

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo w/attach	Chris Jennings to Hillary Clinton Re: Tomorrow's Finance Committee Meeting (19 pages)	4/19/93	P5
002. memo w/attach	Chris Jennings, Steve Edelstein Re: House Targeting Strategy (19 pages)	4/20/93	P5
003. briefing paper	Ten Senate Targets (16 pages)	nd	P5

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
Domestic Policy Council  
Chris Jennings (Health Security Act)  
OA/Box Number: 23758

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

HRC Memos-HSA [3]

gf130

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Distribution

FROM: Steve Ricchetti  
Chris Jennings

DATE: April 13, 1993

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There has been a great deal of discussion and reporting about the need for bi-partisan consultation on health care, springing in part from our current difficulty in moving the stimulus package in the Senate. I want to emphasize to everyone that the Administration's Health Care Task Force began an on-going dialogue with House and Senate Republicans many weeks ago.

It would be both erroneous and potentially damaging for a perception to develop that our work with Congressional Republicans only began after they employed delaying tactics in the debate on the stimulus. We have actively solicited their advice and ideas on health reform since our first week. We fully expect, however, that for partisan political purposes some Republicans will attempt to promote this notion and I want to urge everyone involved in our health reform effort to watch for this characterization and be aware that it is factually incorrect.

You should know that the President asked the bi-partisan leadership for designees to consult with the Health Care Task Force as early as January 26. Senator Dole appointed himself and Rep. Michel appointed Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-IL). Mrs. Clinton met with Senators Dole and Chafee on February 4 and with members of the Senate Republican Caucus on March 5. We have also been holding weekly meetings with Republican Members on the House Health Task Force and staff and the staff of the Senate Health Task Force since February, typically with Ira Magaziner leading the presentation and dialogue.

The staff of the Senate Republican Health Task Force has suggested that more active member-level discussions be delayed until we have a better sense internally about what our proposal will contain. As decisions about our plan are being made, we will reach out to this group again. It is important to note, however, that we have always encouraged and been open to meeting with Republican Senators.

It is clear that on each of our major initiatives during the next two years we will need and will be soliciting bi-partisan support for our proposals. I want everyone to be aware of the on-going efforts to consult with Republicans on health reform and to try to win their support for our program.

#####

Attachment.

DATE	MEMBER(S)	MET WITH	SUBJECT
2/4	DOLE/CHAFEE	HRC/ICM/JF	process, general discussion
2/23	DURENBERGER	HRC/ICM	
3/10	Senate Republican Members  Bond Burns Chafee Cohen Craig Danforth Dole Durenberger Gregg Kassebaum Mack Murkowski Nichols Packwood Roth Simpson Stevens Thurmond (others were present as well)	HRC	general discussions about process and about directions for/components of reform
3/10	JEFFORDS	ICM	
3/11	House Republican Members/Staff	ICM	
3/12	Senate Republican Staff	ICM	
3/18	House Republican Members  Hastert Goss Johnson Thomas Blily McMillin	ICM	MALPRACTICE

<b>DATE</b>	<b>MEMBER(S)</b>	<b>MET WITH</b>	<b>SUBJECT</b>
3/23	Senate Republican Staff	Walter Zellman Rick Kronick Lois Quam	New System Development Governance
3/25	House Republicans Members  Hastert Goss Johnson Thomas Grandy Blily McMillin	ICM	GLOBAL BUDGETS
4/1	House Republicans Members  Hastert Goss Johnson Thomas Grandy Blily McMillin Roberts Gunderson	Lois Quam	RURAL HEALTH CARE
4/1	Senate Republican Staff  Sheila Burke Christy Ferguson Ed Mihulski	ICM	short-term controls

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

HRC Memos-HSA [3]

gfl 30

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**PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM**

DETERMINED TO BE AN  
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING  
INITIALS: MA DATE: 8/24/05

TO: Hillary Rodham Clinton  
FR: Chris Jennings  
RE: Senate Retreat  
cc: Melanne, Steve, Distribution

April 22, 1993

**It is not an overstatement to say that this Saturday's Senate retreat represents an extremely important opportunity to convince a generally skeptical group of Senators that passing health care reform this year is not only achievable, but desirable. The best way to accomplish this goal is to clearly illustrate that it is in the nation's economic interest to pass reform and, more importantly, it is politically attractive and necessary to do so.**

Consultations with the Senate Democratic Policy Committee (DPC), Members and their staff, as well as the political (Steve) and communications staff within the White House, have produced a virtual consensus that the best presentation you can make is more inspirational than it is substantive. Your address will probably be most effective if it addresses Members' gut concerns, rather than their generally limited policy interests.

