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AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1974

*Pres. - Russel B. Roth
Malcolm Todd*

I APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE AMERICAN MEDICAL

ASSOCIATION. *As I have gathered from the news media the main topic of this Convention is P.S.R.O. I've been getting a lot of advice lately on how to run my business. So I'm not going to give you any*

DURING MY VISIT IN 1972 TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE

CHINESE DEMONSTRATED WITH GREAT PRIDE THEIR SYSTEM OF HEALTH CARE. I WAS TOLD

Dr. Roth
on how to run your business
Pres. Roth means
Politicize should
Communist Out!
Long since P.S.R.O.
A PROVERB OF THE CHINESE PHILOSOPHY THAT A CIVILIZATION IS JUDGED BY THE LEVEL OF TREATMENT

GIVEN ITS SICK. IF THE CHINESE, WITH THEIR VAST POPULATION AND LIMITED RESOURCES,

public health
ARE PLACING SUCH EMPHASIS ON MEDICINE. THE UNITED STATES -- WHICH FOLLOWS AN

and religious
ENTIRELY DIFFERENT POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY TOWARD HUMAN VALUES, MUST DO EVEN MORE.

OF COURSE WE DO MUCH MORE, THOUGH

PERHAPS WE FAIL TO SHOW IT OFF TO
OFTEN AS
FOREIGN VISITORS AS WE DO OUR
SKYSCRAPERS AND SPACESHIPS.

~~THAT~~ MEDICAL SCIENCE, LIKE

ALL SCIENCE, AND THE
HEALING ARTS, LIKE ALL
ARTS, FLOURISH BEST IN
AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREEDOM.

THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME
LESSONS ^{AS AMERICANS} WE CAN LEARN AND
ARE LEARNING FROM OTHER
SYSTEMS, BOTH AS TO WHAT ~~THE~~
GOVERNMENT CAN AND SHOULD
DO AND WHAT IT CANNOT DO
AND SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT
TO DO.

WITH OUR VAST RESOURCES THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR A SINGLE AMERICAN TO BE DEPRIVED
OF THE FINEST TREATMENT AVAILABLE.

AMERICA'S PHYSICIANS FOLLOW THE TEACHINGS OF HIPPOCRATES WHO
RECORDED HIS FAILURES AS FREELY AS HE DID HIS SUCCESSES. HIPPOCRATES LIVED IN THE
PERIOD OF THE HIGHEST ACHIEVEMENTS OF GREEK INTELLECT. THIS GOLDEN ERA IN GREEK
CIVILIZATION DETERIORATED -- AND THE DETERIORATION WAS MOST OBVIOUS IN THE REALM
OF MEDICINE. OPEN INQUIRY AND CLEAR REASON EMANATED FROM A CLIMATE OF FREEDOM.



BUT WHEN INDIVIDUALISTIC THINKING WAS STIFLED, THERE EMERGED RIVAL SCHOOLS OF
MEDICINE THAT WERE MORE INTERESTED IN SEEKING CONVERTS FOR THEIR DOGMAS THAN IN
SEEKING HONESTLY FOR THE TRUTH. MEDICINE DETERIORATED WHEN THE FREEDOMS OF THE
ANCIENT GREEKS ERODED.



TODAY, EVEN AS IN THE TIME OF GREEK ENLIGHTENMENT, THERE
REMAINS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES AND MEDICAL EXCELLENCE.

WE LIVE IN A TIME OF MOUNTING PRESSURES TOWARD CATEGORICAL AND SWEEPING GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE. WE FACE A COMPLEX CHALLENGE TO WHICH THERE IS NO EASY ANSWER.



THE A.M.A. HAS DEVOTED ITSELF TO PRESERVATION OF THE QUALITY OF TREATMENT AVAILABLE IN THE UNITED STATES. YOU HAVE ASSURED US THE FINEST HEALTH CARE IN THE WORLD. BUT WE FACE A RISING OUTCRY AGAINST THE PROHIBITIVE COSTS OF CATASTROPHIC ILLNESSES AND FOR MORE EFFECTIVE USE AND DISTRIBUTION OF MEDICAL RESOURCES.

THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DEDICATED TO THE PREMISE THAT THE DOCTOR SHOULD WORK FOR HIS PATIENT AND NOT FOR THE BUREAUCRATS IN WASHINGTON. BUT IT IS ALSO DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION, ADVANCED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THAT GOVERNMENT MUST DO FOR THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN WHAT HE CANNOT DO FOR HIMSELF.

LAST FEBRUARY, IN RESPONSE TO COMPELLING NEEDS, WE SUBMITTED
LEGISLATION FOR THE COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN.



WE WOULD OFFER EVERY AMERICAN AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN A BALANCED, COMPREHENSIVE RANGE OF HEALTH INSURANCE THROUGH THREE MAJOR PROGRAMS: EMPLOYEE HEALTH INSURANCE AT PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT; ASSISTED HEALTH INSURANCE FOR LOW-INCOME PERSONS AND THOSE NOT ELIGIBLE FOR OTHER PLANS; AND AN IMPROVED MEDICARE PLAN COVERING THOSE 65 AND OVER.



THE ADMINISTRATION HEALTH PLAN TOOK A GREAT STEP FORWARD WITH
THE INTRODUCTION OF POSSIBLY COMPATIBLE PROPOSALS BY SENATOR KENNEDY AND CHAIRMAN
WILBUR MILLS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS. SENATOR KENNEDY HAD
SCRAPPED A MUCH MORE CONTROVERSIAL BILL THAT HE HAD CHAMPIONED FOR FOUR YEARS.
THERE ARE ALSO OTHER PROPOSALS, INCLUDING A.M.A. CONCEPTS.



THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT A WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE IS APPARENT. AS YOU KNOW, I FAVOR A FREE ENTERPRISE APPROACH INVOLVING PRIVATE AND VOLUNTARY PHILOSOPHIES. SENATOR KENNEDY WOULD INVOLVE THE GOVERNMENT IN A MANDATORY ROLE. THE PRIMARY DIFFERENCES ARE IN HOW TO FINANCE AND ADMINISTER THE VARIOUS HEALTH PLANS. BUT THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT WHILE REASONABLE MEN CAN DIFFER, THEY CAN ALSO COMPROMISE TO RECONCILE VIEWPOINTS. WE CAN WORK THIS OUT. I HOPE WE DO -- AND THE EARLIER, THE BETTER.



IF WE DO NOTHING TO PROVIDE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE -- ESPECIALLY
IN THE AREA OF CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS IN THIS ERA OF RISING INFLATION -- WE ARE
ISSUING AN INVITATION TO THOSE FAVORING THE OUTRIGHT SOCIALIZATION OF MEDICINE.
TO AVERT SUCH AN EVENTUALITY -- THAT WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN
MEDICINE AS WELL AS OUR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES -- THE PRIVATE SECTOR MUST MOVE TO
MEET BASIC RESPONSIBILITIES.



WE HAVE ALREADY HEARD FROM SOME PROPONENTS OF A SO-CALLED VETO-PROOF CONGRESS. THEY SAY THAT THEY WANT NO COMPROMISE HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION THIS YEAR BECAUSE THEY HOPE IN NOVEMBER TO SO DOMINATE CONGRESS THAT NEXT YEAR THEY CAN DICTATE A VETO-PROOF HEALTH POLICY OF THEIR CHOOSING. THESE EXTREMISTS FEAR THE AMERICAN TRADITION OF COMPROMISE. THEY WOULD PREFER TO DEFER COVERAGE FROM THOUSANDS OF SERIOUSLY ILL PERSONS IN ORDER TO GAIN POLITICAL ADVANTAGE.



A NEW ERA IN NATIONAL HEALTH IS CLEARLY IN THE OFFING. WE MUST
APPROACH THIS DEVELOPMENT IN THE SPIRIT OF MEDIATION AND MODERATION. THE MAIN
PRIORITY IS ON GETTING THE REQUIRED CARE DELIVERED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. JUST AS
WE HAVE RECENTLY SURMOUNTED RIGID OBSTACLES IN FOREIGN POLICY ACHIEVEMENTS, WE CAN
BREAK THROUGH ON A VITAL DOMESTIC ISSUE.



IF THERE IS A WAY FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO ADMINISTER AND
COLLECT PREMIUMS FOR HEALTH COVERAGE UNDER PENDING LEGISLATION, I WOULD FAVOR SUCH
AN APPROACH. YET, I AM WILLING TO LISTEN TO OTHER APPROACHES MINDFUL THAT THE CLOCK
IS TICKING AND PEOPLE ARE HURTING.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOW SAID THAT IT IS WILLING TO MAKE REASONABLE
COMPROMISES TO OBTAIN ACTION ON HEALTH INSURANCE. THE SECRETARY OF H.E.W. IS WORKING
FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. I ASK YOU TODAY TO CONSIDER THE THOUGHTS I HAVE OUTLINED.



I ASK YOU TO KEEP THE MOMENTUM GOING FOR A TRADITIONAL AMERICAN COMPROMISE,

SATISFACTORY TO ALL PARTIES, INSTEAD OF AN ABDICATION TO THOSE WHO WOULD IMPOSE

A DOGMATIC FORMULA THROUGH A "VETO-PROOF" CONGRESS THEY HOPE TO ELECT COME

NOVEMBER 1, 1974.

WE ARE AWARE OF THE GREAT SUPPORT THE A.M.A. HAS RENDERED TO

MEDICAL SCHOOLS. A TOTAL OF 114 MEDICAL SCHOOLS ARE NOW TRAINING 51,000 STUDENTS.



ONLY SEVEN YEARS AGO WE HAD 89 SUCH SCHOOLS AND LESS THAN 33,000 STUDENTS. I AM
AWARE OF THE SIGNIFICANT A.M.A. CONTRIBUTION TO INCREASING THE SUPPLY AND
DIVERSIFICATION OF MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS. YOU HAVE DONE MUCH TO MAKE A SUCCESS
OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CORPS WHICH BRINGS PHYSICIANS TO AREAS OF GREATEST
NEED. AND YOUR OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICA'S HEALTH ARE OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE.



I WOULD LIKE TO SEE CONGRESS MOVE AFFIRMATIVELY ON HEALTH MANPOWER
LEGISLATION. WE NEED MORE FAMILY PRACTITIONERS, AS YOU WILL AGREE. WE ARE ALSO
SEEKING TO EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN HEALTH PLANNING IN A MANNER TO LESSEN BUREAUCRACY
AND ENHANCE STATE AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION THROUGH A CONSORTIUM CONCEPT.





FOCUSING ON INNER CITY AND RURAL HOSPITALS, HEALTH FACILITY PROJECT

GRANTS ARE PENDING FOR HOSPITALS MOST IN NEED. WE ALSO PLAN TO INCREASE CANCER RESEARCH AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT DAMAGING RESEARCH IN OTHER VITAL AREAS. WE WANT TO TAKE RESEARCH ACHIEVEMENTS FROM THE LABORATORY TO THE PRACTICING PHYSICIAN'S OFFICE IN THE SHORTEST TIME FRAME POSSIBLE. BUT WE WANT ALSO TO GO ON DEPENDING ON VOLUNTEERISM AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE THAT MAKE AMERICAN MEDICINE SO UNIQUE.



