciplinary Centers programs offered additional support to the academic gerontology programs by increasing the practicum types of non-classroom opportunities. Support for education, training

and employment opportunities in the other federal agencies concerned with aging had not kept pace with their agency needs for personnel (USAoA, 1973).

The establishment of the National Institute on Aging (NIA) that followed passage of the 1973 Amendment to the Older Americans Act was a victory for Flemming and other advocates of research in the field of aging. The training of nurses, nurses' aides, and nursing home orderlies working with the aged was improved by programs established in the Health Resources Administration (HRA) and subsequently by the Nurse Training Act of 1975. Thus, in the 1975 mandate, AoA became responsible for training new persons to enter the field of aging to fill a variety of diverse positions.

Two groups of amendments to the Older Americans Act of 1965 that had been most influential in addressing the need for trained professionals and service staff were (1) the 1973 Amendments that had changed the character, scope, and direction of AoA support for training, management, and support of social services to the elderly; and (2) the subsequent 1978 Amendments, presented to Congress toward the end of Commissioner Flemming's tenure, that strengthened both the structure of the aging network and its priorities for serving the frail elderly.

The Interagency Agreements Between AoA and OE, 1975

Overall, from 1973 to 1976, eighteen working agreements had been signed by Flemming with other federal departments and agencies to coordinate and fully utilize resources available to older Americans (USCH, 1976b). Federal program officers in adult and community education divisions of the Office of Education acknowledged in interviews

that in the 1970s, Flemming introduced to OE the concept of education for aging persons, and for the first time created an awareness among OE administrators of the aging as educational recipients.

Specifically, after reaching agreement with OE, Flemming sent a memorandum over his signature to every state agency on aging that administered Title III (services) and Title VII (nutrition) program (Flemming, 1975). In this manner, he personally informed the agencies that the expanded use of school facilities was possible for educational, recreational, other community services and volunteer opportunities for the elderly. Enclosed with the memo was a copy of a letter announcing a meeting at the Hay Adams Hotel in Washington, D.C., that had been sent to the major national education associations concerned with public school systems, such as the National Association of State Boards of Education (Appendix H). The organizations concerned with public schools were urged to support the interagency agreement. Also, the status of national legislation and the program objectives were explained:

The Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1974 created the new Community Schools Act, Section 405. While no funds are currently appropriated, one broad objective of this program is to make more efficient use of existing education resources through an extension of school facilities and equipment to provide educational, cultural, recreational and other community services...[and] encourages schools to develop a variety of opportunities for the entire community to learn, to participate in special programs, to better use their talents.... (USAOA-OE, 1975:1).

The four objectives mentioned in the agreement were: (1) to utilize public school facilities as nutrition sites, (2) to create participation opportunities and talent utilization of older people through public school resources, (3) to extend public school facilities for other services and programs, and (4) to promote understanding of aging and

the life cycle in school curricula. State offices of education, however, were sensitive to the budgetary implications of the lack of federal appropriations.

The second agreement differed from the first AoA-OE agreement in several respects. It was signed on December 23, 1976, after national elections ended in a change to the Carter Administration. The memorandum sent to all state agencies on aging on February 10, 1977, specified that the information was to be sent forward to the area agencies on aging and nutrition projects. Flemming's description of AoA-defined regulations related to education and training of the aging was significant:

Regulations issued to implement the Older Americans Act [45C.F.R.903.2] define "social services" to include:
 [10] Continuing education services...which are designed to provide individuals with opportunities to acquire knowledge and skills suited to their interests and capabilities through either formal academic courses or informal methods, with a view toward either vocational or personal enrichment.... The Agreement discusses the need for maximizing educational opportunities for the elderly and ...commits the two agencies to certain cooperative activities, including development of agreements between education and aging agencies at state, area and local levels (USAOA-OE, 1976:2).

Although education for the aging was stated in the regulations, the two federal agencies, AoA and OE, were only in positions of advocacy. Within guidelines they could incorporate references to educational needs of older persons, but their authority was limited. The responsibility for and control of education still belonged to the individual states. Further strengthening of state control had been the congressional decision to place authority of aging activities in the Older Americans Act of 1965 under the control of the individual state aging agencies. Although state aging agencies submitted state plans to AoA for approval,

the plans were designed to address needs within each state rather than fulfill a national agenda, such as the objectives in an AoA-OE inter-agency agreement.

Nevertheless, a beginning had been made by Flemming to maximize educational opportunities for older persons. Twelve OE programs had been listed in 1976 as having at least potential application for serving older persons: Adult Education, Library Services, Lifelong Learning, Education Information, Indian Education, Vocational Education Research, Vocational Education, Career Development, Career Education, Student Assistance, national Reading Improvement and Metric Education (USDHEW, 1976). According to informants in OE, the interest in educational opportunities for the aging was replaced with apathy and neglect after Flemming left AoA in 1978 and the purposeful pressure he had exerted on OE at the administrative levels ceased. After 1978, there was no OE program on education for the aging as such, except for state outreach programs to eradicate adult illiteracy.

The Role of Colleges and Universities in Programs for Older People

In 1976, AoA proposed an evaluation of the Title IV-A, Gerontology Career Preparation Program, based on data collection during the academic year 1977/78 for all Title IV-A grantees. Results indicated that AoA programs had an effect in attracting new students to the field of aging (USCS, 1979). Only three major universities had offered programs in gerontology in 1966, but by 1978, gerontology programs existed at 200 major colleges or universities. Considerable reliance had been placed on academic institutions to develop courses independently and to institutionalize programs with only routine

concurrence of AoA personnel.

A 1977-1978 study of career training programs in 58 AoA-funded institutions involving 14,2000 students showed an interesting profile (Ketrion Company, 1980). Programs were usually administered by a school of social work, a school of gerontology, or a multidisciplinary institute. Of over 500 courses in aging offered during 1977-1978, the majority fell into some category of health, followed by some category of social work. The faculty of tenured professors, graduate assistants, and teaching fellows held appointments most frequently in social work, followed by sociology, psychology, and nursing. Only 8 percent held appointments in any area of gerontology. The average student age was 29.

Peterson (1978) reported that 1,275 institutions were involved in educational activities related to aging: two-year colleges comprised 33 percent of the group, four-year colleges 29 percent, and universities 27 percent. Universities offered courses about aging for career preparation and as continuing education for professionals. Universities and colleges promoted research, sponsored seminars, and produced media programs about aging.

Educational programs for older people in higher education institutions were of two types: (1) programs to help the aging develop coping skills, and (2) general courses for intellectual enrichment. In the latter case, the most successful was the Elderhostel program started in 1975 at the University of New Hampshire (Knowlton, 1977). By 1978, colleges and universities in 38 states had Elderhostel and outreach programs for older people. One effective and excellent college program at North Hennepin Community College in Minnesota reported an enrollment

of over 2000 adults over 55 years of age in over 30 especially-designed courses (Glickman et al., 1975). It was estimated that over 400,000 persons over 65 years of age were taking courses in various organizations or were enrolled in educational institutions (Harris and Associates, 1975). By contrast, in a 1977 tabulation, the Bureau of Census reported that about 60 million Americans were enrolled in schools, including almost 5 million preschool-aged children enrolled in nursery schools and kindergarten (USBC, 1978). But some activists such as Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Panthers were not impressed with the course offerings in most institutions of higher education:

Most retirement courses are very superficial. All you're offering is telling them what our incomes will be when we retire, how we should live and what hobbies we might look for. [Higher education] ought to be thinking about how we might want more education for one thing. Middle-aged and older people almost never get into graduate school, you know, but the community colleges are begging for us to come in and take a little basketry (Ehrlich and Ehrlich, 1976:258).

The shortage of training programs suitable for the aging was also reported in 1975 by the Senate Special Committee on Aging. The Committee revealed that while older workers accounted for 31 percent of all long-term unemployed, only 8.8 percent of older persons were participants in training programs, primarily in service and agricultural occupations. The low participation rate was attributed to the belief among the aging that after training or participation in higher education, older workers would remain unemployed (USCS, 1976). Butler (1975), a leader in geriatric medicine, had emphasized the need for education among older adults to promote understanding of and preparation for retirement from employment and old age. The perception by older people of discrimination was not without foundation. Age

prejudice was markedly overt in employment opportunities. For example, Beauvoir (1972) had reported that 97 percent of employers fixed the upper limit of desirable recruitment at age forty in a study of employment advertisements in American newspapers. Such age-restricted advertisement appeared in American newspapers until passage of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1978.

Havighurst (1976) posed the question of justification of public expenditures for education of the elderly when society had other major demands for educational programs for young groups and presented two ethical reasons for such expenditures. One reason was that the aging as a group had already contributed both to the economy and to the standard of living of younger groups; therefore, they deserved educational benefits. The second argument posited that a society that presents itself as having a high quality of life should make that quality as available as possible to all members of the society. Some important views in favor of public expenditures for education and training of the aging were omitted from Havighurst's arguments. These include: (1) extended time for productive work by experienced people over the age of 55 would yield productive value to society, (2) the perceived increased health, vitality, and independent lifestyle among the aging engaged in educational enrichment, and (3) the lowered maintenance costs to younger adults for those older people involved in continued education and/or work (Butler and Lewis, 1973; Cross and Valley, 1974).

Conclusion

At the end of his tenure as Commissioner on Aging, Flemming identified the assets derived from the Older Americans Act and described the status of the national network on aging from an operational viewpoint (USCH, 1978).

The assets of the Act were priority for the needs of low-income, minority, and non-English speaking older persons; the development of twenty-three working agreements at the federal level and two-hundred-and-thirty at the state level; and investments in research, demonstration projects and training. The latter included training grants to graduate students and in-service training for about 130,000 employees in the field of aging.

During Flemming's tenure as U.S. Commissioner on Aging, a national network of area agencies had been organized and staffed, a national community nutrition program was established, training programs for service and professional personnel in the fields of aging were conducted, and funding for AoA was increased about five-fold. These immense accomplishments in a five-year timespan were in large measure due to the hard work, physically demanding schedule, leadership capability, diplomacy with congressmen and public administrators, and the personal values of Arthur Flemming.

Specifically, the heart of the aging network consisted of the state and area agencies on aging; the major roles were the nutrition projects and senior center organized activities, and these structures were supported by tens of thousands of paid employees and volunteers.

In order to construct a viable, effective national network on aging, Flemming had placed training of service personnel and graduate students in gerontology programs before education and training for older people. Congress remained unconvinced that the AoA or Office on Education should include significant funding of education and training programs for older Americans.

During the 1970s, Flemming's attitude toward the establishment of a federal floor for the minimum rights and benefits of every person in the nation became an often-repeated statement of personal belief based on decades of his federal and educational experience:

From 1954 to the present, the United States has progressed in identifying the rights of people through the laws of Congress. These rights must be available to all of the citizens wherever they might live. In state rights or block grants, the levels of rights will vary from state to state...unless there is a great change from the history of pensions and educational opportunities during this last century. In both health and social services, there is a federal responsibility to establish a floor below which no person should be forced to live (Flemming, 1981b).

