

DATE: 3/15/90

TO: Senator Dole

FROM: Sheila Burke
E. Willis

IN RE: Federation of American Health Systems (FAHS)
Annual Conference

You are scheduled to speak at this conference at 9:35 A.M. tomorrow for 20 minutes at the Sheraton Washington Hotel. The Conference will be exploring a broad scope of critical health topics which include:

*The Future of America's Healthcare System

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| *Quality & Access | *Alternative Delivery Systems |
| *Tax Initiatives | *Medicare Fraud & Abuse |
| *Medicare Reform | *Coping with Managed Care |
| *Medicaid Reform | *New Medical Technologies |
| *Accreditation Process | *Electronic Data Interchange |

*Capital Expenditures and Equipment

The audience will consist of 1,000 hospital administrators, owners, investors, health lawyers, chief financial officers and health policy consultants. C-Span, probably other networks, will provide air time coverage of your address and Senator Mitchell. He will speak before you of his views on "The New National Health Insurance Debate". C. Michael Ford, FAHS President, will follow your speech to review general membership of FAHS. Secretary Louis W. Sullivan will be the lunch speaker addressing the changing role of hospitals and the need for reform of our health care delivery system.

They are interested in your views regarding the current national health debate. The Federation is on record as supporting a combination of expanded Medicaid and broader employment-based insurance.

DATE: 3/15/90

TO: Senator Dole

FROM: Sheila Burke
E. Willis

IN RE: The Pepper Commission

The following materials are for you review of the
recommendations being made to the Congress by this Commission.
This material was as shared with the public on March 2, 1990.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE CONGRESS

BY

THE PEPPER COMMISSION

**U.S. BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON COMPREHENSIVE
HEALTH CARE**

“Access to Health Care and Long-Term Care for All Americans”

March 2, 1990

Summary: Recommendations on Access to Health Care

THE PEPPER COMMISSION PROPOSAL ASSURES UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE COVERAGE FOR ALL AMERICANS THROUGH A JOB-BASED/PUBLIC SYSTEM.

1. Businesses with 100 or fewer employees are encouraged to provide health insurance for their employees and non-working dependents.
 - * To make insurance more available and affordable:
 - The private insurance market is reformed.
 - A minimum package is available.
 - Tax credits/subsidies for certain small employers are available.
 - Self-employed and unincorporated businesses can deduct 100% of their premiums.
 - * If employers purchase coverage and achieve a specified coverage target, there is no requirement to provide private insurance or participate in the federal public health insurance plan ("public plan").
2. All businesses with more than 100 employees must provide private health insurance (for a specified benefit package) or contribute to the public plan for all employees and non-working dependents.
3. The public plan will cover employees and dependents that contribute and non-working individuals who buy in or are subsidized.
 - * The plan replaces Medicaid for the specified services and pays providers according to Medicare rules.
 - * The fully phased-in plan is financed and administered primarily by the federal government, although states can opt to administer it.
4. The minimum benefit package includes primary and preventive care, physician and hospital care and other services. Services are subject to cost-sharing, with subsidies for low-income people and limits on out-of-pocket spending.
5. System reforms include measures to contain costs, assure quality and initiate innovative delivery systems for the underserved.
6. For both administrative and fiscal reasons, the plan will be phased in, beginning with making coverage available for children through the public plan.
7. At full implementation, all Americans will be required to have health insurance through their employer or the public plan.

Phase-In Schedule and Cost of the Commission Health Care Proposal

(Dollars are in Billions, 1990)

Year 1

- o Initiate Insurance Reforms.
- o Allow all uninsured pregnant woman and children through age 6, to enroll in the public plan (fully subsidized to 185 percent of poverty).
- o Raise Medicaid reimbursement rates for obstetrical and pediatric care.

Total Net New Federal Cost: \$3.4
% of Americans Without Health Insurance: 14%

Year 2

- o Firms with fewer than 25 employees and average payrolls below \$18,000 become eligible to receive a 40% tax credit/subsidy for the cost of health insurance that is provided. Employees of these firms with family income of less than 200 percent of poverty receive a subsidy.
- o Public plan is available to uninsured children up to age 18.
- o Improve physician reimbursement.