In effect, you need to set the stage for the Senators to be willing and interested in giving fair and full consideration to Ira's and Judy's presentation that will immediately follow yours. Based on our recent discussions, we have concluded that it would appear to be advisable for you to consider touching on the following points in your presentation:

\* **Economic and Political Benefits of Passing Reform.**

**POSSIBLE DISCUSSION:** The status quo will bankrupt our people, our businesses, and the Government. Our constituents desperately want reform. Not acting on a need so great will blow an opportunity to deliver on their desire for us to help provide health care security. (This would be a great spot to discuss what you have seen and heard in your travels around the country).

\* **Pride in the Policy Development Process.**

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: (Mrs. Clinton: There have been so many criticisms of the process that we think you might want to take this opportunity to briefly -- and with light humor -- address this issue). A few specific suggestions:

-- Critics Charge We Have a Closed Process.

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: The truth and irony is that our process may well be the most open in the history of the Federal Government. How can anyone seriously argue that 500 people, made up of over 100 Congressional staff members, well over 50 physicians, numerous other health care professionals (including nurses, social workers, pharmacists, and many others), and representatives from virtually every Department within the Administration is a closed process? This OPEN, albeit unwieldy, process has yielded some of the best work that has ever been produced by the Federal Government. I am particularly proud and appreciative of the Congressional involvement of you and your staffs. In fact, at least 24 of the Members represented today graciously have lended their talented staff to this work effort.

-- Critics Charge Outside Interests Have Been Shut-Out.

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: If these criticisms were not taken so seriously, they would be humorours. The fact of the matter is that that we have held meetings with well over 500 different organizations in just the last 2 months.

-- Critics Charge We are Moving Too Fast.

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: If we are going to pass a bill this year, we must move quickly enough to get a bill up to the Congress in time for action. We will not sacrifice the quality of our work, but deadlines are forcing us to produce the information we need to make sound and timely policy recommendations to the President.

\* **The Numbers Must Be Accurate.**

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: The detailed process we have undertaken is producing some of the most solid health care numbers ever produced. This is essential because we all know that the numbers drive much of the debate and that their accuracy is essential to making informed decisions. We are determined to assure that any policy decisions you or we make are not undermined by last second re-estimates. Although we have made great progress in obtaining accurate numbers, we still are not yet where we want them to be. You can be assured, however, that we will share them with you as soon as they are.

(Mrs. Clinton: This budget discussion need not be a long, but it is important to stress so that you are not prepared to discuss numbers today, so that you, Ira and Judy are not overwhelmed with a numbers discussion).



\* **Members Must Be Comfortable With, and Have Contributed to, the Policy.**

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: Many of you have spent years discussing this issue. Some of you -- like me -- have only recently begun to focus on this issue. All of you have priorities and concerns that we are beginning to know and need to know more about. All of you can make contributions to our decisions that will make the President's proposal stronger. We want to build on the the discussions we have had and begin intensive consultations with you. We will be setting up the best way to achieve this through Senator Mitchell, but we are committed to hearing and learning from you.

\* **The Policy and the Message About the Policy Must Be Simple.**

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: As we are developing the policy, we are well aware -- thanks to many excellent suggestions made by many of you -- that we must strive to make both the new system and a way to explain it very simple. We must, for example, develop the best ways to discuss and illustrate what we are already paying for health care, so that everyone focuses on system-wide costs and savings, and not just Federal budget impacts.