Ageism and unequal access to resources for training and intellectual development of older persons remained unsolved problems. Indeed, it was somewhat paradoxical that after 25 years, the analysis of education and training for older persons made by Tibbitts and Rogers remained current (Donahue, 1955a). Specifically, they had pointed out that older Americans faced serious obstacles to learning, such as: (1) the many myths, often reinforced by humor, about their inability to learn, (2) the acceptance by the aging of myths about their diminished learning ability and the perceived inappropriateness of their behavior of school enrollment, (3) the history of neglect of the aging by both adult educators and tax-supported educational institutions,

As a member of the Nixon Administration, Commissioner Flemming committed his vast personal energies and political craftsmanship into the organization of a national network on aging. His assessment of the Nixon Administration's limited policies on education and training, the tepid attitudes of adult educators toward educating the aging, and the urgent needs of the network on aging ultimately shaped his decision to first fund the education and training of those students and providers who served the aging. Flemming's accomplishments in behalf of the aging, however, were striking in their magnitude, timespan of execution, and obstacles encountered. His personal stature can best be seen in the widespread respect from almost all persons interviewed. All organizations concerned with aging have formally presented awards and informally expressed their gratitude for his pioneering leadership and his valuable contributions to them and the aging groups they represent. Because of limited trained personnel, time, and lack of Administration support for training, the majority of the aging population remained disengaged from education and training due to a lack of legislation and specific programs that could advance the capable aging into major roles in society. Nevertheless, the dynamic of life is motion; and in the future, either the aging will move forward into updated activities and roles of guidance in society, or the aging will move backward toward disengagement and dependency.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Education and training related to aging has been an agenda topic included among aging concerns in Congress and in national conferences of gerontologists and educators for more than three decades. During this timespan, one of the important factors that stimulated national consideration of the conditions and needs among the aging population has been the personal interests, values and expertise of certain federal administrators and members of Congress. Among the most influential federal administrators who had shaped the programs of education and training related to the aging was Arthur Sherwood Flemming. Flemming had served in various leadership capacities under nine Presidents of the United States.

The problem investigated in this study was: What was the impact of Arthur S. Flemming on federal education and training programs relating to aging during the period 1958-1978, and particularly, to the timeframe in which he was Secretary of DHEW in the Eisenhower administration and then Commissioner on Aging in the Nixon administration? Using the historical method, the study traced the impact of Arthur Flemming upon education and training related to aging adults while he was in positions of administrative responsibility. The historical narrative described four episodes: (1) the historical background of

the present federal concern about the aging population and the training, experience, and beliefs relative to older adults that Flemming brought to his position of Secretary of DHEW; (2) Secretary Flemming's involvement in educational and aging programs, including the education and training of older people; (3) Flemming's public and private sector activities which had an impact on educational programs for the aging in the period between his Cabinet position and his appointment as Commissioner on Aging; and (4) the impact of Commissioner Flemming on education and training programs related to aging.

The four principal sources of information for this study included: (1) published materials such as books, journals, dissertations, newspapers, organizational newsletters, the Congressional Information Service Annual, the United States Code, the Public Papers of the Presidents, and congressional materials, namely, committee prints, reports, hearings, and Executive documents; (2) unpublished materials such as letters, in-house federal agency memoranda, unbound papers of the Secretaries of DHEW and the Director of the Federal Security Agency, annual conference programs, information bulletins and memoranda, unfiled and unbound papers of the Directors of the DHEW Library, unfiled and unbound reports in the archives of the Civil Service Commission, and cassettes and transcripts of speeches that were used only for confirmation of interview materials; (3) eyewitness accounts from participants of the 1961 and 1971 White House Conferences on Aging and from persons associated with Flemming's activities from 1958 to 1978 in the Congress, federal agencies, and voluntary organizations; and (4) interviews with Arthur S. Flemming.

The significance of this study rests upon the historical narrative about Flemming's activities, beliefs, and changes of beliefs, from the beginning of his federal career in 1929 as a Civil Service Commissioner under President Roosevelt to the end of his federal career as Commissioner on Aging under Presidents Nixon and Carter. The narrative described the historical evolution of federal intervention in aging concerns and the roles of Flemming in the development and administration of education and training programs to serve the needs of the aging and the aged. Documentation provided the origin of the term social security, and traced the origin and development of national programs for the aging and the aged from Germany and other countries to the United States. Information was provided about the significant congressional committee process so critical to the future passage and funding of national legislation related to lifelong learning. The importance of sociopolitical aspects on legislation affecting the aging was shown, such as racial segregation and church or private school systems. The significance of Flemming's religious values was seen most clearly in two career-long beliefs that he stated frequently in his speeches: (1) To love your neighbor means to help your fellow human beings, and (2) There should be a floor of federal benefits below which no Americans should be forced to live, regardless of their state of residence.

The historical analysis contributed to knowledge about the range of authority, activities and sources of constraints of Flemming in his roles as federal administrator, advocate for the improvement of the lives of older Americans, religious leader, a consensus seeker

among adult educators, public debater for health care of the aged, diplomatic spokesman before congressional committees and interagency conferences, persuasive fundraiser before congressional committees and convincing counselor of Presidents. Flemming's organizational skills in dealing with conflict in national conferences provided lessons in strategy and diplomacy. However, as Stein (1952) explained, leadership activities in public administration cannot be used as absolute standards for either future administrative decisions or for strategies dealing with administrators placed in a different historical timeframe. Nevertheless, the narrative demonstrated that even public administrators with strong convictions, such as Flemming, are capable of change when evidence is irrefutable. Flemming, a lifelong Republican in favor of local control, first actively supported state-controlled health care for the elderly as Secretary of DHEW, but when it became apparent that a minority of states participated, he became a vigorous supporter of national health care. The significance of Commissioner Flemming's efforts to help the most disadvantaged aging (the frail, the poor, the disabled and the isolated) resulted in educational funds of AoA being allocated to the education and training of service personnel and practitioners in aging.

Conclusions

The historical analysis revealed that education and training programs to serve the needs of the aging were made possible by the passage of the Older Americans Act of 1965 and by the vigorous administration of Commissioner on Aging, Arthur Flemming.

During Flemming's tenure, funding for AoA increased five-fold. Education and training of the aging themselves, however, were given lip service in national legislation, but were never funded by Congress as a national program. Since education and training programs are designed for the future, either short-term or long-term, they require a focus both on program development and on the target population to be served. During Flemming's tenure as Commissioner on Aging, AoA established federally supported education and training programs for professional practitioners and service personnel. But for those concerned with increased independence and improved vitality of the growing aging population, education and training of older adults remained as unfinished business.

Flemming showed his ability to affect change through the use of his negotiating skills in the decision-making process during nine presidential administrations, both Republican and Democratic. The roles of Arthur Flemming in positions of responsible federal leadership that demonstrated his administrative expertise and an awareness of the value of experienced older people began with his tenure as the Republican member of the Civil Service Commission under President Roosevelt. During World War II, Flemming persuaded congressional committee members that the Civil Service Commission should remain a civilian agency because its manpower goals would be fulfilled. He was largely responsible for goal fulfillment, including the reactivation of retired workers on Social Security and federal pensions, and even for personal recruiting efforts at factory gates. By the end of World War II, he had demonstrated his organizational expertise, his superior physical

stamina, and his value for the work skills of the aging.

President Eisenhower selected Flemming for his record of administrative accomplishments during World War II and for his personal qualities of hard work and ability to deliver results on time. As Secretary of DHEW, he vigorously sought enforcement of the mandate for desegregation of public school systems. As Chairman of the 1961 WHCA, he promoted organization at the state level and helped focus a national awareness of the needs and problems of the aging. He demonstrated his ability to marshal presidential support by persuading President Eisenhower to make the closing address, even though Eisenhower was opposed to the concept of the White House Conference. After his Cabinet position ended, Flemming demonstrated his responsiveness to the needs of his aging constituency when he led the debate against the American Medical Association's opposition to Medicare.

The historical analysis of Flemming's remarkable career provided an awareness of his many concurrent administrative roles, shown in Table 1, and also provided an increased knowledge about the role of federal administrators and their potential accessibility and interaction with adult educators. The accessibility and responsiveness of Flemming was clearly demonstrated by his willingness to provide leadership and diplomacy at the first and second Wingspread Conferences on Adult Education. He succeeded in developing program consensus among opposing groups of educators, but educational benefits for older adults remained a low priority category.

As Chairman and Post-Conference Chairman of the 1971 WHCA, he sought congressional response to the requests of the Conference parti-

participants, and skillfully evoked positive congressional funding response to training needs in aging, despite Administration opposition. He again demonstrated his fundraising skills and his ability to marshal presidential support by persuading President Nixon to increase by five-fold the Administration on Aging budget.

As AoA administrator, Flemming demonstrated the effectiveness of his advocacy and persuasion by his work of building a national aging network from local area agencies and state agencies to the federal level. The network consisted of hundreds of thousands of paid and volunteer workers. To eradicate serious problems among thousands of untrained persons who served the aging, he worked diligently and promoted the development and funding of professional educational programs and training workshops. New knowledge was gained about the ability of skilled federal administrators, such as Commissioner Flemming, to develop interagency agreements that promoted and encouraged educational programs for the aging at public school facilities. By the end of his tenure as Commissioner on Aging, Flemming had built an organizational aging network that provided a foundation for program developments for the education and training of the aging. Yet, even states that now have statutes for educational benefits for older people, lack adequate interest or support among educators in those states. As stated in the first two pages of this study, in this highly urbanized and technological society, the aging adult is educationally disadvantaged and persons over 50 are acutely underrepresented in educational and training activities. This study of Flemming's impact on federal education and training related to aging has led to the realization of an underlying,

unanswered major problem in our high technology milieu.

Even at the end of Commissioner Flemming's tenure, those who had assessed or contemplated the aging population were often impressed by apparent signs of physical or intellectual difficulty. Consequently, they overlooked the real and central roles that culture and social structure played in evoking these difficulties. Many people still believed that all of the aged had suffered a steady deterioration of mental and social capabilities throughout adult life. By contrast, in other cultures, including the technologically advanced, the aged have been perceived as the most politically powerful, the most economically engaged, and the most socially respected members of society (Palmore, 1975). Earlier, the five common needs of the aging in most preindustrial societies had been summarized: (1) to safeguard the acquired prerogatives of possessions, skills, and rights; (2) to have reduction of wearisome physical exertion; (3) to try to live as long as life holds satisfaction; (4) to share actively in the affairs of life; and (5) to leave life with as much comfort and dignity as possible (Tibbitts, 1960). It might be argued that less complex societies could more easily retain their elders in a position of high status; however, Talcott Parsons, an eminent sociologist, expressed similar opinions for modern, complex societies (Simon, 1968). He posited that the roles in which our aging have the most to contribute are those at the top of the scale of social development, and in which the broadest problems of adjustment, orientation, and assumption of responsibility operate.

