correspondence F
media
hc

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1994

James S. Todd, M.D.
Executive Vice President
American Medical Association
515 North State Street
Chicago, Illinois 60610

Dear Mr. Todd:

I appreciate you sending me the copy of the AMA's tv spot on health care reform. It is well done, although I am a bit unclear as to its message with respect to the pending debate in Congress.

I hope things go well for you.

Sincerely,

Harold Ickes

Harold Ickes
Assistant to the President
and Deputy Chief of Staff

Media F
hc

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 14, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
THE FIRST LADY

FROM: HAROLD ICKES

SUBJECT: Reform Project's proposed Pizza Hut TV spot

Attached is a copy of the Reform Project's proposed TV spot focusing on Pizza Hut.

**HCRP**
**TV :30**
**"Deliver"**

At Pizza Hut...something new to order up.

You see, Pizza Hut pays health insurance for their workers -- in Japan and Germany.

But for many workers in America --- Pizza Hut pays no health insurance. Zero.

Pizza Hut makes $370 million in profits while stiffing American workers. Now they're lobbying Congress to defeat health insurance at work.

Place your order with Congress. Tell 'em to serve American workers... not huge companies that favor workers overseas.

Because, if Pizza Hut wins, American workers lose.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 10, 1994

THE HEARTLAND

# A Moderate Democrat From Omaha Caught in the Middle on Health Care

By DIRK JOHNSON

Special to The New York Times

OMAHA, July 9 — It scarcely had the feel of radical politics: church bells pealed in the distance and a soft breeze fluttered an American flag as some 40 Nebraskans, most of them elderly, sat in lawn chairs on a sultry evening, sipping lemonade and talking with Representative Peter Hoagland about health care.

But on the sidewalk, a grimacing man in a baseball cap and T-shirt paced back and forth with a cardboard sign that declared, "Give me liberty, not socialism!"

Long before Mr. Hoagland returned to his district for the Fourth of July recess, voters here had been deluged with television and radio advertisements that cast Democratic efforts to revamp health care as a dangerous, even sinister threat to free enterprise.

And wherever the three-term Democratic Congressman appears these days — Omaha Optimists Club, B'nai B'rith, trade union halls — he hears the plaintive questions of frightened constituents, often framed in the precise warnings of the advertisements sponsored by conservative groups.

"Will I still be able to go to my own doctor?" a retired woman asked.

"Are my taxes going to skyrocket?" a union electrician asked.

"Am I going to lose my job?" an insurance agent asked.

### A Vulnerable Democrat

The advertising blitz in this district might be unmatched anywhere, largely because Mr. Hoagland, a Democrat who represents a relatively conservative district, is seen as vulnerable on the issue.

Until his election six years ago, the Omaha district was represented by Republicans for 40 of 46 years. And in the 1992 Presidential election, George Bush outpolled Bill Clinton by 15 points. All three of Mr. Hoagland's victories have been squeakers, and he now faces a strong challenge from a candidate with support among fundamentalist Christians, a conservative who favors the teaching of creationism in public schools, opposes abortion even in cases of rape and incest and has been a fierce critic of Government involvement in health care.

"We have blanketed the Omaha market," said Brent Bahler, the spokesman for a group called Citizens for a Sound Economy, a conservative group based in Washington that has spent more than $1 million on health care advertisements. "We go duck hunting where the ducks are. And if you look at the Omaha district, you'll find that it's conservative Middle America. And after our ads ran, the phones in Congressman Hoagland's office were ringing off the hook."

One advertisement says the consequences of all the Democratic health care plans would be ruinous: "tax increases, job losses, less money in your pocket to spend the way you want to spend it."

### Deep Skepticism Abounds

Groups that support changes in health care, like the A.F.L.-C.I.O., have also run advertisements here, but they have been dwarfed by those opposing the kind of changes sought by President Clinton, especially his goal of coverage for all Americans.

Whether the advertisements are shaping public opinion, or simply reflecting it, there appears to be deep skepticism here about almost any change in health care coverage. Coupled with what appears to be a general antipathy toward President Clinton and Congress, the mood of Omaha voters illustrates the predicament facing moderate Democrats like Mr. Hoagland on the health care issue.

"A lot of people are simply uneasy about anything Congress might do," Mr. Hoagland said as he climbed into the backseat of a mini-van and headed toward another stop. "If the House can come up with a bill that I can defend here — well, that would be great."

But he made it clear that no plan has yet met the test. He has called for the creation of consumer pools that could negotiate affordable rates on medical plans.

Mr. Hoagland has voted in favor of requiring employers to pay for health care for workers, as long as small businesses and those with high worker turnover receive tax credits. But last week he voted against a plan that would enroll Americans without health care in the Medicare system, a measure that barely cleared the Ways and Means committee.

And in response to voters' questions about universal coverage, he said flatly: "It's just not going to happen. Politically, it's just not possible."

To be sure, not all voters here oppose efforts to expand health coverage. Rita Carroll, a young woman who looked the picture of health and prosperity, told the Congressman: "I have multiple sclerosis. There is new medication out now, but it costs $1,100 a month. If I was on welfare, it would be paid for. But I can't pay for it. No way — none."

More than 90 percent of the people in Omaha, however, have health insurance, Mr. Hoagland said. And to them, fear of crime and dissatisfaction with the welfare system appear to have a much higher priority. This is also the home of the insurance giant the Mutual of Omaha, which favors requiring employers to pay for health benefits, but has been critical of other elements of many proposals.

Even in talks with trade union members, whose national leaders have called for extending coverage to all Americans, Mr. Hoagland was warned against making any rash moves.

"Now, I haven't read all 800 pages of the plan, mind you," said Jim Picconi, a 55-year-old union electrician. "But our coverage right now is pretty good. And I don't want that to change."

Mr. Hoagland, whose style blends the manner of the self-effacing Midwesterner and the polished Yale law school graduate, emphasizes repeatedly that he is no left-wing liberal, and that market-oriented solutions are the key to improving health care coverage.

He appears eager to distance himself from President Clinton, at least on health care, while his opponent, Jon Christensen, portrays him as a liberal out of step with his district. In a poll published in mid-June by The Omaha World Herald, Mr. Christensen, a 31-year-old insurance salesman, was leading by 11 points.

The Democrat has been the target of negative advertisements before, especially during the budget debate last year, and worries that they could doom his political career.

"One man's reputation can stand just so many of these negative ads," Mr. Hoagland told an audience at B'nai B'rith.

But few of the Omaha voters aimed any barbs at Mr. Hoagland as sharp as those in the advertisements.

One woman, Mary Johnson, even said that if nothing was accomplished on health care, the voters were as much to blame as the politicians.

"I hear these sad stories about people without coverage and I feel terrible," Ms. Johnson, a first-grade teacher, said after a neighborhood gathering with Mr. Hoagland on M Street. "But then I start to think about the money coming from my own pocketbook, and I get a little greedy. "I guess I'm like everyone else. I want utopia. I want everybody to be covered for everything. And I don't want any of us to have to pay for any of it."

## Getting Even With Harry and Louise, Or, Republicans Get a Taste of Their Medicine

The Democratic National Committee has taken revenge on Harry and Louise, the yuppies who star in television commercials for the nation's health insurance industry. It has maimed them and left them penniless.

For months, Harry and Louise have been raising doubts about President Clinton's health plan, suggesting that it would ration health care and establish a huge regulatory apparatus. Last week the Clinton Administration struck back, with help from the Democratic National Committee. The committee is running a new commercial, "Harry Takes a Fall," which spoofs the ads run by the Health Insurance Association of America.

In the spoof Harry and Louise are in bed. Harry is in a full body cast; his head is bandaged. Louise's arm is in a sling. She chides Harry for having been skeptical about proposals for universal health insurance coverage. Harry, it seems, has lost his job, his health insurance and most of his financial assets.

The spoof was conceived by Harry Thomason, a Hollywood producer and Clinton friend. While it may be clever, it also suggests how effective the insurance industry has been in shaping the health-care debate. "Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery," said Charles N. Kahn 3d, executive vice president of the Health Insurance Association. *ROBERT PEAR*

# House Panel Is Rebuffed By Prosecutor

## Whitewater Counsel Declines to Testify

By DAVID JOHNSTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 9 — Robert B. Fiske Jr., the Whitewater independent prosecutor, has rebuffed a Congressional committee that asked him to testify later this month about some of the issues he is investigating.

In a letter dated July 7, Mr. Fiske declined an invitation to testify before the House Banking Committee. The committee's chairman, Henry B. Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas, released his correspondence with the prosecutor.

In his letter, Mr. Fiske wrote, "I believe it would inappropriate and would compromise my ability to function effectively as an independent counsel if I were to appear before Congress to answer questions about my investigation while a major part of it is still going on."

In a separate letter to Mr. Gonzalez, Mr. Fiske discouraged Congressional testimony by some Clinton Administration officials on the grounds that their appearance could compromise his criminal inquiry. Among the officials that Mr. Fiske said could be involved in his inquiry were two former senior officials at the Justice Department, Philip B. Heymann, the former Deputy Attorney General, and Webster L. Hubbell, the former Associate Attorney General.

Mr. Fiske did not explain why he wanted to talk to Mr. Heymann or Mr. Hubbell, but law-enforcement officials have said for months that Mr. Fiske was likely to ask top Justice Department officials how they had dealt with requests from Treasury officials in both 1992 and 1993 to investigate Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, the failed financial institution owned by a former business partner of President Clinton and his wife, Hillary.

The first Treasury request was rejected in the spring of 1993; the second led to the criminal investigation by the Justice Department that Mr. Fiske took over when he was appointed special prosecutor in January by Attorney General Janet Reno.

Mr. Fiske offered to allow his staff to meet privately with Mr. Gonzalez and other lawmakers to discuss the completed phase of the inquiry, but Mr. Gonzalez declined, saying much of the information should be discussed publicly.

In a letter replying to Mr. Fiske on Friday, Mr. Gonzalez said he was deeply disappointed by the prosecutor's unwillingness to appear. "I see no reasons why you should not be required to discuss your findings," Mr. Gonzalez wrote. The banking chairman also repeated his intention to limit questions of Mr. Fiske to areas that had already been investigated by the special prosecutor, like the circumstances surrounding the death of Vincent W. Foster Jr., the deputy White House counsel who committed suicide in July 1993.

Mr. Gonzalez gave no indication that he would try to force Mr. Fiske or any other witness to appear. And Mr. Gonzalez's past resistance to holding any hearings on Whitewater left some Republicans voicing suspicions this week that he was using Mr. Fiske's reluctance to limit the scope of the banking committee's inquiry.

After months of partisan bickering, Republicans in both the House and Senate finally succeeded in forcing Democrats to hold hearings later this month. But the scope of inquiry will be limited, avoiding issues related to Mr. Clinton's Arkansas real estate dealings.

The hearings at which Mr. Fiske declined to appear are scheduled to begin on July 26. Last week Mr. Fiske made public a report on the initial phase of his investigation, which endorsed a United States Park Police finding that Mr. Foster's death had been a suicide.

The report also concluded that no one broke the law during a series of contacts earlier this year between White House officials and Treasury Department aides concerning an inquiry into Madison Guaranty.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JULY 10, 1994

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# Still Seeking an Alternative, GOP Launches Ads Against Clinton Health Plan

By Dana Priest and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Republican National Committee yesterday launched a $500,000 advertising campaign criticizing President Clinton's health care plan and calling for scaled back insurance reforms that GOP officials said could win bipartisan support in Congress now.

But party leaders acknowledged that despite months of negotiations they have failed to agree on a legislative package that commands the support of a large majority of their own members.

Meant to underscore their opposition to what they described as a "government-run" health system, the ads stress what the Republicans said is the need for limited reforms without substantially enlarging the role of the federal government.

"We believe there can be a bipartisan plan that solves the problems facing our health care system without hurting the quality of care, reducing choice or costing jobs," said RNC Chairman Haley Barbour, flanked by some of the same Republican congressional leaders who tried in vain this week to draw up a set of specifics.

After a year of letting the Democrats dominate the health care debate, Republicans are now trying to compete on the issue. Coalitions of moderates are working separately, and at times with Democrats, in both the Senate and House to respond to the bills under consideration in five congressional committees.

