The seventies will be a crucial decade for public health and for the United States. In his presidential address, Dr. Cornely lays it on the line in terms of the problems which we know and what is to be done about them. He spells out specifics for the Association and its members.

# THE HIDDEN ENEMIES OF HEALTH AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION

Paul B. Cornely, M.D., F.A.P.H.A.

Two years from now this Association will celebrate its 100th Anniversary. Six years hence, the United States will observe the 200th year of its founding. This, therefore, would appear to be an appropriate time to look at ourselves as we begin this historic decade.

#### Introduction

The question which appears to be most pertinent for us today is why has a country that prides itself on its efficiency, managerial expertise, organizational abilities, and mass production allowed a conglomerate of crises to develop in the area of human services at such an accelerated rate that many people despair that the problems of health, education, and welfare can be solved. These have not appeared overnight to overwhelm us, but rather have been accumulating for a number of years. Furthermore, what is more startling is that in the field of health, distinguished members and committees of this Association as well as private organizations and governmental bodies have presented specific solutions and blueprints for many of these problems.

Three brief examples may be mentioned. In 1938, Abel Wolman<sup>1</sup> in his

presidential address entitled, "A Century in Arrears," clearly outlined the primary causes for an unsatisfactory situation for the nation's poor and recommended specific solutions. In 1932 a private group, the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care,2 published a comprehensive report on the ways and means by which the delivery of health care could be more effectively organized. It recommended comprehensive community medical centers, prepaid financing, comprehensive health planning, and community participation. Lastly, President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection held in 1930 formulated the Children's Charter. This consisted of 19 specific aims for the children of America regardless of "race or color or situation." None has ever been fully achieved in these 40 years and, as an example, let me quote the fourth of these:

"For every child, full preparation for his birth, his mother receiving prenatal, natal and post-natal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make childbearing safer."

These three examples—one from a leader of a professional organization, another from the private sector, and the third from a government sponsored ac-

tivity—have suggested approaches which have been repeated many times during these 40 years. Why have we not moved? This is certainly unlike the American character or temperament. John W. Gardner, chairman of the National Urban Coalition, speaking at the National Press Club in Washington, D. C., in December, 1969, said:

"We know what our problems are, but are incapable of summoning our will and resources to act . . . in other words, Americans at all levels are seized by a kind of paralysis of the will."

President Nixon, when campaigning in the New Hampshire primary in February, 1968, spoke of the need for "... The lift of a driving dream which has made America from its very beginning the hope of the world." What then has caused the paralysis of the will or the need for a driving dream?

# The Hidden Enemies of Health

The writer does not profess to be a profound philosopher, or an avid student of ethics or a political scientist, but to one who has viewed seriously the American scene in general, and the health area in particular, for more than a third of a century, it appears that the enemies of health in this country permeate the matrix of our societal structure and, therefore, are all too often extremely subtle and deeply imbedded so as to defy easy recognition. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss four of these hidden and pervasive factors.

# National Addiction to the Abundant Life

The first and most important of the hidden enemies is the addiction to what all of us like to call the abundant life.

In a recent article Krutch<sup>4</sup> states that "Something like 300 years ago western man first began to think about what we call progress as an ideal to be striven

for and sometimes as no less than inevitable. What progress meant was increasing comfort, increasing wealth, increasing knowledge, increasing understanding and as a consequence increasing security for those western civilizations which had come to understand progress as an ideal." Let us develop this a little further. In this country, western man found a combination of conditions extremely favorable to the growth of progress. A land unsurpassed in natural resources, combined with the Puritanic concept of hard work and ruthless aggressiveness which blossomed into unparalleled organizational and managerial skills and coupled with rapid technological developments, has produced a nation of individuals with an addiction for the abundant life. For many, the disease has developed into a severe form which is satisfied only by the acquisition of greater power and more profits, making it indistinguishable from pure greed.

This national addiction has transformed us into a nation of consumers and producers, thereby causing us to commit the greatest sin of all—the misuse of technology. Technology is neither good nor bad, it is how it is used that matters. The following excerpts from Erich Fromm's The Revolution of Hope<sup>5</sup> are pertinent to this discussion.

"The success of the economy of the country is measured by its rise of total production.... The growth of the economy is visualized in terms of ever-increasing production, and there is no vision of a limit where production may be stabilized.....