WE MUST FIND WAYS TO MINIMIZE FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT IN DELIVERY OF
HEALTH CARE AND ACHIEVE A MUTUALLY HELPFUL PRIVATE/PUBLIC PARTNERSHIP. IN THIS
SEARCH, HOWEVER, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE AVOID BUREAUCRATIC INTERVENTION BETWEEN
THE DOCTOR AND HIS PATIENT -- INTERVENTION THAT COMPROMISES THE RIGHTS AND PRIVACY
OF BOTH.



I WANT TO SAY A WORD ABOUT MY NEW DUTIES AS CHAIRMAN OF THE
DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY. THE NOTION OF LEAVING THE
PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAS BEEN COMPARED TO
ASKING THE FOX TO PROTECT THE CHICKEN COOP. BUT SIX MONTHS AGO -- WHEN THE MOST
INTENSIVE INVESTIGATION EVER FOCUSED ON A NOMINEE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY WAS
DIRECTED AT ME -- I AWAKENED TO THE PRIVACY ISSUE IN A VERY REAL AND PERSONAL SENSE.
I WAS ONE OF THE CHICKENS.



AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PRIVACY COMMITTEE, I AM TAKING MY RESPONSIBILITIES
VERY SERIOUSLY. I HAVE ALREADY CHALLENGED THE GOVERNMENT'S GENERAL SERVICES
ADMINISTRATION ON THE MASSIVE COMPUTER NETWORK CONTEMPLATED TO PROVIDE A COAST-TO-
COAST DATA RETRIEVAL SYSTEM. IT WAS TO BE CALLED FEDNET. FEDERAL PROTECTION OF
PRIVACY IS NOT YET DEVELOPED TO THE POINT WHERE WE COULD PREVENT THIS FROM PROBING
INTO THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS. I AM PLEASED TO SAY THAT THIS PARTICULAR THREAT TO
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES HAS NOW BEEN SHELVED.



BUT I REMAIN CONCERNED OVER THE GROWING TENDENCY TO VIOLATE THE
PRIVACY OF PATIENT AND DOCTOR ALIKE. WE ARE ALL TOO PAINFULLY AWARE OF WIRETAPPING,
BUGGING, AND EVEN ALLEGATIONS THAT RECORDS IN A DOCTOR'S OFFICE ARE NO LONGER SAFE
FROM INTRUDERS. DR. MALCOLM C. TODD, PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE A.M.A. IS DEEPLY -- AND
RIGHTFULLY -- CONCERNED.

OVER THE YEARS, A.M.A. HAS DEVELOPED A NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS AND
OTHER GUIDELINES DEALING WITH THE PRESERVATION OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF MEDICAL
INFORMATION. YOU HAVE ACTED IN THE HIGHEST PUBLIC SERVICE.



DR. TODD INFORMS US THAT HE IS CONCERNED LEST THE DAY COME WHEN
THE DOCTOR WILL HAVE TO WARN THE PATIENT OF HIS RIGHTS JUST AS A POLICE OFFICER
MUST WARN A CRIMINAL SUSPECT. WHAT A PATIENT TELLS HIS DOCTOR IS INCREASINGLY
AFFECTING HIS CHANCES OF GETTING AND HOLDING A JOB, OBTAINING A LOAN, BUYING
INSURANCE, AND EVEN PRESERVING HIS MARRIAGE.



TECHNOLOGY HAS FACILITATED ABUSES, INSURANCE COMPANIES AND CREDIT BUREAUS ARE OBTAINING PRINT-OUTS OF THE MOST PERSONAL DATA. DOCTORS ARE BEGINNING TO FEAR THAT SOME PATIENTS WHO NEED CARE MAY EVEN BECOME AFRAID TO SEEK IT. PRIVILEGED COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PATIENT AND PHYSICIAN HAS BEEN A SACRED ASPECT OF FREE SOCIETIES SINCE THE DAYS OF HIPPOCRATES. A PHYSICIAN SHOULD KEEP HIS PATIENT'S CONFIDENCE -- EVEN FROM INAPPROPRIATE FORMS PROPOSED BY WASHINGTON BUREAUCRATS. THE COMPUTER HAS MAGNIFIED THE DANGER THAT THE PATIENT'S CONFIDENCE WILL BE VIOLATED.



I FEEL IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE RIGHTS OF PRIVACY BE SAFEGUARDED
IN ANY HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION -- OR ANY OTHER HEALTH LEGISLATION -- ADOPTED
BY THE CONGRESS. I FEEL SO STRONGLY ABOUT THIS THAT I WOULD SUGGEST A SPECIAL
SAFEGUARD. BEFORE BUILDING A NUCLEAR REACTOR, WE DESIGN SAFEGUARDS FOR ITS USE.
WE ALSO REQUIRE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS SPECIFYING THE ANTICIPATED EFFECT
OF THE REACTOR'S OPERATION ON THE ENVIRONMENT. PRIOR TO APPROVING A VAST MEDICAL
INFORMATION NETWORK AFFECTING PERSONAL LIVES, WE NEED A COMPARABLE PRIVACY IMPACT
STATEMENT. WE MUST CONSIDER THE FALL-OUT HAZARDS TO TRADITIONAL FREEDOMS.

IN MY CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PRIVACY COMMITTEE, I WOULD LIKE
TODAY TO INVITE THE A.M.A. TO VOLUNTEER ITS EXPERTISE TO THE COMMITTEE SO WE CAN
RECOMMEND THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD INFORMATION ON PATIENTS.