Conservatives are launching their own high-profile campaigns, the latest being a $30,000 ad by the "Empower America" group claiming President Clinton wants "to socialize our health care." It is set to a heartbeat and the beeps of an EKG machine and some will air on the Rush Limbaugh talk show.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) intensified his efforts this week to develop the elements of an acceptable plan, meeting with Republicans on the two Senate committees with jurisdiction over the issue and separately with moderate and conservative factions.

"We're not there yet," Dole said in an interview. "I'm not suggesting we're about ready to make a breakthrough."

Dole's chief of staff, Sheila P. Burke, engaged in intraparty shuttle diplomacy befitting a Mideast envoy, said she hopes to "shop around" a Republican alternative next week.

"Most people are prepared to support real subsidies" to help low-income people purchase insurance, she said. "But they aren't prepared to pay $5,000 or something" for an insurance policy for everyone.

"The endgame is to see what appeals to the largest group of people," said Burke.

Dole, a cosponsor of a plan by Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) to achieve universal coverage by requiring individuals to buy insurance coverage for themselves, said he does not believe the requirement "will fly" with voters and he no longer supports it.

"I can already see the 30-second television spots" which would say, "Well, the Republicans didn't want your boss to pay for it, they want you to pay for it," Dole said.

The RNC ads, which began airing yesterday, will feature a dozen Republicans from the House and Senate who have cosponsored competing health care bills and will run on Cable News Network and in unspecified congressional districts, Barbour said.

Party leaders objected to questions suggesting the ads attempted to mask their own internal divisions or that they were an effort to overcome the perception they were being overly partisan in their opposition to Clinton.

"There is this curious bias up here that as long as the Democrats stand and pretend to be something, even if they don't have any agreement, they're given the benefit of the doubt," said House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.). "If you look in fairness, there is at least as much Republican unity as there is Democratic unity. In fact I would argue more."

William Kristol, a Republican theorist who for months has urged the party to seek a limited package of reforms, said yesterday the RNC ads represent an important step in the Republicans' political strategy to defeat Clinton on the issue.

"I've always thought that moving public opinion was necessary to a winning legislative strategy," Kristol said, "and public opinion has already moved an awful lot in a good direction for us. That's why doing the TV ads makes sense at this stage."

Washington Post Saturday

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WASHINGTON POST SATURDAY, MAY 21

# Analysts See U.S. Growth Slowing, Easing Economic Strains

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Staff Writer

After months of rapid growth that have pushed the U.S. economy close to the limits of what it can produce without straining, a broad array of forecasters is predicting that slower growth is on the way.

But that doesn't mean hard times are ahead. Indeed, to most economists, a slight slowdown would be welcome news.

"Despite a pattern of decelerating growth, the next couple of years may very well be the best of the expansion," said Laurence H. Meyer, who heads a forecasting firm in St. Louis.

Meyer's own forecast, which is similar to that of many other economists, shows growth dipping below a 3 percent pace in the second half of this year, to about 2.5 percent in 1995 and even less than that in 1996.

Growth will be slowing this year both because of natural forces in an economy moving into the fourth year of an expansion that began with the end of the 1990-91 recession, and because of the four increases in interest rates engineered this year by the Federal Reserve.

The Fed, which raised short-term rates by half a percentage point last week, has been boosting rates precisely to slow growth, which reached a 7 percent annual rate in the final three months of last year. The Fed hopes that higher rates will keep the economy from overheating and generating more inflation down the road.

This slightly slower growth is probably good news for the Clinton administration. The president can look forward to a reasonably strong economy when voters head to the polls next November, and the economy may still be growing by 1996, when President Clinton himself may be facing reelection.

For politicians running this fall, economic conditions will be about as good as they are likely to get on the national level. For instance, Meyer expects Americans' inflation-adjusted after-tax incomes to go up 2.6 percent this year, which—except for 1992—is the largest increase since 1988.

While the growth figures in the new forecasts may seem low, Meyer and others said growth in that range will continue pushing down the U.S. unemployment rate, which was 6.4 percent last month, into 1996.

More importantly, while the economy will be growing relatively slowly, it will be operating at a high level, at or even slightly above the level that could cause a small gradual rise in inflation—which is regarded by most economists as the measure of full employment.

Of course, economic conditions vary widely across the country, with California and some parts of the Northeast still depressed and other areas, such as the Mountain states, experiencing booming growth. However, there are recent signs of a modest upturn even in California and economists expect the strong national conditions increasingly to pull along the weaker areas.

If these rosy forecasts prove accurate—and they basically are similar to those of the administration and a number of Fed officials—the predicted lower growth rates would allow Clinton to run for reelection in 1996 with a strong economic record. By then, the economy would have been close to full employment for three years, corporate profits and real after-tax incomes would have risen strongly over that period—and all that would have been accompanied by only moderate inflation.

Of course, forecasts are no more than that. Some sort of shock could hit the economy at any time, but the forces currently at work in the economy appear likely to produce slower growth rather than another recession any time soon, Meyer and the forecasters said.

Growth is going to slow because the nation is exhausting one source of growth, cranking up idle factories and other productive facilities and hiring unemployed people to operate them. In a few parts of the economy, such as the steel industry, firms have so much business they are turning down orders. And there are scattered

See ECONOMY, D7, Col. 1

ECONOMY, From D1

reports of shortages of skilled workers in several parts of the country.

Overall, the pool of unemployed workers and idle production facilities is still large enough to provide the resources needed to fuel part of the nation's economic growth at least for the rest of this year, the forecasters said.

But with that pool of unused labor and capital so diminished, the second source of national economic growth—the normal increase in the size and productivity of the U.S. work force—must provide the additional resources needed. While there is disagreement over exactly how much potential growth the combination of an expanding work force and rising productivity offers, the estimates range from 2.4 percent to 3 percent a year, with most analysts clustered at the low end.

The size of the work force is increasing by about 1.2 percent a year. The trend in gains in workers' productivity—the amount of goods and services they produce each hour they work—seems to be 1.3 percent annually. However, some analysts believe businesses' efforts to operate more efficiently and investments in new facilities and equipment may have raised the productivity growth trend enough that potential national economic growth now may be as much as 3 percent rather than around 2.5 percent a year.

"In our view, the noninflationary growth potential of the U.S. economy is around 3 percent a year or even a bit higher," said Bruce Steinberg, macroeconomics manager at Merrill Lynch & Co. in New York.

On the other hand, economist Robert Gordon of Northwestern University, who has studied the issue for years, said he has found no convincing evidence that trend productivity growth is any higher than 1 percent a year, so that potential growth is only about 2.25 percent.

Such uncertainty is one reason that Fed officials began raising short-term interest rates earlier this year even though there was little sign that inflation was getting worse. The officials feared that the economy was running out of room to grow any faster than the rise in potential provided by the work force and productivity gains.

"It is of crucial importance that the necessary monetary policy adjustments be implemented in advance of the potential emergence of inflationary pressures, so as to forestall their actual occurrence," Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan wrote recently to 55 members of Congress who had complained about the rate increases.

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M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Lisa Caputo
Greg Lawler
Laura Quinn
Lorrie McHugh

FROM: Harold Ickes

DATE: 28 March 1994

RE: Hachette Magazines

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I understand from Mario Cooper (212-767-6701) that David Pecke, CEO of Hachette Magazines (which publishes several well known womens' magazines) is interested in helping to promote health care reform. Cooper works for Hachette. One of you should contact Cooper to find out what is involved.

Claypool 4/28/84 - Thurs - re Focus groups

Topeka
Fresno

- reference to President's ~~plan~~ plan was not good
  - No ~~ref~~ showing ~~to~~ of photos of Pres

Nachos spots
- "seniors"

Focus groups in fairly conservative areas

- second spot ~~?~~ unanimous
  - shots of the President + reference to plan

(*) Third spot - choice - didn't ~~sound~~ · work at all
  - problem w/ the choice
  - → CBO numbers don't work
- Mood is violated
- Wouldn't use the President in photos & don't refer to the President's plan

(1)

Stan Greenberg 3/1/94:

- Griffin
- Ickes
- Quinn
-

- individual production
- small employers come out
- regional alliances –
- 50/50
- phase in –

- Small business
- phase in
- employer/employee split
- mandatory alliances – implications re choice –
- corporate alliances
- benefit packages
- elimination of premium caps
- medicare cuts –
- payroll tax

- pay more for less –

- 25 ees or under = 70-80% of business in US

~~cap on~~

come out – eg ~~100 or~~ 10 ees or under but impose a payroll tax –

Ira –

- 50/50 doesn't cost any $ because of 3.9% cap on and has lower gross income.

Phase in –

- 100+ – 1996
  100 less
- 100 or less – start w/a lower ratio
  eg 40 er/60 ee w/subsidies but increase in ratio over several years up to more (eg 80/20 or 70/30)

phase in has 2 parts

① are all ~~[illegible]~~ people covered ~~to~~ at same time or are certain people not covered until later ~~in the~~ years

② phase in of the rates small business pay - eg beginning at lower rates for small business in early years & increasing the rates in later years

benefit package -

- 2 issues -

• co pays & deductibles

or • the scope & breadth of benefits

eg - abortion

mental health

• we need to have a defined ~~[illegible]~~ benefit package -

or do we put it off & let ~~[illegible]~~ a national board define the benefit package -

where cost sharing -

• 20% copay or fee for service

- annual limit $1,500 individual / 3,000 family -

to go - to 2,500 individual / 4,500 family

as way to permit paying mental health

4/7/94 - meeting

HRC
M. Williams
L. Caputo

. S. Greenberg
. HI
. pat williams -

Marty

- Message
- Targets -

- affluent Congress
~~or~~ - affluent public
= Seattle
- base - , women [working women]
. seniors
.

- Seniors - big big problem -
were BC's biggest ~~supporters~~
Now ~~down~~ down on BC

Pamela targets - seniors
women

CNN - nationally $100,000/ week

(48)

2/25/94

# HEALTH CARE
# MESSAGE STATEMENT

This is what we are proposing to do:

**First,** we want to guarantee private insurance coverage to every American. Comprehensive coverage that can never be taken away. *[contrast: It isn't real reform unless everyone's covered]*

**Second,** we want to take power out of the hands of the insurance companies and give it to the people. We want everyone to have the right to choose their own plan and their own doctor.

**Third,** we believe that health care reform must be good for older Americans. Medicare will stay as it is now. Older Americans should continue to rely on Medicare and be able to choose their own doctor. But prescription drugs should also be covered and we must finally begin to cover long term care.

**Fourth,** we think the best way to make sure that everyone has coverage and to pay for it, is to require coverage in every workplace. That's how 90% of Americans who have insurance get it today, and that's the best way to extend coverage to the 80% of uninsured Americans who work full or part time. Discounts should be available for small businesses, and government should cover older Americans through Medicare, as well as the unemployed.

**Fifth,** we must have a system of coverage that everyone can depend on. It would be illegal for insurance companies to jack up your prices or drop your coverage.

Everyone will be covered. Everyone. Everyday. Always.

**HEALTH ADS**
**EVERY DAY**
**:30**

*SPOT BEGINS OF WARM FOOTAGE OF DOCTORS AND NURSES WITH THEIR PATIENTS*

ANNCR EVERY DAY, ALL ACROSS AMERICA, DOCTORS AND NURSES ARE WORKING TO MAKE SICK PEOPLE WELL.

*CUT TO FOOTAGE OF FORMS BEING FILLED OUT IN INSURANCE INDUSTRY TYPE OFFICES*

BUT EVERY DAY, INSURANCE COMPANIES ARE WORKING TO FIND THOSE SAME SICK PEOPLE AND DROP THEIR COVERAGE, JACK UP THEIR RATES OR DENY THEIR CLAIMS.

*CUT TO FOOTAGE OF THE PRESIDENT WITH PEOPLE..GRAPHIC BULLETS*

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH CARE PLAN WOULD MAKE THOSE INSURANCE PRACTICES ILLEGAL...EVERYBODY WOULD BE COVERED WITH GUARANTEED PRIVATE INSURANCE. EVERYBODY. EVERY DAY. ALWAYS.