"Few people raise the question of quality, or what all this increase in quantity is good for. This omission is evident in a society which is not centered around man any more, in which one aspect, that of quantity, has choked all others. It is easy to see that the predominance of this principle of 'the more the better' leads to an imbalance in the whole system...."

This addiction is the basis in the writer's opinion for the development of what Galbraith<sup>6</sup> called the mega-econ-

omy which consists of a few hundred super corporations some of which often act as private governments, sometimes more powerful than the government itself, and dominate various aspects of everyday living and condition our very thoughts and emotional reactions. The military-industrial octopus which presently spends 80 billion dollars of federal monies is part of this and demonstrates some of the most repacious and avaricious characteristics of the megaeconomy. It is well to warn the health professions that there is a smaller octopus rearing its ugly head which has been called the medical-industrial complex by Meyers<sup>7</sup> in his recent article in Fortune. Present technological developments in health care have developed a variety of products and equipment. The expenditures for these in 1968 were about 6 billion dollars or 10 per cent of medical care costs. It is estimated that this amount will double every five years. Already this market has attracted new companies—some of them giants in the field like Monsanto, Hewlett-Packard, Lockheed, and even cigarette companies like Phillip Morris. It is not too soon to warn health professionals and recipients of care that the medical-industrial octopus will become influential in policy and decision-making in the health field.

This national addiction has engulfed all of us. The health professional is no exception. Like all the others, he wants a greater share of the abundant life. He wants greater dividends from his investments in mutual stocks. He is polluting the air daily while driving on expressways to his suburban home, and during the summer, he wants more kilowatts for his air-conditioning equipment, his televisions, and his refrigerating units. Like the Pharisees, he is eloquent in telling others what to do.

The national addiction for the abundant life is the most important hidden enemy of health. It is from this that

many of the others have their roots or their beginning.

# Perversion of Democracy

The second most important hidden enemy of health is the malfunctioning of our present democracy. This thought has been well developed in a popular article by sociologist, Herbert J. Gans.8 There is a myth that America is governed by majority rule, and all of us have been brainwashed into believing this. But the determination by the majority is generally dictated by small powerful economic blocs. The only men who can run for office these days are either affluent or financed by the affluent groups who donate the campaign funds, and the legislation these men vote on is often suggested or even drafted by campaign fund donors or other small groups with specific interests in government action. Thus, our democracy has been perverted. It is not a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Rather, it is one of special interests, by special interests, and for special interests. The congressmen who continually beat their breasts about the concerns of their constituencies are the ones whose performances are at times the most reprehensible.

The perversion of democracy is well exemplified by the highway lobby, but others such as the real estate interests and the farmer's bloc are equally well known. The following quotation from a recent editorial in the Washington Post<sup>9</sup> provides an interesting and startling picture.

nationwide organization, estimate that the national highway needs for the next fifteen years will cost 320 billion dollars. This is twenty billion dollars a year. The law that sends tax revenues directly into the Highway Trust Fund expires on October 1, 1972, and the time for Congress to renew or change it is drawing near. . . . The highway lobby is about as strong as lobbies come, and a good many members of Congress seem to be in love

JANUARY, 1971

with highways. . . . Before voting to renew the trust fund as it now stands, however, members of Congress ought to think about what it is doing to the country. One out of every eight dollars that state and local governments spend goes into highways. These governments spend more on highways than on colleges and universities-twice as much on highways as on hospitals-four times as much on highways as on crime prevention-ten times as much on highways as on parks and recreation. Much of this highway spending is stimulated by the federal government. It puts up almost a third of the money and a state can hardly afford to reject the 90 to 10 or 50 to 50 matching funds thus made available."

The greatest perversion of our democracy, however, is found in the halls of Congress. The more than 600 members of this august and distinguished body are supposed to carry close to their hearts the interest of the people who elect them. Yet a sizable proportion of them have their purse strings closely connected to the powerful lobbies to which they are beholden. A recent article by Robert Sherrill<sup>10</sup> documents this with a whole host of characters. The morality of this country as represented by these elected public officials is indeed at a very low ebb.

# Pollution of the Mind

The third of these enemies is possibly the most insidious and may indeed be the one which will be most difficult to eradicate. Pollution of the mind could be the subject of a larger thesis, since this could well include a variety of factors such as our mass media, pornographic magazines, motion pictures, the theater, and various other types of advertising. Only one of these will be discussed—the radio and television industry.