Three areas of aging leadership mentioned by Parsons were religion, the judiciary, and education. In the latter area, educators

had focused to define intelligence as a person's capacity to acquire and use information in order to reach a goal and such focusing has "a high social loading" bound to a particular culture (Busse and Pfeiffer, 1977:212). Eisdorfer pointed out the circularity of the approach that intelligence was the set of observed abilities that were measured by intelligence tests; rather, such tests identified sets of cognitive skills (Busse and Pfeiffer, 1977). In a multi-cultural country such as the United States, age cohorts differed on many variables that have had profound effects on intellectual functioning. In addition, cross-sectional studies had resulted in misleading bowshaped curves with intellectual functioning peaks in the late teens to early thirties, such as those of Wechsler (1958).

Further, Eisdorfer pointed out that most testing materials had been geared to the young, but were sometimes perceived as dull or irrelevant by aging persons. Rapid testing with materials that evoked negative reactions had resulted in response inhibition, and subsequent fear of failure. In contrast, the young with close temporal acceptance of testing materials have different motivation to perform under rapid testing, or to learn dull and irrelevant information. Thus, Eisdorfer's analysis of research on intellectual performance of the aging revealed, among other factors, the basis of differential learning strategies between young and old adults. Reinforcement and removal of timed response had often improved test scores among the aging, but as Pfeiffer (1976) stated, what is advantageous for the aging is advantageous for all of society. Reinforcement and untimed response in testing have been proven advantageous not only for the aging but for all adults

(Cross, 1978). During Commissioner Flemming's tenure, these concepts and research data were not widely held by gerontologists, educators, and more importantly, by congressional committees on aging and appropriations.

During the ongoing period of fiscal austerity, the aging and their advocates may accept the inequality of the short end of the educational and training budgets only to face triage, the favoring of the favored. According to Butler (1979), to reduce physical and emotional dependency in old age, there should be a reduction in the halfway-house technology of nursing homes and an increase in new knowledge of gerontology and geriatrics.

A related question for education as a whole, and adult education in particular, is: in an American high-technology society, what types of individuals do we want to try to develop and nurture? If education is perceived as only a method or institution for learning new technological devices and scientific systems, then education will have that role in society, and individuals will be varying degrees of partial robots living in a world of machines and equipment. If the thrust of education is an attempt to develop each American's potential contribution throughout the life cycle, then the world of technological hardware and software can become useful life-support systems. Our contemporary problems related to labor-parsimonious automation, industrialized agriculture, impersonal urban areas and varying degrees of illiteracy require that educators assess the realities of the high-technology present in order to select an appropriate direction for lifelong learning. It seems impossible to go in both directions.

Either we design systems to produce robotized people socialized to the world of productive mechanization, or design systems which develop technology to serve the lifelong development and productivity of individuals even through the older years of life (Stanley, 1980; Cross, and McCartan, 1984).

A second research effort needed is a feasibility study into the tactics, strategies, and the economic consequences of lobbying efforts among federal administrators and specific congressional committees. During the years of research into congressional hearing testimony and to Flemming's response to citizens' requests, adult educators and educational theoreticians were notable for their absence. Tax benefits should be carefully weighed against potential funding by Congress and against the favorable regulation of appropriate federal administrators who determine the conditions required from local jurisdictions and institutions that apply for federal support.

Although this study was focused between 1958-1978, it should be noted that Arthur S. Flemming has continued to be active in advocacy roles for improved benefits for the frail, the poor, or isolated aging; for the protection of established Social Security benefits that he views as a contract between the federal government and the aging who have made lifelong contributions to those benefits; to the training and utilization of the older American as a valuable untapped resource; and to the establishment of a national health insurance system for all citizens, regardless of their state of residence.

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Appendix A

THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY MADE PUBLIC THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE HONORABLE ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, RECONSTITUTING THE FEDERAL COUNCIL ON AGING AT CABINET LEVEL.

March 7, 1959

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In recognition of the growing national importance of the needs and problems of our aging population, I have concluded that the present Federal Council on Aging, established by Presidential memorandum of April 2, 1956, should be strengthened.

The various resources and programs of the Federal Government must be utilized and coordinated in such a way as to provide maximum assistance in this field, consistent with Federal responsibility to State and local governments, to private groups, and to individuals themselves.

Accordingly, I am hereby reconstituting the Federal Council on Aging at Cabinet level.

It is my desire that this Council aid the various Federal agencies in improving the effectiveness of their programs in the field of aging.

The Council will be composed of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare as Chairman, and of the following additional members:

The Secretary of Agriculture
The Secretary of Commerce
The Secretary of Labor
The Secretary of the Treasury
The Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency
The Administrator of Veterans Affairs

I shall expect you as Chairman of the Council to invite those Federal departments and agencies that are not permanent members of the Council such as the Department of Defense, Civil Service Commission, Railroad Retirement Board, and National Science Foundation to participate when matters which are in their areas of responsibility come under consideration by the Council. Provision also will be made for the Department of State and the Bureau of the Budget to have observers attend meetings

of the Council.

Federal departments and agencies in their respective areas will continue to carry out their individual statutory responsibilities in the field of aging, cooperating with one another through the Council where appropriate and furnishing the Council such information and assistance, not inconsistent with law, as may be required for this cooperation.

Support of a small staff for the Council shall be by contribution of the permanent participating agencies subject to law. I request you, as Chairman, to work out with such agencies a suitable scale of contribution which should bear a relation to the scope of the responsibility of each in the field of aging. Agencies shall designate individuals within their own organizations as needed to carry out projects approved by the Council.

The Council is directed to initiate promptly and carry on continuing reviews of Federal programs for the aging and make recommendations to me and to the interested departments and agencies from time to time on how needs in this field can be better met.

At the onset, the Council shall prepare an analysis and evaluation of existing programs which I would like to have by September 30, 1959, at the latest. This analysis should appraise the various Federal programs which affect the older people in our population and identify any areas in which further changes need to be considered in order to help extend the period of productive, healthy, and comfortable lives for people in this group.

The Council shall cooperate and assist the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, as may be appropriate, in planning and coordinating the White House Conference on Aging. It shall also carry out other inter-agency projects as may be appropriate and needed from time to time.

I shall look forward to receiving from you as Chairman periodic reports on the progress and recommendations of the Council.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Appendix B

FOREIGN COUNTRIES WITH OLD AGE PENSIONS, 1889-1933*

<u>Countries</u>	<u>Year the Law Passed</u>
Austria	1927
Belgium	1924
Bulgaria	1924
Chile	1924
Czechoslovakia	1924
France	1910
Germany	1889
Great Britain	1925
Greece	1922
Hungary	1928
Italy	1919
Luxemburg	1911
Netherlands	1913
Poland	1933
Portugal	1919
Rumania	1912
Spain	1919
Sweden	1913
U.S.S.R.	1922
Yugoslavia	1907
	1922
	1924
Argentina	1921
	1924
Brazil	1923
	1926
	1931
Cuba	1927
Ecuador	1928
Switzerland	1916
	1925
	1931
Uruguay	1919
	1925

* Compiled from Compulsory Pension Insurance, International Labour Office, Studies and Reports, Series M, No. 10, Geneva, 1933; Non-Contributory Pensions, International Labour Office, Studies and Reports, Series M, No. 9, Geneva, 1933; Insuring the Essentials, Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong, 1932.

Appendix C

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON THE ECONOMIC SECURITY PROGRAM

In addressing you on June 8, 1934, I summarized the main objectives of our American program. Among these was, and is, the security of the men, women and children of the nation against certain hazards and vicissitudes of life. This purpose is an essential part of our task.

In my annual message to you, I promised to submit a definite program of action. This I do in the form of a report to me by a Committee on Economic Security, appointed by me for the purpose of surveying the field and of recommending the basis of legislation.

I am gratified with the work of this committee and of those who have helped it: the Technical Board of Economic Security drawn from various departments of the government, the Advisory Council on Economic Security, consisting of informed and public-spirited private citizens and a number of other advisory groups, including a Committee on Actuarial Consultants, a Medical Advisory Board, a Dental Advisory Committee, a Child Welfare Committee and an Advisory Committee on Employment Relief.

All of those who participated in this notable task of planning this major legislative proposal, are ready and willing, at any time, to consult with and assist in any way the appropriate Congressional committee and members with respect to detailed aspects.

It is my judgment that this legislation should be brought forward with a minimum of delay. Federal action is necessary to and conditioned upon the actions of States. Forty-four Legislatures are meeting or will meet soon. In order that the necessary State action may be taken promptly it is important that the Federal Government proceed speedily.

The detailed report of the committee sets forth a series of proposals that will appeal to the sound sense of the American people. It has not attempted the impossible, nor has it failed to exercise sound caution and consideration of all the factors concerned: the national credit, the rights and responsibilities of States, the capacity of industry to assume financial responsibilities and the fundamental necessity of proceeding in a manner that will merit the enthusiastic support of citizens of all sorts.

It is overwhelmingly important to avoid any danger of permanently discrediting the sound and necessary policy of Federal legislation for economic security by attempting to apply it on too ambitious a scale before actual experience has provided guidance for the permanently safe direction of such efforts.

The place of such a fundamental in our future civilization is too precious to be jeopardized by extravagant action. It is a sound idea--a sound ideal. Most of the other advanced countries of the world have already adopted it and their experience affords the knowledge that social insurance can be made a sound and workable project.

Three principles should be observed in legislation on this subject. In the first place, the system adopted, except for the money necessary to initiate it, should be self-sustaining in the sense that funds for the payment of insurance benefits should not come from the proceeds of general taxation. Second, excepting in old-age insurance, actual management should be left to the States, subject to standards established by the Federal Government. Third, sound financial management of the funds and the reserves, and protection of the credit structure of the nation should be assured by retaining Federal control over all funds through trustees in the Treasury of the United States.

At this time I recommend the following types of legislation looking to economic security:

1. Unemployment compensation
2. Old-age benefits, including compulsory and voluntary annuities.
3. Federal aid to dependent children through grants to States for the support of existing mother's pension systems and for services for the protection and care of homeless, neglected dependent and crippled children
4. Additional Federal aid to State and local public health agencies and the strengthening of the Federal public health service. I am not at this time recommending the adoption of so-called health insurance, although groups representing the medical profession are cooperating with the Federal Government in the further study of the subject and definite progress is being made.