FOR 25 YEARS I SERVED IN THE CONGRESS AND WATCHED THE SOCIAL PLANNERS
ENACT ONE HUGE PROGRAM AFTER ANOTHER. RIGID CATEGORICAL STANDARDS WERE APPLIED TO
PEOPLE WITH A SWEEPING BRUSH. INDIVIDUALISM WAS IGNORED. WE BEGAN PROGRAMMING
PEOPLE BEFORE COMPUTERS WERE INVENTED.



THE TIME HAS COME TO SHOW GREATER RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
AND TO CEASE PROGRAMMING PEOPLE AS IF THEY WERE UNFEELING OBJECTS. THIS APPLIES AS
FULLY TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR AS TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE PHYSICIANS OF AMERICA CAN
RENDER GREAT SERVICE WITH THEIR SPECIAL SENSITIVITY FOR THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL,
FOR HUMAN LIFE, AND FOR THE UNIQUE CONTRACT BETWEEN MAN AND MAN.



JUST AS WE NEED TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF MEDICAL CARE, WE NEED
TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF OUR LIFE AS A NATION. OUR BODY POLITIC IS HEALTHY. WE
HAVE IN THIS GREAT NATION THE IDEALISM AND THE ENERGY AND THE ABILITY TO HEAL
OURSELVES.



I FERVENTLY BELIEVE THAT A NATION ABLE TO OFFER PEACE TO THE
WARRING PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST IS CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING A DOMESTIC DISENGAGEMENT
FROM VINDICTIVE POLITICS, EVEN AS THE ARMIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE
DISENGAGED -- EVEN AS THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS HAVE LOWERED THE LEVEL OF BLIND
HATRED -- WE MUST HERE IN THE UNITED STATES FIND A WAY TO GO ON LIVING TOGETHER.



WE MUST NOT ONLY IMPROVE OUR HEALTH CARE BUT ALSO OVERCOME THE DISEASE OF

INFLATION WHILE TAPPING NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY, PROVIDING NEW HOUSING, PRESERVING

THE ENVIRONMENT, ENCOURAGING NEW INDUSTRY, AND OTHERWISE REGENERATING OUR

LIFESTYLE.



THE PHYSICIANS OF OUR NATION WILL AGREE THAT A HEALTHY NATION
IS A MORAL AND ETHICAL NATION. ACCORDINGLY, WE MUST HAVE A REBIRTH OF THE VALUES
THAT FOCUSED THE ADMIRATION OF THE WORLD UPON THE STARS AND STRIPES.

I KNOW THAT WE CAN COUNT ON OUR PHYSICIANS TO HELP NOT ONLY WITH
THE ILLS OF THE SICK BUT WITH THE ILLS OF THOSE WHO ARE ONLY SICK IN SPIRIT.



YOU CAN HELP INSTILL AN ATTITUDE ESSENTIAL FOR NATIONAL SELF-ESTEEM. AND I AM
CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL PERCEIVE THAT A NATION SOUND IN MIND, BODY, AND SPIRIT
WILL POSSESS THE FINEST HEALTH THAT GOD, IN HIS WISDOM, CAN GRANT.

YOU CANNOT DO IT ALONE. WE MUST ALL SHARE. AS THEODORE ROOSEVELT
PUT IT VERY SIMPLY 70 YEARS AGO: "THE GOVERNMENT IS US; WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT,
YOU AND I."

THANK YOU.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1974

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DURING MY VISIT IN 1972 TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, THE
CHINESE DEMONSTRATED WITH GREAT PRIDE THEIR SYSTEM OF HEALTH CARE. I WAS TOLD
OF THE CHINESE PHILOSOPHY THAT A CIVILIZATION IS JUDGED BY THE LEVEL OF TREATMENT
GIVEN ITS SICK. IF THE CHINESE, WITH THEIR VAST POPULATION AND LIMITED RESOURCES,
ARE PLACING SUCH EMPHASIS ON MEDICINE, THE UNITED STATES -- WHICH FOLLOWS AN
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BUT WHEN INDIVIDUALISTIC THINKING WAS STIFLED, THERE EMERGED RIVAL SCHOOLS OF MEDICINE THAT WERE MORE INTERESTED IN SEEKING CONVERTS FOR THEIR DOGMAS THAN IN SEEKING HONESTLY FOR THE TRUTH. MEDICINE DETERIORATED WHEN THE FREEDOMS OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS ERODED.



TODAY, EVEN AS IN THE TIME OF GREEK ENLIGHTENMENT, THERE REMAINS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES AND MEDICAL EXCELLENCE.

Even in our free society

-4-



1 WE LIVE IN A TIME OF MOUNTING PRESSURES TOWARD CATEGORICAL AND SWEEPING GOVERNMENT
1 INVOLVEMENT IN THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE. *As you Drs well know* WE FACE A COMPLEX CHALLENGE TO WHICH
1 THERE IS NO EASY ANSWER.

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TREATMENT AVAILABLE IN THE UNITED STATES. YOU HAVE ASSURED US THE FINEST HEALTH
CARE IN THE WORLD. BUT WE FACE A RISING OUTCRY AGAINST THE PROHIBITIVE COSTS OF
CATASTROPHIC ILLNESSES AND FOR MORE EFFECTIVE USE AND DISTRIBUTION OF MEDICAL RESOURCES.



I want to emphasize how important the coming debate on national health insurance is. The AMA has already contributed many good and useful ideas through its Medcredit proposal.

Your position on these health issues is respected in Congress -- because the AMA is not the problem but part of the solution to our problems.



THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DEDICATED TO THE PREMISE THAT THE DOCTOR SHOULD WORK FOR HIS PATIENT AND NOT FOR THE BUREAUCRATS IN WASHINGTON. BUT IT IS ALSO DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION, ADVANCED BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THAT GOVERNMENT MUST DO FOR THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN WHAT HE CANNOT DO FOR HIMSELF.

LAST FEBRUARY, IN RESPONSE TO COMPELLING NEEDS, WE SUBMITTED LEGISLATION FOR THE COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN.



WE WOULD OFFER EVERY AMERICAN AN OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN A BALANCED, COMPREHENSIVE

RANGE OF HEALTH INSURANCE THROUGH THREE MAJOR PROGRAMS; EMPLOYEE HEALTH INSURANCE

AT PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT; ASSISTED HEALTH INSURANCE FOR LOW-INCOME PERSONS AND THOSE

NOT ELIGIBLE FOR OTHER PLANS; AND AN IMPROVED MEDICARE PLAN COVERING THOSE 65 AND

OVER.



THE ADMINISTRATION HEALTH PLAN TOOK A GREAT STEP FORWARD WITH

THE INTRODUCTION OF ^{*potentially*} ~~POSSIBLY~~ COMPATIBLE PROPOSALS BY SENATOR KENNEDY AND CHAIRMAN

WILBUR MILLS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS. SENATOR KENNEDY HAD

SCRAPPED A MUCH MORE CONTROVERSIAL BILL THAT HE HAD CHAMPIONED FOR FOUR YEARS.

THERE ARE ALSO OTHER PROPOSALS, ^{*'s medicare*} INCLUDING A.M.A. CONCEPTS.



THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT A WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE IS

APPARENT, AS YOU KNOW, I FAVOR A FREE ENTERPRISE APPROACH INVOLVING PRIVATE AND

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As one who understands our legislative process
COMPROMISE TO RECONCILE VIEWPOINTS. WE CAN WORK THIS OUT. I HOPE WE DO -- AND THE

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champions
The champions of private enterprise



From certain powerful facts there are

~~WE HAVE ALREADY HEARD FROM SOME~~ PROPONENTS OF A SO-CALLED VETO-PROOF

Incidentally they are not, ^{generally on,} your side.

CONGRESS, THEY SAY THAT THEY WANT NO COMPROMISE HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION THIS

YEAR BECAUSE THEY HOPE IN NOVEMBER TO SO DOMINATE CONGRESS THAT NEXT YEAR THEY CAN

DICTATE A VETO-PROOF HEALTH POLICY OF THEIR CHOOSING. THESE EXTREMISTS FEAR THE

AMERICAN TRADITION OF COMPROMISE. THEY ~~WOULD~~ PREFER TO ~~DEFER~~ COVERAGE FROM

deny for months coverage + care to

They hope to gain — through a legislative dictatorship

THOUSANDS OF SERIOUSLY ILL PERSONS. ~~IN ORDER TO GAIN POLITICAL ADVANTAGE.~~

*in the next Congress —
1 their extreme version of health insurance.*

2nd 1974

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To achieve this result
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THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOW SAID THAT IT IS WILLING TO MAKE REASONABLE
As President Nixon travels to NATO to strengthen the alliance & also broaden détente with the Soviet Union
COMPROMISES TO OBTAIN ACTION ON HEALTH INSURANCE. ~~THE SECRETARY OF H.E.W. IS WORKING~~
2 + many others ~~and~~
at home *in health care*
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⁵
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The "bare-foot doctors" of the Peoples Republic of China are
NEED. ~~AND YOUR OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICA'S HEALTH ARE OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE.~~

no match for the medical expertise of America's physicians.



I am aware of your other bills for better rural health and emergency medical services, your concern for the health of the American Indian, your support for more medical schools and more doctors.

Yours is a respected voice in Washington. You must continue to earn this respect by your constructive approach to legislation -- and you will continue to be listened to in the halls of Congress.





Answers
1

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The Congress & The President

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HEALTH CARE AND ACHIEVE A MUTUALLY HELPFUL PRIVATE/PUBLIC PARTNERSHIP. IN THIS
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THE DOCTOR AND HIS PATIENT -- INTERVENTION THAT COMPROMISES THE RIGHTS AND PRIVACY
OF BOTH.



I WANT TO SAY A WORD ABOUT MY NEW DUTIES AS CHAIRMAN OF THE
DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY. THE NOTION OF LEAVING THE
PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HAS BEEN COMPARED TO
ASKING THE FOX TO PROTECT THE CHICKEN COOP. ⁷ BUT SIX MONTHS AGO -- WHEN THE MOST
INTENSIVE INVESTIGATION EVER FOCUSED ON A NOMINEE FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY WAS
DIRECTED AT ME -- I AWAKENED TO THE PRIVACY ISSUE IN A VERY REAL AND PERSONAL SENSE.
I WAS ONE OF THE CHICKENS.

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PRIVACY COMMITTEE, I ~~AM TAKING MY RESPONSIBILITIES~~
~~VERY SERIOUSLY~~, I HAVE ALREADY CHALLENGED THE GOVERNMENT'S GENERAL SERVICES
ADMINISTRATION ON THE MASSIVE COMPUTER NETWORK CONTEMPLATED TO PROVIDE A COAST-TO-
COAST DATA RETRIEVAL SYSTEM. IT WAS TO BE CALLED FEDNET. FEDERAL PROTECTION OF
PRIVACY IS NOT YET ^{sufficiently} DEVELOPED TO THE POINT WHERE WE COULD PREVENT THIS FROM PROBING
1 INTO THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS. I AM PLEASED TO SAY THAT THIS PARTICULAR THREAT TO
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES HAS NOW BEEN SHELVED.