It has already been stated that the overriding economic principle in the United States is that we produce more and more. But industry does not rely on the consumers' needs and wants, but to a considerable extent on advertising—which is the most important offensive

against the consumer's right to know what he wants. Thus, all of us are systematically brainwashed and our whole way of life is being reshaped, distorted, and corrupted to provide bigger markets for our super-economic structure.

Pollution of the mind is achieved in the main by an annual expenditure of almost 20 billion dollars on direct advertising. A few examples will suffice to establish the importance of this in our daily lives. The most recent is the one which had to do with the nutrient values of cereals. Whether the 60 cereals were properly evaluated is really not the important point, but rather that the manufacturers of these products spend large sums to promote items which may not be in the best interest of the children of this country.

Kellogg, General Mills, and General Foods spend more than 42.2 million dollars in television alone in one year to promote their cereals. General Mills' Cheerios, the nation's most heavily advertised cereal, has a one-vear television budget of more than 5.4 million dollars. Most of the cereal television advertising is concentrated on the Saturday morning children's shows, and so young viewers are being programed to demand sugar and sweetness in every food and thus are being counter-educated away from nutrition knowledge. Yet the three federal agencies with authority in the field—the Federal Trade Commission, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Department of Agriculture have remained silent and have failed to protect the public interest. Cigarettes, pills, and toothpastes are other examples,11 and 12 of the first 50 advertisers in 1968 were cigarettes—with an expenditure of \$145,517,300 for television time.

At a moment in our history when there is an information explosion and when in many areas, knowledge is changing so fast that its half-life may only be six months, it is indeed a travesty that one of man's great advances in the field of communication is being used not only to pollute but to establish patterns of behavior which are inimical to the health and welfare of people. This is being done deliberately with malice and forethought. It has been said that by the time a child has reached kindergarten age, he has watched some 4,000 hours on television or the equivalent of 125 days. How will this crippling effect and severe handicap be overcome?

# Racism

The last of the four enemies, racism, may be said to be the one of longest duration in the United States. It is well known to all of us here and none has escaped its scars, whether external or internal. There is a temptation on the part of the writer to pontificate on this issue, but it is sufficient to call your attention again to the United States Riot Commission Report which the American Public Health Association supported in a resolution in 1968. If anyone here has not read it, it would be well to do it and, for those who have read and forgotten, it is imperative that you reread it. Nothing much has changed in these two years and the following excerpts should be sufficient to remind all of us of the malignant quality of this major societal disease.

"This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black one white—separate and unequal.

"Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American....

"Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future.

"White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Among the ingredients of this mixture are:

Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education and housing, which have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.

Black immigration and white exodus, which have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.

The black ghettos where segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular are the result."12

If anyone doubts the allegations of the commission let him read the recent personal story of Lois M. Stalvey as told in *The Education of a WASP*.<sup>13</sup>

### Some Possible Solutions

It is very easy to list the hidden enemies of health. The more difficult matter has to do with formulating approaches for their resolution. There is a temptation among a large segment of the population to act in what has often been called the British approach—that of simply wanting to "muddle through," hoping that the present problems are not as serious as suggested, that they may somehow just pass away, or that someone or something will produce solutions which will not markedly change the present way of life. Or we could be the Versailles of the twentieth century. We could develop a bastion mentality and try to continue lightheartedly at our fun and games. On the other hand, many have already developed the pessimism which is well expressed in Andrew Hacker's new book, The End of the American Era. 14 He believes that just as individuals grow old and die, the American nation has reached the end of its life span, and that neither reform nor new leadership can reverse the course of history so that the only salvation lies in recognizing and adapting to the truth.

