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**OA/ID Number:** 21748  
**Scan ID:** 242542SS  
**Document Number:**

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FG006-21

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FG006-21  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
11-19-97

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed  
Elena Kagan

SUBJECT: DPC Weekly Report

*Copied*

*Reed*

*Kagan*

*Emanuel (p.5)*

*Silverman (p.6)*

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1. **Family -- Adoption Legislation:** You are scheduled to sign new adoption legislation on Wednesday, in an event giving a prominent role to the First Lady. The legislation is a huge step forward in promoting adoption and improving our nation's child welfare system. The final bill largely incorporates the Administration's proposals in this area. In particular, the bill (1) makes clear that children's health and safety are the paramount concerns of the public child welfare system; (2) clarifies the "reasonable efforts" standard; (3) speeds up court hearings for children in foster care and generally requires states to initiate proceedings to terminate parental rights after a child has been in foster care for 15 of the previous 22 months; (4) provides states with financial incentives to increase the number of children who are adopted; (5) reauthorizes the Family Preservation Program (staving off an expected battle next year) and increases its funding; (6) ensures health coverage for adopted children with special needs by requiring states to provide coverage through Medicaid or the new child health program; (7) expands HHS's authority to issue waivers to states for child welfare and foster care demonstration projects; and (8) breaks down barriers to adoptions across state lines by prohibiting states from denying a suitable out-of-state adoption when no in-state adoption is available.

2. **Health -- FDA Reform Legislation:** You are scheduled to sign FDA reform legislation on Friday. This legislation reauthorizes the very successful user fee program that has enabled the FDA to speed the approval of new drugs. The bill also codifies the REGO reforms, emphasizing agency performance and accountability, that the Vice President successfully implemented at the FDA in 1995 and 1996. In the course of considering the legislation, Congress deleted or amended the provisions (involving, for example, off-label uses of drugs and devices) to which consumer advocates most strongly objected. We worked closely with Senator Kennedy in the effort to ensure consumer protections, and he happily cast the 100th vote in the Senate's unanimous passage of this legislation.

3. **Health -- Quality Commission:** You are scheduled to accept the Quality Commission's Bill of Rights on Thursday. We plan to submit a memo to you early this week summarizing the Bill of Rights and recommending an appropriate response. We are also reviewing possible executive actions to improve the quality of health care in the federal government. We will discuss these proposals in the memo as well. As a lead-up to your announcement on Thursday, we have

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asked the board of the Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA) to brief the Vice President, Secretary Shalala, and Secretary Herman on its upcoming issue, which is dedicated entirely to concerns about health care quality. JAMA representatives are previewing this issue at the National Press Club on Tuesday, and an event with the Vice President on the same day should take advantage of media interest and provide a good basis for your announcement later that week.

4. **Health -- Satcher Nomination:** The Senate adjourned before acting on the nomination of Dr. David Satcher, notwithstanding a 12-5 committee vote in favor of confirmation. Senator Ashcroft placed a hold on the vote on the ground that Dr. Satcher supports the Administration's position on late term abortion. Some have suggested that the Senator took this action solely to position himself for a 2000 Presidential run. Dr. Satcher has never played a prominent role in the abortion debate and has disavowed any intent to use the Office of the Surgeon General to forward any "abortion rights agenda." Dr. Satcher continues to enjoy the strong support of a number of Republican Senators (Frist, Nickles, Jeffords) and of virtually every credible health care group in the nation, including the AMA. Although we are optimistic that the Senate will vote to confirm Dr. Satcher soon after returning in January, we will work hard throughout the recess to ensure that this nomination does not become a referendum on partial birth abortion.

5. **Health -- HHS Study on Take-Up Rates for Health Insurance:** You recently asked about an HHS study showing a decline in take-up rates for health insurance. The study reported on 10-year trends in access to and participation in employer-sponsored health insurance. It found that between 1987 and 1996, the proportion of workers with access to employer-based insurance remained constant at about 82 percent. The proportion of workers accepting that coverage, however, declined from 93 to 89 percent. The decline was most pronounced for young and low-income people; only about 75 percent of the individuals in each of these groups with access to insurance decided to purchase it. The study noted that the decline in take-up rates occurred during a period when premiums increased three times as much as wages. These findings confirm what the Administration has long recognized -- that affordability of insurance is as important as access to insurance. We hope that we will have an opportunity to build next year upon our efforts in granting Medicaid waivers and enacting the Children's Health Insurance Program to provide premium assistance for uninsured Americans.

