

# JULY/AUGUST 1995 WELFARE REFORM SCHEDULE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	*Dem. MO Mayors Press Conf. on Cost Shift to Cities  *CBPP Release Study on Working Poor	House Dep. Op. Nutrition and For. Ag. Subcomm. Mark Up Food Stamp Title of '95 Farm Bill.	*Child Support Enforcement 20th Anniv. Comm. - DES, MJB  *Mtg. w/Catholics - POTUS, DES	*POTUS Mtg. on Welform w/Sens., State & Local Officials  *Sens. Gramm, Faircloth Press Conf.		
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
*NCSL Annual Conf. Begins (Milwaukee)	*APWA Annual Conf. - MJB	*Covenant House Release Survey	*FRAC Releases Study on Hunger	*POTUS Speech to NCSL  *Sens. Gramm, Ashcroft Press Conf.	*NACO Annual Mtg. Begins (Through 7/25) (Atlanta)	
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
*Nat'l Urban League Annual Conf. Begins (Miami)	*DES Speech to NACO  *DES Site Visit w/Rep. McKinney in Augusta, GA				*DES Town Hall Mtg. on Welform in IA  *DES Ed Board Interview in IA	*NGA Annual Conf. (VT) Begins (Through 8/1) - POTUS
30	31	Aug 1	2	3	4	5
	*POTUS speech to NGA			*Press Conference on Daschle Bill?	*SAP letter?  *Debate Starts?	
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	<i>Daschle substitute?</i>					
	14	15	16	17	18	19

PENDING: \*DLC Event?

In our opinion Philadelphia Daily News  
8-1-95

# Don't be block-headed on welfare

What a difference a year makes. Last summer, some observers wondered whether President Clinton's proposals to "end welfare as we know it" were too harsh.

This summer, exposed to Republican plans that qualify as both bad and worse, the Clinton plan takes on a whole new light.

It looks — well, wise.

But Clinton's plan is dead, right? In Congress, yes, but not in the executive branch. The president yesterday announced a scheme to enact some of it on his own authority.

In a speech to the National Governors Association, the president announced a series of changes in the welfare system that encourage state-led reforms. He would maintain more of a safety net for welfare recipients — and state governments.

The changes would eliminate some of the more galling incentives for welfare recipients to refuse work. They also would speed up approval for states of waivers from federal regulations.

While the Clinton approach would stiffen work requirements, it recognizes more of real-life's complications: ■ Adequate child care would be provided to help welfare recipients fulfill work requirements.

■ If recipients face time limits on benefits, they will be assured of jobs once the money runs out.

Most important, the Clinton plan recognizes that block grants to the states could trigger a disastrous "race to the bottom."

Uncontrolled, one state after another would have incentive to reduce benefits recklessly or to balance their budgets with money intended for poor children. Clinton's plan is closer to the kinds of structures and schemes with decent odds of yielding more taxpayers and fewer rulerless children.

It is easy to understand why Republican presidential candidates Bob Dole and Phil Gramm are eager to dump the welfare problem on the states. They're U.S. senators, after all. They don't have to come face-to-face with the results of their actions.

So it is puzzling that so many Republican governors seem to support such

an avalanche of unfunded mandates. Governors are the ones who will have to raise taxes to deal with rising rates of homelessness and hunger.

Maybe these governors figure they will win the race to the bottom, and that their state's poor people will plow themselves on some other governor's (preferably a Democrat's) doorstep.

Neither Gov. Ridge of Pennsylvania nor Gov. Christine Whittman of New Jersey has the lack of compassion it takes to be a contender in this game.

They ought to find Clinton's proposals — which keep people more freedom with more protection — attractive. ■

# Clinton, Dole Announce Competing Welfare Plans

■ **Reform:** President tentatively OKs California's 'family cap' program. Senator backs 'block grant' approach.

By PAUL RICHTER  
and ELIZABETH SHOGREN  
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

BURLINGTON, Vt.—President Clinton and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole pushed their competing versions of welfare reform before the nation's governors Monday as Clinton announced tentative approval for California to cap the amount of money welfare families can receive for additional children.

Clinton's announcement, made in a speech to the National Governors Assn. convention here where Dole also spoke, came with a package of changes in federal welfare regulations, all designed as examples of the new flexibility the President says his Administration

has brought to federal relations with the states. If states are willing to take full advantage of that flexibility, "we would begin to change welfare fundamentally" and permanently, Clinton said.

The competing speeches by Clinton and Dole came as Republican senators resolved a major issue that had threatened to block Senate action on welfare reform legislation. The new agreement on a formula to govern federal welfare expenditures would provide extra money to low-benefit, high-growth states such as Texas and Arizona, but would leave California and major northeastern states vulnerable if their welfare populations grow beyond current levels.

Please see WELFARE, A5

# WELFARE: Debate in Senate Set to Begin

Continued from A1

With that issue apparently resolved—at least among the majority Republicans—the way appears to be clear for the Senate to begin debate later this week on the welfare bill, which has been stalled in the chamber for most of the summer. The debate could be prolonged, however, as several bitter disputes remain between Democrats and Republicans and between the more conservative and less conservative wings of the GOP.

The dispute among Republicans in the Senate centers on differences between a proposal backed by Dole (R-Kan.) and one pushed by Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), one of Dole's rivals for the GOP presidential nomination.

Dole's plan, which he outlined for the governors, would give states almost unlimited leeway to determine welfare eligibility and shape other features of their social programs. Dole said his proposal would convert federal child care, job training and Aid to Families With Dependent Children into single "block grant" programs under which states would receive lump sums that they would be largely free to disburse to the poor without regulation from Washington. Under Dole's proposal, the states could also choose to receive food stamp money through the same system.

Gramm's proposal, backed by 26 of the Senate's most conservative members, would also employ block grants. But while Dole would allow states to do largely as they please, Gramm would require the states to adopt several conservative proposals that he argues would attack the problem of out-of-wedlock births. His plan would also shift authority over more of the major federal anti-poverty programs than would Dole's plan.

The Gramm plan would prevent states from giving cash benefits to mothers younger than 18 who have babies out of wedlock and would prevent states from increasing the size of a welfare check for families who have additional babies while on the welfare rolls. That provision, the so-called family cap would become part of California's welfare rules under the proposal. Clinton said Washington planned to approve.

Clinton's speech, meanwhile, was part of a White House attempt to gain greater influence over congressional negotiations, or, failing that, to at least lay the groundwork for a veto if the final congressional bill is unacceptable.

Aiming to prove that his Administration is still committed to "end welfare as we know it," Clinton announced new regulations that will enable states to halt additional food stamp spending for welfare recipients who have refused to go to work.

And he offered plans to shorten from 120 days to 30 days the time

the federal government takes to approve state requests to experiment with certain new welfare programs.

Clearly looking for common ground, Clinton praised Dole's proposal to offer the states wide latitude to design their own wel-

fare programs, without the harsh rules favored by conservatives to hold down out-of-wedlock births and force beneficiaries off welfare.

## Rethinking Welfare

• A special package on TimesLink includes an analysis by the Congressional Research Service of the House reform bill, a look at popular myths about the poor, an examination by the National Journal of New Jersey's reform effort and a list of California delegation co-sponsors of the bill.

Details on TimesLink, B6

Dole's plan for "getting rid of ideological strings" is "a very good

start for us to work together," Clinton said.

But he sharply criticized Dole's suggestion that states not be required to put up their own money toward welfare programs. That was a "very bad idea," he said that could leave many families in distress in the event of a recession or other state fiscal crisis.

Dole used Clinton as a foil, reminding the governors that the President has worried that turning social program funds to lump payments would set off a "race to the bottom" in which states competed with each other in making the deepest social service cuts.

"I wonder which states he think would participate in such a race," Dole said. "Which states does he believe cannot be trusted with welfare, education and protection of their people?"

Richter reported from Burlington and Shogren from Washington.

## State to Begin 'Family Cap' on Welfare

By DAVE LESHER  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

SACRAMENTO—State welfare officials prepared Monday to implement one of California's most sweeping and controversial welfare reforms after President Clinton approved letting the state drop additional cash payments for welfare families that have more babies.

The so-called "family cap" is aimed at discouraging births out of wedlock and is based on a view that "if you have additional children while you're on welfare, it shouldn't be the state's obligation to pay for them," said one Clinton Administration official.

Welfare advocates contend, however, that the program is based on the faulty assumption that some poor women become pregnant in order to receive more welfare money. They say the program will simply deprive poor children of proper care.

Aides to Gov. Pete Wilson said Clinton's announcement was welcome. But Wilson, who has embraced a conservative package of welfare reforms as a cornerstone of his term as governor and his presidential race, blasted the President for offering too little, too late.

Clinton on Monday approved two of the five requests for welfare reforms that California has pending before the federal government. He made the announcement during a speech to the National Governors Assn. convention in Burlington, Vt. Together, state officials say the five reforms would save California taxpayers more than \$1 billion a year.

Wilson complained that Clinton has been slow in approving the changes, costing California millions

of dollars. The governor also said he does not believe the state should be required to negotiate changes.

"The President has spent too much time inside the Beltway and must have forgotten his experience as governor," Wilson said Monday. "States are not colonies of the federal government. They should not have to come groveling to federal bureaucrats 3,000 miles away to decide the best course of action at the state and local levels."

The family cap has been adopted by six other states since New Jersey first received permission from the George Bush Administration to use it in 1991. In California, it was part of Proposition 165, a welfare reform ballot measure that was rejected by voters in 1992.

The idea was subsequently rejected by the state Legislature twice before it was finally approved last year.

With the federal clearance announced by Clinton on Monday, state officials said they will soon begin to send out announcements to welfare offices about the pending implementation of the plan. The program will become effective about 10 months after the notices are posted in order to avoid penalizing any women who become pregnant before the plan's activation.

