



## ***Crying Wolf: Stopping healthcare reform for over 60 years***

For more than 60 years, medical associations, politicians, the insurance and hospital industries, and right-wing pundits have stood together to impede healthcare reform. Through their endless repetition of unsubstantiated claims and exaggerated consequences regarding healthcare legislation, these forces have played on the fears of the American public to preserve the status quo. Not matter how repetitive, the crying wolf tactic has succeeded in stopping every major health reform except Medicare. The doomsday threats have intensified this year in response to the health reform proposals of President Barack Obama and congressional Democrats.

### **Truman's Healthcare Reform**

#### ***Medical Associations***

American Medical Association (AMA) 1949 pamphlet against Truman's national health bill "Your Medical Program...Compulsory or Voluntary?"<sup>1</sup>:

"Would socialized medicine lead to socialization of other phases of life? Lenin thought so. He declared socialized medicine is the keystone to the arch of the socialized state."

"A Government agency proposes to: Collect the tax. Control the money. Set the rules. Determine the services. Direct *doctor and patient* participation. Dominate every citizen's medical affairs."

"Your take home pay would be cut again to support a Government-regulated medical system..."

"The double burden of Compulsory Health Insurance is in the low quality of care it offers- and the exorbitantly high costs."

"*Services* could be restricted at the whim of administrators- but there is *no tax limit!*"

"Attempts are being made right now to saddle all of us with expensive, political *Compulsory* Health Insurance. *This would wreck present high medical standards, bring mass produced, assembly line healthcare, take another bite from your paycheck and leave less take-home pay.*"

"Voluntary still means 'Freedom of Choice'. Compulsory still means 'Regimented'"

#### ***Politicians***

Senior Republican Senator Taft, in response to Truman's proposal of national health insurance<sup>2</sup>:

"I consider it socialism. It is to my mind the most socialistic measure this congress has ever had before it."

## Medicare (Social Security Act of 1965)

### ***Medical Associations***

AMA President Dr. George M. Fister, November 27, 1962 on Medicare<sup>3</sup>:

Federal control of medicine would “anesthetize” American Medicine, the “proud symbol of competitive system.”

AMA President Dr. Edward R. Annis, in a statement January 8, 1964 regarding Medicare<sup>4</sup>:

“Medicare would be strictly a tax program, forcing wage earners to pay a substantial in their payroll taxes to finance hospitalization for everyone over 65, including those who are wealthy and millions of others who are already protected with hospital insurance.”

The Association of American Physicians’ response to LBJ’s Medicare program<sup>5</sup>:

Recommended that “ethical physicians of the nation not participate” and claimed “a deterioration in the quality of (medical) care is inescapable...”

Harry E. Northam, director of the Association of American Physicians commented on the association’s position on Medicare<sup>6</sup>:

“We oppose the Medicare program because foreign experience has shown that socialized medicine is harmful to both the doctor and the patient, primarily to the patient. He suffers most.”

Dr. Edward R. Annis, former President of AMA, quoted in the *New York Times* in 1971, in an effort to combat Senator Edward Kennedy’s push for a national health insurance plan<sup>7</sup>:

“A piece of the roof came off with Medicare. Now the whole structure [of American medicine] is threatened as we knew it would be sooner or later.”

“Some people think that people are entitled to healthcare as a matter of right, whether they work or not. This is just as absurd as saying that food, clothes, and shelter are a matter of right - one step further than that is a revolutionary system bordering on communism...”

### ***Politicians***

Ronald Reagan, in a 1961 LP record “Ronald Reagan Speaks out Against Socialized Medicine” paid for by the AMA, regarding the ongoing battle against Medicare<sup>8</sup>:

“One of the traditional methods of imposing statism or socialism has been by way of medicine... One of these days you and I are going to spend our years telling our children and our children’s children what it was like in America when men were free.”

“The doctor begins to lose freedom... First you decide that the doctor can have so many patients. They are equally divided among the various doctors by the government. But then doctors aren’t equally divided geographically. So a doctor decides he wants to practice in one town and the government has to say to him, you can’t live in that town. They already have enough doctors. You have to go someplace else. And from here it’s only a short step to dictating where he will go... All of us can see what happens once you establish the precedent that the government can determine a man’s working place and his working methods, determine his employment. From here it’s a short step to all the rest of

socialism, to determining his pay. And pretty soon your son won't decide, when he's in school, where he will go or what he will do for a living. He will wait for the government to tell him where he will go to work and what he will do.”