THE INSURANCE COMPANIES DON'T LIKE THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN...BUT HE DIDN'T DESIGN IT FOR THEM. HE DESIGNED IT FOR YOU.

**HEALTH ADS**
**SENIORS**
**:30**

*STILL PHOTOS OF OLDER AMERICANS. (ANNOUNCER IS OLDER FEMALE)*

ANNCR WHAT WILL PRESIDENT CLINTON'S HEALTH CARE REFORM MEAN FOR OLDER AMERICANS?

* EVERYONE WILL BE COVERED
* MEDICARE WILL BE PROTECTED
* PRESCRIPTION DRUGS WILL BE COVERED
* LONG -TERM CARE WILL BE STARTED, AND
* THE PRACTICE OF CHARGING OLDER PEOPLE MORE THAN YOUNGER PEOPLE WILL BE STOPPED.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S APPROACH MAKES THESE GUARANTEES TO OLDER AMERICANS. OTHER PEOPLE ARE TRYING TO STOP HIM.

SO CALL YOUR MEMBER OF CONGRESS. TELL THEM YOU'RE AN OLDER AMERICAN WHO IS STANDING WITH THE PRESIDENT. BECAUSE HE'S STANDING UP FOR YOU.

media HC

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: H.I.

FROM: J.E.

DATE: 28 February 1994

RE: Health Care Reform Project scripts

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Attached are 2 scripts, one from Mandy, one revised from Chlopak.

Mandy called to say that you should look at the sentence where they change the phrase "guaranteed private insurance" (which is the President's new way of referring to things) with "affordable private insurance". This is the most significant change.

Other less significant changes include broadening some of the text such as adding "other health care professionals" to the phrase "doctors and nurses"

She views most of the changes as a "watering down" and not all that significant. But emphasizes the first change as noted above as one to be looked at.

She also told me that no agreement had yet been made on the employer mandate script. Apparently they are still trying to reach agreement on this.

Mandy is travelling, will be home later tonight.

Deadline tonight —

CHLOPAK, LEONARD 2nd REVISION

Health Care Reform Project
"Every Day"
TV:30

*Spot begins with warm footage of doctors and nurses with their patients*

Announcer:

Every day, all across America, doctors, nurses and other health professionals are working to make sick people well.

*Cut to footage of forms being filled out in insurance industry type offices.*

But every day, some insurance companies find those same sick people, drop their coverage, jack up their rates or reduce their benefits.

*Cut to footage of The President at State of the Union. More shots of people. Graphic bullets.*

The President's approach to health care makes those insurance practices illegal... everybody would be covered with affordable private insurance. Everybody. Everyday. Always.

Some insurance companies don't like real health care reform.... but it wasn't designed for them. It was designed for you.

*Super Slate:* Support Real Health Reform guaranteed
*No audio* Call Congressman Boucher
Phone 628-1145

GRUNWALD SCRIPT

**HEALTH CARE REFORM PROJECT**
**EVERY DAY**
**:30**

2/26

*SPOT BEGINS OF WARM FOOTAGE OF DOCTORS AND NURSES WITH THEIR PATIENTS*

ANNCR EVERY DAY, ALL ACROSS AMERICA, DOCTORS AND NURSES ARE WORKING TO MAKE SICK PEOPLE WELL.

*CUT TO FOOTAGE OF FORMS BEING FILLED OUT IN INSURANCE INDUSTRY TYPE OFFICES*

BUT EVERY DAY, INSURANCE COMPANIES ARE WORKING TO FIND THOSE SAME SICK PEOPLE AND DROP THEIR COVERAGE, JACK UP THEIR RATES OR DENY THEIR CLAIMS.

*CUT TO FOOTAGE OF THE PRESIDENT WITH PEOPLE..GRAPHIC BULLETS*

WITH THE PRESIDENT'S APPROACH TO HEALTH CARE THOSE INSURANCE PRACTICES WOULD BE ILLEGAL...EVERYBODY WOULD BE COVERED WITH GUARANTEED PRIVATE INSURANCE. EVERYBODY. EVERY DAY. ALWAYS.

THE INSURANCE COMPANIES DON'T LIKE REAL HEALTH CARE REFORM...BUT IT ISN'T DESIGNED FOR THEM. IT'S DESIGNED FOR YOU.

*GRAPHIC SUPER WITH PHONE NUMBER FOR CONGRESS*

# Grunwald, Eskew & Donilon

**FAX TRANSMISSION**

TO: Harold Ickes / Janice

FROM: Kate McDonald

DATE: Feb 28

PAGES TO FOLLOW: two

COMMENTS: Charlie Leonard can be reached at his office until 6:45pm 202/296-2777. He is producing these tonight at Capitol Video 202/965 7800 and can be reached there after 7pm.

**CONFIDENTIAL**



Client ____

1250 24th Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20037 Phone: 202-973-9400 Fax: 202-973-9408

Media
HC

| Post-it™ Fax Note 7671 | Date | # of pages ▶ |
|---|---|---|
| To Harold Ickes | From Bob Chlopak | |
| Co./Dept. | Co. | |
| Phone # | Phone # | |
| Fax # 456-6485 | Fax # | |

HEALTH CARE REFORM PROJECT

THE VOICE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOW.

For Immediate Release:
March 3, 1994

Contact: Mark Johnson
202-296-2777

## HEALTH CARE REFORM PROJECT LAUNCHES NEW TV ADS

WASHINGTON -- With the first round of House and Senate committee votes on health care legislation fast approaching, the Health Care Reform Project announced today that it would begin running two new television ads in Washington and in select states and congressional districts around the country.

One ad, "American Tradition," focuses on how "the President's approach guarantees affordable private insurance to everyone at work, whether you change jobs, get sick or work part time." The ad says "employees get to choose the plan they want. Employers contribute to the cost of care. Small businesses would be helped with discounts." It says 90 percent of Americans with private insurance get their coverage "through their employers" but that 80 percent of the uninsured "also work but without coverage." It ends by saying "health care coverage at work" is "an American tradition to build on."

The second ad, "For You," focuses on how "some insurance companies find" sick people and "reduce their benefits, jack up rates or even drop their coverage." It describes how "the President's approach makes those insurance practices illegal...everybody would be covered with guaranteed, affordable insurance. Everybody. Everyday." The ad ends by telling viewers that "some insurance companies oppose real reform...but it wasn't designed for them. It was designed for you." Viewers are asked to call their Member of Congress and urge support for reform. [Scripts are attached.]

John Rother, chairman of the Health Care Reform Project (and director of legislation and public policy at the American Association of Retired Persons), said the ads are designed "to inform Americans that the fundamental principles of reform they overwhelmingly support -- including guaranteed coverage, comprehensive benefits, universality, choice, affordability and building on the tradition of getting insurance through employers -- are in fact embodied in the President's approach. We're trying to fill the information vacuum and connect public support for these principles to the President's approach and to the pro-reform effort generally."

more...

2550 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

5016 § 1000

Rother said the Project is escalating its campaign and would spend $750,000 to air this round of TV spots over the next few weeks. Radio and print ads using the same messages will also begin running next week. Additional TV ads are also being planned and will be announced in the near future.

The Project is a coalition of businesses, labor unions, consumers, older Americans, children's advocates, health care providers and other groups representing 60 million Americans. Extensive grassroots organizing at the congressional district level has been underway for three months.

-30-

The Health Care Reform Project is comprised of the following organizations: Alzheimer's Association, American Academy of Family Physicians, American Academy of Pediatrics, American Airlines, American Association of Retired Persons, American College of Physicians, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), American Federation of Teachers, American Medical Women's Association, American Nurses Association, American Postal Workers Union (APWU), American Psychological Association, Campaign for Women's Health, The Catholic Health Association of the United States (CHA), Children's Defense Fund, Chrysler Corporation, Citizen Action, Conservation Services Group, Families USA, Ford Motor Company, The League of Women Voters of the United States, Multiple Sclerosis Society, National Association of Children's Hospitals and Related Institutions (NACHRI), National Association of Public Hospitals, National Association of Social Workers (NASW), National Breast Cancer Coalition, National Council of Senior Citizens, National Education Association, National Health Policy Council, Older Women's League, Service Employees International Union (SEIU), Southern California Edison Company, United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers, Voice of the Retarded (VOR).

**HEALTH CARE REFORM PROJECT**

THE VOICE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOW.

Health Care Reform Project
"American Tradition" Final
TV :30

Today, ninety percent of Americans with health insurance get it through their employers. Yet over eighty percent of the uninsured also work but without coverage.

The President's approach guarantees affordable private insurance to <u>everyone</u> at work... whether you change jobs, get sick or work part time.

Employees get to choose the plan they want. Employers contribute to the cost of care. Small businesses would be helped with discounts.

Health care coverage at work. An American tradition to build on.

2550 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

HEALTH CARE REFORM PROJECT

THE VOICE OF AMERICANS FOR CHANGE, NOW.

Health Care Reform Project
"For You" Final
TV :30

Every day, doctors, nurses and other health professionals are working to make people well.

But every day, some insurance companies find those people, reduce their benefits, jack up rates or even drop their coverage.

The President's approach makes those insurance practices illegal... everybody would be covered with guaranteed, affordable insurance. Everybody. Everyday.

Some insurance companies oppose real health care reform.... but it wasn't designed for them. It was designed for you.

| | |
|---|---|
| *Super Slate:*<br>No Audio | Support Health Care Reform<br>Call Congress<br>(202) 224-3121 |

2550 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037

(2/29) J - Tell Carol Rasco this ad - I don't think this ad is going to run ✓ done

media HC

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

25-Feb-1994 02:02pm

TO: Janice A. Enright

FROM: Carol H. Rasco
Economic and Domestic Policy

SUBJECT: Message for Harold

Harold:

Marica Hale and I have heard that there are new ads on health care about ready to run and that Carroll Campbell is in one of them ... If that is the case we would sure like to have the opportunity to discuss this with someone....without seeing the ad we have serious questions/reservations about the timing of using such ads just now.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

**March 24, 1994**

**MEMORANDUM FOR SENIOR STAFF**

**FROM:** **Mark Gearan** MG

**SUBJECT:** Television News Coverage

I attach for your review an independent summary of network news coverage in 1994. This study was mentioned in an op-ed yesterday in the New York Times criticizing the media's coverage of Whitewater. That op-ed is also attached.

# TYNDALL REPORT

The following table shows the Top Ten news stories on the network nightly news (ABC, CBS, NBC half-hour weekday newscasts) for 1994 to date, ranked in order of minutes of coverage. Statistics cover the first eleven weeks of the year, through March 18th.

| mins | Total | ABC | CBS | NBC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harding-Kerrigan ice feud | 272 | 80 | 106 | 86 |
| Bosnia civil war | 242 | 92 | 89 | 60 |
| Whitewater investigation | 220 | 81 | 77 | 62 |
| San Fernando Valley quake | 172 | 57 | 57 | 58 |
| Israeli-Palestinian conflict | 102 | 38 | 39 | 25 |
| Winter storms, frigid cold | 90 | 27 | 28 | 34 |
| Healthcare reform debate | 84 | 26 | 29 | 29 |
| CIA-KGB Ames spy probe | 73 | 28 | 24 | 22 |
| Lillehammer Olympics | 69 | 19 | 35 | 15 |
| Moscow Summit | 41 | 12 | 18 | 11 |

# Sex! Money!! Cover-Up!!! Whitewater? ✓

## The Media Dozed, Then Went Berserk

By Christopher Hanson

WASHINGTON

Journalists like to caricature President Clinton as a man of gargantuan appetites who heaps too much on his plate in more ways than one. But when it comes to excess, it is hard to top the press itself. Consider the orgy over Whitewater.

Since January there have been hundreds of major newspaper articles on this subject, many on the front page; eye-catching newsmagazine covers, and countless talk show face-offs. As of Friday, the nightly news on ABC, CBS and NBC had devoted 220 minutes to Whitewater this year, nearly three times as much as for health care, according to Andrew Tyndall, whose Tyndall Report monitors TV news.

Judging by the voraciousness of Whitewater reporters (an appetite whetted significantly by White House evasions and antagonism to the press) one might think the media had discovered something as meaty as Watergate — though even Senator Alfonse D'Amato, who has been leading the political charge, acknowledges that there may be "little if anything" at Whitewater's core.