State officials estimate that the program will save California about \$213 million annually beginning with the 1997-98 fiscal year.

In addition to approving the family cap, Clinton also tentatively granted California's request for a waiver from federal welfare rules in order to provide a package of incentives to encourage welfare mothers to get married and gain employment.

# Clinton, Dole pitch competing welfare plans to governors

## Both versions tout flexibility for states

Mercury News Wire Service

BURLINGTON, Vt. — President Clinton and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, his leading Republican rival in next year's presidential race, pushed their competing versions of welfare reform before the nation's governors Monday.

In a speech to the National Governors Association, Clinton announced tentative approval for California to cap the amount of money welfare families can receive for additional children.

Clinton's announcement came along with a package of changes in federal welfare regulations, all designed as examples of the new flexibility the president says his administration has brought to federal relations with the states. If states are willing to take full advantage of that flexibility, "we would begin to change welfare fundamentally" and permanently, Clinton said.

Dole used Clinton as a foil, reminding the governors that the president has worried that turning social program funds to lump payments would set off a "race to

the bottom" in which states competed with each other in making the deepest social service cuts.

Clinton's speech was part of a White House attempt to gain greater influence over congressional negotiations on welfare-reform legislation, or, failing that, to at least lay the groundwork for a veto if the final bill is unacceptable.

Aiming to prove that his administration is still committed to "end welfare as we know it," Clinton announced new regulations that will enable states to halt additional food stamp spending for welfare recipients who have refused to go to work.

And he offered plans to shorten from 120 days to 30 the time the federal government takes to approve state requests to experiment with certain kinds of new welfare programs.

The state programs range from California's efforts to establish a cap on welfare benefits per family so that there is no increase with the birth of a child, to Texas' plan to require parents to prove their children have been immunized or face reductions in

benefits.

The competing speeches by Clinton and Dole came as Republican senators resolved a major issue that had threatened to block Senate action on welfare reform legislation. The new agreement on a formula to govern federal welfare expenditures would provide extra money to low-benefit, high-growth states such as Texas and Arizona, but would leave California and major northeastern states vulnerable if their welfare populations grow beyond current levels.

California welfare rolls have continued to grow, despite efforts by Wilson to curb them.

Dole has been working to broker a compromise around a measure that would change most welfare programs to block grants. State officials would have more discretion than they have now in deciding how to use the money. But poor people would no longer have a legal right or entitlement to assistance and the federal government would put a cap on total spending regardless of economic need.

## THE PROPOSALS

Highlights of the welfare reform proposals by President Clinton and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole:

### Entitlement

- Clinton favors maintaining welfare as an individual entitlement, meaning anyone who meets eligibility standards would qualify for benefits.
- Dole would end this status and send welfare money to states in block grants.

### Welfare to work

- Clinton promised his administration would act within 30 days on requests for state waivers seeking permission to institute a work requirement. But to meet Clinton's criteria, states would have to offer jobs to those willing to work and provide child care for parents who work.
- Dole would require states to establish a program to induce welfare recipients to work but would not require federal approval of such plans.

### Food stamps

- Clinton promised "fast track" consideration of requests for waivers from states seeking permission to use food stamp funds as cash subsidies for private employers to hire welfare recipients. Clinton also ordered the government to deny additional food stamp benefits to welfare recipients who refuse to take jobs.
- Dole would give states the option of getting their food stamp money in a block grant.

### Waivers

- Clinton granted Utah, Texas, West Virginia and California waivers to experiment with welfare reform. California's waiver gives it permission to impose a "family cap" — meaning it can deny additional benefits to mothers who have babies while on welfare. Clinton said he was close to approving a waiver for Massachusetts.
- Dole said waivers had resulted in successful state welfare experiments but that it was time to let states proceed without asking permission.

Source: Associated Press

# Welfare waivers favored

By Herbert A. Sample  
Bee Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON - President Clinton said Monday he would let California implement two experimental welfare programs, including one that would bar benefit increases for recipients who had additional children.

But aides to Gov. Pete Wilson said the state and federal government had not yet reached agreement on the welfare waivers, and a letter from a top Clinton administration official to Wilson noted that the process has some ways to go yet.

Clinton announced his intention to approve the waivers during his presentation of a broader welfare reform package to the National Governors' Association, meeting in Burlington, Vt.

Three other states - West Virginia, Utah and Texas - were officially granted waivers from federal law Monday, allowing them to proceed with their experiments. But formal approval of California's program is still several weeks away.

Donna Shalala, secretary of Health and Human Services, wrote in a letter to Wilson late last week that state and federal officials were resolving technical problems with the requests and that a proposed accord would be sent to state officials this week.

The more significant of the two experiments, called a "family cap," would allow officials to end automatic benefit increases to poor mothers receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children who give birth to additional children.

The second experiment, called "welfare," would provide transitional benefits to families whose mothers become ineligible for AFDC because of marriage.

Both programs would run until 1999.

# AUGUST/SEPTEMBER 1995 WELFARE REFORM SCHEDULE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
August 27	28	29	30	31	Sept. 1	2
	*MJB meets with Seattle Post-Intelligencer Ed Board	*MJB - radio interview on Welfare Reform (KOMO)	*National Eligibility Workers Asso.- MJB  *MJB meets with Las Vegas Review Ed Board	*MJB talks with the Salem Statesman Journal (OR) and Philadelphia Inquirer Ed Boards	*MJB talks with Philadelphia Inquirer and Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Ed Boards	
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
			*Welfare Debate Starts?  *Senate Democrats Press Conference?  *ACF National JOBS Conference (Sept.6-8 in DC)			
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
		*National Assoc. of Human Services Quality Control Directors Conference (Wilmington, DE) -MJB  *MJB Headstart Site Visit-Wilmington, DE  *Olivia Golden (ACYF) interview with Denver Post Ed Board		*"Making Welfare Work" (Office of Child Support Enforcement Conference-ACF)		
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

*Pending: Release of new state-by-state numbers (New Dole Bill Analysis)*

# The flawed premise of welfare reform

*Big government initiatives don't seem to work*

**W**hen the Senate resumes debate on welfare reform this month, many lawmakers will argue that Washington must take stern measures to discourage unmarried welfare recipients from having more children. Such government activism on behalf of conservative goals has become a cornerstone of the Republican approach to fighting illegitimacy.

But that approach ignores several decades of social experimentation that yield a sobering conclusion: There is almost no sign that government knows how to discourage single mothers from having babies. Nor is it very effective at encouraging marriage for the sake of the kids; tax and welfare policies with that aim have had little impact. The recent flurry of proposals to accomplish those goals is "based more on hope than on any evidence," says political scientist Lawrence Mead of Princeton University.

**'Welfare queens.'** Welfare has been a hot issue for many years, intensifying during the 1980s when Ronald Reagan condemned "welfare queens" who, he argued, lived the good life at taxpayer expense. And middle-class Americans today seem as angry as ever that welfare costs \$26 billion a year, even as the illegitimacy rate soars: Almost one quarter of white children and two thirds of black children are now born to single parents. A *U.S. News* poll found that 65 percent of voters favor denying welfare increases for poor mothers if they have more babies.

Well aware of voter anger, politicians are desperate to take action. But many experts think they may be exaggerating the possibilities of reform. "It's like the alchemist's dream of turning lead into gold," says Tom Corbett of the University of Wisconsin's Institute for Research on Poverty. "If you just change the welfare system, you'll somehow create a brand new society."



**Tough critic.** Barbara Bautista blames the emphasis on "sex, sex, sex" — not welfare — for illegitimacy. "No one," she says, "should have kids unless they can support them."

Current proposals to cure the illegitimacy epidemic are a case in point. Reformers want to curb unwed births through radical changes in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. Perhaps the biggest change, already approved by the House, is awaiting action in the Senate: Unmarried teens would no longer receive federal welfare checks if they gave birth.

Yet no one knows how young women would respond to such a change since the proposition has never been tested. What is known from research by the Urban Institute, the Brookings Institution and other organizations that study social problems is this: The level of wel-

fare benefits has almost no effect on a woman's decision to have children. Just as important, sometimes the effects of social experimentation are quite unintended. In New Jersey, which froze benefits for additional kids in 1992, Rutgers University researchers saw a big initial dip in births, but partly for a reason that lawmakers had not anticipated: More women were having abortions. More recent studies show that the New Jersey crackdown has had minimal impact on illegitimacy.

**No surprise.** Such findings don't surprise many welfare recipients. Barbara Bautista, 39, of Culpeper, Va., a twice-married mother of six who has received AFDC since 1991, can't imagine that a meager change in her welfare allotments would have influenced her decision to have or defer kids. And she does not think other young women should expect taxpayers to foot the bill for their children. Bautista supports Virginia's new welfare law, which denies increases for additional babies and requires young mothers to live at home and stay in school in order to receive welfare. "I think they should get really tough on people who have kids they can't support," Bautista says. "It's unfair to bring kids into the world if you're going to have to deprive them."

While government seems powerless to affect such intimate decisions as childbearing and marriage, which hinge on complex cultural forces such as peer pressure, smaller efforts have persuaded the poor to make responsible choices. In Ohio, a program that pays teen mothers on welfare an extra \$62 each month if they attend school regularly — and fines them for too many absences — increased the high school graduation rate. Similarly, when Maryland required AFDC mothers to take their children for medical checkups and immunizations or lose \$25 a month in benefits, the vaccination rate rose 43 percent. And in Maine, fathers facing revocation of their driver's or professional licenses for failure to pay child support soon poned up in record numbers. Increasingly, under programs authorized by the Clinton administration, other states are copying these and other successful programs aimed at promoting desired behavior — but in a limited way. ■

BY DORIAN FRIEDMAN

Wash. Times; 9-5-95

## Charting the state of welfare

Even by the appalling standards and results of U.S. welfare policy, the chart that appeared in this space last Friday exaggerated the depths of the situation that prevails in some of this nation's largest cities.