The writer cannot accept these approaches. To do so would be to be

traitor to the creative and innovative powers which lie within each of us. It is our belief that this country is in a transition which-although traumatic for those who are passing through it-nevertheless, may be productive of a better society. How this will be accomplished may not be clear now, but it is imperative that all of us should try with sincerity, honesty, and faith to find ways and means by which this may be accomplished. The problems before us are multifaceted and complex and, therefore, the solutions will necessarily have to be of a breadth and dimension which will tax and rekindle the human spirit. It is mandatory that we try and, most of all, that we begin

The first and most important need for all individuals in this country is a conversion of the mind and soul so that we can act with courage. This metamorphosis must have the intensity and fervor of a religious change and must be characterized by at least the following:

- 1. A sincere effort to throw off both the national addiction for the more abundant life and the adoration of the Gross National Product as the Holy Grail. The people of this land must throw off the acquisitive outlook which is so deeply seated in all of us.
- 2. The development of a sense of social responsibility which would permeate the daily life of everyone and which would act as an infusion or even a leaven among the professionals with whom we come in contact, the agencies with which we work, and the unfortunates to whom we minister. If each of us did this daily we would not tolerate silently the many injustices and indignities which are perpetrated within our families, on our jobs, in our neighborhoods, and in the larger communities within which we live.
- 3. There must be a change of attitude on the part of all of us as to what

technology is and what purpose it should serve. Only when this is viewed as a means to human ends can technology be made to produce maximum benefits and do minimum harm to human beings and to the values that make for civilized living. Technology should never become central to the purpose of society. Man should always be. Otherwise we face the danger of being terrorized by technology. This conversion of the mind and heart of each of us will be the basis for a lasting change in our society.

Secondly, democracy must not be allowed to become an economic oligarchy. Although presently this appears to satisfy the majority, it also creates outvoted minorities such as the poor whites, Chicanos, and blacks who according to Gans<sup>15</sup> can be tyrannized and repressed by majority rule. The erosion of democracy and the disintegration of the nation can only be prevented by incorporating the disadvantaged minorities into the political structure, thereby increasing the responsiveness of governments to the diversity of all citizens. This has been said many times in recent years, and it would appear that the time has come to make effective community participation and community control a reality in the everyday activities which affect the lives of people. This is one of the major ways by which this singular domestic problem can be met since it will make possible the transfer of power and wealth to a greater proportion of our population.

For those of you who may be somewhat squeamish about community control, a quotation from Thomas Jefferson may be pertinent even though he may not have wanted it in this context.

"Among other improvements, I hope they will adopt the subdivision of our counties into wards. Each ward would thus be a small republic within itself and every man in the state would thus become an acting member of the common government, transacting in person a great portion of its rights and duties, subordinate indeed yet important and entirely within his competence. The wit of man can not devise a more solid base for a free, durable and well-administered republic."

The third solution has to do with our budgetary situation. Health professionals continually admonish that health is purchasable; but this has become an empty phrase, because in order to do this the tax structure in this country must be revised and all of us will have to be willing to accept marked increases in taxes. This is anathema to everyone and all are apt to hide behind the myth that all that is needed is a reordering of our priorities and the termination of the war which will make possible the availability of a substantial amount of financial resources. If during the next five years the United States largely withdraws from Vietnam, inflation is gradually brought under control, and the economy resumes its normal growth, will large sums become available to the federal government to meet urgent domestic needs? A recent Brookings Institution study<sup>16</sup> carefully reviews this matter and the well-documented answers suggest that such will not be the case. It estimates that the President's flexibility in this respect will amount to no more than 6 billion dollars in 1973 and 13 billion dollars in 1975. Even these relatively small amounts assume that Vietnam spending declines rapidly and that other defense expenditures are held to an amount consistent with pre-Vietnam levels of readiness.

The financial needs to carry out largescale programs to deal with poverty, pollution, crime, urban congestion, housing, and education make staggering statistics. Health will be purchasable only if we are willing to have the tax structure revamped so that there will not be the tax loopholes which are presently available. In addition, the rest of us are going to be taxed at a higher rate, while a variety of taxes such as those on industry because of pollution which it creates, parking taxes, and tolls to discourage the use of cars in the central city will have to be imposed. This is the only way that we can improve the quality of life of all of the people in the United States.

The first three of these suggested solutions are general and are not specifically concerned with health and certainly could apply to the many crises which have become part of our societal living. The next three may be said to be specifically concerned with the dimensions of health. Therefore, the fourth consideration has to do with the political process. The professional health and welfare agencies of this country have been content over the years to develop standards, to prepare position papers, to hold forums, to plan resolutions, and to write letters to the legislative and executive branches of government. The only professional health organization which has accepted the realities of life and gone beyond these inadequate and generally impotent procedures has been the American Medical Association. Ever since the Whittaker and Baxter era, that association has used the political process to achieve its ends which quite often have not been in the best interest of the American public.