Deeply

BUT I REMAIN CONCERNED OVER THE GROWING TENDENCY TO VIOLATE THE
1
PRIVACY OF PATIENT AND DOCTOR ALIKE. WE ARE ALL TOO PAINFULLY AWARE OF WIRETAPPING,
BUGGING, AND EVEN ALLEGATIONS THAT RECORDS IN A DOCTOR'S OFFICE ARE NO LONGER SAFE
FROM INTRUDERS. DR. MALCOLM C. TODD, PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE A.M.A. IS DEEPLY -- AND
RIGHTFULLY -- CONCERNED.

OVER THE YEARS, A.M.A. HAS DEVELOPED A NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS AND
OTHER GUIDELINES DEALING WITH THE PRESERVATION OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF MEDICAL
INFORMATION. *In my judgment*
1 YOU HAVE ACTED IN THE HIGHEST PUBLIC SERVICE.



DR. TODD INFORMS US THAT HE IS CONCERNED LEST THE DAY COME WHEN
THE DOCTOR WILL HAVE TO WARN THE PATIENT OF HIS RIGHTS JUST AS A POLICE OFFICER
MUST WARN A CRIMINAL SUSPECT, WHAT A PATIENT TELLS HIS DOCTOR IS INCREASINGLY
AFFECTING HIS CHANCES OF GETTING AND HOLDING A JOB, OBTAINING A LOAN, BUYING
INSURANCE, AND EVEN PRESERVING HIS MARRIAGE.



TECHNOLOGY HAS FACILITATED ABUSES. INSURANCE COMPANIES AND CREDIT BUREAUS ARE OBTAINING PRINT-OUTS OF THE MOST PERSONAL DATA. DOCTORS ARE BEGINNING TO FEAR THAT SOME PATIENTS WHO NEED CARE MAY EVEN BECOME AFRAID TO SEEK IT. PRIVILEGED COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PATIENT AND PHYSICIAN HAS BEEN A SACRED ASPECT OF FREE SOCIETIES SINCE THE DAYS OF HIPPOCRATES. A PHYSICIAN SHOULD KEEP HIS PATIENT'S CONFIDENCE -- EVEN FROM INAPPROPRIATE FORMS PROPOSED BY WASHINGTON BUREAUCRATS. THE COMPUTER HAS MAGNIFIED THE DANGER THAT THE PATIENT'S CONFIDENCE WILL BE VIOLATED.



I FEEL IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE RIGHTS OF PRIVACY BE SAFEGUARDED
IN ANY HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION -- OR ANY OTHER HEALTH LEGISLATION -- ADOPTED
BY THE CONGRESS. I FEEL SO STRONGLY ~~ABOUT THIS~~ THAT I WOULD SUGGEST A SPECIAL
SAFEGUARD. BEFORE BUILDING A NUCLEAR REACTOR, WE DESIGN SAFEGUARDS FOR ITS USE.
WE ALSO REQUIRE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS SPECIFYING THE ANTICIPATED EFFECT
OF THE REACTOR'S OPERATION ON THE ENVIRONMENT. PRIOR TO APPROVING A VAST MEDICAL
INFORMATION NETWORK AFFECTING PERSONAL LIVES, WE NEED A COMPARABLE PRIVACY IMPACT
STATEMENT. WE MUST CONSIDER THE FALL-OUT HAZARDS TO TRADITIONAL FREEDOMS.



IN MY CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PRIVACY COMMITTEE, I WOULD ~~LIKE~~
~~TODAY TO~~ INVITE THE A.M.A. TO VOLUNTEER ITS EXPERTISE TO THE COMMITTEE SO WE CAN
RECOMMEND THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO SAFEGUARD INFORMATION ON PATIENTS.

FOR 25 YEARS I SERVED IN THE CONGRESS AND WATCHED THE SOCIAL PLANNERS
ENACT ONE HUGE PROGRAM AFTER ANOTHER. RIGID CATEGORICAL STANDARDS WERE APPLIED TO
PEOPLE WITH A SWEEPING BRUSH. INDIVIDUALISM WAS IGNORED. WE BEGAN PROGRAMMING
PEOPLE BEFORE COMPUTERS WERE INVENTED.



THE TIME HAS COME TO SHOW GREATER RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES
AND TO CEASE PROGRAMMING PEOPLE AS IF THEY WERE UNFEELING OBJECTS. THIS APPLIES AS
FULLY TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR AS TO THE GOVERNMENT. THE PHYSICIANS OF AMERICA CAN
RENDER GREAT SERVICE WITH THEIR SPECIAL SENSITIVITY FOR THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL,
FOR HUMAN LIFE, AND FOR THE UNIQUE CONTRACT BETWEEN MAN AND MAN.



JUST AS WE NEED TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF MEDICAL CARE, WE NEED

Despite what you read or hear.

TO PRESERVE THE QUALITY OF OUR LIFE AS A NATION, ¹ OUR BODY POLITIC IS HEALTHY. WE

HAVE IN THIS GREAT NATION THE IDEALISM AND THE ENERGY AND THE ABILITY TO HEAL

OURSELVES.



I FERVENTLY BELIEVE THAT A NATION ABLE TO OFFER PEACE TO THE
WARRING PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST IS CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING A DOMESTIC DISENGAGEMENT
FROM VINDICTIVE POLITICS, EVEN AS THE ARMIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE
DISENGAGED -- EVEN AS THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS HAVE LOWERED THE LEVEL OF BLIND
HATRED -- WE MUST HERE IN THE UNITED STATES FIND A WAY TO GO ON LIVING TOGETHER.