Last month Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat, appeared on the floor of the Senate citing statistics showing that nearly two out of three children in Los Angeles and nearly four out of five children in Detroit lived in households receiving the government's basic welfare grant, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). At the request of The Washington Times' editorial page, Sen. Moynihan's office faxed a copy of a chart listing the 10 largest U.S. cities and the percentage of each city's children relying on AFDC, which was developed by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Regrettably, the information was incorrect.

Nearby is a chart with updated, expanded, and presumably correct, information that HHS subsequently sent to Sen. Moynihan's office, which then forwarded it the editorial page. The revised chart offers both a snapshot of welfare dependency of children in our largest cities (at a "point in time") and a more expansive statistic incorporating all children whose families relied on AFDC during any portion of an entire year. Clearly, neither classification places Los Angeles or Detroit in nearly as dreadful a position as conveyed by HHS's initial, incorrect tallies.

It should also be noted, however, that the earlier chart understated the problem of pervasive welfare dependency in other cities: New York and Philadelphia, for example. The revised chart offers no solace to anybody interested in the future of our great cities and the children who live in them.

It's been 30 years since the federal government ini-

### ESTIMATED RATES OF AFDC CASELOADS in major cities (Feb. 2993)

	Percentage of children on AFDC at a point in time	Percentage of children on AFDC within a year
New York	30%	39%
Los Angeles	29%	38%
Chicago	38%	46%
Detroit	50%	67%
Philadelphia	44%	57%
San Diego	23%	30%
Houston	18%	22%
Phoenix	15%	18%
San Antonio	14%	21%
Dallas	16%	20%

Source: Department of Health and Human Services

The Washington Times

tiated its so-called War on Poverty. During that time more than \$5 trillion was expended fighting it. What has been accomplished? As the Senate reconsiders the various welfare-reform proposals during the next few weeks, let us keep in mind that anything less than revolutionary in scope is likely to have little long-term impact on these depressing statistics and the numerous pathologies and deviancies that derive from them.

Wash. Times; 9-1-95

## Welfare shock

Having spent the better part of the past four decades analyzing the statistical fallout of the welfare and illegitimacy crises enveloping our great cities, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan never has needed hyperbole to describe the dreadful consequences of failed social policies. Perhaps that is because the New York Democrat possesses the uncanny ability to develop or cite pithy statistics that shock even the most jaded welfare analyst, case-worker, senatorial colleague or reporter.

Several weeks ago, Sen. Moynihan, appearing on one of the ubiquitous Sunday morning interview shows, shocked his questioners (and, undoubtedly, his television audience) by revealing that nearly two-thirds of the children residing in Los Angeles, the nation's second largest city, lived in families relying on the basic welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). To illustrate that Los Angeles was not unique, he observed that nearly four of every five (!) Detroit children received AFDC benefits.

The accompanying chart details the extent to which residents in the 10 largest U.S. cities have become dependent on AFDC — and the government. After about three decades of fighting the War on Poverty, during which time more than \$5.4 trillion (in constant 1993 dollars) has been expended, perhaps no single statistic offers more proof of the war's unmitigated failure

than the fact that federal and state governments provide the financial support of 38 percent of all children living in the country's 10 largest cities.

How does one begin to address such a horrendous problem? For all the talk among Democrats, particularly President Clinton, about the need for increased spending for education to help underwrite welfare reform, it's worth recalling that real (inflation-adjusted) spending for elementary and secondary education has dramatically escalated since the federal government declared war on poverty. Indeed, some of the highest per pupil expenditures occur in the largest cities. Unfortunately, as spending increased, test scores plummeted.

In a more serious tone, Mr. Moynihan approving-

ly cited the 1966 report on the Equality of Educational Opportunity (the Coleman Report), which "determined that after a point there is precious little association between school resources and school achievement. The resources that matter are those the student brings to the school, including community traditions that value education. Or don't."

Sen. Moynihan has offered his own welfare-reform plan, which, unlike any Republican plan in the House and Senate, would retain AFDC's entitlement status without placing any time restrictions on recipients. Despite the underwhelming success of federal job-training and job-placement programs, his plan places great emphasis on more of the same. Attacking the

### AFDC CASELOAD OF 10 LARGEST CITIES IN THE U.S. (1992)

City	Number of AFDC children	As a proportion of all children
New York, NY	478,895	28.4%
Los Angeles, CA	534,528	61.8%
Chicago, IL	314,706	43.7%
Houston, TX	110,860	24.8%
Philadelphia, PA	115,697	31.3%
San Diego, CA	117,197	44.2%
Dallas, TX	61,545	20.2%
Phoenix, AZ	66,770	24.3%
Detroit, MI	234,910	78.7%
San Antonio, TX	52,340	19.6%

Source: Department of Health and Human Services

The Washington Times

Republicans' proposals to cancel welfare's entitlement status and enforce time restrictions, Sen. Moynihan frets that "we don't know enough" to design programs that attempt to influence the behavior of poor people.

Take another look at the figures in the chart provided by the senator. They represent a small fraction of the statistical indictment against the failed welfare policies of the liberal welfare state. Tinkering around the edges of such failure without seeking to change the behavior that three decades of the War on Poverty have produced, will surely not solve any of the many social problems that accompany dependency on the scale depicted in the chart. That much we do know.

## Editorials &amp; Op-Ed

Wash. Times; 9-1-95

## Escape from the welfare trap

By Robert A. Sirico

The standard literature on welfare reform, steeped in positivist methods, leaves out a central component of human nature: even welfare recipients have free will. They can choose to stay on welfare or they can choose to drop it. The decision often has more to do with the particulars of government policies than with actual individual circumstance.

I'm reminded of the point by an unnoticed, yet extraordinarily interesting, demographic trend that popped up earlier this year. Some welfare recipients unexpectedly gave up the dole without any change in underlying economic data.

The key fact is this: When the Republicans captured a majority in Congress last year, nearly everyone, including welfare recipients, believed that the day of the free ride was coming to an end.

Congressional leaders warned that programs will be cut and abolished. Even those designed to serve the poor would be reconsidered. Though no omnibus legislation has become law, social trends had begun to reflect this new reality, inspiring people to change their behavior.

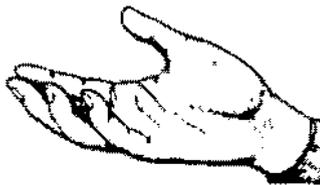
As a result, food stamp rolls have already fallen dramatically. Acting on their own free will, more than one million people have stopped taking food stamps since this time last year. The bulk of this drop has occurred since January, the very time that Congress convened to announce a new policy on entitlements. During the previous four years, the rolls had steadily swelled, sometimes expanding by 40,000 recipients per week.

Even without legislation, then, the problem of welfare dependency has started to abate. People are factoring in expectations of what this

new Congress will do and acting accordingly. They are reassessing their own personal situations and drawing on their own and their community's resources.

Poor people are a lot smarter than social scientists give them credit for being. Like everyone else, they plan ahead, with a view toward a certain amount of future financial stability, which sometimes leads them to the want ads and to churches and community organizations.

This encouraging trend also suggests that welfare reform might be easier than some people think. When welfare no longer offers an easy way out, millions more will be persuaded to become more independent, developing individual and entrepreneurial skills. The more



people that drop relief, the more government saves money.

Food stamps cost taxpayers \$27 billion per year, making it the largest single welfare program. Including administration, food stamps cost taxpayers approximately \$1,000 per year, per recipient. With 1 million people suddenly out of the program, Congress could enact an immediate \$1 billion cut because the appropriation is no longer needed.

The best way to ensure that this trend continues is to make even larger cuts, further pushing people away from dependence on government and toward economic participation. But if Congress does not follow through on its promises — and it appears it will not — we can expect a snapback to the status quo, as people realize that this Congress is no more serious about cuts than previous administrations promising the same.

Don't expect those with a special interest in a welfare program to cel-

brate when its customer base declines. The bureaucracies desire the growth. This is the paradox of welfare bureaucracies: they are supposed to help people; instead they lobby for their own institutional gain.

The case of food stamps offers an additional complication. The primary beneficiaries of this program are not those who get free food, but those who sell their food to the government. The program is administered by the Department of Agriculture, a New Deal agency designed to help farmers, not the Department of Health and Human Services.

The food growers, then, are the ones most likely to complain as people begin to drop off the rolls. If the Agriculture Department, in combination with influential agricultural interests, succeed in keeping the largess flowing, it will be at the expense of a vulnerable population that desperately needs new answers.

These agricultural lobbyists won't be entirely candid about their motives. They will say, as great practitioners of "compassion," that the poor will starve without food stamps. But here's another trend that bears reflection: charitable giving is also increasing during the past year.

Private charity tends to be inversely related to growth of government welfare. For example, the high point of American charitable giving predates the Great Society. As today's budget cuts go into effect, people will reach deeper into their pockets to help those genuinely in need.

To understand these two trends requires that we think about welfare reform as more than a static sequence of economic trends. What Washington does changes people's views of how they should live.

The models of the social scientists do not show it, but even poor people have free will and can exercise it wisely. Even the perception of cuts in welfare helps people realize that independence is in their own interests. By making real cuts in the welfare state, policy makers can make the common good coincide with a sound fiscal policy.

*Paulist Father Robert A. Sirico is president of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty in Grand Rapids, Michigan.*

# Power to change welfare system lies with states, Hudson Institute says

By Cheryl Wetzstein  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A6

While Congress can and should enact welfare reform, the states are going to make the most tangible changes to their welfare systems, the president of a leading think tank said yesterday.

"I hope Congress does something. It doesn't make much difference what it does because the real action in welfare policy has to occur at the state level," Hudson Institute President Leslie Lenkowsky told editors and reporters at The Washington Times.