The odor wafting from Whitewater is certainly sour enough to merit press scrutiny. Should Gov. Bill Clinton have carried on the Whitewater Development partnership with James McDougal, owner of a savings and loan that Mr. Clinton's administration was regulating? Should Hillary Rodham Clinton have represented the troubled thrift before state regulators?

But by magnifying every Whitewater swirl and bubble, the news media are helping create the premature and probably unfair impression of a crooked and unraveling Administration. Consider the drumbeat after the special counsel, Robert Fiske, subpoenaed Administration aides to testify about meetings between the White House and Treasury Department officials over the Treasury investigation of Madison Guaranty.

Almost everyone now agrees the meetings were inappropriate. But the participants deny that the substance of the case was discussed, and no evidence has emerged that laws were broken. Even so, many subpoena stories, by dint of prominent display, seemed to carry darker implications (QUESTION OF COVER-UP TO BE EXPLORED, as a headline in The Boston Globe put it). When George Stephanopoulos was subpoenaed last week, some papers put the story on page one, though there was no indication why he had been called. (Certainly not because he was neck-deep in Whitewater investments: he was 16 years old when the Clintons cut their deal.)

**At last, a scandal reporters can love.**

The most excessive Whitewater coverage involved the White House lawyer Vincent Foster, reportedly a custodian of Whitewater papers, whose death in a park near the Potomac in July was ruled a suicide. In their zeal, some news outlets ran unsubstantiated speculation that he had died elsewhere (for example, in an Administration "safe house") and his body had been moved to the park. The Washington Times actually began a story, "Who killed Vince Foster?" (Finally, ABC News broadcast a photo of the death scene in a broadcast that sought to rebut conspiracy theories, bringing dubious taste to the rescue of common sense.)

An unstated motto of life in the press corps is "Nothing in Moderation." Accordingly, the journalists' appetite for Whitewater swung from something bordering on anorexia to today's binge eating.

It was two years ago that Jeff Gerth of The New York Times first reported on Whitewater and Madison Guaranty and the conflict-of-interest questions they raised. Those questions deserved to be followed up at the time, but the Clinton Presidential campaign deflected the matter and most reporters lost interest. There it rested until last fall, when reports of the Treasury investigation of Madison surfaced. Even then, Whitewater did not become a truly national story because it was complicated, murky and hard to explain. It took wing only in late December, for several reasons.

First was "Troopergate": the allegations of Arkansas state troopers that they were promised Federal jobs if they'd cover up Mr. Clinton's supposed sexual frolicking when he was Governor. That story repelled many reporters, who had no desire to follow the bimbos. But they also didn't want to look soft on Mr. Clinton. They craved an alternative.

And they got one: a revelation that the White House counsel, Bernard Nussbaum, supervised the removal of Whitewater files from Mr. Foster's office after his death. This sensational element made Whitewater easier to convey, and reporters flocked to the story. TV networks, which devoted a total of eight minutes to Whitewater in the first 50 weeks of 1993, gave it 21 minutes in the last two weeks, after the Nussbaum and sex stories broke, Mr. Tyndall says.

The way Whitewater finally took off says something about the standards a scandal must meet these days to draw in the mainstream pack. It must be a "clean scandal, a nice scandal, a scandal suitable for a family newspaper," in the words of Suzanne Garment, a Washington political writer who is author of a book on the dynamics of scandal. But it can't be too clean — so nice and dry and boring that it will be ignored, as the national savings-and-loan debacle was for so long. We are in the age of tabloidization. There must be a hook for the booboisie.

There's still time to hope that the same forces that unleashed all the hype and shallow coverage may also prompt some reporters to dig harder. Who knows? Someday we may actually learn if there is a scandal here.

Meanwhile, the frenzy is taking its toll on the Clintons: even if they are eventually cleared, they will be clawed and pecked on a daily basis for months, given the special counsel inquiry and the coming Congressional hearings. The Administration will be hard-pressed to focus on health care, the most important domestic debate in 25 years. It all brings to mind a couplet from antiquity:

*On eagles' wings immortal scandals fly*
*While virtuous actions are but born and die.*

*Christopher Hanson, Washington correspondent for The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, writes the "Capital Letter"*

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1994

To: Pat Griffen, Harold Ickes, Greg Lawler, Ira Magaziner, Steve Rochetti, George Stephanopoulos
From: Lorrie McHugh
Re: Schedule for Health Care Editorial Board Meetings
Date: March 28, 1994

The following meetings have been scheduled for this week on health care. They will all be on background. I will get you a schedule for the following week shortly.

Tuesday, March 29

12:30 p.m. - USA Today - an abbreviated (in terms of editorial board member participants) meeting which will include reporters. It's abbreviated because we wanted to do it on background. They will serve lunch.

2:00 p.m. - Washington Post

Wednesday, March 30

1:30 p.m. - Time Magazine

2:45 p.m. - Business Week

Thursday, March 31

12:15 p.m. - U.S. News and World Report - Will be served lunch. Meeting is at the Park Hyatt.

1:30 p.m. - CNN

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: HI

FROM: Janice Enright

DATE: 26 March 1994

RE: Physicians

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Harold, attached is some additional information from Irwin Redlener.

*Also, please be advised that according to Ira, the California Medical Association ("CMA") is setting up a lobbying office here in D.C. as a result of the positive outcome of the meeting last week in California (where the President did an hour of satelite interactive).

# In Insurance Ad War, Louise Takes Hit From 'Humorous Grenade'

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Media

Talk about shooting the messenger.

Television producer Harry Thomason, a longtime friend of President Clinton's, was clearly miffed about the health insurance industry's "Harry and Louise" ads. So he decided to do away with Louise, Hollywood-style.

In a 60-second ad that aired locally last night on ABC and will appear later on CNN, a narrator stands at a graveyard, describing how Louise became a victim of the current health care system.

"It's just a little humorous grenade to tell people there's a better way to go about this," Thomason said. "There's so much unpleasant rhetoric. Some friends of mine said let's lighten up the process. . . . We're only attacking an actor."

Thomason said the ad, which he created with two other producers, was a volunteer effort and that he had not discussed it with the White House. Thomason, who with his wife helped choreograph Clinton's nominating convention and inauguration, said a labor union that he would not identify may air the spot nationally.

At the Health Insurance Association of America, which created the $10 million Harry and Louise campaign, executive vice president Chip Kahn said: "I guess it shows the president and his people have a sense of humor, but killing off Louise doesn't take away from the serious questions we raised in our ads. Our ads have resonated because they raised issues Americans were concerned about."

In the Thomason ad, the narrator says: "Harry lost his job and also his insurance. Louise owned a small and struggling company that could not afford group insurance, so she had always depended upon Harry's policy. Unfortunately, she had a preexisting condition that prevented her from obtaining new coverage. It's true, Louise should have gone into the hospital earlier, but she didn't want to eat into their savings. Eventually, she and Harry gave up their country club membership, sold their expensive foreign car, but by then it was too late."

Harry and Louise were also attacked yesterday in a newspaper ad by the Health Care Reform Project, a coalition of labor and consumer groups. "Whose opinion do you trust?" it asked. "A couple of actors working for the health insurance industry. Or . . . the 1 million doctors, nurses and other health professionals who support the President's health care reform goals."

Will Louise come back to life? It depends. "We don't have any ads in the can," Kahn said.

# Panel Votes To Cut Some Health Costs

## *Small Businesses Would Pay Less*

FRIDAY, MARCH 18, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House Ways and Means health subcommittee, working to craft a politically viable national health plan, voted yesterday to lower the cost of insurance for small businesses that employ large numbers of single people.

Backers of the amendment said reducing the burden of premiums for small businesses would make it easier to win support for the bill.

Small business owners have been among the most vociferous opponents of requirements that employers pay for employees' insurance.

The amendment offered by Rep. Gerald D. Kleczka (D-Wis.) would require insurers to use four different classes of family groups to set premiums instead of two, as envisioned in the proposal by subcommittee Chairman Fortney "Pete" Stark (D-Calif.) on which the subcommittee is working.

*The theory behind this is that small businesses employ a larger proportion of single workers than larger businesses.*

As a result, Kleczka said the total premium for a single worker would be an estimated $2,000 a year instead of the $2,500 envisioned in the Stark plan.

The employer, who would be required to pay 80 percent, would only have to pay $1,600, compared with $2,000. The employer would also pay less for young childless couples, $3,200 instead of $4,000. However, to make up for the lower revenue from the lower premiums for these two groups, employers would have to pay more for covering a single parent family with children or a married couple with children. Rep. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-Md.) said this arrangement offered hope of reducing burdens on small businesses when they are compelled to provide insurance.

The theory behind this is that small businesses employ a larger proportion of single workers than larger businesses.

Stark objected that this change would increase the total cost of insurance for couples with children too much—from $5,000 a year to $6,075 with the employer paying 80 percent.

Kleczka said Stark's premiums are "a real burden for single couples and couples without children." The amendment carried by voice vote.

# Balanced Budget Mandate Rejected

## *House Joins Senate in Failing to Approve Constitutional Amendment*

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday rejected a proposed constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget by the year 2001 after Democratic leaders and President Clinton warned that it would put Congress in a fiscal straitjacket and jeopardize economic recovery and health care reform.

The amendment, backed by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, fell 12 votes short of the two-thirds majority required for a constitutional amendment. The final vote was 271 to 153, with 172 Republicans and 99 Democrats supporting the measure.

Proponents of a balanced budget amendment had boasted early this year that the time was ripe to adopt the measure, which has been debated, off and on, for decades.

However, their hopes were dashed early this month when Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) almost single-handedly beat proponents in a showdown vote in the Senate.

For a while, it appeared that the amendment still might pass in the House, even though after the Senate action, the issue was moot for the year. But Democratic leaders, AFL-CIO lobbyists and the White House hammered away at it, fearing that House passage of the amendment might enhance its chances next year when its backers are likely to bring it up again.

Working on more immediate fiscal issues yesterday, the Senate Budget Committee ignored admonitions by the administration and panel chairman Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.) to "stay the course" and instead voted to reduce spending over the next five years by $26 billion more than is called for in Clinton's long-term deficit reduction program.

The committee's 13 to 8 bipartisan approval of the additional cuts, proposed by Sens. J. James Exon (D-Neb.) and Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa), caught Democratic leaders and the White House by surprise.

The White House and Byrd, Senate Appropriations Committee chairman, sought to discourage the cuts by warning that further reductions most likely would be made in the defense budget and agriculture programs. Both areas are major concerns of Exon, a senior member of the Armed Services Committee from a major farm state.

"They tried the old squeeze play," Exon said after the vote. "From the president on down, dire predictions were given that this would come out of defense."

Grassley predicted that the additional cuts, approved as part of a $1.5 trillion fiscal 1995 budget resolution, would survive when the resolution is sent to the Senate floor, which could come next week.

"Every chart in town on the budget deficit shows that beginning in 1998 we will have the same budget problem we had before," Grassley said. ". . . The public expects us to do more."

The House passed a version of the budget resolution last week that largely mirrors the president's recommendation.

The Senate committee's action capped a long day of budget debate focused on the deficit, which is projected to decline below $180 billion for the next two years before beginning to rise again to $200 billion or more by the turn of the century.

The amendment, sponsored by Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.), would have required the federal government to balance its books every year beginning in 2001, unless three-fifths of the House and Senate voted to lift the requirement.

Stenholm and other proponents argued that the measure would provide the only insurance that Congress would face up to the deficit and that future generations would not be saddled with huge debt. But opponents said that the president's economic plan was working and that enactment of the amendment would require draconian spending reductions that would throw the economy back into a tailspin and undermine efforts to reform the welfare system and undertake other initiatives.

"Let's not tinker with the most fundamental document in our democracy and try to do something that probably won't work anyway," said House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.).

The turning point was the defection of Reps. Robert E. Wise Jr. (D-W.Va.) and David E. Price (D-N.C.), who voted for the balanced budget amendment two years ago but who this year sponsored an alternative.