Total Net New Federal Costs: \$13.5-16.8
Additional Cost from Year 1: \$10.1-13.4
% of Americans Without Health Insurance: 8%-11%*

Year 3

- o Firms with 100 or more employees are required to provide health insurance or contribute a portion of payroll to cover employees and dependents in the public plan.

Total Net New Federal Costs: \$17-20.3
Additional Cost from Year 2: \$3.5
% of Americans Without Health Insurance: 6%-8%*

Year 4

- o If 80% of uninsured employees of firms with 25-100 employees (as of year 1) are not insured through their employers, along with their dependents, all employers of this size are required to provide coverage or contribute toward the cost of their coverage in the public plan.
- o Raise Medicaid hospital reimbursement rates.

Total Net New Federal Costs: \$19.8 - 23.1
Additional Cost from Year 3: \$2.8
% of Americans Without Health Insurance: 5%-7%*

Year 5

- o If 80% of uninsured employees of firms with fewer than 25 employees (as of year 1) are not insured through their employers, all employers of this size are required to provide coverage or contribute toward the cost of their coverage in the public plan.
- o Allow all uninsured adults into the public plan.
- o Retain subsidy to small firms with low wage employees.

Total Net New Federal Costs:	\$31.8
Additional Cost from Year 4:	\$11.8
% of Americans Without Health Insurance:	0%**

Year 6

- o Retain subsidy to small firms with low wage employees and their employees.

Total Net New Federal Costs:	\$31.8
Additional Cost from Year 5:	\$0

Year 7

- o Eliminate explicit subsidy to small firms with low wage workers and their employees.

Total Net New Federal Costs:	\$23.4
Additional Cost from Year 6:	(\$8.4)

* Depends on how many smaller firms voluntarily choose to purchase health insurance.

** If 80 percent of uninsured workers and their dependents in firms of fewer than 25 are now insured the Secretary of Health and Human Services must submit to Congress a plan to insure any remaining uninsured. If employers with fewer than 25 do not meet this target, then the imposition of a requirement to cover all workers and their dependents or contribute to a public plan will ensure that all Americans now have health insurance.

Summary: Recommendations on Long-Term Care

THE PEPPER COMMISSION PROPOSAL PROVIDES HOME AND COMMUNITY-BASED LONG-TERM CARE SERVICES AND PROTECTION AGAINST IMPOVERISHMENT FOR PEOPLE IN NURSING HOMES.

1. The plan has three components.

- * Severely disabled persons of all ages are eligible for social insurance for home and community-based care.
- * The plan establishes a Nursing Home Program (NHP) for nursing home care to provide an ample floor of financial protection, ensuring that no one faces impoverishment.
- * In addition, all nursing home users are entitled to social insurance for the first three months of nursing home care. This "front-end" insurance allows people who have short stays to return home with resources intact.

2. Financing and administration

- * The federal government finances the home and community-based care program and the three-month "front-end" nursing home care.
- * The federal and state governments share financial responsibility for the NHP.
- * All three components of the plan are administered by the states according to federal guidelines.
- * States are responsible for cost containment, quality assurance and consumer protection within federal standards.

3. Private sector role

- * Private long-term care insurance fills gaps not covered by this plan, subject to government standards and oversight.
- * The federal government encourages the development of private long-term care insurance through clarification of the tax code.

4. The benefits will be phased in over time.

Phase-In Schedule and Cost of Commission Long-Term Care Proposal

(Dollars are in Billions, 1990)

Phase I

- o Home Care to 200 hours per year

Home Care	\$10.8
Nursing Home Care	\$ 0.0
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Total Costs Phase I	\$10.8

Phase II

- o Implement 3 Month Front-end Nursing Home
- o Implement Nursing Home Program

Home Care	\$10.8
Nursing Home Care	\$12.8
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Net Increase From Phase I	\$12.8
Total Costs Phase II	\$23.6

Phase III

- o Increase Home Care to 400 hours per year
- o Begin to Improve Nursing Home Reimbursement Rates