"The problem now is that, with the exception of [Wisconsin] Gov. Tommy Thompson and a handful of others, most governors are sitting on their hands, waiting to see what Congress will do, rather than doing what is completely within their own powers to do today.

"If [Senate Majority Leader]

Bob Dole produces a real block grant, that will be fine," said Mr. Lenkowsky, a veteran social-policy expert and former professor at Georgetown University.

"If Bill Clinton can really get HHS to grant waivers on 30 days' notice, which I tend to doubt, that would be fine," he said, referring to the president's pledge to speed Department of Health and Human Services approval for changes in how states run federal welfare programs.

"If [Texas Republican Sen. Phil Gramm] wants to stick all sorts of provisions on, it won't matter. Most of these provisions are useless. They're more symbolic than actual," Mr. Lenkowsky said.

Even the most radical welfare reforms such as the "family cap," in which welfare mothers are not given more cash to care for children born on welfare, are not likely to greatly reduce welfare

dependency, he said.

"I call it the 15 percent solution" — reforms that are "statistically significant but modest in their effects," he said.

And while the Senate is expected to pass its welfare reform bill by mid-September and send a joint Senate-House bill to Mr. Clinton shortly thereafter, many governors already are moving forward with welfare reforms, Mr. Lenkowsky said.

Congressional reforms will clarify issues and regulations for states, he added, but governors already have considerable leeway to make changes — as evidenced in Wisconsin, where the Hudson Institute has helped design a system to replace that state's welfare system by 1998.

States will still have to face three hurdles in welfare reform: state legislatures, the federal waiver process and challenges in



Photo by Bert V. Decker/The Washington Times  
Leslie Lenkowsky heads the Hudson Institute, which worked on Wisconsin's welfare reform.

the courts.

The courts are likely to be the severest testing grounds, Mr. Lenkowsky added. Welfare reform will introduce "a lot of discretion" into the system.

# GOP meanness will make the welfare problem worse

By Sally Steenland

**W**hen a 25-year-old woman in New Jersey got pregnant two years ago, her boyfriend promised to support her and the baby. Instead, he took off.

The woman became seriously ill and had to drop out of Ramapo College, where she'd been taking business courses. In the spring of 1992 she gave birth to a daughter and went on welfare.

Then she was raped. To her horror, she became pregnant again. However, when her new baby was born in the fall of 1993, the state refused to provide her with additional support because a new "family cap" law forbade payments to additional children borne by welfare mothers. Moreover, the state filed to track down her boyfriend and force him to come up with child support payments. Forced out of her home, she and her two children became homeless.

This case, cited in a lawsuit filed last year by Legal Services of New Jersey, illustrates the harsh consequences of that state's "family cap" law. The suit, filed in federal court in northern New Jersey, seeks to overturn the New Jersey law. But not just New Jersey is cracking down on welfare mothers; they are the latest target of the newly dominant Republican Party.

If a 30-year-old single woman with a 13-year-old child gets laid off from her job and applies for welfare for the first time, she will be turned down because she had a baby before she turned 18. No matter that her baby was born before the Republican law was passed — all underage single mothers and their children will be denied benefits permanently.

Furthermore, states can cut off Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits in families after two years, even if the mother is eager but unable to find a job. After five years, families must be cut off forever.

A woman who loses her assistance can also lose her children. According to the Republican plan, states will have the power to split up impoverished families, even when the mother is neither abusive nor neglectful. Children can be placed in orphanages at an estimated annual cost of \$30,000 per child.

Orphanages? You bet. But don't fret. A Republican on Capitol Hill reassured me that modern-day orphanages won't be nearly so bad as the scary ones a hundred years ago.

This politician said other things too. He claimed that the glitter of welfare lures girls into motherhood, that AFDC mothers squander their checks

on drugs; that housing shortages would disappear if poor people got married rather than lived separately.

OK, so this guy doesn't have a clue. But he's far from alone in his frustration with the current welfare system. Most taxpayers and welfare recipients are fed up, too.

After all, how do we decrease teenage pregnancy, reduce welfare rolls and lessen the rate of poverty?

I'm no expert, but I am wary of solutions that are simplistic, vindictive and harsh. And that's what these Republican proposals are. Whether naive or malicious, they play on stereotypes and aim to punish.

Real solutions must address real problems — not spring from misguided notions of lazy cheats draining the national budget.

In actuality, AFDC benefits add up to only 1 percent of the national budget. Moreover, the vast majority of welfare mothers aren't teenagers but women in their 20s and 30s, with only two children. And 70 percent leave the system within two years.

Here are more facts. Nobody gets rich on welfare. Monthly payments range from a mere \$120 to \$366 for families with two children. Even when these benefits are combined with food stamps, families still fall far below the poverty line.

Getting a job seems the answer. But while jobs do get women off welfare, they don't necessarily lift women out of poverty. Half of all welfare mothers haven't graduated from high school. Minimum wage jobs can't pay for child care, health insurance, food and rent.

The truth is that many poor women leave jobs and go back on welfare because even when working full-time, they can't afford child care or health insurance.

What is the Republican response to this no-win trap? Eliminate benefits, break up families and spend billions on orphanages.

That 25-year-old woman in New Jersey wanted a business career, not a life on welfare. Unfortunately, she encountered adversities that would undo the sturdiest among us — rape, serious illness, desertion by a loved one. And then she got punished by the state — perhaps because retribution costs less than education and training, child and health care.

Her calamity offers a preview of what's to come if the Republican welfare plan becomes law. You think the homeless problem skyrocketed in the 1980s? Just wait. You ain't seen nothing yet.

Sally Steenland is a frequent contributor to the Commentary Page.

# Weld to seek approval of compromise welfare plan

By CONNIE PAIGE

In a major policy shift, Gov. William F. Weld said yesterday he would request federal approval of a compromise welfare plan when President Clinton returns from his Wyoming vacation.

Weld said he would probably drop his insistence on a strict two-year limit on welfare benefits and advocate for the proposal made by three state senators for a three-year limit.

"We may try to work something down the middle along the lines of what Murray, O'Brien and Jajuga suggested," he said.

Sens. Therese Murray (D-Plymouth), John D. O'Brien Jr. (D-Andover) and James P. Jajuga (D-Methuen) recommended the compromise earlier this month after Weld balked at conditional federal permission for state welfare reform.

The condition was that recipients who couldn't find work after two years could continue

getting benefits.

But Murray — one of the architects of the reform package passed by the Legislature earlier this year — immediately scoffed at Weld's plan as mere politicking that federal officials won't accept.

"I don't think it will break the logjam," she said yesterday. "If it could have, it would have — three weeks ago."

Murray also blasted Weld for what she said was his failure to exercise leadership on welfare reform.

She cited his absence from the state to work on the presidential campaign of California Gov. Pete Wilson and his recent public speculation about challenging U.S. Sen. John F. Kerry.

"He's not acting like a governor," Murray said. "A governor is supposed to be an administrator and a manager and get things done. He's not doing that."

She continued, "I think he'll use any tool he can to further whatever political plans he has. If he feels he can embarrass the president by doing this, he will."

Murray said she, O'Brien and Jajuga discovered their compro-

mise proposal wouldn't fly soon after they made it.

She said the Clinton administration is worried that fixed time limits don't provide enough of a "safety net" for recipients who can't find work and for their children.

The governor should allow the state to implement the rest of the reform while working out how to handle time limits, Murray said.

"It's so frustrating for people who put so much time into this. Everyone's ready to do something. All the governor has to do is say, 'OK, let's do it.'"

The sweeping Massachusetts reform law requires recipients with children over 6 to work within 60 days or perform community service.

It also puts a cap on a recipient having children while on welfare and requires teen mothers to live at home or in a structured setting and attend school.

"We were one of the few states that was at the head of this," Murray said. "Now we're going to be one of the last states."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE (IL) AUGUST 23, 1995

# City health leaders blast welfare plans

By Cindy Schreuder  
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

Several Chicago health and social service officials said Tuesday that Republican welfare reform proposals would mean millions of dollars in cuts to public health programs for the city's most vulnerable residents, especially children.

Republican proposals under consideration by Congress would mean substantial cuts to federal programs that subsidize school lunches, foster care, adoption and child abuse services, child care, food stamps, health care and substance abuse programs, said Sheila Lyne, commissioner for the Chicago Department of Public Health.

"We're not talking that reform is not necessary, we're talking about what appears to be the meat-ax approach without looking at what the consequences will be," said Lyne.

Flanked by a half-dozen leaders of area social service agencies, Lyne released a report by the city's Public Health Department detailing some of the proposed cuts to welfare. For example, Illinois' child protection services may lose \$158 million over the next five years under Republican plans, according to the report.

The final shape of welfare reform is still several revisions and perhaps many months from being determined. Still, debate surrounding it has been contentious, both within the Republican Party—as conservative and moderate politicians float different ideas—as well as between Democrats and Republicans.

In early August, Senate Republicans agreed to postpone until September a vote on welfare reform. Politicians in both parties said the next few weeks would be used to gather voters' opinions on welfare reform.

To that end, politicians, especially Democrats, have been stirring debate about the potential social effects of Republican welfare and public health proposals.

Former Democratic presidential candidate Paul Tsongas was in Chicago Tuesday, talking with groups about health care reform. On Thursday, politicians including U.S. Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun (D-ILL) and U.S. Rep. Dick Durbin (D-ILL) will hold hearings to spotlight proposed Medicare and Medicaid cuts. Such hearings are being held around the country this summer.

In examining the welfare system, Republicans and Democrats have favored measures that would require welfare recipients to work, but they have differed over how to accomplish that.

Lyne said she also favors welfare reform and believes that many recipients want to work. But they either cannot find jobs, do not have needed job skills, or get tripped up by difficulties such as transportation and child care.