## TODAY IN CONGRESS

### SENATE

Meeting time unavailable.
Committees:
**Armed Services**—9:30 a.m. Defense technology, acquisition & industrial base subc. DOD & Commerce Dept. manufacturing technology programs. 222 Russell Office Bldg.
**Judiciary**—10:30 a.m. Technology & the law subc & House Judiciary civil & constitutional rights subc. Digital telephony & law enforcement access to advanced telecommunications technologies & services. 226 Dirksen Office Bldg.
**Labor & Human Resources**—10 a.m. Reauth. of Elementary Education & Secondary Education Act, focusing on Chapter I program for disadvantaged students. 430 DOB.

### HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.
Committees:
**Appropriations**—10 a.m. Commerce, Justice, State & the judiciary subc. FY95 approps. for International Boundary & Water Commission, International Joint Commission, International Boundary Commission & Border Environment Cooperation Commission. H-310 Capitol.
**Appropriations**—10 a.m. Labor-HHS-Education subc. FY95 approps. for National Council on Disability, National Commission of Libraries & Information Sciences, Federal Mine Safety & Health Review Commission & Occupational Safety & Health Review Commission. 2358 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
**Natural Resources**—10 a.m. Native American affairs subc. Bureau of Indian Affairs law enforcement issues. 1324 Longworth House Office Bldg.
**Small Business**—9:30 a.m. Regulation, business opportunities & energy subc. Impact of high cost of long-term contraceptive products on women's health. 2359 RHOB.

FRIDAY, MARCH 18, 1994 THE WASHINGTON POST

2/22/94

**HEALTH ADS**
**HARRY AND LOUISE**
**:30**

*SPOT BEGINS WITH TITLE CARD FOLLOWED BY FTG FROM HIAA AD*

ANNCR HAVE YOU MET HARRY AND LOUISE?

LOUISE THERE'S GOT TO BE A BETTER WAY.

ANNCR FOR MONTHS THEY'VE BEEN ATTACKING HEALTH CARE REFORM. WHO ARE THEY?

*FREEZE FRAME OF HARRY AND LOUISE AT KITCHEN TABLE TRANSFORMS TO SAME FRAME WITH HARRY AND LOUISE NOW AT A CONFERENCE TABLE IN INSURANCE EXECUTIVE CLOTHES ETC.*

THEY'RE BOUGHT AND PAID FOR BY THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY.

THEY'RE SPENDING MILLIONS OF DOLLARS SO YOU WON'T KNOW THAT THE CLINTON PLAN WOULD

*CUT TO GRAPHICS*

* GUARANTEE PRIVATE INSURANCE TO EVERY AMERICAN.

*EXPAND PEOPLE'S CHOICE OF PLANS AND DOCTORS.

*STOP THE INSURANCE AGENCY FROM JACKING UP PRICES OR DROPPING YOUR COVERAGE.

*CUT BACK TO HARRY AND LOUISE IN KITCHEN, REPRISE TRANSFORMATION TO HARRY AND LOUISE IN INSURANCE OFFICE*

SO THE NEXT TIME YOU SEE HARRY AND LOUISE...

REMEMBER, THEY'RE WORKING FOR THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY. THEIR IDEA OF A BETTER WAY IS THE SAME ...OLD WAY.

**HEALTH ADS**
**BILLIONS**
**:30**

*SPOT OPENS WITH FOOTAGE OF HIAA AD, STARTING WITH LIBBY SEATED AT THE KITCHEN TABLE.*

LIBBY: THERE'S GOT TO BE A BETTER WAY...

*FREEZE FRAME WITH SUPERS SCROLLED OVER THE SCENE. ANNCR READS SUPERS*

ANNCR: THESE ATTACK ADS ARE PAID FOR BY THE INSURANCE COMPANIES.

WHY? BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH CARE PLAN...

WON'T LET THEM CHARGE OLDER PEOPLE MORE...

OR SICK PEOPLE MORE...

OR LIMIT THE YEARS YOU CAN BE INSURED...

THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN WILL GIVE EVERYONE

GUARANTEED PRIVATE INSURANCE

THAT CAN NEVER BE TAKEN AWAY

WHICH MEANS THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY THINKS THEY COULD LOSE BILLIONS IN PROFITS.

C'MON... YOU DIDN'T THINK THEY WERE DOING THESE ADS FOR YOUR HEALTH... DID YOU?

*DISSOLVE TO... SUPER :*

*SUPPORT HEALTH CARE THAT*

*REALLY TAKES CARE OF US.*

**HEALTH ADS**
**CARDS**
**:30**

*SPOT BEGINS WITH CLOSE-UP OF MAN'S HANDS, EXPERTLY SHUFFLING A DECK OF OVERSIZED CARDS. HE IS FILMED IN A LIMBO SETTING*

ANNCR IN TODAY'S HEALTH CARE SYSTEM, THE INSURANCE COMPANIES HOLD ALL THE CARDS.

*THE DEALER TURNS OVER CARDS 'JACK UP PRICES' 'DROP YOUR COVERAGE' ETC.*

ANNCR THEY CAN JACK UP YOUR RATES...
DROP YOUR COVERAGE...
CHARGE OLDER PEOPLE MORE THAN YOUNGER PEOPLE...
WILL THE GAME EVER END?

*A FRAME OF THE HEALTH SECURITY CARD DROPS DOWN OVER THE FTG OF THE CARD DEALER.*

YES, WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN...<u>YOU</u> HOLD THE CARD.

*FACES OF AMERICANS DISSOLVE ONTO SCREEN WHICH STILL SHOWS HEALTH CARD*

EVERY AMERICAN WILL GET A HEALTH SECURITY CARD GUARANTEEING THEM PRIVATE INSURANCE THAT CAN NEVER BE TAKEN AWAY.

*DISSOLVE TO TITLE CARD*

FINALLY, THE DECK WILL BE STACKED FOR YOU.

**HEALTH ADS**
**DON'T GET IT**
**:30**

| | |
|---|---|
| ANNCR: | REPUBLICANS ON HEALTH CARE: |
| **DOLE:** | "THERE ISN'T ANY CRISIS ANY AMERICAN CRISIS IN HEALTH CARE." |
| ANNCR: | 58 MILLION AMERICANS HAVE NO HEALTH COVERAGE FOR SOME TIME EACH YEAR. |
| **KEMP:** | "THERE IS NOT A CRISIS" |
| ANNCR: | 81 MILLION AMERICANS PAY MORE OR ARE DENIED COVERAGE BECAUSE OF "PREEXISTING CONDITIONS." |
| **CAMBELL:** | "IT IS NOT A CRISIS" |
| ANNCR: | THREE OUT OF FOUR AMERICANS INSURED HAVE "LIFETIME LIMITS" WHICH CAN TERMINATE THEIR BENEFITS WHEN THEY NEED THEM MOST. |
| **CHENEY:** | "I DON'T BELIEVE THERE IS A CRISIS IN OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM." |
| ANNCR: | THE REPUBLICANS. FIRST THEY SAID THERE WAS NO RECESSION. NOW THEY SAY THERE IS NO HEALTH CARE CRISIS. THEY JUST DON'T GET IT. |

**HEALTH ADS**
**EVERY DAY**
**:30**

*SPOT BEGINS OF WARM FOOTAGE OF DOCTORS AND NURSES WITH THEIR PATIENTS*

ANNCR EVERY DAY, ALL ACROSS AMERICA, DOCTORS AND NURSES ARE WORKING TO MAKE SICK PEOPLE WELL.

*CUT TO FOOTAGE OF FORMS BEING FILLED OUT IN INSURANCE INDUSTRY TYPE OFFICES*

BUT EVERY DAY, INSURANCE COMPANIES ARE WORKING TO FIND THOSE SAME SICK PEOPLE AND DROP THEIR COVERAGE, JACK UP THEIR RATES OR DENY THEIR CLAIMS.

*CUT TO FOOTAGE OF THE PRESIDENT..GRAPHIC BULLETS*

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH CARE PLAN WOULD MAKE THOSE INSURANCE PRACTICES ILLEGAL...EVERYBODY WOULD BE COVERED WITH GUARANTEED PRIVATE INSURANCE. EVERYBODY. EVERY DAY. ALWAYS.

THE INSURANCE COMPANIES DON'T LIKE THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN...BUT HE DIDN'T DESIGN IT FOR THEM. HE DESIGNED IT FOR YOU.

**HEALTH ADS**
**SENIORS**
**:30**

*STILL PHOTOS OF OLDER AMERICANS. (ANNOUNCER MIGHT IS OLDER FEMALE)*

ANNCR WHAT WILL PRESIDENT CLINTON'S HEALTH CARE REFORM MEAN FOR OLDER AMERICANS?

* EVERYONE WILL BE COVERED
* MEDICARE WILL BE PROTECTED
* PRESCRIPTION DRUGS WILL BE COVERED
* LONG -TERM CARE WILL BE STARTED, AND
* THE PRACTICE OF CHARGING OLDER PEOPLE MORE THAN YOUNGER PEOPLE WILL BE STOPPED.

ONLY PRESIDENT CLINTON'S APPROACH MAKES THESE GUARANTEES TO OLDER AMERICANS. OTHER PEOPLE ARE TRYING TO STOP HIM.

SO CALL YOUR MEMBER OF CONGRESS. TELL THEM YOU'RE AN OLDER AMERICAN WHO IS STANDING WITH THE PRESIDENT. BECAUSE HE'S STANDING UP FOR YOU.

**AFL-CIO**
**TRADITION**
**:30**

**ANNCR:** FOR DECADES, WE'VE HAD A GREAT TRADITION IN THE AMERICAN WORKPLACE.
WHEN YOU GO TO WORK...YOU GET HEALTH CARE COVERAGE.
OVER 90% OF THE AMERICAN FAMILIES WHO <u>HAVE</u> PRIVATE INSURANCE GET IT THROUGH THE WORKPLACE.
HOW CAN WE MAKE SURE THAT <u>EVERY</u> AMERICAN HAS DEPENDABLE HEALTH COVERAGE?
BY BUILDING ON THAT SAME TRADITION.
THAT'S WHAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PLAN IS ALL ABOUT.
GUARANTEED PRIVATE INSURANCE FOR EVERY ONE OF US. . .
WHETHER YOU CHANGE JOBS, OR WORK PART TIME OR HAVE A PREEXISTING CONDITION.
HEALTH CARE COVERAGE THROUGH THE WORKPLACE.
AN AMERICAN TRADITION...WORTH BUILDING ON.

**HEALTH ADS**
**CLINTON #1**
**:30**

*PRESIDENT CLINTON DIRECT TO CAMERA*

CLINTON: EVERYDAY, DOCTORS AND NURSES ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY ARE HELPING SICK PEOPLE GET WELL.

BUT EVERYDAY INSURANCE COMPANIES FIND THESE SAME SICK PEOPLE AND JACK UP THEIR RATES OR DROP THEIR COVERAGE.

THE HEALTH CARE APPROACH I'VE PROPOSED OUTLAWS THESE PRACTICES.

IT WOULD TAKE THE POWER AWAY FROM THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY -- AND GIVE CONSUMERS THE POWER TO CHOSE
QUALITY HEALTH INSURANCE AT LOWER COST.

<u>EVERY</u> AMERICAN WOULD BE GUARANTEED PRIVATE COVERAGE THAT COULD NEVER BE TAKEN AWAY.

THE INSURANCE COMPANIES DON'T LIKE IT. BUT I DON'T WORK FOR THEM. I WORK FOR YOU.

**HEALTH ADS**
**CLINTON #2**
**:60**

CLINTON: YOU AND I KNOW WE MUST PRESERVE THE BEST OF OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM AND FIX WHAT'S SO BADLY BROKEN --

YET, SINCE THE DAY I ANNOUNCED MY PLAN -- THOSE WHO HAVE SO MUCH AT STAKE IN KEEPING THINGS JUST THE WAY THEY ARE BEGAN ATTACKING AND DISTORTING IT.

SO LET ME STATE SIMPLY AND CLEARLY WHAT WE ARE PROPOSING TO DO:

FIRST, WE WANT TO GUARANTEE PRIVATE INSURANCE COVERAGE TO EVERY AMERICAN -- <u>COMPREHENSIVE</u> COVERAGE THAT CAN <u>NEVER</u> BE TAKEN AWAY.