Home Care	\$18.6
Nursing Home Care	\$15.6
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Net Increase From Phase II	\$10.6
Total Costs Phase III	\$34.2

Phase IV (Year 4)

- o Fully Implement the Home Care Program
- o Further Improve Nursing Home Reimbursement Rates

Home Care	\$24.0
Nursing Home Care	\$18.8
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Net Increase from Phase III	\$ 8.6
Total Costs Phase IV	\$42.8

Net New Federal Costs of the Commission Proposal
(Billions of Dollars, 1990)

SOURCE OF EXPENDITURE

Access to Health Care

Public health insurance of non-workers	\$12.4
Federal Contribution to the public plan	6.3
Tax Expenditure	6.7
Augmented Medicaid Physician and Hospital Payments	4.0
Less savings from Medicare, CHAMPUS, Medicaid	(6.0)
<u>Sub-Total (Access to Health Care)</u>	<u>\$23.4*</u>

Access to Long-Term Care

Home Health Care for the Severely Disabled <u>Elderly</u> (includes cost-sharing)	15.0
Home Health Care for the Severely Disabled <u>Non-Elderly</u> (includes cost-sharing)	9.0
Nursing Home Care for the Severely Disabled <u>Elderly</u>	16.8
Nursing Home Care for the Severely Disabled <u>Non-Elderly</u>	2.0
<u>Sub-Total (Access to Long-Term Care)</u>	<u>\$42.8</u>

Total Net New Federal Expenditures \$66.2**

*Phase-in plan includes the cost of temporary tax credits/subsidies for certain small businesses. Those costs are not reflected in these totals, which represent the cost at full implementation.

**Program costs are larger than the net new federal expenditures. On health care, states maintain Medicaid spending on services absorbed by the new public plan. On long-term care, states share in the cost of the Nursing Home Program with initial amounts equivalent to state Medicaid spending on long-term care services covered by the overall plan.

**SENATOR BOB DOLE
FEDERATION OF
AMERICAN HEALTH SYSTEMS
FRIDAY, MARCH 16, 1990**

1

CRISIS OF CARE

NOBODY LIKES TO HEAR A
STORY ABOUT A FAMILY WHERE
THE BREADWINNER HAS LOST HIS
OR HER JOB AND IN TRYING TO
SURVIVE, GIVES UP THE FAMILIES
HEALTH INSURANCE, ONLY TO
HAVE SOMEONE GET SICK.

NOBODY LIKES TO HEAR ABOUT

THE ELDERLY COUPLE WHOSE LIFE
SAVINGS ARE WIPE OUT WHEN
THE HUSBAND IS ADMITTED TO A
NURSING HOME.

AND FINALLY, NOBODY,
PARTICULARLY HOSPITAL
ADMINISTRATORS LIKE
YOURSELVES, LIKES TO SEE A
WOMAN IN LABOR ARRIVE IN

YOUR EMERGENCY ROOM
HAVING HAD NO PRENATAL
CARE BECAUSE SHE COULDN'T
AFFORD IT.

EACH OF THESE STORIES
DESCRIBES SOME OF THE REAL
WORLD PROBLEMS FACING US
AS WE TRY TO MAKE CERTAIN
AMERICANS HAVE ACCESS TO

QUALITY HEALTH CARE.

IN THE FIRST CASE OF THE
FAMILY WHO LOSES ITS
COVERAGE, WE'RE DEALING WITH
AN EMPLOYMENT—BASED
PROBLEM.

THE SECOND CASE IS A
QUESTION OF THE BREADTH OF
MEDICARE BENEFITS. AND THE

THIRD CASE, IS ONE IN WHICH
THE EXTENT OF MEDICAID
COVERAGE AND THE REALITY OF
ACCESS TO CARE COMES INTO
QUESTION.

THREE DIFFERENT CASES,
REQUIRING IN MY VIEW, THREE
DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS. THAT IS
THE PROBLEM AND THE

CHALLENGE: THERE IS NO ONE
SIMPLE ANSWER.