"The people I work with in the inner city, they want to work, but without a job, taking away the [public] assistance leaves nothing but more children unprotected," Lyne said. "I really do believe it comes down to jobs."

To ensure that people have an opportunity to work, Lyne said, support for such things as job training and child care must be maintained.

"What Congress is calling welfare reform a lot of children are going to be calling empty stomachs," said Lisa Baum of Children and Youth 2000, who spoke at Tuesday's press conference.

"They want to punish someone if they don't work," Baum said of GOP reform supporters. "They want to punish someone if they stay on assistance too long. They want to punish adults, but they're not thinking about how it affects children."

"You can't separate the two."

# GOP Plan For Welfare Hurts Kids, Group Says

BY DEBORAH ALEXANDER  
STAFF WRITER

The Republican-sponsored federal welfare reform legislation would hurt the most vulnerable and least able to help themselves—children, according to an analysis by the Chicago Department of Public Health.

Cuts under reform would lead to increases in child abuse and neglect, infant mortality and communicable diseases, according to the report compiled by the department and an ad hoc group of health and human services agencies.

Proposals also would have an impact on the disabled, substance abusers, people with AIDS and legal immigrants, the report said.

"This meat-ax approach will have people left uncovered and untreated," said Public Health Commissioner Sheila Lyne at a news conference Tuesday at the DePaul Center, 333 S. State. "I'm not saying that reform is not necessary, but they are not looking at the consequences."

Under the GOP-sponsored proposal, "safety net" programs designed to assist the less fortunate would no longer be viewed as entitlements, Lyne said, and the federal government would provide states with a fixed level of funding in block grants.

The report estimated that if child care funds were placed in block grants, Illinois would lose \$68 million over five years and in the year 2000 alone would lose \$20 million.

The solution is the creation of more jobs, Lyne said.

The report also predicted other effects of welfare reform on Illinois children:

- Thirty percent—nearly 14,000—of children who receive Supplemental Security Insurance would be ineligible for cash benefits resulting in the loss of \$100 million.
- Illinois abuse and neglect, adoption and foster care services would lose \$158 million over the next five years leaving more children in abusive or neglectful settings.

## THE GREEN SHEET

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THE OREGONIAN

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1995

## Reform welfare reform

*Senators should use recess to reconsider welfare bill, emphasizing opportunity rather than punishment*

**D**elaying Senate debate on welfare reform until after the August recess could be the pause that refreshes. Senators should use this time to consider much-needed improvements to advance the goal of successfully getting people off welfare and into productive, working lives.

That should keep lawmakers busy; there's no shortage of shortcomings in this flawed bill sponsored by Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan. If senators devote part of their break to talking to people who actually see the welfare issues close-up, those problems should become clearer.

Following the House bill, Dole's bill would end welfare as an entitlement, and turn Aid to Families with Dependent Children over to the states in the form of block grants. The job section of the bill is no more than a timetable for dumping people from the welfare rolls.

One truly stunning departure from the House bill would eliminate any requirement that states partly fund their own programs.

Worst, it fails miserably in providing child-care assistance. Senate Democrats have aptly dubbed it the "Home Alone" bill because it will force poor parents to choose between leaving their children without adequate day care or being penalized with a loss of all benefits.

The only improvement from the House version is that Dole's bill doesn't require states to deny assistance to unwed teen-age mothers and legal immigrants; it leaves that to the states' discretion.

With provisions such as these, Dole's bill didn't need to go far to drum up opposition. But some of the bitterest criticism has come from the Republican right, charging that by not forcing states to refuse aid to unwed mothers, it didn't go far enough to discourage out-of-wedlock births.

Fortunately, the slim, eight-member Republican majority in the Senate — 54 to 48 Democrats — calls for more cooperative lawmaking. That has the

potential to be a good thing. □

Two overriding principles should guide the overhaul of welfare. First, nothing undertaken in the name of reform should harm children. Second, welfare reform's chief goal should aim to move able adults into the work force.

From that perspective, several areas of the Dole proposal clearly invite reworking:

- Adequate, affordable child care must be part of any reform. People receive Aid for Families with Dependent Children because they have child-care responsibilities, and Oregon's successful programs have shown that lack of child-care support is a major roadblock to parental employment. The \$200 monthly tax credit in Dole's plan helps but falls far short of the needs of poor families. Anyone who thinks in terms of a \$10-a-day child-care allowance has an overactive imagination.

- Jobs and training: Able-bodied welfare recipients must be trained for jobs that actually exist.

This is where states are indeed best-suited to design their own programs. State authorities know their local job markets and have better lines on training resources than do federal officials.

- There is no disagreement that unwed teen-age mothers and their children are at a severe disadvantage, but conservatives' insistence that states turn their backs on teen-agers will only create greater desperation for young people.

Again, the Oregon experience suggests that it's better to use the benefits to encourage productive behavior — such as completing school — than to revoke the benefits as punishment. □

Reforming the system shouldn't be about punishment. It should be about getting people off welfare and into productive, responsible lives. Doing the first without the second isn't reform; it's a legislative shrug.

Boston Globe  
AUG. 22, 1995

## Weld to AFDC moms: tough luck

### BRUCE FULLER

Millions of children will indulge in some awesome shopping sprees over the next couple of weeks. Back-to-the-mall now ritually precedes back-to-school in American society. Caitlin, my 6-year-old daughter, wouldn't dream of showing up at school without a Pocahontas lunch box. My son, Dylan, promises a work slowdown until we buy a Shaq T-shirt for his school's opening day.

But let me interrupt your retail nightmare to present a more sobering scenario, unfolding in another world.

Thousands of impoverished women will soon receive a letter from Gov. Weld that sternly implores them to stop shopping, stop mothering and, well, get a job. A small postscript should appear at the bottom of the letter adding a shocking proviso: Don't expect to find any child care for your toddler. And if your child is school-age, you better find a friendly zunt, because the state will not be supporting additional after-school programs. Besides, you will be working at minimum wage from 9 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. each day. You can easily take home \$150 a week.

This is not fantasy. Some 35,400 impoverished mothers in Massachusetts will be pushed into this scary story within a matter of weeks - if Weld wins his battle with Washington over a two-year limit on welfare benefits.

The governor has deftly out-manuevered the Clinton administration, successfully focusing public attention on what might be called the "laggard issue," the quarter of all welfare recipients who remain on Aid to Families with Dependent Children for more than two years. Weld argues we should just cut these women - and their pre-school-age children - off public assistance. The old-turkey provision - and Democrats' opposition to it - led to a defeat for Sen. Bob Dole as he

tried to hurry the welfare-reform bandwagon through Congress.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, speaking recently on the Senate floor, rightfully emphasized that the Republican goal of cutting upward of 40 percent of all single mothers off the welfare rolls as they move into jobs is ludicrous without adequate financing for additional child-care slots. To implement the Republican bill, hundreds of thousands of new day-care and after-school spaces would be required for the 4.5 million children of single mothers receiving AFDC nationwide. But elsewhere in Congress, Republicans have voted for cuts in spending for child care and Head Start.

### Weld has successfully focused public attention on the 'laggard issue.'

Republican leaders know they gain popular support when they're pushing to get the "laggards" off welfare. But voters need to know that only a small percentage of women remain on welfare for more than two years - and those who do include the difficult to employ, often young mothers with children. Moderate Republicans, like Maine's Olympia Snowe, are finally nudging Dole to take seriously the likely fallout that will beset young children.

Clinton would do an enormous service hanging tough and just saying "no" to the Weld reform plan. Looking ahead to 1996, the president greatly fears being painted as the one who dragged his feet on this morally charged issue. But the administration - eager to look flexible on almost any state's request to waive protective regulations - has drawn no clear line in the sand for when children will be placed

in harm's way. The president remains in a defensive posture, rather than focusing the debate on how children will be put at risk.

If Weld gets his way, about one-third of the state's 100,000 welfare mothers will be required to quickly find a job or enter job training. But even with a supplemental appropriation from Beacon Hill, only about 6,000 new child-care slots will be provided. The numbers simply don't add up.

The lucky women receiving the governor's letter will be left with a frightening range of preschool and after-school options: rely on a father who is flaky at best, abusive at worst; depend on slightly older siblings or utilize unlicensed, often unsafe, family day-care providers who charge very little for very dismal services.

Affluent Boston suburban families benefit from a more plentiful supply of child-care slots, about 40 percent higher per capita than poor communities, such as Dorchester and Roxbury, according to a recent Harvard study. After-school programs also are plentiful and affordable for most middle-class and yuppie households, especially when both parents have good jobs. (Back-to-school shoppers will spend over five times more at Massachusetts malls this month than the commonwealth will spend on child care this year.)

So, as you spend your remaining afternoons at the mall - digging through piles of slick vinyl lunch bags and synthetic jerseys - think about whether our political leaders are honestly confronting the stark realities that face poor women and their youngsters each day. Or, are these politicking players simply acting out yet another summertime fantasy?

*Bruce Fuller is associate professor of comparative policy at Harvard's Graduate School of Education and codirector of the Child Care and Family Policy Project.*

# THE GREEN SHEET

News About the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

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Wall St. Jnl., 8-21-95-

## Depth of Welfare Cuts Under GOP Plan Depends As Much on the States as It Does on Washington

By CHRISTOPHER GEORGES **A10**  
*Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL*  
 WASHINGTON—The Republicans' welfare plan would decimate child-support funding, argues New York Democratic Sen. Daniel Moynihan. Not so, replies Texas Republican Sen. Phil Gramm, who says funding will essentially remain at current levels for years to come.

Who knows best? Perhaps neither. Instead, ask Susan John, an assemblywoman in the New York state Legislature. For, while Congress battles over future welfare spending, the fate of the program's overall funding level may depend as much on the decisions of more than 7,000 state legislators such as Ms. John as on any action Washington takes.