Medicare will usher in “federal programs that will invade every area of freedom as we have known it in this country.”

Ronald Reagan, in an Oct. 27, 1964, speech “A Time for Choosing” in support of Barry Goldwater’s presidential campaign, arguing against Medicare<sup>9</sup>:

“Will you resist the temptation to get a government handout for your community? Realize that the doctor’s fight against socialized medicine is your fight. We can’t socialize doctors without socializing patients. Recognize that government invasion of public power is eventually an assault upon your own business.”

Barry Goldwater, Republican Presidential nominee in the 1964 election explaining why he voted against Medicare<sup>10</sup>:

“My fundamental objection to the proposal is that it is based on the unspoken premise that American workers, whether in the \$5,000 or \$50,000 class, are incapable of deciding how to spend their money. It reveals a contempt for the intelligence and judgment of our people...”

“Having given our pensioners their medical care in kind, why not food-baskets, why not public housing accommodations, why not vacation resorts, why not a ration of cigarettes for those who smoke and of beer for those who drink?”

### **Clinton’s Healthcare Reform, 1992-93**

#### ***Medical Associations***

Lonnie R. Bristow, MD, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the AMA, commenting on the American Health Security Act of 1993 and its use of global budgeting to regulate private insurance<sup>11</sup>:

“Physician and patient experiences with government-sponsored healthcare in Canada and Great Britain indicate that cost, rather than quality, too often dictates treatment decisions.”

“We must oppose the strict budgeting aspects of H.R. 1200, including its price controls”

“Price controls have never worked, rather, in countries where such controls have been imposed, patients endure waits of months or years for surgery, are denied access to specialists, and face other obstacles to care. Any healthcare system predicated predominantly on cost containment will contain perverse incentives that will undermine quality and the physician's duty to act in the best interest of his or her patients.”

“Physicians -- not accountants or bureaucrats -- must make medical care decisions.”

Dr. Arthur L. Eberly, then president of the Florida Medical Association, quoted on March 21, 1993, at a march in the nation’s capital protesting the Clinton administration’s healthcare

proposal, describing the consequence of the possible pay cut or salary freeze as a result of the impending legislation<sup>12</sup>:

“I will guarantee you, if we have to take a hit there will be a loss of access to doctors. They may just decide to retire early.”

### ***Insurance Industry***

Health Insurance Association of America (HIAA), opposing Hillary Clinton’s 1992 push for healthcare reform in the infamous “Harry and Louise” TV ads<sup>13</sup>:

“This plan forces us to buy our insurance through new mandatory government health alliances...” (Louise)

“Run by tens of thousands of bureaucrats...” (Harry)

“Having choices we don’t like is no choice at all...” (Louise)

“They choose, we lose” (Together)

The Coalition for Health Insurance Choices, started by HIAA, sponsored an ad campaign to oppose the Clinton healthcare plan. An ad in the *New York Times* on April 21, 1993, claimed<sup>14</sup>:

“What we don’t do is let the government run our healthcare system through mandatory and monopolistic insurance purchasing schemes. That approach would take away your freedom of choice about healthcare...”

George Pantos, Washington Counsel for the Self-Insurance Institute of America, Inc. (SIIA), offering comments on The Affordable Healthcare Now Act on Feb 1, 1994<sup>15</sup>:

“The type of untested managed competition system proposed by the Administration and others is not a proven panacea for solving the nation’s healthcare problems, and would only serve to disrupt the present system.”

### ***Politicians***

The Heritage Foundation, a conservative research and policy think tank, released “A Guide to the Clinton Health Plan” November 19, 1993<sup>16</sup>:

“The Clinton Administration is imposing a top-down, command-and-control system of global budgets and premium caps, a superintending National Health Board and a vast system of government sponsored regional alliances, along with a panoply of advisory boards, panels, and councils, interlaced with the expanded operations of the agencies of Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Labor, issuing innumerable rules, regulations, guidelines, and standards.”