THE PROBLEMS ARE REAL
FEW WOULD TAKE ISSUE WITH
THE VIEW THAT HEALTH CARE
DELIVERY IN THE U.S. NEEDS BIG
CHANGES. COST, ACCESS AND
QUALITY CONCERNS GROW
MORE WORRISOME EACH DAY.

IN 1990 WE WILL SPEND ABOUT
\$2 BILLION DOLLARS A DAY ON
HEALTH CARE. YET WE CONTINUE
TO LAG BEHIND JAPAN,
ENGLAND, CANADA, WEST
GERMANY AND SWEDEN WHEN IT
COMES TO INFANT MORTALITY
AND LIFE EXPECTANCY
STATISTICS. BUT SIMPLY

POURING MORE MONEY ON THE
PROBLEM IS NOT THE ANSWER.

WE'VE ALREADY DONE THAT —
— BUT IT IS CLEAR 37 MILLION
UNINSURED OR UNDERINSURED
AMERICANS NEED OUR HELP.

THERE IS SURPRISINGLY LITTLE
DISAGREEMENT OVER THE EXTENT
OF THE PROBLEM. THE

ARGUMENT COMES OVER WHAT
TO PROVIDE, WHAT THE SOURCE
OF THE COVERAGE SHOULD BE,
AND FINALLY, WHO SHOULD
FOOT THE BILL.

LITTLE NEW UNDER THE SUN

THESE ISSUES ARE NOT NEW.
THE BATTLE OVER NATIONAL
HEALTH INSURANCE HAS BEEN

WAXING AND WANING FOR
YEARS. BUT I WILL ADMIT THE
ENVIRONMENT DOES SEEM TO
HAVE CHANGED. THE VARIOUS
COMMISSIONS CHARGED WITH
STUDYING THESE ISSUES AND
ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS YOUR
OWN — AND MANY OTHER
BUSINESS GROUPS WHO HAVE

TRADITIONALLY FOUGHT THE
CONCEPT OF A NATIONALIZED
HEALTH SYSTEM — ARE
SUDDENLY PRESSING FOR JUST
SUCH A SYSTEM.

BUT EVEN THE MOST STRIDENT
OF SUPPORTERS WILL ADMIT THAT
WHAT THEY MEAN BY NATIONAL
HEALTH INSURANCE — IS NOT

THE FULLY FEDERALIZED SYSTEM
OF OLD —— BUT RATHER A MIX
OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
SECTORS.

ATTEMPTS TO EMBRACE THE
CANADIAN OR BRITISH HEALTH
CARE SYSTEMS HAVE MET WITH
A FAIR AMOUNT OF SKEPTICISM.
WHAT IS MUCH MORE LIKELY, IN

MY VIEW, IS A CONTINUATION
OF THE EXISTING PUBLIC/PRIVATE
COMBINATION. ANY
IMPROVEMENTS IN THE NEAR
TERM WILL BE LARGELY BUILT ON
THIS STRUCTURE, SOMETHING
SOME OF US HAVE PREDICTED
ABOUT FOR YEARS.
IN FACT, AS FAR BACK AS

1979, I INTRODUCED A BILL
KNOWN AS THE '3D' BILL ——
BECAUSE OF ITS AUTHORS, DOLE,
DOMENICI AND DANFORTH ——
WHICH PROVIDED FOR BENEFIT
EXPANSIONS IN MEDICARE AND
MEDICAID AS WELL AS PLACING
NEW REQUIREMENTS ON
EMPLOYERS. THE BIG DIFFERENCE

FROM TODAY'S DEBATE WAS
OUR NARROW FOCUS ON
CATASTROPHIC BENEFITS — I
THINK BOTH SENATOR MITCHELL
AND I GOT THE MESSAGE ON
CATASTROPHIC—ONLY
PROTECTION LAST YEAR, AND WE
ARE UNLIKELY TO GO DOWN
THAT ROAD AGAIN. BUT THIS

MODEL OF BUILDING ON THE
EXISTING PROGRAMS, AND USING
MEDICAID AND EMPLOYMENT—
BASED INSURANCE, IS ONE THAT
I FAVOR.