That's because the GOP bill would no longer require states, starting in 1996, to invest any of their own funds in welfare to get federal funds. Currently, states provide nearly 45%—or about \$10 billion annually—of the funding for Aid to Families with Dependent Children. As things stand now, if states don't spend that money on welfare, they don't get Uncle Sam's money to go along with it.

### 'A Double Whammy'

So what will state legislators do if that changes? Whether in New York, one of the states most generous to welfare recipients, or Alabama, one of the stingiest, many are

voicing opinions similar to that of Ms. John, a Rochester Democrat: "Despite my philosophical objections, I may well support such cuts. Right now, New York is looking at losing \$40 billion in overall federal aid in the next five years."

The upshot: The GOP welfare plan, by freezing current AFDC grants to the states, would spend about \$10 billion less than currently planned in federal funds over the next seven years. But that reduction could be compounded depending on how states react. "It's a double whammy," says Steven Gold of the State University of New York at Albany. "The bill not only reduces direct federal spending, but the incentive for states to spend their own money."

### Key Sticking Point

That helps explain why the provision in Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole's welfare bill that largely lets states off the funding hook has emerged as a key sticking point between conservatives and a coalition of moderate Republicans and Democrats. The failure to agree on this and a handful of other issues led Mr. Dole earlier this month to pull the bill from the Senate floor, postponing action until early September. Senate Republicans were meeting behind closed doors last week in an effort to hash out a compromise.

Reformers such as Sen. Gramm and

many GOP governors, such as Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin, insists that states will keep up their efforts even if the system is changed. "I'm confident that our state legislators love their people as much as Congress does," says Sen. Gramm. Some state legislators, such as Republican state Sen. James Lack of New York, agree: "It's a Mendelsthal attitude to assume the states will pocket the money," he says. Others say they wouldn't be troubled by a decrease in state spending, because they argue states ought to be shifting the welfare focus away from cash aid to finding work for recipients anyway.

### Reversed Incentive

In any case, the change would move welfare into uncharted territory. Under current law, for every dollar New York spends on welfare, the federal government matches with a dollar. Poorer states, such as Alabama, get an even higher rate of federal support.

Under the proposed bill, starting in 1996, regardless of how much a state contributes, it would receive the same federal welfare grant it now gets. The result: every state would flood itself with a pot of state money—hundreds of millions of dollars for some, billions of dollars for others—that is no longer needed to devote to welfare in order to attract federal funds.

In fact, the proposed system in some ways would reverse the incentive states now have to spend on welfare. Under the current system, for instance, if New York decided to reduce total welfare spending by \$100 million, it would get back just \$20 million. The federal government would keep the other half of the unspent funds. Under the new proposal, New York's taxpayers would pocket the full \$100 million reduction in welfare spending, because the federal contribution would stay constant no matter what.

### Views From New York and Alabama

Given those changed incentives, how would states react? Consider the attitudes of legislators from two states at opposite ends of the welfare spectrum: New York and Alabama.

New York, despite the second highest welfare population in the nation, is among the most generous. The average welfare family there receives about \$312 per month in combined federal and state funds, compared with the \$273 national average.

Few legislators there—Republicans or Democrats—say they are strong advocates of deep cuts in state welfare funding. But, they add, a confluence of events make it a ripe target. For example, proposed federal funding cutbacks in other areas, such as heating assistance and transportation funds, will force state legislators to beef up those areas with state money, money that might come from the welfare pool. Meanwhile, New York recently voted itself an overall state tax cut, and there is political pressure from Republican Gov. George Pataki to scale back welfare.

"There is already strong pressure to lower welfare spending," says Assembly-

woman Rhoda Jacobs, a Democrat from Brooklyn. She adds that the elimination of the federal matching incentive will offer proponents of lower benefits added ammunition. "Without the matching grant incentive, they'll pick other priorities," she says.

### A Move to Cut State Funding

New York Republicans have already been on that path, in spite of the current incentive to keep state funding levels up. Earlier this year they attempted, but largely failed, to cut state welfare spending. Next year, they say, they'll try again. With the state poised to take back even more money under the proposed block-grant formula, they say their case would be strengthened. "The current incentive works," says state Sen. Michael Hlubock, a Republican from Albany. And that is precisely why he favors eliminating it. "We need to go back to the original purpose of taking care of those most in need," he says. "The program can be run with less money."

That has long been the philosophy in Alabama, which ranks as one of the least generous welfare states. Average family benefits there are about \$154 per month. Next year, says Alabama's Republican Governor Fob James, welfare reform will be the state's top legislative priority. State legislators, both Democrats and Republicans, foresee smaller state contributions under the proposed funding system. "We want to see 100% of the welfare money

### Diverging States

Average monthly AFDC payments per family, combining state and federal contributions, for various states in 1992

	AMOUNT
<b>LEAST GENEROUS STATES</b>	
Mississippi	\$120
Alabama	154
Texas	159
Louisiana	164
Tennessee	170
South Carolina	194
<b>MOST GENEROUS STATES</b>	
Alaska	752
Maine	633
California	568
Connecticut	562
Vermont	548
New York	512
<b>AVG. PAYMENT PER FAMILY</b>	<b>373</b>

Source: House Ways and Means Committee

coming from" the federal government, says state Sen. Jim Carna, a Republican from Shelby and a leading advocate of welfare reform in the state Legislature.

### Putting Recipients to Work

The driving force, legislators there say, is less one of fiscal constraint than a desire to put current welfare recipients to work. "We don't want to punish children, but we need to get people into jobs," says state Sen. Roger Bedford, who heads the Alabama Senate's Democratic caucus. "We cannot continue to throw our money at these problems."

See WELFARE, p. 8

Wash. Post, 8-20-95 p. 1

## Black Teens Smoke Less, But Why?

### Racial Differences Intrigue Researchers

By Amy Goldstein  
*Washington Post Staff Writer*

Kachia Crowder was startled one May evening when her older sister asked if she wanted to sample one of her cigarettes. In a split second, standing on the concrete steps outside her sister's Southeast Washington apartment, the African American 15-year-old decided to "try being a big girl." She took her first puff.

By June, she had figured out how to inhale and was buying her own packs of Newport.

But smoking four or five cigarettes a day, Crowder found she had less stamina for swimming and basketball. She didn't like the smell. Besides, the boys she knows prefer girls who don't smoke. "They be like, 'Don't be a dragon lady.'"

By July, she had quit. The briefness of her flirtation with cigarettes is part of a phenomenon that has deeply encouraged



"Cigarettes don't fascinate me," says Kachia Boyd of Hyattsville.

and yet deeply perplexed researchers and policymakers as the Clinton administration sets out to curb tobacco use among young people.

The percentage of black teenagers who smoke cigarettes on a regular basis has plummeted in recent years, according to a variety of national studies. There has been no such decline among their white peers. The net effect is a wide gap in the popularity of cigarettes among youths of different races.

Last year, 5 percent of black U.S. high school seniors reported that they smoked daily, compared with 23 percent of their

See SMOKING, p. 10

Balt. Sun; 8-21-95

# Not Up to the Job

By MARK WILSON

When Congress returns from summer recess, the Senate will debate whether to consolidate federal job-training programs and give the funds to the states in the form of block grants. Because statistics show that more education leads to better-paying jobs, Congress and others assume such programs work. Unfortunately, they don't.

After 30 years and hundreds of billions of taxpayer dollars spent, only a few dozen of these programs have even been examined for effectiveness. And the few studies that have been conducted show a record of failure. Federal and state job-training programs are intended to help people gain productive skills that will get them jobs with higher wages. But the few solid studies that have been conducted — those that compare participants in a program with a control group that didn't go through the program — show little or no significant increase in hourly earnings as a result of job training.

For example, a nationwide controlled study of the Job Training and Partnership Act programs reported no significant effect on either the earnings of young women or their employment. For young men it was worse: zero impact on employment and a 7.9 percent negative effect on earnings. Although the program increased the hourly wages of adult women by a modest 3.4 percent, it had no significant effect on women on welfare or who were high school drop-outs.

Another example is a study of the Summer Training and Employment Program (STEP). After two or three years, STEP graduates didn't have higher graduation rates or grades than the control group. Graduates of

*A full-scale study of Job Corps, one of the most expensive job-training programs ever, has never even been conducted.*

*However, a 1982 study found that Job Corps training did not significantly help single mothers.*

STEP were no more likely than members of the control group to be working after going through the program.

A full-scale study of Job Corps, one of the most expensive job-training programs ever, has never even been conducted. However, a 1982 study found that Job Corps training did not significantly help single mothers, the largest group of welfare recipients. Neither did it lower arrest rates among participants. Further, a report by the Department of Labor's inspector general found that only 17 percent of Job Corps funding actually went to educational and vocational training. An incredible 26 percent paid for administration.

A study by the General Accounting Office (GAO) also raised "serious concerns about the validity of Job Corps job placement information." The GAO was unable to verify job placement for 15 percent of its Job Corps sample. After 30 years and billions of taxpayer dollars spent, only recently have Job Corps' administrators made any serious effort to find out the employment status of its graduates.

A study of the Jobstart program reported similar disappointing findings. There was no significant increase in employment or earnings for the total four-year study period or for any individual year. The program did not reduce the number of enrollees on welfare, nor did it affect overall arrest rates.

Yet another study of the Teen-age Parent Demonstration program reported only very small improvements in earnings. This project clearly shows that reducing welfare benefits to single mothers who don't stay in school or get a job has some impact on the incentive to go out and find work. Aid to Families with Dependent Children grants were reduced by \$160 for those who chose not to participate. However, even this significant penalty increased enrollment in school, job training or employment by only 13 percentage points and annual earnings by only \$300. There was no improvement in the poverty rate for participants.