The Medical World News, 17 in speaking of the American Medical Association's political millions, states that according to the executive vice-president, Ernest B. Howard, two million dollars, or six cents of every dollar of the AMA's annual budget, will be spent in political and legislative activities in 1970. Of this sum, \$700,000 will go to the controversial American Medical Political Action Committee (AMPAC), the rest to recently expanded Washington office. The AMPAC appropriation is for the cost of "administration, political education and research." Dr. Howard states, "We are proud of this activity. We consider it an essential adjunct of

JANUARY, 1971 13

an organization like the AMA, whose members serve the public and whose relationships with their patients are so clearly affected by congressional action. Physicians have not only the right but the obligation to support their legislative proposal with parallel political action." The success and power of the AMA are unquestioned. The Knowles affair of recent memory need not be retold. President Nixon has an open door for the president of the American Medical Association and officers of its House of Delegates. What other health professional organization can boast of this?

It would appear that if the health organizations of this country have any concern about the quality of life of its citizens, they would come out of their sterile and scientific atmosphere and jump in the polluted waters of the real world where action is the basis for survival. For instance, the time has come for the National Health Council, which has allegedly been the coordinating instrument for the voluntary health agencies, to reconstitute itself into something different than a vehicle for annual forums where people endlessly discuss the issues of the day. It should become the National Health Political Action Committee so that it can do what needs to be done for the health of the people, through its impact on Congress and the executive branch of government.

There is no reason why the voluntary health agencies of this country could not contribute from 10 to 20 per cent of the donations which they obtain from the American public and use it for political education—just as the AMA and the AFL-CIO are doing. It will be said that these varied organizations with individual concerns will never come together in a common effort. If this be so, then they do not deserve the support of the hundreds of thousands who annually provide their subsistence. The time has come for the National Health

Council to accept this challenge and responsibility. If it does not care to do so, it should close its door and provide the opportunity for some other organization to try its hand.

The fifth suggestion is concerned with health as a social responsibility. It has already been stated that there should be an individual dedication to this concept, but this is not enough. There must also be governmental, corporate, and community commitment. The last three presidential addresses have dealt with this principle. Thus, only the following three points need to be emphasized:

- (1) Governmental agencies concerned with human services at the national level must be confronted and forced to protect the consumer rather than the providers. Such regulatory bodies as the Food and Drug Administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Mines and the Federal Communications Commission must desist from present practices which are generally on behalf of corporations and business interests. The confrontation must take place now, not tomorrow.
- (2) The community agencies for human services at the state and local levels must be humanized so that the health brutalities which occur daily to the poor and the disadvantaged will stop. This has already been described and documented in the recent publication, *Health Crisis in America*. If this has not been sufficient to stir your conscience, then a quick perusal of Herb Goro's *The Block* 19 depicting the physical decay and human suffering in America's urban slums may indeed do it.
- (3) Corporate agencies must develop a high sense of social responsibility. The big corporations such as the Monsantos, the General Motors, the Kelloggs, the Standard Oils, and hundreds of others must do this voluntarily or must be subjected to accountability by gov-

ernment. But what is even more important is that the millions of people who are shareholders must control their desires for greater dividends and profits and turn their attention to redirecting these corporate structures. The Naders cannot do it alone; it must be a collective effort.

(4) The educational system from kindergarten to the postdoctoral levels must be programed to emphasize social responsibility. Our emphasis has become vocational and all levels of training emphasize skills for the pursuit not of happiness, but of material things. The copping out and the disenchantment with the system which our young people in increasing numbers are showing is due to this pervasive influence. The universities in general and the schools for the health professions in particular need to look at their curricula and revise them toward this orientation.

Students in the schools of public health, for instance, should have a weekly assignment to community agencies so that they not only can learn about the people who live there, but also can contribute services which are greatly needed. Why should instructors and professors continue to give consultant services to far away lands or study esoteric conditions when two blocks from their institutions there are children who are dying from lead poisoning because no one has bothered to do some blood screening; there are poor women who are not keeping their appointments for cervical screening because no one has bothered about determining the reasons; and the outpatient departments of their community or teaching hospitals continue to deliver atrocious medical care because no one has been willing to develop a coordinated ambulatory medical care system.

Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute, often counseled his students to drop their buckets wherever they were. This would not be a bad motto for our schools of public health to adopt or, for that matter, for all of us.