EMPLOYER BASED COVERAGE:

PART OF THE ANSWER

ONE OF THE SUCCESS STORIES
OF THE PAST HAS BEEN THE

AVAILABILITY OF EMPLOYMENT BASED HEALTH INSURANCE.

MANY EMPLOYERS, PARTICULARLY
LARGE EMPLOYERS, HAVE DONE
A TERRIFIC JOB OF PROVIDING
BENEFITS TO EMPLOYEES AND
THEIR FAMILY MEMBERS; BUT THAT
GOOD SITUATION IS CHANGING.
THERE HAS CLEARLY BEEN AN

EROSION IN COVERAGE IN
RECENT YEARS. WE KNOW FOR
A FACT THAT THE LARGE NUMBER
OF 37 MILLION UNINSURED ARE
WORKING OR ARE DEPENDENTS
OF AN EMPLOYED FAMILY
MEMBER.

THE REASONS FOR THIS ARE
MANY: TOUGH ECONOMIC

TIMES FOR EMPLOYERS;
INCREASING INSURANCE
PREMIUMS THAT SOME
EMPLOYEES OR SMALL BUSINESS
CANNOT AFFORD, OR
INELIGIBILITY FOR COVERAGE
BECAUSE THE EMPLOYEE IS A
PART TIME EMPLOYEE IS
CONSIDERED HIGH RISK.

WHATEVER THE REASONS FOR
THE DECLINE IN COVERAGE, WE
MUST REVERSE THE TREND. IN
MY VIEW, STRENGTHENING
PRIVATE, EMPLOYER BASED
COVERAGE WILL BE CRITICAL TO
OUR EFFORTS TO FILL IN THE
GAPS.

OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO
MAXIMIZE COVERAGE WITH A
MINIMUM NEGATIVE IMPACT ON
EMPLOYMENT RATES,
PARTICULARLY AMONG SMALL
BUSINESS. SOME WOULD
PROPOSE THAT WE SIMPLY
MANDATE THAT EMPLOYERS
PROVIDE COVERAGE — I

PREFER A SYSTEM OF INCENTIVES.
THE LAST THING THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE NEED —— AND THE LAST
THING AMERICAN BUSINESS
NEEDS —— IS MORE FEDERAL
MANDATES. IN A MISGUIDED
ATTEMPT TO PROTECT EMPLOYEES
FROM HEALTH CARE
CATASTROPHES, CONGRESS

COULD VERY WELL PUT JOBS AT
STAKE BY CREATING SERIOUS
FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES FOR
EMPLOYERS.

WE MUST ALSO BE ALERT TO THE
FACT THAT EMPLOYER
INCENTIVES, PARTICULARLY THOSE
THAT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF TAX
CREDITS, ARE NOT FREE.

SOMEONE IS PAYING —— AND
ITS THE TAXPAYER. GIVEN OUR
CURRENT BUDGET CRISIS, NEW
TAX EXPENDITURES, WITHOUT
OFFSETS ARE UNLIKELY TO BE
CONSIDERED VERY SERIOUSLY
REGARDLESS OF HOW WORTHY
THEIR PURPOSE.

MEDICAID: SOLUTION

OR JUST FOR THE POOR

THE MEDICAID PROGRAM FOR
ALL ITS FAILINGS HAS MET AN
IMPORTANT NEED IN PROVIDING
PROTECTION OF A SORT FOR
SOME OF OUR POOREST
CITIZENS. THE QUESTION IS
WHETHER IT WOULD SERVE AS A

USEFUL WAY OF PROVIDING
PROTECTION TO A BROADER
SEGMENT OF THE POPULATION.

IN MY VIEW, SUCH A MOVE
SHOULD BE SERIOUSLY
CONSIDERED.