With respect to unemployment compensation, I have concluded that the most practical proposal is the levy of a uniform Federal payroll tax, 90 percent of which could be allowed as an offset to employers contributing under a compulsory State unemployment compensation act. The purpose of this is to afford a requirement of a reasonably uniform character for all States cooperating with the Federal Government and to promote and encourage the passage of unemployment compensation laws in the States.

The 10 percent not thus offset should be used to cover the costs of Federal and State administration of this broad system. Thus States will largely administer unemployment compensation, assisted and guided by the Federal Government.

An unemployment compensation system should be constructed in such a way as to afford every practicable aid and incentive toward the larger purpose of employment stabilization. This can be helped by the intelligent planning of both public and private employment. It also can be helped by correlating the system with public employment so that a person who has exhausted his benefits may be eligible for some form of public work as is recommended in this report.

Moreover, in order to encourage the stabilization of private

employment, Federal legislation should not foreclose the States from establishing means for inducing industries to avoid an even greater stabilization of employment.

In the important field of security for our old people, it seems necessary to adopt three principles--first, non contributory old-age pensions for those who are now too old to build up their own insurance; it is, of course, clear that for perhaps thirty years to come funds will have to be provided by the States and the Federal Government to meet these pensions.

Second, compulsory contributory earnings which in time will establish a self-supporting system for those now young and for future generations. Third, voluntary contributory annuities by which individual initiative can increase the annual amounts received in old age.

It is proposed that the Federal Government assume one-half of the cost of the old-age pension plan, which ought ultimately to be supplanted by self-supporting annuity plans.

The amount necessary at this time for the initiation of unemployment compensation, old-age security, children's aid and the promotion of public health, as outlined in the report of the Committee on Economic Security, is approximately one hundred million dollars.

The establishment of sound means toward a greater future economic security of the American people is dictated by a prudent consideration of the hazards involved in our national life. No one can guarantee this country against the dangers of future depressions, but we can reduce these dangers.

We can eliminate many of the factors that cause economic depression and we can provide the means of mitigating their results. This plan for economic security is at once a method of prevention and a method of alleviation.

We pay now for the dreadful consequence of economic insecurity --and dearly. This plan presents a more equitable and infinitely less expensive means of meeting these costs.

We cannot afford to neglect the plain duty before us. I strongly recommend action to attain the objectives sought in this report.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The White House, January 17, 1935

Appendix D

EXECUTIVE ORDER ESTABLISHING THE COMMITTEE ON
ECONOMIC SECURITY AND THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON
ECONOMIC SECURITY

By virtue of and pursuant to the authority vested in me by the National Industrial Recovery Act (Ch. 90, 48 Stat. 195), I hereby establish (1) the Committee on Economic Security (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting of the Secretary of Labor, Chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, and (2) the Advisory Council on Economic Security (hereinafter referred to as the Advisory Council), the original members of which shall be appointed by the President and additional members of which may be appointed from time to time by the Committee.

The Committee shall study problems relating to the economic security of individuals and shall report to the President not later than December 1, 1934, its recommendations concerning proposals which in its judgment will promote greater economic security.

The Advisory Council shall assist the Committee in the consideration of all matters coming within the scope of its investigations.

The Committee shall appoint (1) a Technical Board on Economic Security consisting of qualified representatives selected from various departments and agencies of the Federal Government, and (2) an executive director who shall have immediate charge of studies and investigations to be carried out under the general direction of the Technical Board, and who shall, with the approval of the Technical Board, appoint such additional staff as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The White House, June 29, 1934

(No. 6757)

Appendix E

THE ECONOMIC SECURITY ACT

by Edwin E. Witte, Executive Director of the President's Committee
on Economic Security

The Economic Security Bill now before Congress embodies in legislative form the recommendations of the President in his special message of January 17, 1935. This bill, introduced by Senator Wagner and Representatives Doughton and Lewis, is based upon the report of the Committee on Economic Security. It embodies all of the major recommendations of the committee except those relating to employment assurance, which are dealt with in a companion measure, the Administration's Public Works Bill.

The objectives of this bill have been summarized in the preceding pages of this booklet. Briefly it provides:

1. Old Age Security.

(A) Federal grants-in-aid to the States matching amounts paid by them for pensions to people over 65 years of age who are dependent upon the public for support.

(B) A self-sustaining Federal system of compulsory contributory annuities under which younger workers are enabled to make their own provisions for old age, with matching contributions from their employers.

(C) Voluntary annuities available at cost from the United States Treasury, designed primarily for people of small means who cannot be brought under the compulsory system and who are outside of the field covered by commercial insurance companies.

2. Unemployment Compensation.

A cooperative Federal-State system is proposed, in which the Federal Government will make it possible for the States to enact employment compensation laws through levying a uniform tax on employers, measured by their payrolls against which a credit will be allowed for payments made under State unemployment compensation laws. The Federal Government will also undertake the task of safeguarding, investing, and liquidating all reserve funds, to insure their use to stabilize industrial conditions, as far as possible. It will also keep central records and assist the States in the solution of difficult administrative and other problems arising in unemployment compensation. The actual administration will be vested in the States. Subject to a few restrictions designed to insure efficient administration and use of all funds collected for the payment of benefits to unemployed workmen, the States will be free to determine for themselves the type of law they prefer, the length of the waiting periods, the duration of benefits, and all other features of the legislation.

3. Security for Children.

The Federal Government will pay one-third of the total cost of aid to dependent children (mother's pensions), to be administered by the States. It will also make grants-in-aid to the States for maternity and infancy welfare, local child welfare services, and the physical restoration of crippled children.

4. Public Health Services.

The bill proposed Federal grants-in-aid for building up and strengthening State and local public health services, with a view toward eliminating preventable sickness. This program will not usher in a millenium. In the words of the President, a complete program of economic security "because of many lost years, will take many future years to fulfill." But this bill represents a substantial beginning in the development of safeguards to provide "security for men, women, and children."

This is not a radical proposal, as indicated by the bitter attacks made upon it by so many radical groups. It is not untried, but has behind it a long, successful European experience. Yet it does not merely copy European models, but is in accord with tried American policies and traditions. It represents not Federal interference, but a cooperative attack on the problems of insecurity, in which the Federal Government assumes leadership but does not dictate what the States shall do or interfere with their proper sphere of action.

This bill contemplates large appropriations (\$98,500,000 in the first year and \$218,500,000 in subsequent years), but these are small in comparison with the enormous costs of insecurity. It should result in material reduction of the costs to society of destitution and dependency in future years and be immediately helpful in allaying fears that are responsible for extreme and unsound proposals. It is designed to promote social and industrial stability and will operate to enlarge and make steady a widely diffused purchasing power upon which depends the high American standard of living and the internal market for our mass production, industry and agriculture.

Appendix F

THE WAR MANPOWER COMMISSION, DIRECTIVE NO. 10
SEPTEMBER 14, 1942

The Congressional Record, Vol. 651, 1942, pp. 7162-3

Office for Emergency Management
War Manpower Commission
Washington, D.C.
September 14, 1942

Hon. Millard E. Tydings
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Tydings: Following our conversation, which was participated in also by Commissioner Flemming of the Civil Service Commission, and Oliver Short, of the Commission's War Transfer Unit. I have decided to sign a directive which will make it possible for the Civil Service Commission to transfer Federal employees from one agency to another even in those cases where the employee will not give his consent.

As you will recall, we indicated to you that a few days before you introduced your bill in the Senate the members of the War Manpower Commission recommended to me that such a step should be taken. I have been advised that the President has the authority to direct moves of this type and, as you know, this authority under the Executive order establishing the War Manpower Commission has been delegated to the chairman of the War Manpower Commission who is authorized to take whatever steps may be necessary in the best interests of the war program after consultation with the members of the Commission.

The order which I have signed today, in addition to being recommended to me by the members of the Commission, has also been recommended by the members of the National Labor-Management Policy Committee of the War Manpower Commission. In addition, Commissioner Flemming has consulted informally with the heads of Government employee unions.

I am enclosing a copy of the directive with this letter and you will note that the order, in addition to making it possible for the Commissioner to transfer employees without their consent, also makes it possible for the Commission to transfer employees from one agency to another, irrespective of the priority ratings of the agencies involved.

Briefly, the directive makes it possible for the Commission to effect any transfers of Federal employees which it believes to be in the best interest of the war program.

In addition, the directive sets up safeguards for employees who are transferred by the Civil Service Commission under the authority

which is being delegated to it. Persons whose transfer is in the interest of the war program are given certain reemployment benefits. The directive also provides that an employee cannot be transferred without his consent unless the Commission provides him with a fair opportunity for presenting his side of the case. Also, transfers will not be made to positions carrying a lower salary than that which the employee is now receiving.

There is further provision that no transfer shall be effected from one part of the country to another unless the agency to which the employee is being transferred is in a position to handle his travel and moving expenses.

We feel confident that this order will go a long distance in the direction of making it possible for the Civil Service Commission to make a real contribution in the direction of converting Government to a war basis.

Both the War Manpower Commission and the Civil Service Commission will be delighted to receive any suggestions from you or other members of your committee at any time.

Very sincerely and cordially yours,

PAUL V. McNUTT, Chairman

* * * * *

War Manpower Commission Directive No. 10
Office of War Information
War Manpower Commission
September 14, 1942

To all departments and agencies of the executive branch of the Federal Government, concerning transfer and release of Federal employees.

By virtue of the authority vested in me as Chairman of the War Manpower Commission by Executive Order No. 9139, and having found, after consultation with the members of the War Manpower Commission, that the measures hereinafter set forth will facilitate the filling of the Federal Government's requirements for manpower in the civilian service, and promote the proper allocation and the effective mobilization and utilization of the Nation's manpower in the prosecution of the war, it is hereby directed:

- I. Whenever the Civil Service Commission shall find that a civilian employee of any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government can make a more effective contribution to the war effort in a position in some other such department or agency, the Commission, with or without the consent of the employee or of the department or agency in which he is employed or to which he is transferred, shall direct the transfer of such employee to such position.
- II. Whenever the Civil Service Commission shall find that a civilian employee of any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government is qualified to perform work in a critical war

occupation (as defined in the Essential Activities and Essential Occupations Directive) and can make a more effective contribution to the war effort in an essential activity carried on by a private enterprise, the Commission, with the consent of the employee, but with or without the consent of the department or agency in which he is employed, shall, upon request of such private enterprise, authorize the release of such employee to such private enterprise for work in such critical war occupation in such essential activity. An employee whose release has been authorized pursuant to this paragraph shall be carried on a leave-without-pay basis from his Federal position for the period of such employment with a private enterprise, except that such leave-without-pay status shall not continue beyond 6 months after the end of the war.