6. **Tobacco/Health -- Florida Tobacco Settlement and Children's Coverage:** You asked last week whether we could agree to Florida's proposal to keep all the money it will gain from settling with the tobacco industry on condition that it use that money to expand children's health coverage. Current law gives us little room to enter into this kind of arrangement. The statute explicitly requires us to collect a specified share of any Medicaid dollars that states have recaptured. If we do not, private plaintiffs are likely to bring *qui tam* suits on behalf of U.S. taxpayers against Florida and other settling states; recovery in such suits would be split between the federal treasury (70-85 percent) and the private plaintiffs (15-30 percent). Of course, the federal government would have no right to recover (and any *qui tam* suits would fail) if the monies gained from the settlement were not Medicaid-related. But the Department of Justice believes that the damages Florida claimed -- and the amount it received in the settlement -- derive

? *can be created in  
defining what has been "recaptured"*

from costs to the Medicaid program. Given these circumstances, we think it most fruitful to pursue a legislative solution to the problem of allocating tobacco funds between the federal and state governments -- preferably through a comprehensive national settlement, but if necessary (in the event no comprehensive settlement is reached) through legislation authorizing states to retain all Medicaid funds recaptured in tobacco litigation provided they use these funds for agreed-upon purposes.

**7. Tobacco -- Proposed Legislation:** A number of Senators introduced tobacco legislation in the last two weeks. Sen. McCain introduced a bill precisely incorporating the terms of the settlement, except for the addition of provisions to protect tobacco farmers. Sen. Hatch introduced legislation increasing the cost of the settlement from \$368 billion to \$397.5 billion, raising (but not eliminating) the cap on penalties for failing to reduce youth smoking, and amending the FDA provisions, though not in a way that the public health groups will view as much of an improvement. Sen. Kennedy introduced a bill raising the cost of the settlement to more than \$600 billion, primarily by increasing the tobacco excise tax by \$1.50 over three years; the Kennedy bill does not provide tobacco producers with any relief from litigation. Sen. Lautenberg introduced a similar bill, costing \$494 billion.

No one has introduced comprehensive legislation in the House, and last week the Speaker indicated interest in breaking the settlement into a number of separate bills and acting on each as a consensus emerges. Also last week, Rep. Bliley said that he would not move legislation until the tobacco companies release 864 documents currently at issue in Minnesota's lawsuit. (The trial court found that these documents fall within the crime/fraud exception to the attorney-client privilege, but the tobacco companies have appealed this ruling.) Gingrich's and Bliley's statements may suggest a strategy of delay, but could as well have some altogether different meaning.

We are continuing to seek a bipartisan process for enacting comprehensive tobacco legislation. Both the Speaker and Sen. Lott, however, are proceeding slowly -- in part because they have had to attend to more immediately pressing matters, in part because they have not yet settled on an overall tobacco strategy, and in part because so many Members wish to play a role in developing tobacco legislation. We and John Hilley are keeping in close touch with Congressional leadership so that we can take advantage of whatever opportunities emerge in the next few months.

**8. Welfare -- Cessna Event:** At an event in Wichita on Monday, you will dedicate a new state-of-the-art welfare-to-work facility at Cessna Aircraft Company, which is one of the founding members of Eli Segal's Welfare to Work Partnership. You will announce (1) that in six months 2,500 companies from all 50 states have joined the Welfare to Work Partnership -- far exceeding the goal of 1,000 set at the launch of the Partnership; (2) that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has committed to enlist every local chamber of commerce in persuading their members to join the Welfare to Work Partnership; (3) that welfare caseloads fell 236,000 in July 1997, 1.9 million in the 11 months since you signed the welfare law, and 3.8 million since you took office; and (4) that the Departments of Labor and Health and Human Services are issuing new work-focused welfare regulations (see below).

Handwritten notes on the left margin: "I don't know if you can get legislation...".