Finally, studies of the Work Incentives program and Job Opportunity and Basic Skills training programs reported only very small initial improvements in earnings — about \$300 to \$700 — and these tend to "fade out" after five years. In most cases, increased literacy and educational attainment didn't translate into higher earnings or employment.

One thing is clear from the few studies that have been done: Government can do little, if anything, to alter the effect of neglecting the first 12 years of school. The billions of dollars spent on job-training and public-assistance programs are too much, too late. What we really need are fundamental changes aimed at reducing illegitimacy and encouraging individuals to complete high school. In addition, parents need to make their children stay in school, do their homework, stay out of trouble and graduate from high school.

Welfare reform that focuses on these goals will reduce the demand for expensive government job-training programs that don't work.

Mark Wilson is the Rebecca Lukens fellow in labor policy at the Heritage Foundation, a Washington-based public policy research institute.

Wash. Times; 8-19-95

# Mrs. Clinton and the women, etc.

■ NO BOAT TO CHINA: To go or not to go? That is the question Hillary Clinton and the rest of the Clinton administration are dithering over about the U.N. women's conference opening in Beijing in two weeks.

To proponents of freedom it might seem an easy question to answer. Indeed, many have objected strenuously to the inherent contradiction of holding a conference on women's rights in a country that has absolutely no respect for the rights of any of its citizens — particularly its women, who undergo forced sterilization and abortions. Beijing may not be particularly considerate of the rights of foreign women either. The State Department has frankly warned women planning to attend the conference that it cannot guarantee their safety and advised them not to offend the host government.

The case of Harry Wu makes it plain that that is very good advice. Mr. Wu, a naturalized American who spent 19 years in Chinese labor camps

Wash. Post; 8-20-95

"OUCH!"



before reaching freedom in the U.S., returned once too often to his native land to document atrocities in the camps. He was arrested, and is still a prisoner of the Chinese, who insist he will be tried for espionage, and refuse to allow U.S. officials to visit him.

Harry Wu's wife has implored the first lady to make the point in no uncertain terms that the U.S. wants Mr. Wu released by refusing to attend the conference.

But Mrs. Clinton wants to go — Bella Abzug and all the other feminist stars will be there, after all. And, true to the Clintonite spirit — particularly where foreign affairs are concerned — Mrs. Clinton, and her husband, and all their advisers have been unable to bring themselves to fish or cut bait on the matter.

Wash. Post: 8-21-95

## Go to Church for Your Check

**S**EN. DOLE'S welfare reform bill, the latest version of which was dropped in the hopper just as the legislators were leaving town, is a minefield of explosive issues ranging from such subjects as efforts to discourage teenage pregnancy to the treatment of immigrants in need. It will become the order of business on Sept. 6 when the House returns, and though it deserves a searching review and considerable debate, the pressure is on to pass it quickly.

Because the bill contains so many potential revisions in the welfare laws, less obvious changes may be accepted almost inadvertently. An example is a provision added only in this most recent draft of the bill that would alter the role of religious groups as benefit providers. Under current law, religiously affiliated organizations like Catholic Charities, for example, or Jewish hospitals, provide certain services that are paid for by the federal government. These entities are not essentially religious in nature, but have been set up by religious groups to perform a social service function in the community. Whether supported by parish contributions or public funds, they serve people of all faiths. When federal money is involved, they must observe certain guidelines aimed at preserving the nonsectarian nature of their work.

The bill would go beyond this practice by allowing churches themselves to act as service providers. This means that large blocks of public funds could be given directly to religious organizations

who would have the responsibility for delivering the services. Presumably, the Bishop of Topeka, the leading Orthodox rabbi in Brooklyn or the Elders of the Mormon Church could become providers of the services taxpayers fund. Benefits could be disbursed inside churches, and temples and recipients who objected would have to ask to be reassigned to some other provider. Since no explanation of this provision was offered when the bill was introduced, and the text is not entirely clear, the number of government programs involved is uncertain. The American Civil Liberties Union believes that "at a minimum this section will apply to cash assistance benefits" like AFDC. Sen. John Ashcroft, who originated the proposal, expects its application to be much broader, extending to feeding programs, job training, drug rehabilitation and a host of other services.

There is no doubt that churches are exemplary social service providers. Many have been engaged in the enterprise for years, raising and spending their own money without the aid of the state. But in this country at least, they are not an arm of government. The potential for confusion about the real source of benefits received is great. The possibility of state favoritism among religious groups is real. The likelihood of subtle proselytizing—even, though forbidden in the law—cannot be dismissed. In sum, this kind of entanglement of church and state is simply wrong and probably unconstitutional as well.

Wash. Times: 8-21-95

## Children need their fathers more than they need money

Although most men cringe at the thought of John Bobbitt's being dismembered, we also cringe when he speaks. Mr. Bobbitt is not an icon of the men's/father's movement, and he is most certainly not a spokesman for the supermajority of disenfranchised fathers, who desperately want to be involved in the physical, financial and emotional support of their children.

In spite of this, a point worth noting in your "Bobbitt Update" (People, Page A2, Aug. 13) is that you reported that Mr. Bobbitt "would be allowed to visit . . . [his] toddler after . . . [emphasis added]" he pays \$50,000 in child support to the mother.

If this is reported accurately, the judge who issued that order is violating the Constitution's guarantee to a right of association (with family) and a plethora of state and U.S. Supreme Court rulings indicating that such a right is an inherent constitutional right, which may not be abridged absent a showing of imminent danger to the child.

With all of of the social research indicating the importance of the father's involvement in his children's lives, why are we taking giant strides backwards and still only pursuing the failed social engineering concept that all children need to succeed is to give their mothers a check — and why are we violating the Constitution to do it?

What men impart to their children cannot be measured in dollars and cents. We need to concentrate on re-engaging men in the business of parenting. Judges who appear to recognize a father's value only in terms of dollars and cents need to be removed from the bench. These judges are no longer acting in their judicial capacity, but as ministers of their own prejudice.

Congress has wisely recognized the children need emotional as well as financial support. This is why the 1988 Family Support Act specifies that financial support and physical access are not legally interrelated.

Visitation cannot be legally denied because the visiting parent has been unable (or unwilling) to pay support. The judge in the Bobbitt case, like so many others, has apparently chosen to ignore the mandates of Congress.

It is no wonder that three out of four Americans distrust the government when judges so clearly disobey the mandates of Congress. We must regain control of our runaway judiciary. We need a government and court system we can trust to uphold our constitutional rights and do what is best for our children.

Government officials, including judges, who emotionally abuse children by denying them a relationship with a parent are not only doing society a disservice, but are also disobeying the law. They should be summarily removed from office.

STUART A. MILLER  
Senior Legislative Analyst  
American Fathers Coalition  
Washington

# Because of the Budget Cuts

WASH., Post: 8-20-95

At some point in any given year, 18,000 low-income children younger than 12 go hungry in the District. An additional 21,000 low-income children live near the edge of hunger because of limited economic, family or community resources.

These are the findings of the Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project, the most comprehensive study of childhood hunger ever conducted in the District. The survey, conducted by D.C. Hunger Action, measured the incidence of hunger in families living at 185 percent of the federal poverty line or below (\$22,972 for a family of three in 1994) with at least one child younger than 12.

Among those low-income households responding to the survey:  
• Three out of five regularly run out of money to buy food.  
• Nearly 50 percent said that on about 35 occasions in the previous year, their children ate less than they should because of insufficient resources.  
• 27 percent said their children had to cut the size of their meals or skip meals about 43 times.

One in 11 said his or her child went to bed without having had enough to eat. 35 nights of the previous year.

Federal food programs have helped fill the gaps left by the family food budget. The school lunch program provides reimbursement for 43,000 D.C. children; about 18,000 low-income children receive free and reduced-price breakfasts daily. The Summer Food Service Program, which provides lunches to low-income children when school is not in session, feeds about 6,800 children.

The food stamp program serves nearly 26,000 District residents monthly, 48,000 of them children. These programs provide a proven and still vital to children's education, health and development.

And if Congress has its way, these pro-

grams may cease to exist. The creation of new grants or deep cuts in existing programs could eliminate national nutrition standards, curtail the ability to respond to increased needs in periods of economic downturn, allow child nutrition funds to be transferred to non-nutrition programs and complicate program administration. Shrinking eligibility and benefit levels for food programs would eliminate one of the most basic safety nets for thousands of the District's children.

—Colleen Fee  
is director of D.C. Hunger Action, a nonprofit organization.

One has to wonder if anyone in Congress is assessing what the nation's capital will look like when the budget cuts of various congressional committees all accumulate on the doorstep of our city. There will be no federally supported summer jobs in 1996 for the 3,400 young people who this year are learning workplace skills and the work ethic while advancing their academic skills. Instead of seeing them regress over the summer vacation. No opportunities to learn while serving our community in AmeriCorps programs like the D.C. Service Corps, Latin American Youth Center, Teach for America and Public Allies.

This year, more than 1,200 District residents—youth and adults—are in federal job training, preparing themselves for professional employment. Next year, according to House-passed appropriations bills, only about 250 will be offered training opportunities. Workers displaced by corporate downsizing or technological change will, similarly, have to scramble for far fewer training slots. Energy assistance for low-income families and mental health programs for the year will vanish or be sharply re-



duced. Similarly if the House's proposed cuts are sustained, more than 3,400 D.C. students will lose their Title I remedial education opportunities next year.

To balance the budget by laying about all the billions and millions of dollars "saved" bills to eliminate the almost certain devastations in the lives of real people. In the District alone, carrying out the proposed cuts by 2002 could cost 850 children their Head Start program, almost 14,000 children their

Head (federal) program leaves an impoverished neighborhoods and generate economic activity that helps the entire city. Think for example, for every 1,000 kids who won't have summer jobs in 1996, D.C.'s supermarkets will lose up to \$1.4 million in sales.