The sixth and last approach has to do with the pollution of the mind by the radio and television industry. How can we stop this miasm which is polluting the American home from early morning until late at night. The average male begins his day with coffee, which he has been told is free of acid. and ends his day by gulping two pills which assures him of a safe sleep. In a statement which was presented before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly Legislation Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate on May 20, 1970, in behalf of the American Public Health Association, the following measures were suggested:

- (1) An effort should be made to form a cooperative venture between the television industry, government, and the public to establish guidelines for effective health education programs on prime time.
- (2) If the industry does not want to cooperate in this manner, there should be some way by which the Federal Trade and Communication Commissions would require a proportionate amount of equal time for special educational programs to counteract the daily brainwashing of our population.
- (3) If neither of these is possible, then there is a need for the establishment of governmentally owned and operated radio and television network which would provide an avenue for informing the public not only about their health, but the many other aspects of their lives. There is an urgent need for a domestic "Voice and Vision of America."

It has been said that human history is a race between education and catastrophe. At this time, the radio and television industry has given the latter quite a handicap.

Where does the American Public

JANUARY, 1971 15

Health Association stand in all of this and what should it do? On March 5, 1970, our Association overwhelmingly voted approval of its new Constitution and Bylaws which made it an action-oriented organization. The Action Board held its first meeting on June 10, 1970. Some members, to say the least, have not been too happy about this change. Many are skeptical that there can be a successful meld of professional and scientific concern with action. Efforts may even be made to see to it that action shall not proceed with the acceleration that it deserves.

This has been a year of transition, and although an interesting one at times it has been disappointing from the point of view of attempting to move this organization into the arena of advocacy for the consumer. From November, 1969, until March 5, 1970, little could be done in terms of action because the new Constitution had not been approved. But, through the yeoman efforts of the Washington office and the Executive Committee attempts were made to translate the challenge of Philadelphia and CAFOR into effective action. These efforts were really insignificant when compared with the magnitude of the problems. But even after the Association voted its approval, it is almost crushing to realize that this organization-with its 4,000-member Medical Care Section—does not at this moment have a statement on a national health program which could be called its own and presented to the American public.

It has not been possible for the Association to speak on the issues of the day, or what is more important, to anticipate them and lead the way. We were not present at the migrant hearings. What could we have said about the cereal fiasco and the need for better nutrition education? Why have we not presented our position about the Bureau of Mines and its continued subservience to mine operators or the inadequate

federal appropriation for the protection of workers? What is our position about the family assistance program? Where are we in terms of the new Environmental Protection Agency which is primarily a public works conglomerate? Our importance in the national health scene is well reflected when CBS presented a three-part documentary, and nowhere in this lengthy treatise was the American Public Health Association to be found, as a spokesman, or as a commentator, or as a mere bystander. It gradually sinks onto one's consciousness that we are outside the power structure.

There is need, therefore, for us to continue to work toward the achievement of this most important goal—to be able to speak with authority and at the appropriate time for the health of all of us. The following are avenues which may be helpful:

- (1) This Association at the national and state levels must continue to open its doors wider to admit the many kinds of people who are interested and concerned about health and who constitute the health industry, such as consumer representatives, new professionals, students of the health professions, urban planners, conservationists, and a myriad of others.
- (2) The state affiliated organizations need to reconstitute themselves into active and aggressive groups which are keenly interested in the health of their locality and are willing to do something about it. They must become the health consciences of their states. They cannot do this by continuing to be the handmaidens of state health departments, and meet for two or three days annually. Rather, they must open their doors to all interested in health and meet often enough to be able to consider the everchanging problems of health at the local, state, and national levels.
- (3) There has to be better communication between the national office and

the state affiliated organizations so that there can be appropriate follow-up on the decisions of the Executive and Action Boards. It is hoped that the concept of chapter development will not remain floating around in limbo, but will become a reality as soon as the five or six state affiliated associations which have shown deep interest in this matter have formulated the necessary guidelines. This should be put before the Governing Council in 1971.