SECOND, WE WANT TO TAKE THE POWER OUT OF THE HANDS OF THE INSURANCE COMPANIES AND GIVE IT TO INDIVIDUALS AND SMALL BUSINESSES, SO THEY CAN HAVE THE CONSUMER POWER TO CHOOSE QUALITY HEALTH AT LOWER COST.

THIRD, HEALTH CARE REFORM MUST BE GOOD FOR OLDER AMERICANS. IT MUST PROTECT MEDICARE, COVER PRESCRIPTION DRUGS, BEGIN COVERING LONG TERM CARE, AND STOP INSURANCE COMPANIES FROM CHARGING OLDER AMERICANS MORE THAN THEY CHARGE YOUNGER ONES.

FINALLY, WE WANT TO CREATE A SYSTEM OF COVERAGE THAT EVERYONE CAN DEPEND ON -- SO IT WOULD BE ILLEGAL FOR INSURANCE COMPANIES TO JACK UP YOUR PRICES OR DROP YOUR COVERAGE.

THAT'S WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO. NO MATTER WHAT ANYONE TELLS YOU. WITH YOUR HELP, EVERY AMERICAN WILL HAVE HEALTH CARE THAT'S ALWAYS THERE.

**HEALTH ADS**
**CLINTON #3**
**:30**

CLINTON: THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF TALK ABOUT HEALTH CARE -- LET ME TELL YOU WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO.

WE'VE PROPOSED A SYSTEM OF GUARANTEED PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE. IT WOULD BUILD ON THE CURRENT SYSTEM, BUT IT WOULD GUARANTEE EVERY AMERICAN COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH INSURANCE THAT YOU COULD NEVER LOSE --

IT WOULD GIVE GREATER CONSUMER POWER TO PEOPLE AND SMALL BUSINESSES TO CHOSE QUALITY HEALTH INSURANCE AT LOWER COST.

AND IT WOULD MAKE IT ILLEGAL FOR INSURANCE COMPANIES TO JACK UP YOUR PRICES OR DROP YOUR COVERAGE.

THAT'S WHAT I'M FIGHTING FOR, NO MATTER WHAT ANYONE TELLS YOU. WITH YOUR HELP -- EVERY AMERICAN WILL HAVE HEALTH CARE THAT'S ALWAYS THERE.

**HEALTH ADS**
**PREMIUMS**
**:30**

*SPOT BEGINS WITH FTG FROM CURRENT HIAA AD*

ANNCR HAVE YOU SEEN THESE ADS WITH PEOPLE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH CARE PLAN?

GUESS WHO PAID FOR THEM?

*BLOW UP FINE PRINT OF THE DISCLAIMER*

THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY. LEAVE IT TO THEM TO MAKE YOU READ THE FINE PRINT.

*CUT TO A ROLLING LIST OF INSURANCE COMPANIES*

THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THE INSURANCE COMPANIES WHO ARE SPENDING TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO SCARE YOU ABOUT HEALTH CARE REFORM.

TENS OF MILLIONS OF <u>YOUR</u> DOLLARS...CAN YOU BELIEVE IT? YOUR PREMIUMS ARE PAYING FOR <u>THEIR</u> SCARE TACTICS INSTEAD OF <u>YOUR</u> HEALTH COVERAGE.

*CUT TO GRAPHICS*

CALL YOUR INSURANCE COMPANY.
TELL THEM TO TAKE THEIR ADS OFF THE AIR.
YOU WANT YOUR PREMIUMS PAYING FOR MEDICAL CARE.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 14, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached are the scripts from Mandy Grunwald for the health care video taping scheduled for 6:00 p.m. A TelePrompter will be used.

Todd Stern

**HEALTH ADS**
**CLINTON #1**
**:30**

*PRESIDENT CLINTON DIRECT TO CAMERA*

CLINTON: EVERYDAY, DOCTORS AND NURSES ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY ARE HELPING SICK PEOPLE GET WELL.

BUT EVERYDAY INSURANCE COMPANIES FIND THESE SAME SICK PEOPLE AND JACK UP THEIR RATES OR DROP THEIR COVERAGE.

THE HEALTH CARE APPROACH I'VE PROPOSED OUTLAWS THESE PRACTICES.

IT WOULD TAKE THE POWER AWAY FROM THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY -- AND GIVE CONSUMERS THE POWER TO CHOSE QUALITY HEALTH INSURANCE AT LOWER COST.

EVERY AMERICAN WOULD BE GUARANTEED PRIVATE COVERAGE THAT COULD NEVER BE TAKEN AWAY.

THE INSURANCE COMPANIES DON'T LIKE IT. BUT I DON'T WORK FOR THEM. I WORK FOR YOU.

**HEALTH ADS**
**CLINTON #2**
**:60**

CLINTON: YOU AND I KNOW WE MUST PRESERVE THE BEST OF OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM AND FIX WHAT'S SO BADLY BROKEN --

YET, SINCE THE DAY I ANNOUNCED MY PLAN -- THOSE WHO HAVE SO MUCH AT STAKE IN KEEPING THINGS JUST THE WAY THEY ARE BEGAN ATTACKING AND DISTORTING IT.

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THAT'S WHAT I'M FIGHTING FOR, NO MATTER WHAT ANYONE TELLS YOU. WITH YOUR HELP -- EVERY AMERICAN WILL HAVE HEALTH CARE THAT'S ALWAYS THERE.

Health Care Reform Project
"Every Day"
TV:30

*Spot begins with warm footage of doctors and nurses with their patients.*

Announcer:

Every day, all across America, doctors, nurses and other health professionals are working to make sick people well.

*Cut to footage of forms being filled out in insurance industry type offices.*

But every day, some insurance companies find those same sick people, drop their coverage, jack up their rates or reduce their benefits.

*Cut to footage of The President at State of the Union. More shots of people. Graphic bullets.*

The President's approach to health care makes those insurance practices illegal... everybody would be covered with affordable private insurance. Everybody. Everyday. Always.

Some insurance companies don't like real health care reform.... but it wasn't designed for them. It was designed for you.

guaranteed

| | |
|---|---|
| *Super Slate:* | Support Real Health Reform |
| **No audio** | Call Congressman Boucher |
| | Phone 628-1145 |

2/28

# HCRP Advertising Targets For "Everyday"

***Senate Finance Committee***

*Senator David Boren (D-OK)*

***House Ways and Means***

*Possible (need to reduce to 6:)*

*Representative Gerald Kleczka (D-WI)*
*Representative Peter Hoagland (D-NE)*
*Representative Richard Neal (D-MA)*
*Representative Bill Brewster (D-OK)*
*Representative Rick Santorum (R-PA)*
*Representative Michael McNulty (D-NY)*
*Representative L. F. Payne (D-VA)*

***House Energy and Commerce Committee***

*Representative Jim Slattery (D-KS)*
*Representative Rick Boucher (D-VA)*
*Representative Richard Lehman (D-CA)*
*Representative Lynn Schenk (D-CA)*
*Representative Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky (D-PA)*
*Representative Blanche Lambert (D-AR)*
*Representative Scott Klug (R-WI)*
*Representative Fred Upton (R-MI)*

HI copy

GREENBERG RESEARCH INC

515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
TEL 202 547-5200
FAX 202 544-7020

**Date:** March 11, 1994

**To:** Hillary Rodham Clinton
The Health Care Team
The DNC

**From:** Stan Greenberg
Mandy Grunwald

**RE: THE TV CAMPAIGN FOR HEALTH CARE**

---

We are at a critical juncture in the health care campaign -- a moment when large scale TV advertising will prove critical if we are to sustain support and advance the health care initiative. Voters are uncertain and increasingly frustrated after hearing six months of attacks from the insurance industry and from Republicans. Support has dropped just as the congressional committee mark-up phase begins. The distractions of Whitewater make it even more imperative that we take decisive and bold action to reshape the environment for health care.

**The opponents of health care reform have used TV to move opinion nationally and in target markets. The supporters have used it to hold press conferences while barely communicating with the American people. But now the health care campaign must communicate directly, and that means an immediate 10-week advertising campaign in excess of 10 million dollars.**

The media campaign will have a number of purposes:

- to keep health care reform at the top of the agenda as other forces try to distract the country,
- to build morale, confidence and hopefulness in an environment of growing cynicism,
- to mobilize activists and the public to pressure their elected representatives, particularly those on key committees,
- to provide critical information about the Clinton health care plan to reassure and reduce uncertainty,
- to make the case for the employer mandate, the central tool for financing universal coverage.

The media campaign will be directed at the DC market, key House and Senate members, and the public at large, particularly senior citizens.

Part One: National Audience/Focus on Seniors

Every public and private poll continues to show that the American people support the key elements of the President's plan. They simply have no idea that those elements are in the President's plan. The national advertising will be designed to bridge that gap.

The national media campaign should focus on the basic description of the plan and the key information that reassures voters:

- guarantees private insurance
- Medicare protected
- choice of plan and doctor
- the outlawing of unfair insurance practices

People need to understand how reform will work: most people will get insurance at work where they do now; small business will get a discount; the government will protect Medicare and help the unemployed.

The focus on senior citizens is critical, both in the substance of the ads and the targeting of the media buy. They are the voters most concerned about health reform, most committed to the issue, and, unfortunately, the group that has swung most strongly against the Clinton plan. (Seniors were Clinton's strongest support group in the 1992 election.) For most Americans, seniors are the symbolic center of the health care debate. If they are nervous, the country is nervous. Yet, seniors move in favor of the plan once they get credible information. We had hoped the AARP would provide that, but unfortunately they have abrogated that role and allowed support to drop sharply. This effort will have to be assumed by the DNC.

Reassurance of seniors must therefore be a critical part of the national advertising effort. That advertising will be designed as a series of ads, all of a similar format, that give people a sense that this is an official description of how the President's plan works. They will be designed to inform and reassure and will highlight footage of the President, as well as any "validation" (quotes from the AARP, etc.) that we can use. We envision three or four spots as follows:

1. Guaranteed Private Insurance/Choice. The President has proposed guaranteed private insurance for every American. Comprehensive benefits for every merican that can never be taken away. Everyone will be able to choose their own plan and their own doctor. Everyone will have the security of knowing they are covered. Everyone. Everyday. Always.

2. Older Americans. The President has proposed that Medicare be preserved and strengthened. Older Americans will still be able to choose their own doctor. But they will also gain coverage of prescription drugs and long term care. Insurance companies will no longer be allowed to charge older Americans more than younger Americans. The AARP has called this "the best blueprint for reform."

3. Real Insurance Reform: The President has proposed real insurance reform to eliminate fine print and lower costs. It would be illegal for insurance companies to refuse people coverage or to charge them more if they're older or have preexisting conditions. No more lifetime limits. Your benefits package will be comprehensive and coverage cannot be taken away.

4. Guaranteed Private Insurance/How It Works: The President has insisted that health reform mean that everyone be covered. Those who work would be covered at work. Small businesses would be helped with discounts. The unemployed would be covered by government. And older Americans would continue to be covered by Medicare. Everyone would be covered. Everyday. Always.

We are working on scripts for each of these ads. Similar concepts have already been tested successfully in focus groups.

The DNC media buy for these spots would balance three considerations: First, our desire to reach as many people as possible to shift public opinion; second, our need to focus on older Americans, and finally, our Congressional targeting considerations.

The budget for this effort would be ten million dollars. That would mean four weeks of television at 500 points per week in 44 markets, and four weeks of television at 375 points per week in 8 expensive markets, reaching 63% of the American people. A list of markets covered by this effort is attached. It covers 29 of the top 40 biggest markets, all of the markets with large concentrations of senior citizens, and the highest priority congressional targets, as currently defined by legislative affairs. Obviously, it can be amended as needed. (By the way, the networks will not sell advertising time for issue advertising.)

Given the point levels of this budget, we envision three spots run over a four to five week period, beginning as soon in March as fundraising would allow.

## Part Two: The Employer Mandate

The Health Care Reform Project has produced, after extensive discussions, an employer mandate spot which is now airing in the Washington, DC market. Their buy is fairly light -- about 250 points a week. But our goal should be saturation on this issue during the next 10 weeks when Congress is making the real choices about financing. The reform project is committed to this approach and willing to champion the Clinton approach. The problem is funding. Labor has put in resources and may be willing to speed up its contribution, but business has not yet put in sufficient funds.

