

LEG. STRATEGY

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY

leg. strat

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

leg

Carolyn - bill inputs (Committee) *list*

Tues, Thurs - 8:30
Wed 6 PM
Wed noon (meeting)
MWF - ~~meeting~~

"Drafters - bill" *
jurisdiction
input to Committee
discussions

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

assessment of mem
submissions

CONFIDENTIAL

Internal Pol Det.
Sunday mtg

September 30, 1993

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING Per E.O. 12958 as amended, Sec. 3.3 (c)
Initials: RLR Date 03/20/14

MEMORANDUM TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, IRA MAGAZINER, DELIVERY
ROOM

Carolyn - Comm / Pres - Leggy
From: Mike Lux

Jeremy R
at 5 PM
Cooper
Brent
no cap

Re: Coalition Building Strategy Around Key Components Of Our Plan

#15
Medicare
testimony
Supplemental

In our Tuesday war room strategy discussion on where do we go from here, we talked about the need to build a strategy to coordinate each of the issue areas where there will be major battles both legislatively and in public opinion. I volunteered to take charge of this project, and Jeff Eller is graciously allowing me to take on all this work. In this memo, I will lay out how I think we should structure our strategy around the major issues.

There seems to be consensus both among White House staff and external allies that there are 5 major issue areas that will dominate the legislative and public opinion debate over this plan:

1. Employer mandate
2. Global budget/cost controls
3. Overall financing
4. Size and structure of health alliances
5. 'New' benefits: prescription drugs, long term care, mental health

Chris Hill
313 373 9337
Kildee

All of these 5 issue areas have the following in common:

- * from a policy perspective, they are major and central features of our plan
- * the political coalitions, both supportive and negative, are already clearly formed and beginning to work both Congress and public opinion
- * In all these areas, the way we have formulated our plan is vital to at least one (and usually more) of them are extremely important constituency. (In other words if the new benefits get stripped we lose the seniors, etc.)

It has been my contention that given the political and policy delicacy of not only these issues in and of themselves, but also their importance to the passage of the overall plan, that we need to be very pro-active about the on-going monitoring of these issues. We can't afford, for example, to cut a deal in any of these areas

② Heating Scheduling

without thinking through it's effect on the overall plan and coalition. At the same time, we can't afford to win decisively on one issue if it keeps us from winning the votes we need overall. There is also enormous political delicacy in that we need to get the political coalition working with us on key issues excited and organized to help us, knowing all the while that there will come a time when we probably will have to strike some kind of compromise on that issue.

I have thought about several ways of structuring this work. I originally thought of having on-going staff teams assigned to each of these issue areas, but I think that has two big problems: first, our limited staff is already stretched so thin; second, it's crucial that the give and play on these issues be closely coordinated. My idea therefore is to set up one coordinating policy/political team to be the monitor for where we are on each of these issues, but in addition to have one issue specialist designated as the point person for each issue. The coordinating team would consist of myself, Melanne, and one senior staffer each from congressional relations, communications, and policy. (John Hart would obviously be welcome as well depending on how much Governors and other state/local officials are interested in these issues: that's your call, John.) The 5 policy "point people" would be a resource for the coordinating team, as well as for Ira and Mrs. Clinton. I think we should meet a couple of times a week, and be on call if need be as legislative action gets more intense. Ira would join us whenever his schedule permits, or at especially crucial periods, but in general whatever overall senior policy person he designates to be part of the overall team would represent him.

If this plan makes sense to people, I will start holding these coordinating team' meetings next week. If people have other ideas on structure (or if someone thinks the entire proposal needs to be rethought), please let me know.

Additional thoughts

1. I have attached a very rough chart on where I think the political coalitions lie with each of these issues. If people have questions or suggestions about it, contact me.
2. On the myriad of other issues that are parts of this plan, I would suggest a somewhat more passive approach, at least in terms of our inside game if not rhetorically. I argue this because I don't see them as at the heart of the plan policy wise, and because I think we lose far more than we gain politically by making a big political stand on a side issue. My attitude is that we had to take a stand on all of these side issues as part of the package, but we shouldn't lose a lot of blood over any of them.

Groups Generally Supportive Of Our Position

Major Opponents

Employer mandates

AFL-CIO

National Fed. of Independent
Businesses
National Restaurant Association

National Education Association

Consumers/Single payers

Blue Cross/Blue Shield Association

American Medical Association

American Hospital Association

American Association of Retired Persons

National Leadership Coalition for Health
Reform

Big business allies

American Nurses Association

Other provider groups (absent
for-profit hospitals)

Children's advocates

Global Budget/Premium Cap

Single payer groups

Labor

Some big business allies

Seniors

Children's advocates

Providers
Insurers

Size and Structure of Health Alliances

Labor

Single payers

American Academy of Physicians

Children's advocates

Some providers
American Hospital Association
Chamber of Commerce

Long Term Care/Prescription Drugs/Mental Health Benefits

Seniors
Consumers/Single payers
Labor
Women's advocates
Children's advocates

Deficit hawks
Much of business community
National Assn. of Manufacturers

Financing

Some business
Labor
Some consumer groups

Insurance
Providers
Some senior groups
Tobacco companies

Perception on our
position - we're extreme
we want
expects on both sides

Academic
reputations
on line.

(exclusive present'n)

(Centrifuges plan - not made principles)

crashing, getting stuck

LEGISLATIVE STRATEGY OUTLINE

1. Internal Organization

A. Principal Legislative Affairs Team

Jennings, Lew, Klepner, Pollitz and Verveer will be meeting on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 8:30 am.

B. Departmental Coordination

I am convening weekly meetings with representatives from the following departments: HHS, Treasury, OMB, OPM, Commerce, Labor, Veterans Affairs, and SBA (tentatively on Wednesdays).