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX), quoted in *The Washington Post* article “Old Republican Fissures Feel Strain as Healthcare Debate Grows” February 20, 1994<sup>17</sup>:

“If we can’t offer a viable alternative to socialized medicine, then we don’t have any excuse of existence.”

### ***Right Wing pundits***

Rush Limbaugh, on the December 16, 1993, edition of his television show *Rush Limbaugh*, denouncing Hillary Clinton’s 1993 healthcare plan<sup>18</sup>:

“I don’t have time to beat around the bush. The health-care plan as proposed by Mrs. Clinton is socialism. There’s no soft way to peddle it. There is no other way to describe it.”

Rush Limbaugh commenting on Clinton's 1993 healthcare initiative, on the April 4, 1994, edition of *Rush Limbaugh*<sup>18</sup>:

“This health-care is all about the destruction of the creation of wealth in America and the socialization of this country, and it didn't work—never has anywhere else—and we're going to go to the mat here to see to it that they don't succeed.”

William Kristol, in his article “Defeating President Clinton's Healthcare Proposal,” written for The Project for a Republican Future<sup>19</sup>:

“But the long-term political effects of a successful Clinton healthcare bill will be even worse -- much worse. It will relegitimize middle-class dependency for 'security' on government spending and regulation.”

“The most devastating indictment of the president's proposal is that it threatens to destroy virtually everything about American healthcare that's worth preserving. Under the plan's layers of regulation and oversight, even seeing a doctor whenever you like will be no easy matter: Access to physicians will be carefully regulated by gatekeepers; referrals to specialists will be strongly discouraged; second opinions will be almost unheard of; and the availability of new drugs will be limited.”

### **Miscellaneous State and Federal Legislation to Expand Healthcare Coverage**

#### ***Politicians***

Governor Schwarzenegger, Oct. 12, 2007, on vetoing AB 8, a bill addressing California healthcare reform by establishing a minimum standard for employer healthcare spending and helping control the out-of-control growth of healthcare costs<sup>20</sup>:

“AB 8 puts more pressure on an already broken healthcare system and places unreasonable financial burden on business. A 7.5 percent fee would force employers to shoulder the entire burden of healthcare reform- a devastating blow to small business in California.”

Sen. Jim DeMint (R-SC) quoted in a *Washington Times* article, “Children's health bill clears Senate” on Jan. 30, 2009, following the Senate's approval of a \$32 billion expansion of SCHIP<sup>21</sup>:

“This will increase burdens on taxpayers and take a significant step towards socialized medicine.”

#### ***Right Wing pundits***

Rush Limbaugh responding to Maryland's 2005 proposal requiring Wal-Mart to pay increased health benefits, on *The Rush Limbaugh Show* May 20, 2005<sup>22</sup>:

The proposal is “a vestige of fascism...” and “They're legislating socialism at the Maryland legislature.”

Rush Limbaugh, on August 3, 2007 edition of *The Rush Limbaugh Show* commenting on SCHIP<sup>23</sup>:

“The SCHIP program... is a stealth maneuver by the Democrats to take us further down the road to nationalized, socialized medicine, which will be an abject failure.”

“It will not be free. You may not be paying for it yourself, but you’ll also suffer in the kind of coverage that you get and treatment that you get.”

## **Obama Administration/ Democrats’ Healthcare Reform Proposal, 2009**

### ***Medical Associations***

AMA, in comments submitted to the Senate Finance Committee regarding a government-sponsored insurance plan proposed by Obama<sup>24</sup>:

“The A.M.A. does not believe that creating a public health insurance option for non-disabled individuals under age 65 is the best way to expand health insurance coverage and lower costs. The introduction of a new public plan threatens to restrict patient choice by driving out private insurers, which currently provide coverage for nearly 70 percent of Americans.”

If private insurers are pushed out of the market, the group said, “the corresponding surge in public plan participation would likely lead to an explosion of costs that would need to be absorbed by taxpayers.”

The Access to Medical Imaging Coalition commented on Obama’s plans to reform Medicare and Medicaid by slowing spending<sup>25</sup>:

The trade group claimed the cuts would "impair access to diagnostic imaging services and result in patients' delaying or forgoing life- and cost-savings imaging procedures."