We are proposing 4 spots to make the case for the employer mandate and to dominate the DC media environment:

1. *Health Insurance at Work:* This spot is on the air now, though at low point levels. This needs an immediate infusion of funds.

2. *Small Business:* The Congress needs to hear the argument that the employer mandate is pro-small business. The focus will be on the "small business heroes" who pay 30 percent more for insurance than the big companies while subsidizing the small companies who insure nobody. The Clinton plan allows small business to get lower cost and discounted insurance. This spot should move into the TV rotation as soon as possible.

3. *Welfare and Work:* This spot taps into some of the strongest emotions in the employer mandate issue. Welfare provides free health insurance, but work offers no guarantee of health benefits. That is wrong. The Clinton plan says work and health benefits should go hand-in-hand.

4. *Comparative: Employer versus Individual Mandate:* At some point, the congressional debate will center on this choice. We want a spot that crystalizes the debate which, we know from our research, strongly favors us. People fear a system that encourages employers to dump the insurance issue on their employees.

The employer mandate campaign will cost 150 thousand dollars a week -- 1.5 million dollars for the 10 week period -- funded through the reform project.

## Part Three: National CNN

The DNC should advertise on CNN, reaching a largely elite audience, from now at least until Memorial Day and the close of the committee process. CNN is one area where the HIAA has been effective, providing a continuous drumbeat of criticism to opinion leader audiences.

There are two creative approaches we are considering for this CNN effort. First, to duplicate and expand the informative series of spots that the DNC would be running nationally. After all, it is not just the broad public who are confused about how the President's health care reform would work. Elite audiences are confused as well.

The CNN series of spots could include the four ads outlined above, but also cover more specific concerns in greater detail, such as: what the plan would mean for small business, how choice would be preserved, what would be guaranteed in the comprehensive benefits package, etc. These issues would obviously mirror many of the debates proceeding on Capitol Hill.

A second creative option would be to respond more directly to the HIAA advertising (which is continuing in selected districts.) Despite the fact that the direct HIAA response ads we tested were not as powerful as other ads, they did have resonance in areas where the HIAA had advertised heavily.

We might consider a series of spots casting our own Harry and Louise who face a series of real life problems that are solved by the Clinton plan. Harry loses his job. Louise's mother can't afford prescription drugs. Harry and Louise want to be able to keep their own doctor,etc.

A series such as this could highlight the key elements in the plan through a dramatic depiction of people's real life problems, rather than just a straight informational approach.

Whichever creative direction we take, the use of CNN is an important part of our overall effort to regain support for the President's plan.

This campaign would cost about $115,000 per week. We would begin this effort on March 28th (first available time), perhaps earlier in the Washington, DC market, and buy continuously for nine weeks at a total cost of $1,035,000. Depending upon the creative approach, this effort could be funded through the DNC or the Reform Project. It is likely that we would also want to consider extending it beyond Memorial Day until final passage of the bill.

## Part Four: Target Districts and States

The reform project is now airing spots in 13 media markets, with print and radio in 2 additional. The buy is again quite light -- about 500 points over 9 days. These target districts need heavier buys and spots with greater capacity to mobilize public sentiment.

We are in discussion with the reform project over the design of the future campaign. The first challenge is greater resources behind the current spot which counterpoises the insurance industry to ordinary people. (See spot and DNC video). The reform project needs to produce a number of provocative spots as soon as possible to allow sustained pressure on members.

> *Spot One: Everyday.* This spot is on the air now -- insurance industry practices versus health care reform for people.
>
> *Spot Two: Affordability.* This spot will focus on the rising costs of health care and the money that the insurance industry is spending to keep the system from changing.
>
> *Spot Three: Welfare.* This spot is part of the employer mandate campaign (DC market) that emphasizes that health benefits should come with work.
>
> *Spot Four: What Congress Has.* This spot asks Congress to give the American people health insurance coverage at least as good as their own -- paid for by the taxpayers. (This is a powerful spot but there are strong reasons not to air it. This spot may antagonize key members as we are trying to promote committee action and may hurt the image of Congress and Democrats independent of health care.)

THE AD CAMPAIGN

## Highlighting Fears About the Clinton Health Plan

**ON THE SCREEN:** Two women are in an office discussing President Clinton's health care plan. They talk about their desire for reform but quickly move on to their reservations and fears. The rising music underscores their alarm, and their desire to take action by "sending a message" to Congress. The graphic at the end says: "For facts you need to know — 1-800-285-HEALTH.

**THE SCRIPT**

**Libby:** "I want Congress to pass health care reform . . . "

**Louise:** "Make sure everyone is covered."

**Libby:** ". . . but not force us to buy our insurance from these mandatory Government 'health alliances.' "

**Louise:** "So we couldn't choose a plan that's not on their list even if if we think it's better for our employees and their families."

**Libby:** "Not according to this." (Holds up President's health plan.)

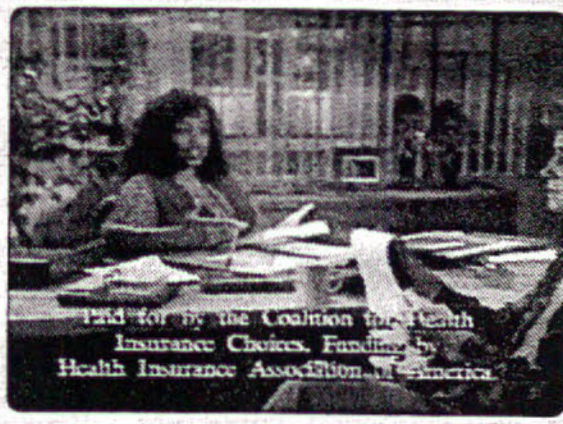
**Louise:** "But Congress can fix that — cover everyone and let us pick the plan we want."

**Libby:** "And they will, if we send them that message."

**Announcer:** "For the facts you need to send Congress a message, call today."

**ACCURACY:** The ad focuses on one of the most confusing parts of the Clinton plan, the health alliance, a quasi-governmental entity intended to pool the purchasing power of consumers and small companies and thus force health plans to compete for their business. The ad is correct in saying that most Americans would be required to enroll in an alliance and purchase their health insurance through it; major exceptions include the elderly covered by Medicare and those who work for companies with more than 5,000 employees.

But, Administration officials emphasize, the alliance is simply a middleman and people will still




be buying private insurance. And they reject the implication of the ad that the alliance will restrict the average person's ability to choose a health plan. Administration officials assert that just the opposite is true: the alliance will give more choices in health coverage to people who now have decisions made for them by their employers.

**SCORECARD:** The ad focuses on two political vulnerabilities of the Clinton plan: the fear that it will lead to huge new bureaucracies and the fear that it will limit consumers' choice. At the same time, the ad is careful to present itself as favoring health care change — just not the Clinton plan.

The Health Insurance Association of America wants alliances to be voluntary, enabling people to continue to buy health coverage directly from insurance companies. Analysts say many smaller insurance companies in the insurance association fear they will lose out to the biggest companies in the new marketplace run by alliances. Administration allies also assert that the insurance industry simply wants to retain control of health care — deciding whom to cover, how much to charge and so on.

*ROBIN TONER*

# PRESIDENT SEEKING MORE QUAKE RELIEF

## Wants to Add $1.5 Billion for Total of $9 Billion in Aid

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 — President Clinton will ask for at least $1.5 billion in additional Federal aid for victims of the Los Angeles earthquake, Administration officials said today, raising the proposed Federal commitment to earthquake relief to more than $9 billion.

At least $8 billion of that would be sought in a supplemental budget request officials are planning to send to Congress. The Government is already using $897 million from an emergency fund to aid victims.

An Administration official said the new request would be directed to the Federal Emergency Management Agency for aid in housing 25,000 people left homeless by the earthquake.

"The needs have turned out to be greater than expected," the official said.

### Acknowledging Need

In authorizing the new expenditures, Mr. Clinton conceded that Gov. Pete Wilson of California was right in arguing that the Federal aid for the earthquake would fall far short of the need.

Last week, Mr. Clinton said he would ask Congress for $6.6 billion in emergency money, a request that would make the earthquake the costliest natural disaster ever for Federal taxpayers. The earthquake, which measured 6.6 on the Richter scale of ground motion, killed 61 people and injured 8,000.

Leon E. Panetta, the director of the Office of Management and Budget, said at the time that he expected the figure to grow and has said since that the Federal Government should re-examine the way it pays for disaster aid.

"Somehow, we've got to do a better job in terms of preparing for disasters, either by setting aside some kind of fund to deal with disasters, or looking to insurance companies to try to deal with those areas that are particularly vulnerable to disasters," Mr. Panetta said in an interview on the Cable News Network.

Congress must specifically waive budget limits when it approves new disaster assistance, and the White House has acknowledged that the earthquake relief will add at least $3 billion to the deficit.

Although states must normally match at least 25 percent of the Federal commitment, the Clinton Administration has relaxed that commitment for economically distressed California, requiring only a 10 percent match.

The Midwest floods last summer have cost the Government $4.6 billion so far, and hurricane damage aid in 1991 surpassed $8 billion, but that figure takes into account both Hurricane Andrew, which struck Florida and Louisiana, and Hurricane Iniki, which struck the Hawaiian island of Kauai.

# 'Mangia!' Said Kohl. 'Mille Grazie,' Clinton Replied

By MAUREEN DOWD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 — Helmut Kohl is clearly not a man to take a hint.

When President Clinton saw the German Chancellor in Brussels a few weeks ago, he observed that Mr. Kohl reminded him of a sumo wrestler.

Diplomatic relations between nations have been ruptured for less. But while many Germans considered the remark an insult, the jovial Mr. Kohl preferred to take it as a sign that the President, who also likes to eat, was trying to bond with him. (At least, that is the spin the Chancellor's advisers put on the story.)

So rather than throwing down the gauntlet, Mr. Kohl threw down the giblet, making a date with Mr. Clinton to chow down together at a Georgetown restaurant best known for its giant portions.

### Avanti a Filomena's!

The German Ambassador to the United States, Imo Stabreit, tried to put a patina of diplomacy on today's visit, telling reporters that Mr. Kohl and Mr. Clinton needed to get together again so soon after Brussels because they had not had a chance to talk a deux.

But clearly the more pressing agenda for two of the largest leaders of large countries was culinary. (After all, Mr. Kohl does not have much time before his annual Lenten diet begins.)

Mr. Kohl did not want to trifle with White House cuisine. He took the President to lunch at his favorite Italian restaurant, Filomena's, which he had plugged during his March visit to the White House, explaining to Mr. Clinton that he found it easier to fall asleep after eating a big dinner.

Sometimes leaders who do not speak the same language like to engage in some preliminary activity so they can loosen up with each other. President Bush liked to bring foreign heads of state to his Kennebunkport home, where he took them on stomach-wrenching rides in his cigarette boat. (Except François Mitterrand, who begged off because he is subject to severe mal de mer.)

### Pasta! Pasta! Pasta!

The German reporters camped outside the restaurant understood that this was pasta diplomacy. "They are both great big food lovers, there's no doubt about that," said Werner Sonne, of German television. "You only have to look at Kohl to know he likes to eat. And President Clinton obviously is also a food lover."

Besides the German and American reporters, the Japanese press was also interested. Japanese television asked if they could come to the restaurant later to film a segment in which the thin Japanese correspondent would sit in front of a heaping plate of spaghetti and joke about "sumo eating."

### Good to the Last Crumb

The Zagat guide to Washington gives Filomena's higher ratings for plentiful portions than for great food, but President Clinton is not picky on this score.

"It all looks good," he said, after surveying the pasta. When he was told by Joanna Filomena Chiacchieri, one of the owners, that the pasta mamas, as the traditional pasta makers are called, were excited by the visit, Mr. Clinton replied, "I want some of their pasta."

The two leaders, whose combined weight approaches 500 pounds, sat at a table in the back of the restaurant beneath a chandelier of glass grape clusters, surrounded by hanging pasta strands and loaves of bread.