CHANGES HAVE BEEN MADE IN
RECENT YEARS TO COVER
LARGER NUMBERS OF THE POOR

UNDER THE PROGRAM,
PARTICULARLY PREGNANT WOMEN
AND CHILDREN. THERE ARE
THOSE OF US WHO HAVE
SUGGESTED IN THE PAST THAT
WE ALSO CONSIDER USING THE
MEDICAID PROGRAM TO EXPAND
COVERAGE OPTIONS TO SOME
OF THOSE NOW UNCOVERED,

INCLUDING THE 'UNINSURABLES'.
SUCH COVERAGE COULD BE
SUBSIDIZED SO AS TO MAKE IT
AFFORDABLE. OTHER OPTIONS
TO PROVIDE PROTECTION TO
THESE INDIVIDUALS INCLUDE THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE—WIDE
POOLS —— ANOTHER PROPOSAL
WE SHOULD CONSIDER. WE

MUST, HOWEVER, REMEMBER IN
LOOKING AT THE MEDICAID
PROGRAM THAT THE STATES ARE
ALSO FACING SERIOUS FISCAL
PROBLEMS AND WILL BE ANXIOUS
THAT WE NOT SIMPLY LOAD
MORE RESPONSIBILITY ON THEM.

BUT AS WITH THE CASE OF
TAX INCENTIVES ON THE

EMPLOYERS SIDE, NONE OF THESE
EXPANSIONS, WORTHY AS THEY
MAY BE, ARE FREE; AND THAT
FACT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN IS
THE FINAL HURDLE WE MUST FACE
— HOW TO PAY FOR WHAT WE
NEED.

NO ESCAPING BUDGET DILEMMA

THE MEMBERS OF THE PEPPER
COMMISSION DID A GREAT
SERVICE BY DEVELOPING A VERY
SERIOUS PLAN TO ADDRESS THE
NEEDS OF THOSE NOT SERVED BY
THE CURRENT HEALTH CARE
SYSTEM. FOR BETTER ACCESS
TO HEALTH CARE, THE

COMMISSION RECOMMENDED
UNIVERSAL COVERAGE FOR ALL
AMERICANS THROUGH BOTH
PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FINANCING,
THUS SUGGESTING PRIVATE
INSURANCE MARKET REFORM. IT
ALSO RECOMMENDED A PHASE—
IN PLAN FOR LONG—TERM CARE
PROVIDING UNIVERSAL HOME

AND COMMUNITY—BASED CARE
AND A THREE—MONTH
ENTITLEMENT FOR NURSING HOME
CARE. SOME OF THEIR
SUGGESTIONS ARE VERY MUCH
LIKE THOSE THAT I HAVE
SUPPORTED IN THE PAST AND
WOULD CONSIDER AGAIN.
HOWEVER, WHAT THEY DIDN'T

TELL US, WAS HOW TO PAY THE
PIPER. WHERE DO WE FIND THE
\$66.2 BILLION TO FINANCE THEIR
PLAN OR ANY PLAN?
WE NEED THE ANSWER TO THAT
ONE BEFORE WE GO ANY
FURTHER.

THE ROSTENKOWSKI PLAN

IN MY VIEW, THE BUDGET DEFICIT
IS STILL THE MOST COMPELLING
DOMESTIC PROBLEM FACING THIS
COUNTRY TODAY.

CHAIRMAN ROSTENKOWSKI OF
THE HOUSE WAYS AND MEANS
COMMITTEE HAS CHALLENGED HIS
OWN DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

TO STAND—UP FOR REAL DEFICIT
REDUCTION. I DON'T AGREE
WITH EVERYTHING CHAIRMAN
ROSTENKOWSKI HAS
RECOMMENDED. BUT HE IS ON
THE RIGHT TRACK IN INSISTING
THAT ANY 'PEACE DIVIDEND' BE
USED FOR DEFICIT REDUCTION,
AND IN REVIVING PRESIDENT

BUSH'S PROPOSAL FOR A ONE—
YEAR FREEZE IN FEDERAL
PROGRAMS. I THINK CHAIRMAN
ROSTENKOWSKI IS ALSO RIGHT
ON TARGET WITH HIS CALL FOR
NEW SPENDING TO BE ON A
PAY—AS—YOU—GO BASIS. WE
EITHER HAVE TO MAKE NEW
PROGRAMS FINANCIALLY SELF—

SUFFICIENT, OR SCALE BACK OLD
PROGRAMS TO FINANCE NEW
INITIATIVES. THERE IS PLENTY
MORE WE CAN AND SHOULD DO.
WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO CLOSE
TAX LOOPHOLES AND IMPROVE
ENFORCEMENT. AND WE SHOULD
TARGET ANY GASOLINE TAX
INCREASE TO HELP REPAIR OUR

CRUMBLING ROADS, HIGHWAYS
AND BRIDGES.