III. The Civil Service Commission shall base its findings, pursuant to paragraphs I and II of this directive, upon:

(a) The extent to which the skills, abilities, training, and experience of the employee are required and will be utilized by the departments, agencies, activities or private enterprise concerned; and

(b) The relative importance to the war program of the Government activities in which the employee has been employed and to which he will be transferred, as indicated by, among other considerations, priority classifications established by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget pursuant to Executive Order No. 9243; and

(c) The relative importance to the war program of the Government activity in which the employee has been employed and of the private enterprise to which he will be transferred, as indicated by priority classifications established by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget pursuant to Executive Order No. 9243 and by such policies and directives as the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission may prescribe.

IV. Any employee of a department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government (other than an employee holding a temporary position) who has been transferred pursuant to Paragraph I of this directive shall be entitled to 30 days' notice from the department or agency to which he has been transferred, prior to the termination of his services with such department or agency, unless such termination is for cause. Upon the termination, with prejudice, of the services of an employee (other than an employee transferred or released from a temporary position) in the position to which his transfer or release has been authorized or directed pursuant to Paragraphs I or II of this directive (or in a position which, for the purposes of this directive, is substantially similar thereto) such employee shall be entitled to the reemployment benefits hereinbelow set forth, provided he makes application for reinstatement therein within 40 days after the termination of his services with such an enterprise but in no event later than 6 months after the end of the war.

(a) Reinstatement, within 30 days of his application, in the same department or agency and to the maximum extent practicable, in the same locality, in his former position, or in a position of like seniority, status, and pay, in such manner, to the maximum consistent with law, that he does not lose any of the rights or benefits to which he would

have been entitled had he not been transferred or released;

(b) If such a position, or if the agency or activity in which he was employed, is no longer in existence, and such person therefore cannot be reinstated, the placement of his name on the reemployment list established pursuant to Executive Order No. 6924 of September 20, 1932, to be considered for certification to positions for which he is qualified elsewhere in the Government service. Certifications from such a list shall be made by the Civil Service Commission prior to certification from all other lists maintained by the Commission.

V. Any department or agency in which is employed an employee whose transfer or release is to be directed or authorized pursuant to this directive without the consent of such department or agency, shall be afforded prior to such transfer or release, a fair opportunity to present to the Civil Service Commission evidence as to the extent to which such agency's or department's execution of its responsibilities will be jeopardized by the loss of such employee and as to the extent to which the employee's skills, abilities, training, and experience are being and will be utilized in such department or agency.

VI. Any employee whose transfer is to be directed pursuant to this directive without the consent of such employee shall be afforded, prior to such transfer, a fair opportunity to present to the Civil Service Commission evidence that the proposed transfer is inequitable or will impose upon him an undue hardship. No employee shall, without his consent, be transferred to a position beyond reasonable commuting distance from his home unless the department or agency concerned shall reimburse the employee for the cost of transporting himself, his immediate family, and his household goods, in accordance with Government regulations.

VII. Whenever the filling of any position by promotion from within for an indefinite period is being considered by any department or agency, employees who have been transferred or released pursuant to this directive and are entitled to reemployment in such department or agency under this directive shall be given the same consideration they would have received had they not been transferred or released, and such employees may be selected for such promotion. In the event of such selection, if such employee is not authorized to return to the position to which promotion was made, the position in question shall be filled only for the duration of such employee's reemployment rights under Paragraph IV of this directive and such reemployment rights shall be applicable to the position to which promotion was made.

VIII. No request for the transfer or release of any civilian employee in any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government shall be made by another such department or agency except through the Civil Service Commission, and no civilian employee of any such department or agency shall be released for transfer to another such department or agency except upon request of the Civil Service Commission. The Commission shall not request or authorize the transfer of any such employee who can make a more effective contribution to the war effort in the position in which he is currently employed or whose transfer would be contrary to the most effective methods of filling the

Federal Government's requirements for manpower in the civilian service or would conflict with policies or directives of the War Manpower Commission.

IX. The Civil Service Commission is authorized and directed to adopt such measures and take such action as may be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this directive and to insure that the reemployment provisions set forth in Paragraph IV of this directive are given full force and effect.

X. This directive shall become effective on and after September 27, 1942.

XI. This directive may be cited as the "Directive With Respect to the Transfer and Release of Government Employees."

PAUL V. McNUTT
Chairman
War Manpower Commission

* * * * *

EXECUTIVE ORDER PROVIDING FOR THE TRANSFER AND RELEASE OF
FEDERAL PERSONNEL

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Civil Service Act (22 Stat. 403) and by section 1753 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (U.S. Title 5, Sec. 531), it is hereby ordered:

1. Effective on and after the fifteenth day following the date of this order, transfers of employees between departments, agencies, and independent establishments of the civilian executive branch of the Federal Government, the release of such employees to private enterprise, and the establishment, granting, and conditioning of reemployment rights in the event of such transfers and releases shall be governed by policies and directives issued by the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission in conformity with Executive Order No. 9139 of April 18, 1942.
2. In conformity with the policies of the Chairman of the War Manpower Commission the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall from time to time establish priority classifications of the several executive departments and agencies or parts or activities thereof, based upon the relative importance to the war program of the functions performed.
3. Executive Order No. 8973 of December 12, 1941, and Executive Order No. 9067 of February 20, 1942, are hereby revoked, effective on the fifteenth day following the date of this order; provided that nothing contained in this order shall be construed to affect reemployment rights theretofore acquired by any employee under Executive Orders Nos. 8973 and 9067.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

* * * * *

Office of War Information
War Manpower Commission

September 14, 1942

War Manpower Commission Chairman Paul V. McNutt and Civil Service Commissioner Arthur Flemming today issued the following joint statement:

In a further move to place the Federal Government on a total war basis, President Roosevelt issued on September 12 an Executive order delegating to the War Manpower Commission complete authority to control and regulate transfers of Federal employees. The Order continues in effect the authority of the Bureau of the Budget to arrange Federal agencies in priority classifications based upon their relative importance to the war program.

The President's order, which becomes effective on September 27, was followed by a directive issued today by Chairman Paul V. McNutt, of the War Manpower Commission, ordering drastic changes in transfer regulations and procedures. This order also becomes effective on September 27.

Under the directive of the War Manpower Commission, the Civil Service Commission may order the transfer of a Federal employee from one department to another without the consent of the employee, of the department in which he is employed, or of the agency in which he is to be employed, whenever it finds that the transfer will result in a more effective contribution to the war program.

Employees who are transferred in this manner are guaranteed reemployment in their former position, or in similar positions, after the war. The directive of the War Manpower Commission establishes certain safeguards to prevent injustice or undue hardship upon employees who may be transferred without their consent.

Employees are required to be given an opportunity to be heard by the Commission before being transferred without their consent, and may not be transferred to a position carrying a lower salary than they are receiving. The directive prohibits also the transfer of employees beyond reasonable commuting distance from their home unless the Government defrays the transportation expenses of the employee and his immediate family and the cost of moving his household goods.

A further provision of the directive requires the employee to be given consideration for promotion in his former department even though his transfer from that department has been ordered by the Civil Service Commission.

The Civil Service Commission is required, before transferring an employee, to give his department an opportunity to present evidence that its work will be jeopardized by the proposed transfer. The Civil Service Commission will pass on the objections.

Under the directive of the War Manpower Commission, the Civil Service Commission may also authorize the transfer of an employee of the Government to private industry engaged in war work whenever the Commission finds that the employee is qualified to perform work in a critical occupation. A list of essential occupations and critical war occupations is maintained by the United States Employment Service under a directive issued by the War Manpower Commission last June.

Government employees may not be transferred to private war industries without their consent, but upon transfer are also entitled to reemployment in their Government positions after the war. Such transfers may be ordered by the Civil Service Commission without the consent of the department in which the employee is serving.

Under the directive, the Civil Service Commission will also prevent unnecessary movements of Federal employees from one Federal agency to another.

The Civil Service Commission is expected to issue regulations implementing the Manpower Commission's directive within the next few days.

In the past the Civil Service Commission's authority to direct transfers was controlled by the priority classifications established by the Bureau of the Budget, and in many cases required not only the consent of the employee but also of his department. During the period February 27, 1942, to September 7, 1942, the Commission authorized the transfer of 31,977 employees to war jobs.

Appendix G

"PARTNERSHIP OF CITIZENS"

The work of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare is a practical, flexible, human operation. This booklet, issued in direct response to hundreds of inquiries received each week, will tell you in as simple and general terms as possible how the Department goes about its business.

Of all Federal departments, it comes closest to home. It is the most personal, for it is concerned with personal things.

The national family is made up of 180 million men, women, and children, concerned with getting through measles, mumps, and influenza, securing protection against polio, diphtheria, tuberculosis, and smog, finding the best possible education, building strength against financial disaster, and providing for the coming days of retirement.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is concerned with these things also. It tries to do what is too much, too big, too complicated, or too national in character or significance for individuals or communities or even States to do alone. It does not invade the prerogatives of parents, communities, or States; it reinforces them.

In the large ways that only seeing things whole can make possible--ALL the measles and mumps and other illnesses, ALL the schools and lack of schools, the economic picture of ALL the people--the Department cooperates as a partner with parents, communities, and States. It seeks to help them find the tools and facilities, the knowledge and personnel, the funds to provide the simple, everyday essentials, so that today can be a good for you and tomorrow even better.

ARTHUR S. FLEMING, Secretary

of Health, Education and Welfare

From Hope--The Anchor of Life: the Program of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Appendix H

SECTION 9. EDUCATION : POLICY STATEMENT

Education for aging is related to each aspect of aging and is a part of the lifelong learning process. Education for everyone about aging will influence community attitudes and actions with respect to aging problems. Education for older people enables those who need and want educational activities to enrich their lives and continue their usefulness in a democratic society. Older people can make contributions to the education of others. The Nation should take advantage of the experience and skills of older people in our population.

The conservation, development, and utilization of the abilities and skills of older people have become a matter of national concern. The public interest requires that Federal legislation be enacted which will empower the U.S. Office of Education to cooperate with States, communities, public and private schools, institutions of higher education, and public and private libraries to stimulate the development and operation of educational programs about, for, and by the aging.

The initial stimulation of educational programs for, about, and by the aging should be through institutions that have public responsibility for education, that in combination, have nationwide coverage and that have the confidence of all groups. These institutions are public schools, institutions of higher learning, and libraries. In some cases the only complete nationwide coverage will be a Federal agency. For example, communication between talented older people and employers who can and want to use capable retired people could well be channeled through the U.S. Employment Service which has offices in all sections of the country. Universities and colleges are among the best equipped organizations to carry on the research needed in the aging process and in the needs and interests of the aging, and to conduct studies relevant to total community effort in education for the aging. Public and private schools have the opportunity to develop, through a strong program of adult education, education for the aging in all of its aspects. Public and private libraries can provide both the materials, information, and references services on aging for all interested agencies and segments of the population, and appropriate facilities, services, and programs for the aging and those who work with the aging.