"There's no spa cuisine here," bragged the chef, Vito Piazza. "Our motto is abbondanza."

The men started with some 1988 Brunello di Montalcino (a full-bodied red wine, naturally) and some favorite dishes of Mr. Kohl, who has been coming to Filomena's for a decade.

They had hot and cold antipasti, fried calamari — without garlic, "for social reasons," a German press aide confided — and ravioli stuffed with veal, cheese and spinach and topped with marinara sauce.

"Chancellor Kohl likes his ravioli in a bread bowl," explained Mrs. Chiacchieri, adding that the bowl is edible. The President also had a Tuscan soup with white beans, tomato and spinach. They both had cappuccino and a desert of zabaglione and mixed berries.

They did not eat any of the German chocolate cake, which Mrs. Chiacchieri had named "The President Clinton cake." But Mr. Clinton's personal aide, Andrew Friendly, was seen leaving the restaurant with two huge cake boxes, so there may have been some munching once the leaders were safely behind the tinted glass of their limousine.

### Advisers on a Diet

Some members of the German and American entourages at the table had a hard time keeping up with their bosses. Asked how the lunch was, one of the American officials present replied, "The Chancellor and President Clinton have much bigger appetites than I have."

After the motorcades filled with take-out boxes sped away, Mrs. Chiacchieri was operatic in her excitement.

"It was overwhelming, incredible, a real warm feeling, sort of like if your children had been away a long time and came home," she said, sitting at the table near the kitchen where her guests had been. "It was like having a big wedding in the family."

Her excitement intensified as she suddenly had a thought. "The President really enjoyed the fried calamari with the real good tomato sauce," she said. "Maybe the myth of the french fries will be thrown out the window and the myth of calamari will begin."

# Grunwald, Eskew & Donilon

To: DNC
From: Grunwald, Eskew & Donilon
Re: RNC
Date: 1/28/94

The Project for Republican Future's TV buy is scheduled to run 1/27 - 1/30 in DC, Dallas and on CNN national. They are estimated to have spent $ 12000 in DC and $ 3000 in Dallas (light buys). CNN will not give an estimated amount spent, but have informed me the buy is very light.

1250 24th Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20037 Phone: 202-973-9400 Fax: 202-973-9408

# The next round: Tougher talk, tighter timetable

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

The health-reform battle of the airwaves is heating up as the White House pushes a tight timetable for passage of a reform bill.

President Clinton and top staff forged an agreement with congressional leaders this week to push for passage by early September — two months before the fall election.

The point: The 435 members of the House and 34 members of the Senate up for re-election can say in their campaigns that they accomplished health reform this year.

Meanwhile, groups on all sides of the health-reform issue are spending multimillion-dollar war chests to influence lawmakers' response to the Clinton plan.

Mandy Grunwald, Democratic political consultant and Clinton adviser, says many of the ads are "straight scare tactics."

"The people who oppose reform are going to far outspend the people who support it. They've got billions of dollars at stake," says Grunwald, who did a campaign-style ad for the Democrats when the Clinton plan was unveiled.

The White House doesn't have to buy ads. It gets news coverage.

Today, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton heads to Las Vegas to campaign for health reform at an event with Sen. Harry Reid, D-Nev. Doctors, other health-care providers and consumers will be invited to ask her about the administration's proposal.

Monday, President Clinton invites the nation's governors to the White House to talk about health reform.

Tuesday, he gives a speech at their annual midwinter meeting.

On the airwaves:

▶ The Health Insurance Association of America brings back "Harry and Louise," two characters in its $10.5 million ad campaign last year who worried about the costs of Clinton's plan. In a new ad, Louise and her business partner, "Libby," discuss their concerns. The insurance association is spending $3.5 million this month and next in 14 states.

▶ A day after Clinton's State of the Union address, the Project for the Republican Future began spending up to $50,000 to air ads through Sunday in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Dallas and Washington.

Using videotape from Clinton's address, an announcer says: "Everything good about your health care is at risk."

"It's a little tough buying ads leading into the Super Bowl," says Project political director Jim Pitts. But the point, he says, is to "help our constituency, Republicans, know we can fight this."

USA TODAY

**CLINTON:** To pitch plan in Las Vegas

▶ The Health Care Reform Project — financed by labor, consumer groups, business and health-care providers — is on the air with $500,000 in radio and TV ads supporting Clinton in 14 states. The ads rebut the recent Republican theme that there's "no crisis" in health care, says director Charles Leonard. The group plans to spend $2 million in the next two months.

Its radio ad warns: "Health insurance companies are spending millions on advertising to frighten us and to keep prices high.

"But the truth is: There are cracks in America's health-care system. And people like you fall through them every single day."

Not all ads are partisan.

Monday the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation philanthropy and the League of Women Voters launch a $4 million ad campaign and 60 town meetings to urge reform, without taking a position on Clinton's plan or any competing proposals.

The TV ads, a series of quizzes on who the uninsured are, try "to counter the special interests," says Kaiser spokesman Matt James. "We're trying to lay out the facts."

▶ Fight over abortion coverage, 3A

# Projection of red tape grabbing attention

A complex flow-chart made famous by Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole is looking like a best seller.

The chart, which looks a lot like a computer circuit board, was produced by the office of Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa.

It purports to show the complex bureaucracy that President Clinton's health-reform plan would create.

The White House, of course, regards it as completely misleading.

Dole, R-Kan., used the Specter chart Tuesday night when he gave the Republican response to Clinton's State of the Union speech.

Since then, Specter's office has been flooded with calls for copies — more than 5,000 by Thursday.

"It was on national television on an event pretty closely watched by the public, but we didn't quite expect it to be this heavy," said Dan McKenna, Specter's press secretary.

The Specter chart was actually produced months ago but got little attention until this week.

White House officials describe it as looking "more like the New York subway system" than Clinton's plan.

The Democratic National Committee plans to fire back with its own chart, outlining the existing bureaucracy and looking just as complex as the Republican chart.

DNC spokeswoman Kiki Moore said the chart will be two pages: the first showing the current mess, and the second the Republican alternative — a blank page.

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# For Reno, a rocky first yea

## Deputy quits; Justice aides deny a rift

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

The first year of the Clinton administration has been a rocky one for the Justice Department and Attorney General Janet Reno.

Turmoil rose again Thursday with the abrupt resignation of Deputy Attorney General Philip Heymann. He cited a personality clash with his strong-willed boss.

"The chemistry just wasn't right," Heymann said.

The decision by the Harvard law professor comes amid speculation that Reno herself may have fallen from grace. But aides insist there's no rift with the White House.

"It simply does not reflect the truth," says Justice Department spokesman Carl Stern. "If you shop around far enough, you'll always find somebody who'll say something bad about anybody."

Clinton senior adviser George Stephanopoulos says the White House had no involvement in Heymann's resignation and that it did not reflect any concerns with Reno's operation of the department.

"She has done a terrific job. The president has full confidence in her."

Still, the rumors persist, fanned by a spate of negative stories in the media.

In October, a *New York Times* article said career lawyers in the department had begun to question Reno's competency. Then, *a Washington Post* story in November talked about growing disillusionment among Reno's supporters. A CBS Evening News broadcast last month referred to her as a "loose cannon."

Reno, a former state prosecutor in Miami, may simply be riding official Washington's fickle media roller coaster.

"I think she got better press than she deserved early on and probably worse press than she deserved later on," says political analyst Charles Cook.

The nation's first female attorney general rose to a kind of celebrity status — "the star of the Cabinet," according to the *Los Angeles Times* — after April's fiery assault on the compound of a Waco, Texas, religious cult.

A disaster that might have sunk another official merely enhanced her take-charge reputation when Reno readily accepted responsibility for it.

"Janet Reno is probably the straightest shooter that Washington has seen in a power position in a long time," says Rep. John Conyers, D-Mich., House Government Operations Committee chairman.

Yet criticism of Justice Department leadership can be heard from both sides of the political aisle:

▶ Paul McNulty, Justice communications chief in the Bush administration, called the Clinton administration's failure to fill the critical position of civil rights chief "very reflective of a troubled administration."

Lani Guinier, the first candidate for the job and a personal friend of the president's, withdrew after he disavowed her civil rights writings.

▶ Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., head of a House anti-drug caucus, blasts what he says is a lack of direction in the drug war, an effort in which the attorney general plays a crucial role. "There's a vacuum there," Rangel says.

Justice Department officials, however, claim a long list of early successes, including:

▶ Replacement of beleaguered FBI Director William Sessions, accused of ethical lapses under President Bush.

▶ Tighter immigration rules.

▶ Guidelines on employee discrimination within the department.

▶ A new focus on whether abortion clinic violence violates federal law.

▶ Integration of federal law enforcement functions, including closer coordination between the FBI and Drug Enforcement Administration.

Delays in other pressing matters, including reports on mandatory sentences and asset forfeiture, are said to have played a key role in Heymann's resignation, Justice o ficials say.

Reno relied on Heymann Justice's criminal divisio chief during the Carter admin istration, to handle the depart ment's tougher assignments.

But her impatient, hard-driv ing style didn't mesh well witl Heymann's more professorial studied approach.

Despite past troubles, Reno's performance draws good reviews from law enforcement specialists, at a time when crime is a top public concern.

"She's everything the law enforcement community hoped she would be," says Dan Rosenblatt, director of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

Perhaps more important is the praise Reno received last week from President Clinton, recounting his first year in office on *Larry King Live*: "She's got a steel backbone, and she understands what really works."

*Contributing: Adam Nagourney*

By Greg Gibson, AP

**ROUGH START:** Attorney General Janet Reno discusses crime before the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Washington on Thursday, the same day a top deputy resigned at the Justice Department.

By Charles Tasnadi, AP

**HEYMANN:** 'The chemistry just wasn't right,' deputy attorney general says.

### More FBI agents to hit D.C. street

The FBI will temporaril reassign 150 supervisors t investigate crime in the na tion's capital, Director Loui Freeh said Thursday.

Nationwide, he said, 60 of the agency's 10,07 agents will be shifted per manently from supervisory and administrative work t field work.

"We are not talking abou shuffling papers," said At torney General Janet Reno who joined Freeh at a news conference. "We are ... putting people in the streets to fight crime."

Washington, which has one of the nation's highest per-capita murder rates, unsuccessfully sought National Guard help in fighting crime last year.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1994

Mr. Marvin D. Cristenfeld
270-23 G Grand Central Parkway
Floral Park, New York 11005

Dear Marvin:

I appreciate you excellent suggestions in your 21 August 1994 letter. Unfortunately, the networks refuse to sell national time for even paid spots much less anything longer. We are still working on it, and if we are able to purchase time, your suggestions will certainly be useful.

Hope things go well for you.

Sincerely,

Harold Ickes

Harold Ickes
Assistant to the President
and Deputy Chief of Staff

MARVIN D. CRISTENFELD

270-23 'G' Grand Central Pkwy.
Floral Park, NY 11005
(718) 631-7854

8/21/94

Hon. Harold Ickes,
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold;

As a reminder, our paths crossed when I was vice-chairman of the Nassau County Democratic Party in New York under Jack English in the 1960's. I later succeeded Jack as chairman.

I am writing to you to make a suggestion regarding TV presentation of the Health Care discussion;

Have the Democratic National Committee purchase prime time on TV for an hour or more on all major networks to present the following:

1. a challenge debate between Bob Dole & the President. Dole must accept the challenge or lose. Preview of 1996? This would be newsworthy & not require a purchase of time. -or-

2. a challenge debate between Dole, Gingrich, etc. and the President,

MARVIN D. CRISTENFELD

270-23 'G' Grand Central Pkwy.
Floral Park, NY 11005
(718) 631-7854



Mitchell & Gephardt. -or-
3. a challenge debate between The President, Mrs. Clinton & any two Republicans, business reps, or reporters. -or-
4. a program where the President and/or Mrs. Clinton face reporters, business leaders, Congress, etc. in a Q & A session.

I prefer #1 as crisp, clear & better P.R. The others can confuse. #1 would certainly get wide attention & help overcome the anti-health care money barrage.

Please include an urgent call for the public to call or write Congress immediately.

I believe this will make good use of the Clintons' enormous intellectual & forensic talents.

Good Luck,

Marv Cristenfeld