Remedy and Reaction
THE PECULIAR AMERICAN STRUGGLE
OVER HEALTH CARE REFORM

Yale UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW HAVEN & LONDON
CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgments xi

Introduction: An Uneasy Victory  1
  The Making of a National Impasse  3
  A Window for Reform  12
  Choices and Vulnerabilities  17

PART I. THE GENEALOGY OF HEALTH-CARE REFORM

1 Evolution through Defeat  27
  Progressive Health Insurance, 1915–1919  29
  The New Deal and National Health Insurance, 1935–1950  35
  The Growth of the Protected Public, 1950–1965  41

2 Stumbling toward Comprehensive Reform  51
  Political Deadlock, 1969–1980  52
  Political Reversals, 1981–1990  63
  The American Path in Health Insurance  72

PART II. FRUSTRATED AMBITIONS, LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE

3 The Shaping of the Clinton Health Plan, 1991–1993  79
CONTENTS

A New Framework 83
Clinton’s Decisions 90

4 Getting to No, 1994 103
The Democrats’ Disorder 104
The Big Turnabout 112
The Collapse of Congressional Compromise 119
Why No Reform? 122

5 Comes the Counterrevolution, 1995–2006 129
Gingrich and the End of Entitlements 131
From Bold Leaps to Baby Steps 138
A Republican Window 146
Return to Crisis 155

PART III. ROLLERCOASTER

6 The Rise of a Reform Consensus, 2006–2008 161
Romney and the Massachusetts Model 163
Toward Minimally Invasive Reform 174
Making 2008 a Health-Care Election 182
Prepare to Launch 190

7 Breaking Through, 2009–2010 194
Health Care First 196
Bipartisanship in One Party 201
Reaction and Resolve 211
Obama and the Rollercoaster to Reform 220
Why Health-Care Reform Passed (and Climate Legislation Didn’t) 235

8 The Affordable Care Act as Public Philosophy 239
Fairness and Equality 241
Responsibility and Freedom 247
Federalism and Finance 252
Health and the Public Household 259
CONTENTS

9 Reform's Uncertain Fate 267
    Political Backlash and the Courts 269
    The Peculiar Struggle 279

Notes 283

Index 310