All of these National, State, and local agencies working together can develop a program of education that will cover the Nation with an initial program of education and counseling to be augmented by other agencies such as churches, labor organizations, industry, major voluntary organizations, organizations of older people, and other private and public community organizations and agencies, which even now are doing outstanding work in the field of aging in some localities scattered throughout the country. The situation demands that such a program be stimulated on a nationwide basis. This can be done best

initially by organized Federal and State agencies, and through public and private schools, universities, and libraries with adequate funds to promote and develop leadership in communities in all States in all sections of the country.

Legislation should empower and direct the Office of Education to cooperate with State departments of education, institutions of higher education, and libraries, in developing active programs for the identification and development of potential leaders for education of the aging in public and private schools, in junior and senior colleges, libraries, senior citizen groups, unions, industrial organizations, and all other agencies concerned with education of the aging. It should be the duty and obligation of all cooperating agencies to promote and operate broad and diversified education programs for older people. These programs should include: health education, education to enrich the outlook and interests of senior citizens; occupational education; education to increase knowledge and understanding of the aging process; and education and other related services designed to help older people to discover and develop their capabilities and to enhance the value of their potential contribution to society.

Opportunities for continuation or reentrance into formal education should be expanded. The State should provide adequate funds to carry out the program on the local as well as the State level. The Federal Government should participate, not only in providing leadership development but also in providing funds on a matching basis. The Adult Education Section of the U.S. Office of Education should be strengthened and enlarged, so that leadership and assistance can be provided to the States in the development of a coordinated educational program for older adults.

This Section summarized its deliberations by agreeing that as a Nation we realize that continued planning and preparation is needed to insure the well-being, the strength, and the happiness of the older adult, his family, and his society. People need to prepare for the later years through continuing education as they prepare for earlier periods of life. Older adults can make a substantial contribution to the education of others. It is clear that national leadership is essential, that State leadership must be developed and expanded, and that there must be coordinated efforts among all agencies involved in education of older people. It is equally clear that the U.S. Office of Education, State departments of education, public and private schools, universities, and colleges, and public and private libraries --given adequate funds--are in the best position to develop a nationwide program of education for the aging. They are in a position--given adequate resources--to conduct the needed research, develop materials, identify and train needed leadership, conduct pilot programs, and to otherwise assist communities and such private and public agencies as may wish to contribute to and participate in such a program.

Appendix I

EXECUTIVE ORDER 11022 ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON AGING

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is hereby ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. (a) There is hereby established the President's Council on Aging (hereinafter referred to as the "Council.")

(b) The Council shall be composed of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who shall be Chairman, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

(c) The Chairman of the Council shall invite the head of any other Federal department or agency to attend any meeting of the Council at which any matter within or affecting the area of responsibility of such department or agency is considered and to be a temporary member with respect to such matter.

SEC. 2. The Council shall: (a) Maintain a continuing study of the overall responsibilities of the Federal Government with respect to the problems of the aging and make recommendations to the President concerning policies and programs required to meet Federal responsibilities, particularly on matters which do not fall within the jurisdiction of a single agency.

(b) Identify matters which require coordinated action by two or more Federal agencies and make appropriate arrangements for joint or coordinated action, including, as appropriate, conferences, joint studies, and the development of recommendations to the President.

(c) Promote the sharing and dissemination of information on the needs of the aging and policies and programs relating to the aging, among Federal departments and agencies and between them and the State, local, or private agencies and organizations having functions or interests in fields relating to the problems of the aging.

(d) Prepare an annual consolidated report to the President concerning the activities of the Council and the several Federal departments and agencies having programs relating to the aging.

SEC. 3. (a) Consonant with law, each department or agency represented on the Council shall, as may be necessary for the effectuation of the purpose of this order, furnish assistance to the Council in accordance with Section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945, 59 Sta. 134 (31 U.S.C. 691).

(b) Other Federal departments and agencies are also authorized and directed, to the extent not inconsistent with law, to cooperate with the Council and to furnish it such information and assistance as

it may find necessary in the performance of its functions.

SEC. 4. The Federal Council on Aging, established by a letter from the President to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (Flemming), dated March 7, 1959, is hereby abolished and that letter is hereby superseded.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

The White House, May 14, 1962

Appendix J

CARE FOR THE AGED--AND THIS NONSENSE ABOUT "SOCIALIZED MEDICINE"

by Arthur S. Flemming

Just what do we owe our senior citizens? I think we would all agree that we owe them our continued love and a full measure of privacy--but, in more practical terms, we also owe them a chance to live out their lives free from fear--or worse, the reality--of the crippling costs of a major, catastrophic illness.

How this can be accomplished is one of the most urgent problems of our times and, specifically, of the present session of Congress.

Why is the issue so important? Take the case of Mr. A.

He is 69 years old. His total annual income is \$960, and he has no health or medical insurance.

In 1958, 1959, and 1960, his medical expenses averaged \$177 a year--a heavy enough burden. In 1961 he had a heart attack, and his medical expenditures rose to \$750--an impossible one.

Although Mr. A. deprived himself of many of the necessities of life to meet his medical bills, he was hardly able to pay all of them. So, to help him, his son and daughter-in-law were forced to withdraw \$600 from the savings earmarked for the education of their children.

Mr. A is typical of the majority of our senior citizens. Approximately 10 million of the more than 16 million people aged 65 and over have incomes of \$1,000 or less, or about \$3 a day. Three-fourths of this group have incomes of less than \$2,000 a year. It is true that some have husbands or wives with incomes of their own. As a group, however, they have pitifully limited resources. About half have some kind of health or medical insurance. But very few can afford policies that protect them against the costs of major or long-term illness.

When such illnesses occur, and when their own or their family's resources are not sufficient to meet them, they are forced on relief.

Recently the National Association of Blue Shield Plans and the American Medical Association announced a nationwide program to pay the full cost of medical and surgical services for single persons 65 and over whose annual income is \$2,500 or less and for couples whose income is \$4,000 or less. But as Abraham A. Ribicoff, present Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, points out, this private program (which would cost about \$3 a month person) fails to answer the principal problem--hospital care of the aged.

Millions of older people, and tens of millions of their sons and daughters, are demanding an end now to this intolerable situation. Most of them feel that the Government should take the lead in establishing a system that will insure the aged against a large percentage of their medical and hospital bills. They believe that everyone who benefits from such a system should also contribute to it.

I firmly agree with them.

At present there are two bills before Congress proposing such a system. One is the official administration plan supported by President Kennedy. The other, which I believe is the sounder, is backed by Senator Jacob Javits, of New York.

The subject of medical care for the aged has been made to sound very complicated. It has been further confused by the irresponsible charges of the American Medical Association, which also opposed the introduction of social security in the 1930s, that the Kennedy administration's proposal amounts to socialized medicine.

Actually, the issues are very simple. Here are the basic differences between the administration and Javits plans.

The administration plan (King-Anderson bill, H.R. 4222) would be open to persons 65 or older who are covered by either the social security or railroad retirement systems. It would pay some of the costs of hospital or nursing home care, laboratory tests, and other auxiliary services, it would pay some of the cost of medical care in the home or physician's office. This plan would be financed partly through social security, partly through general Government revenues.

I believe Senator Javits' proposal is the better because:

It covers an additional 2 to 4 million senior citizens who are not under social security or railroad retirement.

The plan would be administered by the States, rather than the Federal Government. (However, the States would have to conform to minimum Federal standards).

By making some provision for the costs of preventive medical care in the home or physician's office, the plan could be expected to reduce major illnesses and their heavy costs.

Older people could choose between insurance that would pay the initial costs of any illness and insurance that would help pay costs of a major or long-term illness.

Those who preferred to take out individual or group health insurance policies from private companies or prepayment organizations like Blue Cross or Blue Shield instead of participating in the Government plan would be given help in making the premium payments.

Though I am concerned about the omission of these provisions in the Kennedy administration plan, I realize that reasonable people can differ about the merits of the two bills. If Congress debates them on their merits, I am sure a sound plan will emerge.

What would such a plan mean to Mr. A? If it had been in effect at the time he had his heart attack, for which he was hospitalized for 20 days, it would have provided him with from \$500 to \$600 to pay his total costs of \$750. Mr. A, and the millions of those like him, would no longer have to become a burden to their families, or be added to the Nation's relief rolls.

Why, then, does the American Medical Association oppose such a plan? And why is the form their opposition has taken not only unsound, but shockingly unfair?

The AMA contends that the needs of the aged in the medical-care field can be met by legislation already in existence--the Kerr-

Mills law. This law makes provision for Government help for emergencies after they arise. As such, and in lieu of something better, it is a good law, and I supported it when I was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. This is what it does:

It provides additional Federal funds for the medical-care provisions of the Federal-State old-age assistance program. This program uses public funds to help support elderly people whose incomes are below the minimum levels specified by their respective States.

It provides for a Federal-State program to care for the needs of senior citizens whose income is too high to permit them to qualify for the old-age assistance program, but too low, in the judgment of their respective States, to enable them to meet their medical bills.

Many of our older citizens, however, do not want to wait for a medical emergency to arise and then be completely dependent on Government. Nor do their sons and daughters--in their parents' behalf now, in their own later, when they themselves are old. They want insurance against emergencies. This the Kerr-Mills law does not provide. It is misleading, therefore--and insulting--for the AMA to claim that this public assistance law is the final answer to the costs of medical care for older people.

Even worse, however, are the AMA's efforts to discredit the administration proposal (this compulsory health-care program) by labeling it "socialized medicine." In paid advertisements in newspapers and magazines, the AMA had alleged that "...when the Federal Government enters the privacy of the examination room--controlling both standards of practice and choice of practitioner--the cost includes loss of freedom--your doctor's freedom to treat you in an individual way; your freedom to choose your own doctor. When the doctor is socialized, his patient is socialized as well."

This is irresponsible nonsense. It is simply not the truth.

Under socialized medicine, all hospitals and health facilities would be owned and operated by the Government. All doctors, nurses and other health workers would be on salaries paid by the Government and would be under direct Government supervision.

The administration proposal includes a specific prohibition against Government interference in the practice of medicine. The patient chooses his own doctor, his own hospital or nursing home. He pays the doctor himself, regardless of where his services are performed. For hospital and other services, he would simply be provided with the means of paying a part of the costs.

The same freedom of choice is offered by the Javits plan.

There is thus no basis whatever for the AMA's charges. By persisting in labeling as socialized medicine something that is not socialized medicine, the AMA does a disservice to the Nation. It weakens, rather than strengthens, the possibility of defeating proposals that can legitimately be placed in that category. Crying "Wolf, wolf" when there is no wolf is always a mistake.

The AMA's charges are simply an effort to block intelligent discussion of a major issue by arousing unjustified fears, and, as such, are not worthy of argument.