### ***Hospitals***

Dr. Denis A. Cortese, the chief executive of the Mayo Clinic, the highly regarded health system in Minnesota, commenting on the possibility of a public plan similar to Medicare but for a wider range of people, under the Obama administration<sup>26</sup>:

If more patients are enrolled in a Medicare-like program, he predicted, “your very best providers will go out of business.”

Richard Scott, leader of Conservatives for Patients Rights and former CEO of Hospital Corporation of America launching a multi-million dollar campaign against Obama’s healthcare Plans<sup>27</sup>:

“If we have more government involvement we’re going to have dramatically worse healthcare.”

### ***Insurance Industry***

America's Health Insurance Plans Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, in a letter delivered to the top Democratic and Republican senators on the Finance and Health, Education, Labor and Pensions (HELP) committees March 24, 2009, denouncing a public plan<sup>28</sup>:

“Creating a new government-run plan would thwart the ability of the healthcare sector to implement meaningful delivery system reforms, exacerbate the cost-shift from public programs to consumers and employers in the private market, and destabilize the employer-based system”

James Roosevelt Jr., president and CEO of Tufts Health Plan and co-chair of the policy committee of America's Health Insurance Plans, in an article in the *Boston Globe* April 9, 2009, advocating against a government-run plan<sup>29</sup>:

“The allure of a government-run health plan is distracting and unproven, and brings a high risk of unintended consequences such as reducing competition and consumer choice. Moreover, even if a government-run plan could be designed in a way that preserves choice for most Americans, it would delay the start of universal coverage for years.”

Mike Brewer, president of Lockton Benefit Group, regarding a public plan proposal spoken of in Congress in May 2009<sup>30</sup>:

“A large ‘public plan’ as envisioned by some will undermine and potentially destroy the employer-sponsored health benefits system as we know it.”

Scott Serota, president of the Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association, in a statement on healthcare coverage submitted to the Senate Finance Committee May 5, 2009<sup>31</sup>:

“Creating a government-run plan -- in any form -- to compete alongside the private sector for non-Medicare/Medicaid eligible individuals is unnecessary to achieve comprehensive reform and would have devastating consequences.”

America’s Health Insurance Plans, a lobby for insurers, responded June 9, 2009 to the public plan proposed by some Senate Democrats<sup>32</sup>:

Such a plan could “dismantle employer-based coverage and significantly increase costs for those who remain in private coverage.”

Independent Insurance Agents and Brokers of America, in a statement opposing Sen. Edward M. Kennedy’s (D-Mass.) bill, “The Affordable Health Choices Act,” June 10, 2009<sup>33</sup>:

“The Big ‘I’ will oppose any effort to implement a public plan and an unreasonable employer mandate. A public plan would be unfairly matched against private plans and according to a 2009 Lewin Group Study, if the public plan’s reimbursement rates are similar to Medicare, an estimated 119 million people will shift from private insurance to the public plan. Within years, private insurers could be driven out of business and a “Single Payer System” will evolve. Moreover, an improperly constructed employer mandate could have a devastating impact on main street businesses that would be saddled with a significant economic burden.”

### ***Politicians***

Mitt Romney, then a Republican presidential candidate in the 2008 election, at a campaign event in Iowa<sup>34</sup>:

“The last thing we need is Hillarycare.”

“The last thing we need is socialized medicine.”

Rep. Paul Brown (R-GA) in a February 26, 2009, statement regarding Obama’s budget<sup>34</sup>:

“One such troubling provision is a tax increase to pay for the \$635 billion included in the budget for healthcare ‘reserve funds.’ Healthcare reform is desperately needed in America, but I’m concerned that \$635 billion will be a down payment on socialized medicine, causing the impersonal rationing of healthcare and destroying the doctor-patient relationship.”

Five republican senators (Sens. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky.; Orrin Hatch, R-Utah; Charles Grassley, R-Iowa; Mike Enzi, R-Wy., and Judd Gregg, R-NH) in a letter to the White House explaining their opposition to the public plan option supported by Obama and congressional Democrats<sup>35</sup>:

"Forcing free market plans to compete with these government-run programs would create an unlevel playing field and inevitably doom true competition..."