WE MUST NOT ONLY IMPROVE OUR HEALTH CARE BUT ALSO OVERCOME THE DISEASE OF
INFLATION WHILE TAPPING NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY, PROVIDING NEW HOUSING, PRESERVING
THE ENVIRONMENT, ENCOURAGING NEW INDUSTRY, AND OTHERWISE REGENERATING OUR
LIFESTYLE.



THE PHYSICIANS OF OUR NATION WILL AGREE THAT A HEALTHY NATION
IS A MORAL AND ETHICAL NATION. ACCORDINGLY, WE MUST HAVE A REBIRTH OF THE VALUES
THAT FOCUSED THE ADMIRATION OF THE WORLD UPON THE STARS AND STRIPES.

I KNOW THAT WE CAN COUNT ON OUR PHYSICIANS TO HELP NOT ONLY WITH
THE ILLS OF THE SICK BUT WITH THE ILLS OF THOSE WHO ARE ONLY SICK IN SPIRIT.



YOU CAN HELP INSTILL AN ATTITUDE ESSENTIAL FOR NATIONAL SELF-ESTEEM, AND I AM
CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL PERCEIVE THAT A NATION SOUND IN MIND, BODY, AND SPIRIT
WILL POSSESS THE FINEST HEALTH THAT GOD, IN HIS WISDOM, CAN GRANT.

YOU CANNOT DO IT ALONE. WE MUST ALL SHARE. AS THEODORE ROOSEVELT
PUT IT VERY SIMPLY 70 YEARS AGO: "THE GOVERNMENT IS US; WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT,
YOU AND I."

THANK YOU.



Last Copy

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1974

FOR RELEASE IN TUESDAY P.M.s

I appreciate this opportunity to address the American Medical Association.

During my visit in 1972 to the People's Republic of China, the Chinese demonstrated with great pride their system of health care. I was told of the Chinese philosophy that a civilization is judged by the level of treatment given its sick. If the Chinese, with their vast population and limited resources, are placing such emphasis on medicine, the United States--which follows an entirely different political philosophy toward human values, must do even more. With our vast resources there is no excuse for a single American to be deprived of the finest treatment available.

America's physicians follow the teachings of Hippocrates who recorded his failures as freely as he did his successes. Hippocrates lived in the period of the highest achievements of Greek intellect. This golden era in Greek civilization deteriorated -- and the deterioration was most obvious in the realm of medicine. Open inquiry and clear reason emanated from a climate of freedom. But when individualistic thinking was stifled, there emerged rival schools of medicine that were more interested in seeking converts for their dogmas than in seeking honestly for the truth. Medicine deteriorated when the freedoms of the ancient Greeks eroded.

Today, even as in the time of Greek enlightenment, there remains a relationship between individual liberties and medical excellence. We live in a time of mounting pressures toward categorical and sweeping Government involvement in the practice of medicine. We face a complex challenge to which there is no easy answer.

The A.M.A. has devoted itself to preservation of the quality of treatment available in the United States. You have assured us the finest health care in the world. But we face a rising outcry against the prohibitive costs of catastrophic illnesses and for more effective use and distribution of medical

(more)

resources. This Administration is dedicated to the premise that the doctor should work for his patient and not for the bureaucrats in Washington, but it is also dedicated to the proposition, advanced by Abraham Lincoln, that Government must do for the individual citizen what he cannot do for himself.

Last February, in response to compelling needs, we submitted legislation for the comprehensive health insurance plan. We would offer every American an opportunity to obtain a balanced, comprehensive range of health insurance through three major programs: Employee Health Insurance at place of employment; Assisted Health Insurance for low-income persons and those not eligible for other plans; and an improved Medicare Plan covering those 65 and over.

The Administration health plan took a great step forward with the introduction of possibly compatible proposals by Senator Kennedy and Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Committee on Ways and Means. Senator Kennedy had scrapped a much more controversial bill that he had championed for four years. There are also other proposals, including A.M.A. concepts.

The important thing is that a willingness to compromise is apparent. As you know, I favor a free enterprise approach involving private and voluntary philosophies. Senator Kennedy would involve the Government in a mandatory role. The primary differences are in how to finance and administer the various health plans. But the important thing is that while reasonable men can differ, they can also compromise to reconcile viewpoints. We can work this out. I hope we do -- and the earlier, the better.

If we do nothing to provide national health insurance -- especially in the area of catastrophic illness in this era of rising inflation -- we are issuing an invitation to those favoring the outright socialization of medicine. To avert such an eventuality -- that would jeopardize the quality of American medicine as well as our individual liberties -- the private sector must move to meet basic responsibilities.

We have already heard from some proponents of a so-called veto-proof Congress. They say that they want no compromise health insurance legislation this year because they hope in November to so dominate Congress that next year they can dictate a veto-proof health policy of their choosing. These extremists fear the American tradition of compromise. They would prefer to defer coverage from thousands of seriously ill persons in order to gain political advantage.

A new era in national health is clearly in the offing. We must approach this development in the spirit of mediation and moderation. The main priority is on getting the required care delivered as soon as possible. Just as we have

(more)

recently surmounted rigid obstacles in foreign policy achievements, we can break through on a vital domestic issue.

If there is a way for the private sector to administer and collect premiums for health coverage under pending legislation, I would favor such an approach. Yet, I am willing to listen to other approaches mindful that the clock is ticking and people are hurting.