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9. **Welfare -- New Regulations:** The Administration will announce two sets of new regulations on Monday: (1) proposed regulations from HHS to states operating the TANF program (essentially, the regulations for the entire welfare law), and (2) interim final regulations from the Department of Labor to states and localities receiving grants from the \$3 billion Welfare to Work fund you won in the balanced budget agreement. The welfare to work regulation should arouse little comment. The TANF regulation, by contrast, may provoke extensive reaction from both Governors and advocates. As we told you in a prior weekly report, we worked extensively with HHS on this regulation. In the end, we were able to resolve all issues in a way that we think reinforces the importance of the law's work requirements while giving states flexibility to design welfare reform programs and a fair opportunity to correct any failures.

Under the TANF regulations, states that fail the work rates will be levied a penalty based on performance -- how close they came to meeting the rates. States will have the opportunity to correct or eliminate violations through a corrective compliance plan, and states that make substantial progress during their corrective compliance period will be eligible for a reduced or eliminated penalty. To protect states from unreasonable risk, the penalty for failing to meet the two-parent participation rate will be proportional to the size of the two-parent caseload in the state.

The regulation creates a system of disincentives to prevent states from gaming the work requirements, either by placing hard-to-employ individuals in state maintenance-of-effort programs (where the work rates do not apply) or by reclassifying the benefits received by these individuals as child-only (so that the individuals do not figure in the state's calculation of work rates). If the Secretary finds that a state has diverted recipients into a state program or reclassified benefits as child-only to evade the work requirements, she will refuse to reduce or limit the size of any penalties levied for failing to meet the work rates or time limits. The same disincentives apply when a state places individuals receiving child support payments in its state maintenance-of-effort program so as to prevent the federal government from gaining a share of these payments.

The regulation, like the law, allows states to reduce the required work participation rate by the percent the caseload has declined since 1995, so long as the lower caseloads are not due to new eligibility restrictions. HHS initially proposed that states should not get a credit for caseload reductions attributable to enforcement measures like fingerprinting, but ultimately agreed to change this position.

The regulation also addresses Sen. Murray's concerns about victims of domestic violence without threatening the integrity of the work rules. Under the regulation, a state will not be penalized for failing to meet work rates or time limits if its failure to do so is attributable to granting waivers to victims of domestic violence -- provided that the waivers are temporary and that they are accompanied by services to help the individual prepare for work and self-sufficiency. Sen. Murray may think that the regulation does not go far enough, but we think it represents the best accommodation of the full range of interests.



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1998 ballot to require that Limited English Proficient (LEP) children be taught in English (specifically, in "sheltered English immersion" classes for one year and then in ordinary English-language classes) unless a parent requests bilingual instruction. A recent Los Angeles Times poll found that over 80 percent of Californians supported such an initiative, including 84 percent of Latino voters. Most Hispanic groups have come out against the initiative, as has the California Teachers Association and Sen. Boxer. Other education groups and most public officials (Gov. Wilson, Lt. Gov. Davis, Attorney General Lungren, and Sen. Feinstein) have not yet taken positions on the initiative. The DPC has convened a working group with representation from the Department of Education and other White House offices to review the educational, legal, and political issues this initiative raises and provide you with appropriate analysis and advice. At this early stage, everyone in the group agrees that you should refrain from taking a formal position on the initiative.

agree

**15. Race -- Service Initiatives:** We are working with the Corporation for National Service and the PIR on several race-related service initiatives that you might want to take a part in announcing. The actions are designed to lead up to Martin Luther King Day, which Congress officially designated in 1994 as a day of service -- "a day on, not a day off" -- in recognition of Dr. King's belief in service activities. The CNS will award \$225,000 in mini-grants to 70 communities to organize local days of service in observance of Martin Luther King Day. In addition, Harris Wofford wants to promote something called the "Kindness and Justice Curriculum," which is the brainchild of a youth service group involving Dexter King. The group is encouraging schools and students to do acts of "kindness and justice" in the two weeks leading up to Martin Luther King Day, to discuss them in class, and to post them on the Web. Finally, we are exploring ways to encourage interracial dialogue in the Corporation's service-learning programs, where children serve together and then reflect on that experience in school. These efforts can build on successful AmeriCorps service projects, like the CityYear program, that focus on diversity issues as part of the service experience.

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yes - I should do service that day in interacial effort - hopefully w/ AmeriCorps

Copied  
Silverman