House Minority Leader John A. Boehner, R-Ohio, at a White House healthcare summit led by the Obama administration<sup>36</sup>:

"Taxpayers cannot afford to subsidize a bureaucratic takeover of healthcare."

Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., arguing against a public insurance plan on the Senate floor in June 2009<sup>37</sup>:

"Eventually, Americans would be stuck with government-run healthcare whether they like it or not. That's when the worst scenario would take shape, with Americans subjected to bureaucratic hassles, hours spent on hold waiting for a government service rep to take a call, restrictions on care, and, yes, lifesaving treatment and lifesaving surgeries denied or delayed."

Edwin Feulner, President of The Heritage Foundation, in "Open Letter on Healthcare" to the President and Congress of the United States, posted June 18, 2009 on the Heritage website<sup>38</sup>:

"There will be no "level-playing field." We believe a public option will toll a death knell for private plans."

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Your Medical Program... Compulsory- or- Voluntary?" AMA Pamphlet, 1949

<sup>2</sup> "One Side to Every Story" by James Morone in the *New York Times* on February 16, 2009

<sup>3</sup> "No Yielding on Medicare, AMA Told" by George Getze in the *Los Angeles Times* on November 27, 1962

<sup>4</sup> "A.M.A. Head Scores Presidents Views" in the *New York Times* on January 9, 1964

<sup>5</sup> "Doctors Pressed to Defy Medicare" by Austin C. Wehrwein in the *New York Times* on January 19, 1965

<sup>6</sup> "Doctors Urged to Take No Part in Medicare" in *Los Angeles Times* on April 11, 1965

<sup>7</sup> "Chamber Seeking Doctor Members" by Richard D. Lyons in the *New York Times* on October 14, 1971

<sup>8</sup> "Reagan Speaks out Against Socialized Medicine" 1961 LP record (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fRdLpem-AAs>)

<sup>9</sup> "A Time for Choosing" by Ronald Reagan delivered Oct. 27, 1964 ([http://reagan2020.us/speeches/A\\_Time\\_for\\_Choosing.asp](http://reagan2020.us/speeches/A_Time_for_Choosing.asp))

<sup>10</sup> "Goldwater Text on Medicare 'No'" in the *Los Angeles Times* on September 3, 1964

<sup>11</sup> Federal Document Clearing House Congressional Testimony, February 1, 1994, Tuesday, CAPITOL HILL HEARING TESTIMONY, 6903 words LONNIE R. BRISTOW, MD CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION HOUSE ENRGY/HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT HEALTHCARE REFORM

<sup>12</sup> "Doctors Planning Capital Protest" by Philip J. Hilts in the *New York Times* on March 22, 1993

<sup>13</sup> "The Triumph of Harry and Louise..." by David Ewing Duncan in the *Los Angeles Times* on September 11, 1994

<sup>14</sup> "How Do We Get the Healthcare Reform America Wants?" Display Ad 18 in the *New York Times* on April 21, 1993

<sup>15</sup> Federal Document Clearing House Congressional Testimony, February 1, 1994, Tuesday, CAPITOL HILL HEARING TESTIMONY, 2287 words FEBRUARY 1, 1994 GEORGE PANTOS WASHINGTON COUNSEL SELF INSURANCE INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, INC. HOUSE ENERGY/HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT HEALTHCARE REFORM

<sup>16</sup> "A Guide to the Clinton Health Plan" by Robert E. Moffit of The Heritage Foundation on November 19, 1993

17 “Old Republican Fissures Feel Strain as Healthcare Debate Grows” by Helen Dewar and Dana Priest in *The Washington Post* on February 20, 1994

18 “Limbaugh conservatives continue 75-year-old ‘socialized medicine’ smear” by Media Matters for America on March 5, 2009 (<http://mediamatters.org/reports/200903050012>)

19 “Defeating President Clinton’s Healthcare Proposal” by William Kristol for the Project for a Republican Future on December 2, 1993

20 “Governor Schwarzenegger Vetoes AB 8, Urges Lawmakers to Continue Work on Comprehensive Healthcare Reform” Press Release from Office of the Governor on October 12, 2007 (<http://gov.ca.gov/index.php?/pressrelease/7700/>)