The Administration has now said that it is willing to make reasonable compromises to obtain action on health insurance. The Secretary of H.E.W. is working for affirmative action. I ask you today to consider the thoughts I have outlined. I ask you to keep the momentum going for a traditional American compromise, satisfactory to all parties, instead of an abdication to those who would impose a dogmatic formula through a "veto-proof" Congress they hope to elect come November 1, 1974.

We are aware of the great support the A.M.A. has rendered to medical schools. A total of 114 medical schools are now training 51,000 students. Only seven years ago we had 89 such schools and less than 33,000 students. I am aware of the significant A.M.A. contribution to increasing the supply and diversification of medical practitioners. You have done much to make a success of the National Health Service Corps which brings physicians to areas of greatest need. And your other contributions to America's health are of great significance.

I would like to see Congress move affirmatively on health manpower legislation. We need more family practitioners, as you will agree. We are also seeking to expand and strengthen health planning in a manner to lessen bureaucracy and enhance State and local participation through a consortium concept.

Focusing on inner city and rural hospitals, health facility project grants are pending for hospitals most in need. We also plan to increase cancer research as much as possible without damaging research in other vital areas. We want to take research achievements from the laboratory to the practicing physician's office in the shortest time frame possible. But we want also to go on depending on volunteerism and private enterprise that make American medicine so unique.

We must find ways to minimize Federal involvement in delivery of health care and achieve a mutually helpful private/public partnership. In this search, however, it is essential that we avoid bureaucratic intervention between the doctor and his patient -- intervention that compromises the rights and privacy of both.

I want to say a word about my new duties as Chairman of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy. The notion of leaving the protection

(more)

of individual privacy to Government officials has been compared to asking the fox to protect the chicken coop. But six months ago -- when the most intensive investigation ever focused on a nominee for the Vice Presidency was directed at me -- I awakened to the privacy issue in a very real and personal sense. I was one of the chickens.

As chairman of the privacy committee, I am taking my responsibilities very seriously. I have already challenged the Government's General Services Administration on the massive computer network contemplated to provide a coast-to-coast data retrieval system. It was to be called FEDNET. Federal protection of privacy is not yet developed to the point where we could prevent this from probing into the lives of individuals. I am pleased to say that this particular threat to individual liberties has now been shelved.

But I remain concerned over the growing tendency to violate the privacy of patient and doctor alike. We are all too painfully aware of wiretapping, bugging, and even allegations that records in a doctor's office are no longer safe from intruders. Dr. Malcolm C. Todd, President-elect of the A.M.A. is deeply -- and rightfully -- concerned.

Over the years, A.M.A. has developed a number of publications and other guidelines dealing with the preservation of the confidentiality of medical information. You have acted in the highest public service.

Dr. Todd informs us that he is concerned lest the day come when the doctor will have to warn the patient of his rights just as a police officer must warn a criminal suspect. What a patient tells his doctor is increasingly affecting his chances of getting and holding a job, obtaining a loan, buying insurance, and even preserving his marriage.

Technology has facilitated abuses. Insurance companies and credit bureaus are obtaining print-outs of the most personal data. Doctors are beginning to fear that some patients who need care may even become afraid to seek it.

Privileged communication between patient and physician has been a sacred aspect of free societies since the days of Hippocrates. A physician should keep his patient's confidence -- even from inappropriate forms proposed by Washington bureaucrats. The computer has magnified the danger that the patient's confidence will be violated.

I feel it is essential that the rights of privacy be safeguarded in any health insurance legislation -- or any other health legislation -- adopted by the Congress. I feel so strongly about this that I would suggest a special safeguard.

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Before building a nuclear reactor, we design safeguards for its use. We also require environmental impact statements specifying the anticipated effect of the reactor's operation on the environment. Prior to approving a vast medical information network affecting personal lives, we need a comparable privacy impact statement. We must consider the fall-out hazards to traditional freedoms.

In my capacity as chairman of the privacy committee, I would like today to invite the A.M.A. to volunteer its expertise to the committee so we can recommend the most effective measures to safeguard information on patients.

For 25 years I served in the Congress and watched the social planners enact one huge program after another. Rigid categorical standards were applied to people with a sweeping brush. Individualism was ignored. We began programming people before computers were invented.

The time has come to show greater respect for individual liberties and to cease programming people as if they were unfeeling objects. This applies as fully to the private sector as to the Government. The physicians of America can render great service with their special sensitivity for the dignity of the individual, for human life, and for the unique contract between man and man.

Just as we need to preserve the quality of medical care, we need to preserve the quality of our life as a nation. Our body politic is healthy. We have in this great nation the idealism and the energy and the ability to heal ourselves.

I fervently believe that a Nation able to offer peace to the warring peoples of the Middle East is capable of achieving a domestic disengagement from vindictive politics. Even as the armies of the Middle East have disengaged -- even as the Arabs and Israelis have lowered the level of blind hatred -- we must here in the United States find a way to go on living together. We must not only improve our health care but also overcome the disease of inflation while tapping new sources of energy, providing new housing, preserving the environment, encouraging new industry, and otherwise regenerating our lifestyle.

The physicians of our Nation will agree that a healthy Nation is a moral and ethical Nation. Accordingly, we must have a rebirth of the values that focused the admiration of the world upon the Stars and Stripes.

I know that we can count on our physicians to help not only with the ills of the sick but with the ills of those who are only sick in spirit. You can help instill an attitude essential for national self-esteem. And I am confident that you will perceive that a Nation sound in mind, body, and spirit will possess the finest health that God, in his wisdom, can grant.

(more)

You cannot do it alone. We must all share. As Theodore Roosevelt put it very simply 70 years ago: "The government is us; we are the government, you and I."

Thank you.

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