BUT DAN ROSTENKOWSKI HAS
ISSUED A MUCH NEEDED WAKE—
UP CALL. THE WHITE HOUSE HAS
ANSWERED, AND I ONLY HOPE
HIS FELLOW DEMOCRATS DO
TOO.

AS YOU KNOW, LAST YEAR WE

BASICALLY TOOK A WALK ON
THE DEFICIT, ALTHOUGH WE HAD
AN OPPORTUNITY, GIVEN THE
ELECTION MANDATE, TO ENACT
SOME TOUGH PROGRAMS SUCH
AS FLEXIBLE FREEZE. INSTEAD WE
SPENT 10 MONTHS AND DEVOTED
MORE THAN 60 PERCENT OF OUR
ROLL CALL VOTES IN THE SENATE

TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT BY ONLY
\$16 BILLION, ONE—FOURTH THE
COST OF THE PEPPER
COMMISSION PLAN, AND WE
NEEDED FOUR MONTHS OF
SEQUESTER TO DO EVEN THAT.
THIS YEAR WE NEED \$36 BILLION
— MORE THAN TWICE AS
MUCH — EVEN USING OMB'S

OPTIMISTIC ASSUMPTIONS. SO
YOU CAN SEE WHY THE PROCESS
IS SO FRUSTRATING, AND WHY
GRAPPLING WITH TOUGH
QUESTIONS SUCH AS FINANCING
OF OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IS
OFTEN LOST IN THE STRUGGLE.

TIME FOR STUDY AND DEBATE

BUT WITHOUT UNDER—
ESTIMATING THE DIFFICULTIES
BEFORE US ON THE BUDGET, I AM
NONETHELESS HOPEFUL THAT WE
CAN HAVE A SERIOUS DEBATE
ON THE QUESTION OF ACCESS
TO HEALTH CARE. THE WORK OF
THE PEPPER COMMISSION, AND

THAT OF THE STEELMAN GROUP,
SECRETARY SULLIVAN'S TASK
FORCE, AND THE LABOR
DEPARTMENT TASK FORCE,
SHOULD PROVIDE US WITH A
GREAT DEAL OF USEFUL
INFORMATION. I SEE THE YEAR
AHEAD AS ONE IN WHICH WE
SPEND AN VIGOROUS AND

POSITIVE DEBATE.

HOWEVER, I SEE
CONGRESSIONAL ACTION NOT
LIKELY BEFORE NEXT YEAR.

YOU CLEARLY HAVE A GREAT
DEAL AT STAKE AS PROVIDERS,
AS EMPLOYERS, AND FRANKLY
AS TAXPAYERS. NONE OF THE
ANSWERS WILL BE EASY. TOUGH

CHOICES WILL TO HAVE TO BE
MADE AND PRIORITIES SET.

DON'T BE FOOLED BY THOSE
WHO PROMISE EASY ANSWERS —
— FOR EXAMPLE ALL THE HYPE
ABOUT THE SO—CALLED PEACE
DIVIDEND THAT SUPPOSEDLY WILL
FINANCE HUGE NEW SOCIAL
WELFARE SPENDING. THE

SOLUTIONS WILL BE FAR MORE
COMPLICATED THAN THAT.

THERE IS A ROLE FOR THE
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AS THERE
IS FOR THE STATES AND/OR THE
PRIVATE SECTOR. NO ONE OF
US HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS. WE
WILL NEED TO WORK IN
PARTNERSHIP TO ADDRESS THE

NEEDS OF THE ELDERLY, THE POOR AND THE UNINSURED.

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