As we are doing this, we and all Democrats must be able to highlight the proposal in 30-60 second sound-bites, and be able to explain and defend it to constituents in 5 minute presentations. We are spending a great deal of time and resources in studying how best to do this. With the benefit of your own experience and the work we are doing in this area, we are confident that we will achieve the goal of simplicity and comfort with the plan and its description.

\* **Health Care Reform is Important to Achieve This Year.**

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: We know this task will be difficult, and we know the Senate has a great deal of work to do in a relatively short period of time. We believe, though, that working in close consultation with the Leadership, Chairmen and all other Members, we can and we will get the job done.

\* **Health Care: A Promising Opportunity, Not a Political Burden.**

POSSIBLE DISCUSSION: Mrs. Clinton: This could be the conclusion of your remarks. You may want to discuss how many of these Members have been around for years, if not decades, and have become increasingly frustrated about how little progress has been made on this and many other important issues. If we pass health care reform, we may be able to break this cycle and finally begin to address the needs and desires of their constituents. (We want Senators to start to feel like they want to do health care reform -- not out of any obligation to the President, you, or anyone else -- but because they believe it is in their constituents and their own interest to do so).

## CONCLUSION

Following your presentation, Ira and Judy will provide a broad and brief description of the direction the President and you are headed, emphasizing how the plan would address the system's current problems/shortcomings. (A copy of the slides that they will use in their discussion is attached).

After Ira and Judy speak, the DPC is hoping there will be ample time remaining for you, Ira and Judy to field questions and suggestions from the Senators. (It would, therefore, appear to make sense that you stay up front with Ira and Judy as they are making their presentation).

Finally, also attached for your use, is a health care summary of each of the Democrats who are scheduled to be in attendance. Also enclosed is a list of ten Senators who we believe it would be particularly helpful you attempt to "buttonhole" if you get any opportunity to do so.

**List of Senate Attendees**

Senator and Mrs. Daniel Akaka (Millie)  
Senator and Mrs. Max Baucus (Wanda)  
Senator and Mrs. Jeff Bingaman (Anne) John (13)  
Senator Barbara Boxer and Stewart Boxer  
Senator Bill Bradley  
Senator and Mrs. John Breaux (Lois)  
Senator Dale Bumpers  
Senator and Mrs. Kent Conrad (Lucy)  
Senator and Mrs. Tom Daschle (Linda)  
Senator Dennis DeConcini  
Senator Christopher Dodd  
Senator and Mrs. Byron Dorgan (Kim) Brendan (5) and Haley (3)  
Senator Jim Exon  
Senator Russell Feingold  
Senator Wendell Ford  
Senator and Mrs. John Glenn (Annie)  
Senator Bob Graham  
Senator and Mrs. Tom Harkin (Ruth)  
Senator and Mrs. Howell Heflin (Elizabeth Ann)  
Senator and Mrs. Fritz Hollings (Peatsy)  
Senator and Mrs. Bennett Johnston (Mary)  
Senator Edward Kennedy  
Senator Robert Kerrey  
Senator John Kerry  
Senator Frank Lautenberg and Bonnie Englebart  
Senator and Mrs. Patrick Leahy (Marcelle)  
Senator and Mrs. Carl Levin (Barbara)  
Senator and Mrs. Joseph Lieberman (Hadassah) Hannah (5) and au pair  
Senator and Mrs. Harlan Mathews (Patsy)  
Senator and Mrs. Howard Metzenbaum (Shirley)  
Senator Barbara Mikulski  
Senator George Mitchell  
Senator Carol Moseley-Braun  
Senator Patrick Moynihan  
Senator Patty Murray and Rob Murray Randy (16) and Sarah (13)  
Senator Sam Nunn  
Senator Claiborne Pell  
Senator David Pryor  
Senator and Mrs. Harry Reid (Landra)  
Senator and Mrs. Don Riegle (Lori) Ashley (8) and Allison (1) and au pair  
Senator and Mrs. Charles Robb (Lynda)  
Senator Jay Rockefeller  
Senator and Mrs. Paul Sarbanes (Christine)  
Senator and Mrs. Paul Simon (Jeanne)  
Senator and Mrs. Paul Wellstone (Shella)  
Senator and Mrs. Harris Wofford (Clare)

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