2. Hearings and Testimony

We need to adopt a coordinated strategy for responding to Congressional requests. It is important to synchronize what we hope to achieve in our testimony with our overall communication strategy and substantive objectives. Committees are competing for administration officials and we must be sure that we are not sending conflicting messages.

A. Timing

We need to meet with Leadership and Committee Chairs to develop a realistic internal timeframe. We should try to determine what action we would like to have completed this year.

B. Mechanism for Review and Approval

C. Objectives

3. Jurisdictional Issues

There are a number of outstanding jurisdictional issues which need to be resolved. We need to deal with the questions of one/multiple bills or sequential referral. In addition, we must complete internal substantive work so that drafters can finish language for the bill.

4. Congressional Targeting List

We have produced a list of Members targeted for special attention. This list should animate much of our group and communications strategy for the next three months.

*Labat & Hank
schedule
with these
content!
Covindge
Morgan
before bill
sent up
forgets*

5. Coordination of Groups

Congressional Leadership has discussed a process for integrating interest groups into the Congressional strategy, utilizing DNC political resources, the Rockefeller Group, and others.

6. Information Clearinghouse

Members have a huge appetite for information on the plan, with some requiring technical information, others requesting message oriented material and another group requesting answers to constituents' questions about the plan for case work. A process must be developed and resources dedicated to this purpose.

7. Resources

A. Congressional Profiles (HHS)

We have produced a Congressional databank at HHS and within the White House to profile Members and describe their involvement and concerns on health care.

B. Interdepartmental Databank

When Cabinet officials and members of the White House staff meet with Members of Congress, we must have a process for tracking what transpired at the meeting and follow-up.

8. Speaker Surrogates for Members

9. Congressional District Analysis - (Number of Uninsured, Small Business Profile, Hospital and Medical Industry Data)

We need to be able to show Members the benefits and the impact of reform on their districts.

10. Use of White House Events/Social Events/Spouses

11. President and First Lady Travel/Cabinet Travel

12. Validation Events

13. Counter to Negative Republican Attacks

14. Dealing with Caucuses

15. Need to Lobby

We need to extend and project our profile on the Hill to avoid the President, First Lady, and other principals having to carry the burden of lobbying for the package.

September 28, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE RICCHETTI, CHRIS JENNINGS AND MELANNE VERVEER

FROM: Mike Lux, Marilyn Yager

SUBJECT: Congressional Testifiers

The following groups, CEOs, and business owners would be the best testifiers to Congressional Committees from our perspective:

1. Consumer/Senior Groups

AARP
Families USA
Consumer Federation of America

2. Providers

American Nurses Association
American College of Physicians
American Academy of Family Physicians
American Academy of Pediatrics
Catholic Health Association

3. Big Business

Bethlehem Steel, Curtis Barnette (Bethlehem, PA)
The LTV Corporation, David Hoag (Cleveland, OH)
USX Corporation, C.A. Corry (Pittsburgh, PA)
Chrysler Corporation, Robert Eaton (Highland Park, MI)
Ford Motor Company, Harold Poling (Dearborn, MI)
General Motors Corporation, John Smith (Detroit, MI)
The Drummond Company, Garry Drummond (Birmingham, AL)
Circuit City, Alan Wurtzel (Washington D.C.)
CVS/Peoples Drug Stores, Harvey Rosenthal (Woonsocket, RI)

Eckerd Drug Stores, Stewart Turley (Largo, FL)
Frieda's, Inc., Karen Caplan (Los Angeles, CA)
Gook-SuperX Drug Stores, Philip Beekman (Indianapolis, Indiana)
May's Drug Stores, Gerald Heller (Tulsa, OK)
Rite Aid, Alex Grass (Camp Hill, PA)
Hechinger, John W. Hechinger, Sr. (Landover, MD)
Archer Daniels Midland Company, Dwayne Andreas (Decatur, IL)
The Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Company, J. Bruce Llewellyn (New York, NY)
Sara Lee Corporation, John H. Bryan (Chicago, IL)
XEROX, Paul Allaire (Stanford, CT)
Charles River Associates, Alan Willens (Boston, MA)
Penman Asset Management, Laurence Manson, Jr. (Chicago, IL)
Earl Graves Publishing Co., Earl Graves (New York, NY)
Electronic Data Systems, Alice Lusk (Dallas, TX)
Enron Corp., Kenneth Lay (Houston, TX)
Invacare, Mal Mixon (Elyria, OH)

4. Small Business

Smith Cogeneration, Donald Smith (Oklahoma City, OK) high tech
Autumn Harp, Kevin Harper (Bristol, VT) Vt 1992 Small Business of the Year
Bowman Co. Inc, Ernesta Procope insurance brokerage
Consultech Communications, Robert Vogel (Troy, NY)
Dasco Energy Corp, Ben Alexander (Hobbs, NM) oilfield servicing industry
John Ferguson (Sonora, KY) owner-truck operator
Hubbard & Revo-Cohen, Lynne Revo-Cohen (Reston, VA) human resources consulting firm
Julander Energy Company, Fred Julander (Denver, CO)
Keystone Outdoor Advertising Company, Dominick Cipollini (Cheltenham, PA)
The Mills Group, Helen Mills (Fairfax, VA) employee benefits consulting and brokerage firm
Pied Piper Flower Shop, Kathleen Piper (Yankton, SD)
SKYNET World Courier, Inc., Albert Hernandez (Miami, FL)
The Vermont Teddy Bear, John Sortino (Shelburne, VT) NFIB small business of the year
White Dog Cafe, Judy Wicks (Philadelphia, PA)