(4) The annual meetings of this Association must change. The present wasteful practice of spending an inordinate amount of time on piddling resolutions and their wordings should be abolished. By the same token, section meetings should not be a potpourri of scientific papers and presentations which all too often are of limited interest to just a few. Our annual meetings should consist of two parts-general and special membership sessions which would be concerned with issues. and section meetings which would handle the selected and well-screened scientific output of our membership. It would thus be possible for all of us to know the important health issues which the Association would attack during the year, and to have some idea as to what each of us must do in our communities. The world would also know where we stand. Each year a review of what had been accomplished would be in order. In the 36 years that I have attended annual meetings, I have never left one where I was fired with enthusiasm and high motivation to return to home base to do or die. It would be hoped that those who will be coming after us will find a better kind of stimulus.

(5) It has already been stated that health is purchasable. By the same token, if the Association is to go forward, it has to have money. This is also true of the affiliated associations. The \$30 membership fee at the national and the \$3 to \$5 at the state level are ludi-

crous. Certainly, each of us pays much more than this for our hobbies, or our vacations. It is highly possible that we are no different from those who pay for what they want and beg for what they need. There is no earthly reason why each of us should not be willing to pay annually from 3 to 5 per cent of our gross income. At the lowest percentage, this would vary from \$15 for the individual making \$5,000 a year to \$90 for those making \$30,000. I should like to remind this audience that the American Medical Association has voted to increase its annual dues by \$40 for a total of \$115. Are we willing to pay for what we want?

It is easy to offer solutions. It is highly possible that each of you in this audience has additional ones which may be even better than the ones that have been proposed. Whatever these may be, I believe that all of us would agree with the following quotation:

"A nation is at its greatest when it listens to the voice of conscience; is not afraid to face the truth, to acknowledge where it has gone wrong, where it has committed or permitted injustice; and to seek to build from the basis of this truth.

"From this sincerity, it can draw the moral purpose and conviction necessary to remedy the wrongs and ills of its own society.

"The world needs examples of such sincerity and the United States is perhaps facing her moment of truth when she can set an example that all nations will sometime need to follow and no nation need ever be ashamed to follow."20

It would be hoped that by 1976, our nation will have faced its moment of truth and we who are still here can say that we contributed to this moment.

# REFERENCES

- Wolman, Abel. A Century in Arrears. A.J.P.H. 28:1369-1375 (Dec.), 1938.
- Medical Care for the American People. Final Report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.
- Quoted in the Editorial Section of the New York Times (Jan. 25), 1968.

JANUARY, 1971 17

- Krutch, Joseph W. Is Decline Inevitable After 300 Years of Progress? Sunday Star, Washington, D. C. (Feb. 1), 1970.
- Fromm, Erich. The Revolution of Hope. New York: Bantam Books, 1968, pp. 37-38.
- Galbraith, John K. The New Industrial State. New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1967, p. 427.
- Meyers, Harold B. The Medical-Industrial Complex. Fortune 81:90 (Jan.), 1970.
- Gans, Herbert J. We Won't End the Urban Crisis Until We End Majority Rule. Magazine Section, New York Times (Aug. 3), 1969.
- Editorial. 20 Billion Dollars a Year for Highways. Washington Post (July 20), 1970.
- Sherrill, Robert. We Can't Depend on Congress to Keep Congress Honest. Magazine Section, New York Times (July 19), 1970.
- Hoffman, Nicholas Von. Top Spenders. Washington Post (Jan. 31), 1969.
- 12. U. S. Riot Commission Report. New York: Bantam Books, 1968, pp. 1, 10.

- Stalvey, Lois M. The Education of a WASP. New York: Morrow, William, 1970.
- Hacker, Andrew. The End of the American Era. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1970.
- 15. Gans, Herbert J. Op. cit.
- Schultze, Charles L.; Hamilton, Edward K.; and Schick, Allen. Setting National Priorities: The 1971 Budget. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution, 1970.
- Anon. The AMA's Political Millions. Medical World News 11:17 (Jan. 23), 1970.
- Breslow, Lester, and Cornely, Paul B. Health Crisis in America. New York: American Public Health Association, 1969.
- Goro, Herb. The Block. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Cormack, Burke. World Development and Social Responsibility: The Contribution of Business. A lecture to the Sloan Fellowship Program. School of Business Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (May 10), 1968 (mimeo.).

Dr. Cornely is Professor, Department of Community Health Practice, Howard University College of Medicine, Washington, D. C. 20001.

This paper was presented as the Presidential Address at the Opening General Session of the American Public Health Association at the Ninety-Eighth Annual Meeting in Houston, Texas, October 26, 1970.