Instead, lets focus our attention on the merits of the administration and Javits' proposals, or any other plan that would insure our senior citizens against the economic hazards of illness.

Since these medical care proposals, if passed will have a positive impact, sooner or later, on almost every American family's welfare, it might be wise for you to try to learn more about them. For information on the administration plan, write to Mr. William L. Mitchell, Commissioner of Social Security, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. For information on the Javits plan, address the Honorable JACOB K. JAVITS, The U.S. Senate, Washington D.C. Three women's organizations that are already taking a particular interest in the medical care bills are the American Nurses Association, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the YWCA.

Make up your own mind about them--and then make your views known by writing your Congressman.

May the best plan win.

Appendix K

Executive Office of the President
Bureau of the Budget
Washington, D.C., August 8, 1958

Hon. LISTER HILL
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
United States Senate, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in reply to your letter of August 5, 1958, requesting the views of this office with respect to H.R. 9822, a bill to provide for holding a White House Conference to be called by the President of the United States before September 30, 1960, to be planned and conducted by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare with the assistance and cooperation of other departments and agencies represented on the Federal Council on Aging; to assist the several States in conducting similar conferences on aging prior to the White House Conference on Aging; and for related purposes.

The Bureau of the Budget is aware of the increasing proportion of aged people in our population and of their needs. The Federal Government has greatly increased its programs for the aging in the last few years, and a large proportion of the budget and trust account expenditures for health, income maintenance, and welfare programs is for the aged group. It is estimated that \$10 billion will be spent during the fiscal year 1959 for cash benefits for people over age 65 and, in addition, health, hospital, employment, and other services for them will cost several hundred million dollars.

In order to provide coordination among the programs of the several agencies and establish a central point of contact with State, local, and private organizations, the President created the Federal Council on Aging in 1956. The scope of present Federal programs which benefit the aging and the activities of the Federal Council on Aging were explained in the House committee hearings on H.R. 9822.

This administration has not recommended legislation for a White House Conference on Aging or for a new grant-in-aid program for this purpose. Several conferences on aging have been held in recent years, and we believe that the problems and needs of the aging are well known. We think that the best way to make genuine progress in this field is to stimulate wide research, experimentation, and action at the local community and State levels. We question whether a White House Conference at this time would help greatly in generating such action in view of the numerous other conferences that have been and will be held.

This administration has been doing everything it can to encourage State and local governments to exercise maximum effort in all appropriate areas of interest to them. As part of this effort, the Joint Federal-

State Action Committee has endeavored to find ways of reducing Federal grants-in-aid and, specifically, to increase action by the States in the field of aging.

For the reasons outlined above, and since the executive branch is currently developing actions to strengthen the Federal Council on Aging to aid its member agencies in assisting States and their localities more effectively, the Bureau of the Budget recommends against the enactment of H.R. 9822.

Sincerely,

ROBERT E. MERRIAM, Deputy Director

Appendix L

1961 WHCA EDUCATION COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Each level of government (local, State, and National) shall designate or create an agency to coordinate activities of all governmental agencies concerned with increasing knowledge and understanding about aging and to work with nongovernmental agencies in the same area.

2. Each State commission or committee on aging should help each community to develop some central organization that will take responsibility for disseminating information and providing leadership in their program of education about the aging. An important part of the program would be developing community awareness, utilizing all existing resources such as schools, libraries, voluntary agencies, etc., that persons with training and knowledge relating to aging be encouraged to offer their services in this program.

3. Each community shall have a central information and referral center responsible and responsive to the needs of the aged. Such an agency should enlist the cooperation for all interested groups in taking an inventory of community services for the aging and the aged, and coordinating the planning to fill the gaps.

4. (a) The Federal Government should expand its existing technological, consultative, promotional, and advisory services to the State in this field.

(b) Congress should strengthen the U.S. Office of Education with adequate funds and staff to coordinate and augment and develop its program for education and research in relation to aging.

5. The Federal Government should provide leadership in the field of increasing knowledge and understanding about aging through grants to the States to be available on a matching basis.

6. (a) Federal, State, and local governments should provide funds for education about the aging and for research and training of professional and lay persons.

(b) National, State, and local nongovernmental agencies should continue and expand their support of this program about aging.

7. Universities and colleges in the States should establish institutes to serve as focal points for their work in aging. The functions of these institutes would be to encourage the development of research and training by all appropriate units within the institutions, and to offer courses, procure funds for research and training, and collect and disseminate information about developments in this field.

8. Universities and colleges educating professional personnel should accept the responsibility to provide courses, course content, and other experiences necessary to develop competencies to work with older persons.

9. Schools at all levels should examine their curriculums to determine their adequacy in developing positive concepts about the aging process and the potentialities and needs of older persons.

10. Every effort shall be made to educate the public as to the variety of patterns under which aging occurs and thus change the stereotyped image of an aged person. This can best be done through the media of mass communications and related public relations programs as a supplement to the work of educational institutions.

11. Mass media (particularly television, radio, and the press) should accept greater responsibility for education about aging, and National, State, and local agencies should develop programs and materials to be used by these media.

12. Federal, State, and local agencies should recognize and utilize local cultural and social variations.

13. Both Government and industry should adopt a policy of a flexible retirement age. Retraining programs shall be provided where these would be useful.

Appendix M

INTERAGENCY AGREEMENT

The U.S. Office of Education and the Administration on Aging jointly seek to encourage the expanded use of school facilities for serving meals to the elderly. A statement to this effect has just been signed between our two agencies. The use of such facilities on a widespread basis would make available thousands of needed low cost meals to the elderly daily. We also encourage the expanded use of school facilities to provide a variety of educational, recreational, cultural, and other community services and volunteer opportunities for the elderly.

We would be pleased if you could meet with us so that we could more fully explain this joint statement, and the actions that can be taken to implement it on a national scale. A similar invitation has been sent to:

American Association of School Administrators
American Federation of Teachers
Association of School Business Officials
American School Food Service Association
Council of Chief State School Officers
Education Commission of the States
National School Board Association
National Association of Elementary School Principals
National Association of State Boards of Education
National Association of Secondary School Principals
National Education Association

Our meeting will be held on March 6, 1975, at the Hay Adams Hotel in Washington, D.C., beginning at 12:00 noon. Lunch will be served, and we do hope you will be able to join us personally.

We believe that this effort holds great promise for significant success in helping meet a major need of the elderly, as well as the opportunity for the elderly to make a significant contribution to the public schools and the youth of their community.

Very sincerely and cordially yours,

Duane J. Mattheis
Executive Deputy Commissioner
Office of Education

Arthur S. Flemming
Commissioner
Administration on Aging

Appendix N

Historical Highlights of Events in Aging, 1958-1978

- 1958 The American Association of Retired Persons was established.
- 1958 Representative John E. Fogarty introduced a bill in Congress calling for a White House Conference on Aging; it was enacted August 2, 1958.
- 1959 The Housing Act was enacted, authorizing a direct-loan program of nonprofit rental projects for the elderly at low interest rates. Selected provisions also reduced the eligible age for public low-rent housing for low income elderly persons to age 62 for women and age 50 for disabled persons.
- 1960 Social Security amendments made a number of changes, including (a) eliminating the age of 50 as a minimum to qualify for disability benefits; and (b) liberalizing the retirement test and the requirement for fully insured status.
- 1961 The American Association of Homes for Aging and the National Council of Senior Citizens were founded.
- 1961 The first White House Conference on Aging was held. At this conference, Medicare surfaced as the major issue.
- 1961 The National Council of Senior Citizens was established.
- 1961 Social Security amendments included the following: (a) lowered retirement age for men from age 65 to 62; (b) increased minimum benefits paid; (c) broadened the program to include additional categories of retired persons; (d) increased benefits to aged widows; (e) and liberalized the retirement test.
- 1961 The Senate Special Committee on Aging was created.
- 1962 Legislation proposed by Senator McNamara and Representative Fogarty calling for the establishment of a permanent and independent three-member Commission on Aging attached to the Presidency to serve as the focal point within the federal government for developing national policy.
- 1963 The Institute of Lifetime Learning of the AARP was established.

- 1963 The Welfare Administration was formed within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
- 1964 The Economic Opportunity Act, as amended, was passed and signed into law by President Johnson on August 20. Major provisions included: the stimulation and/or coordination of community action programs for the elderly poor (e.g. energy assistance, senior opportunities and services, community food and nutrition, "Operation Mainstream," and housing loans for low-income persons living in rural areas).
- 1965 The Medicare health insurance program for the elderly was established. Financed through the Social Security system, the enactment culminated years of "extensive and comprehensive efforts at the Congressional level."
- 1965 The Older Americans Act was passed and signed into law by President Johnson on July 14. Major provisions included the establishment of the Administration on Aging within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and grants to states for community planning, services, and training. Accordingly, the Act also specified the creation of State Agencies on Aging.
- 1965 The "Community Service and Continuing Education Programs" under the Higher Education Act of 1965 was established. Particular emphasis was directed to solving community problems in urban and suburban areas and to expanding available learning opportunities for adults not adequately served by education offerings in their communities.
- 1965 Social Security amendments established Title XIX, "Grants to States for Medical Assistance."
- 1966 The National Association of State Units on Aging was established.
- 1967 Amendments extended the Older Americans Act for two years and directed the Administration on Aging to commission a study of personnel needs in aging.
- 1967 The Administration on Aging was removed from the Office of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and realigned under a newly created Social and Rehabilitative Service Agency (SRS) housed within DHEW.
- 1967 The Age Discrimination in Employment Act was passed.
- 1969 Allocations were provided for grants for Research and Demonstration Projects under Title IV of the Older Americans Act.
- 1969 Retired Senior Volunteer Program and Foster Grandparents originated under Title VI of the Older Americans Act.