21 “Children’s health bill clears Senate” by Sean Lengell in *The Washington Post* on January 30, 2009

22 “Limbaugh conservatives continue 75-year-old ‘socialized medicine’ smear” by Media Matters for America on March 5, 2009 (<http://mediamatters.org/reports/200903050012>)

23 “Limbaugh conservatives continue 75-year-old ‘socialized medicine’ smear” by Media Matters for America on March 5, 2009 (<http://mediamatters.org/reports/200903050012>)

24 “Doctors’ Group Opposes Public Insurance Plan” by Robert Pear in the *New York Times* on June 10, 2009

25 “U.S. News: Hospital Industry Bristles at Cuts...” by Janet Adamy and Jonathan D. Rockoff in the *Wall Street Journal (Eastern Edition)* on June 15, 2009

26 “A Health Plan for All and the Concerns It Raises” by Reed Abelson in the *New York Times* on March 24, 2009

27 “Who Is Richard Scott— and Why Is He Saying These Things about Healthcare Reform?” by Maggie Mahar on [healthbeatblog.org](http://www.healthbeatblog.org) on March 3, 2009 (<http://www.healthbeatblog.com/2009/03/who-is-richard-scott-and-why-is-hesaying-these-things-about-healthcare-reform.html>)

28 “Insurance groups pen letter against Obama health plan” by Jeffrey Young on website TheHill.com on March 24, 2009 (<http://thehill.com/business--lobby/insurance-groups-pen-letter-against-obama-health-plan-2009-03-24.html>)

29 “Healthcare: Let’s build on what we know” by James Roosevelt Jr. in the *Boston Globe* on April 9, 2009 ([http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial\\_opinion/oped/articles/2009/04/09/healthcare\\_lets\\_build\\_on\\_what\\_we\\_know/](http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2009/04/09/healthcare_lets_build_on_what_we_know/))

30 “P/C Insurance Agents Battle Public Healthcare Reform Option” by Andrew G. Simpson in the *Insurance Journal* on May 18, 2009 (<http://www.insurancejournal.com/news/national/2009/05/18/100295.htm>)

31 “Statement before the United States Senate Finance Committee Roundtable on Healthcare Coverage” by Scott Serota on May 5, 2009 ([finance.senate.gov/Scott%20Serota.pdf](http://finance.senate.gov/Scott%20Serota.pdf))

32 “AHIP Statement on Healthcare Reform Legislation” on their website released June 9, 2009 (<http://www.ahip.org/content/pressrelease.aspx?docid=27319>)

33 “BIG ‘I’ VOICES STRONG OPPOSITION TO KENNEDY HEALTH BILL” on Independent Insurance Agents and Brokers of America website released June 10, 2009 ([http://www.iiaba.net/na/02\\_News/02\\_PressRelease/NA20090610130821?ContentPreference=NA&ActiveState=0&ContentLevel1=NEWS&ContentLevel2=NEWSPRESS&ContentLevel3=&ActiveTab=NA&StartRow=0](http://www.iiaba.net/na/02_News/02_PressRelease/NA20090610130821?ContentPreference=NA&ActiveState=0&ContentLevel1=NEWS&ContentLevel2=NEWSPRESS&ContentLevel3=&ActiveTab=NA&StartRow=0))

34 “Limbaugh conservatives continue 75-year-old ‘socialized medicine’ smear” by Media Matters for America on March 5, 2009 (<http://mediamatters.org/reports/200903050012>)

35 “Senate Republicans Send Obama Letter Opposing Public Health Plan” by Perry Bacon Jr. in *The Washington Post* on June 8, 2009

36 “Inclusive Obama healthcare approach invites a fight” by Maggie Fox on Reuters.com on March 5, 2009 (<http://www.reuters.com/article/politicsNews/idUSTRE5247TT20090305>)

37 “McConnell: All of Us Want Healthcare Reform” Press Release on June 4, 2009 ([http://mccconnell.senate.gov/print\\_record.cfm?id=313972](http://mccconnell.senate.gov/print_record.cfm?id=313972))

38 “Open Letter on Healthcare” by Edwin Feulner on Heritage.org released June 18, 2009 (<http://blog.heritage.org/2009/06/18/open-letter-on-health-care/>)