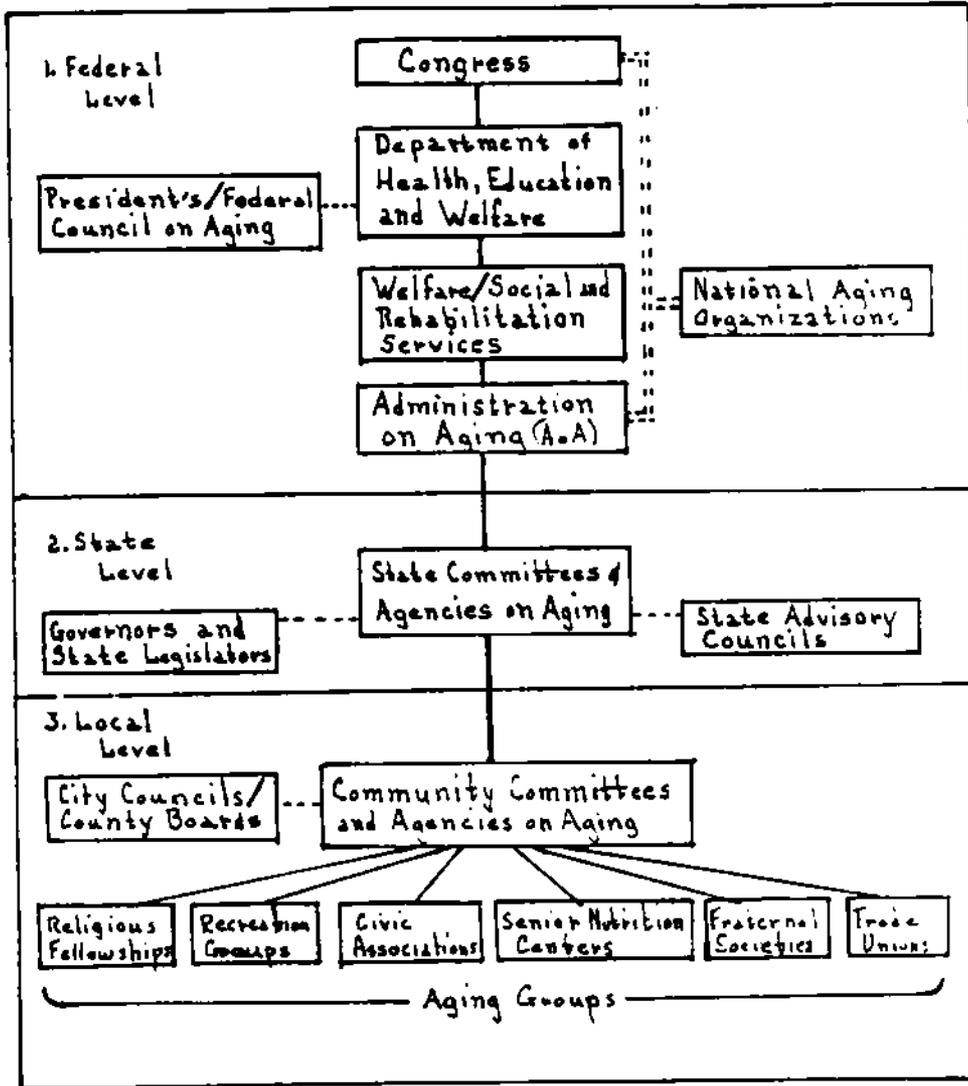
- 1969 Amendments extended the Older Americans Act for three years and authorized an increased funding level under Title III to support a new program of Area-Wide Model Projects.
- 1971 The Second White House Conference on Aging was held in Washington, D.C., where 2,500 delegates from around the nation met for two weeks and passed fourteen recommendations on a variety of needs of the elderly.
- 1972 The Title VII nutrition program under the Older Americans Act was passed and States were authorized to administer the program, which would provide congregate meals and supportive services at meal sites.
- 1972 The Nutrition Program for the Elderly Act became law (later to become the new Title VII of the Older Americans Act, as amended, in 1973).
- 1973 The Older Americans Comprehensive Service Amendments established area agencies on aging under an expanded Title III authority. These amendments also expanded the program of grants for model projects, senior centers and multidisciplinary centers of gerontology; added a new "Older Americans Community Service Employment Act" (Title IX); authorized funding for Title VII nutrition projects; and extended the Act for two years.
- 1973 The Domestic Volunteer Service Act was passed and signed into law by President Nixon on October 1. Major provisions included the RSVP and Foster Grandparents programs. As a result, Title VI of the Older Americans Act was repealed.
- 1973 The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act was enacted "to provide job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed, or underemployed persons, including those facing barriers to employment commonly experienced by older workers."
- 1974 Title XX of the Social Security Act was passed to provide a variety of services designated for low-income persons of all ages. Supplemental Security income, SSI, a State income supplemental to Social Security, was implemented.
- 1974 Amendments to the Older Americans Act added a special program on transportation under Title III as a "model projects" authority.
- 1974 The Housing and Community Development Act became law on August 2. Major provisions included a directive to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to consult with the Secretary of HEW to ensure the acceptable provision of low-income housing for the elderly or handicapped pursuant to the U.S. Housing Act of 1937.

- 1974 Social Security amendments added Title XX, "Grants to States for Social Services." Approved programs for Title XX assistance included: (a) protective services; (b) home amintenance services; (c) adult day care services; (d) transportation services; (e) training; (f) employment opportunities; (g) information and referral; (h) nutrition assistance; and (i) health support.
- 1974 Congress authorized the establishment of the National Institute on Aging (NIA) on May 31 to "conduct and support biomedical, social, and behavioral research and training related to the aging process and the diseases and other special problems and needs of the aging."
- 1974 Title V, Farm and Rural Housing Program of the National Housing Act of 1949 was expanded to include the rural elderly as a special target group in many of the programs.
- 1975 Amendments to the Older Americans Act added new language, giving the Commissioner on Aging authority under Title III to make grants to Indian organizations. For the first time, priority services were mandated (transportation, home care, legal services, and home renovation/repair). Amendments also made minor changes in Title IX, "Community Service Employment Program."
- 1975 The Older Americans Act is reauthorized and amended to include Title V, authorizations for renovations of Senior Centers.
- 1975 The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1975 was enacted to "prohibit discrimination on the basis of age in programs or activities receiving federal financial assistance."
- 1975 The National Association of Area Agencies on Aging was established.
- 1976 The National Association of Area Agencies on Aging and the National Association of State Units on Aging opened national offices in Washington, D.C.
- 1977 The Older Americans Act was reauthorized.
- 1977 Amendments to the Older Americans Act required changes in the Title VII nutrition services program, primarily related to the availability of surplus commodities through the U.S. Department of Agriculture.
- 1978 The Older Americans Act is reauthorized and amended, which provided for the consolidation of service programs, establishing clearer authority for advocacy efforts.
- 1978 The Comprehensive Older Americans Act amendments consolidated Titles III, V, VII (social services, multipurpose centers, and nutrition services, respectively) into one Title III; redesignated the previous Title IX (Community Service Employment Act) as Title V; and enacted a new Title VI, "Grants for Indian Tribes."

Appendix 0

THE NATIONAL NETWORK ON AGING, 1965-1972

---- advisory
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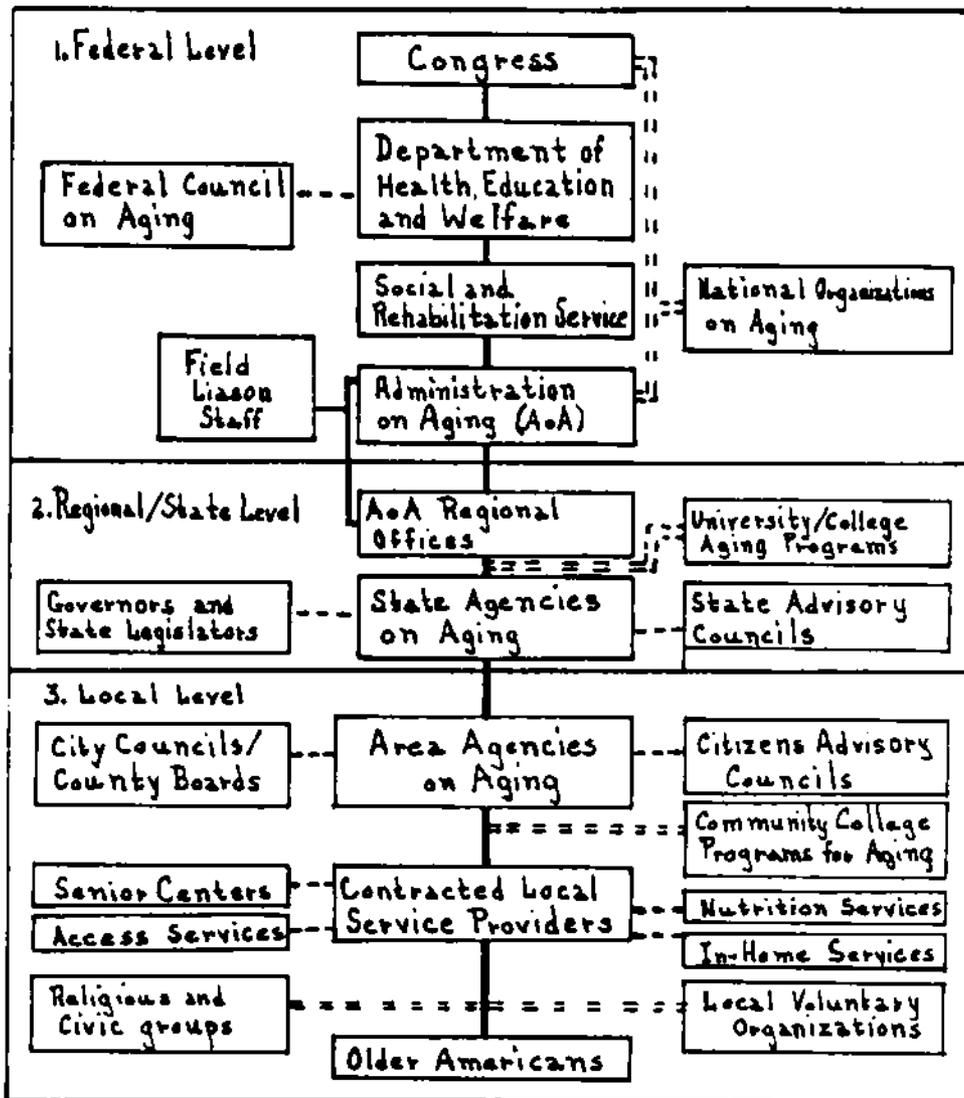


(Adapted from handouts of NASUA/NAAAA meetings, 1981-1982)

Appendix P

THE NATIONAL NETWORK ON AGING, 1973-1978

--- advisory
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(Adapted from handouts of NASUA/NAAAA meetings, 1981-1982)

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A HISTORICAL STUDY OF ARTHUR S. FLEMMING:
HIS IMPACT ON FEDERAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING
PROGRAMS RELATING TO AGING DURING THE PERIOD 1958-1978

by

Rosalie E. Green

(ABSTRACT)

This historical study of Arthur S. Flemming described the changes in his activities and views of federal education and training programs relating to aging. Flemming's public administration career included service as Chief of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Secretary of DHEW, and chairman of many presidential advisory boards and commissions. A career-long thread of concern for older Americans extended from his opposition to mandatory retirement as Civil Service Commissioner to his outstanding efforts as Commissioner on Aging to provide education and training programs for service personnel and practitioners in aging. At the end of his tenure as Commissioner on Aging, a national aging network existed that involved hundreds of thousands of paid and volunteer persons who served the needs of the aging, and education and training related to aging had an organizational foundation at the federal level, in institutions of higher education, in the private sector, and in voluntary organizations.