Now being a bunch of federal programs that don't work for people would not be a tragedy for the District or the country at large. However, we now know from reliable, independent evaluations that most of the programs slated for total elimination do, in fact, make a positive difference.

The Summer Youth Employment Program, for example, which this year put 600,000 American youths to work, has been found to provide real jobs, not make-work. Participants were "casualty supervised," learned new skills they could apply to their school work and took pride in their employment. Similar positive evaluations exist for other federal programs facing extinction.

In cities and rural areas across America, the proposed program cuts are so far the concern mostly of program managers. But when the cumulative impact of the cuts hits beyond next year, virtually every American community, including the District of Columbia, will no longer have even a tenuous social safety net.

Is there another way to balance the federal budget other than on the backs of children, youth and the elderly poor? Yes. That's what is done at the CATO Institute, Heritage Foundation, Progressive Policy Institute and Citizens for Tax Justice have shown how to cut corporate welfare and unwarranted subsidies for the few. It's time for Congress—and the voters—to look for alternatives that neither pass pain on poor communities and vulnerable people.

—Samuel Hildorff  
is co-director of American Youth Policy Forum, a nonprofit organization.

# Federalism and welfare reform

The obvious question raised by President Clinton's speech last week on welfare reform is why it took 2½ years for him to come up with the streamlined approval process for state welfare experiments that he trumpeted to the nation's governors.

The obvious question raised by Sen. Bob Dole's speech on welfare reform, also delivered to the governors Monday, is why he is so eager—paraphrasing Newt Gingrich—to turn the federal government into the tax collector for the (welfare) states.

About one thing there is no question at all: The reason Clinton and Dole were discoursing this week on welfare had as much to do with their own aspirations for a job—the presidency—as with getting welfare recipients into jobs.

Perhaps inevitably, however, given their audience, their remarks had more to do with the federal-state relationship than with nuts-and-bolts welfare policy.

Clinton and Dole appeared in agreement on one large, overarching principle: Welfare reform ought to put more power into the hands of the states. (In this year of the Great Devolution, the states are considered the repositories of all wisdom about governing, while Washington is considered bankrupt.) Where they differ is over how to do it.

Clinton favors an improved version of the current approach: States come up with promising experiments and seek federal approval to try them. Thirty-two states now have some kind of waiver experiment under way. Clinton has ordered the bureaucrats at the

Department of Health and Human Services to cut to 30 days—from 120—the time it takes Washington to act on waiver requests. But that invites the question: Why did it take 2½ years for him to take this executive action?

For his part, Dole derided waivers as a kind of "Mother, may I" approach to welfare reform and told the governors, "Real change will only occur when you are released from the burden of federal rules and regulations."

The way to do that, he contends, is with block grants—disbursements from the U.S. Treasury to the individual states with few or no strings attached, just a general requirement to use it to help the poor.

That truly would liberate the states. But it also would violate a cardinal principle of sound government by separating responsibility for raising revenue from the responsibility for spending it.

History demonstrates that that kind of separation almost always leads to abuses and, ultimately, to creation of the very kind of "rules and regulations" from which the states now seek relief.

Like it or not, as long as Washington is taxing to raise the money for welfare programs, it will—it must—have a say in how the cash is spent. What Clinton and Dole and the governors ought to be discussing is how to make that relationship as comfortable and productive as possible, and how to make welfare work for the benefit of those who receive it and the society that pays for it.

LA / THE TOPEKA CAPITAL JOURNAL Sunday, August 13, 1995

**WELFARE REFORM**

# Let's get on with it

**T**he debate began as a test of ideas on how to "end welfare as we know it."

So far, all the politicians have managed to do is end debate as we know it.

Democrats in Washington by and large don't much see the need for entitlement reform. Meanwhile, Republicans are wrestling over abortion.

The result: Welfare reform, perhaps the nation's No. 1 need right now, gets put on the back burner.

Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., was forced to postpone the welfare debate until next month.

Perhaps it's just as well: Senators can use the August recess now to find out exactly how serious their constituents are about ending the welfare state.

While subsistence payments to some will always be necessary, today's policy of paying able-bodied

**■ Perhaps the August recess will fill senators' heads with just how serious people are about this.**

people willy-nilly to sit at home not only is bankrupting the nation but also is draining generations of the work ethic that built this nation.

President Clinton has failed to pursue reform as aggressively as he implied he would in 1992. But he's right about this: "It is time to put partisanship and politics aside and to get the job done."

Democrats need to stop waging class warfare. And Republicans need to quit bogging down this issue with extraneous matters such as abortion.

This could be the most important thing that happens — or doesn't happen — in Washington all year.

The Tennessean Nashville  
8/12/95

## Dole's welfare bill should be ditched

THE U.S. Senate wisely delayed its action on a sweeping welfare reform measure until next month. This is far too important an issue to rush through.

More to the point, the bill on the table is not the right measure.

This week, the Senate began considering legislation being pushed by Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. While the bill correctly moves the nation toward more state control, it pokes disturbing holes in the safety net that has caught many families through the years.

The centerpiece of the bill is a provision that would create block grants to replace the primary welfare program — Aid to Families with Dependent Children. For the next two years, states could expect to get a level of funding comparable to their 1994 funding. After 1997, states with high population growths and low welfare benefits would receive a 25% increase in funding.

One of the problems with this approach, however, is that states would determine both eligibility and the level of benefits. Families in poverty would be tempted to gravitate to states that had low eligibility and high benefits.

Another problem is the bill's handling of teen-age mothers. States would have the option to deny all benefits to unwed teen mothers. They could deny a welfare recipient additional benefits for her newborn baby. And they could deny benefits to mothers who did not cooperate in establishing a child's paternity.

Yet in all that denial, the bill does nothing to help teen-age mothers or unwed mothers get child care so that they can go to school or get a job. At the same time, the legislation repeals the existing job training program for welfare recipients. States could provide their own programs, but there is no money in the bill to help them do so.

The bill would also convert the federal

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### System should demand some accountability

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food stamp program into block grants, reduce spending on school breakfast and lunch programs, and make it harder for children with disabilities to qualify for Supplemental Security Income, or SSI.

President Clinton has expressed the need to have any welfare reform effort include child care and jobs. Still, he has not threatened to veto the Dole bill, stressing his belief that compromise is possible.

Mr. Clinton ran for office on a pledge to reform welfare. Now that the Senate has delayed action on the Dole bill, the White House needs to make a strong statement about exactly what a welfare bill should and should not include.

If the Senate comes back in September and passes legislation without provisions for child care or job training, the President should veto it.

The idea of block grants could work — if and only if the states have some measure of accountability for the funds.

One of the most frequent complaints about the current welfare system is that recipients aren't accountable. They don't have to work. They don't have to go back to school. They don't have to be responsible for their children.

But that same lack of responsibility and accountability is exactly what the Dole-Packwood bill prescribes for the entire system. Yes, some states would do it right. But many would not.

If Washington is going to hand out funds to states, it needs to keep some control over how those funds will be used. Otherwise, the reformed welfare system would be even less accountable and less productive than the system now in place. ■

# Reform welfare without hurting nation's children

There are various drafts of welfare reform packages being discussed in Congress, the media and throughout a number of states, clearly illustrating that a top priority in America is to change the traditional ways the system has been used to help poor families. That being the case, a number of pundits have expressed concern about how changes finally made by Congress will impact America's youngsters.

In fact, there are some prominent individuals who actually think that many of the plans being discussed to reform wel-

fare may actually do harm to the youths.

Consider what George Bushnell Jr., president of the American Bar Association, said: "Welfare reform proposals often attempt to balance the budget on the slender backs of our children ... threatening the health and well-being of the most vulnerable among us: poor children."

On some of the most controversial issues in our nation's history, leaders have been able to reach compromise. Hardly a law passed in Congress each year does not go through some form of give and take from opposing sides of the

issue.

It would be prudent for members of our supreme legislative body to make every attempt to forge a plan that will: remove any real waste from the system; reduce opportunities for fraud to take place; and, in the process, contribute to the long-term well-being of America's poor people.

Every effort should be made to avoid harming the families and children who really need welfare.

On a recent edition of the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," U.S. Sen.

Carol Moseley-Braun offered a great deal of hope to concerned Americans when she said she believed that a positive compromise could be used to forge a bill that would be to the liking of congressional Democrats and Republicans, President Clinton and the American people.

In a past meeting with the *Chicago Defender's* Editorial Board, Moseley-Braun clearly showed that she has stayed on top of the issue. It would be a real plus to the country if the positive compromise bill she talked about could be forged.

Deborah MATHIS

# Reforming welfare without a clue



Some of this is pure politics — the raw exploitation of public misgivings.

**T**ake comfort, friends. We are close to ending the welfare debate as we know it.

The U.S. House disposed of the confounding issue back in the spring when it approved a buck-passing, scorn-firing measure designed to make welfare recipients rue the day they ever heard of the government dole.

Now, it's the senators' turn and they're having at it, picking sides and taking prisoners.

The Democratic leadership's bill has a five-year lifetime limit on benefits, reduces the amount of assistance, requires unwed teen-age recipients with children to live with adults, guarantees child care for recipients ordered to work, insists on work or job training for the able-bodied, and provides job counseling when all else fails.

That would certainly change the system, but given the makeup of the Senate and the prevailing sock-it-to-'em mood on Capitol Hill, the Democrats' proposal is the snowball's-chance-in-hell plan.

What's more likely to emerge is more severe legislation to satisfy welfare-hating ultraconservatives who tend to have deep pockets, good organization, vote regularly and, therefore, exactly what it takes to make politicians step to their music.

For their purposes, there is an ideal bill, proffered by none other than presidential aspirant Phil Gramm of Texas and a coterie of fellow rightists. It fea-

tures compulsive block-granting, dumping everything except Medicaid onto the states with hardly any strings attached, save the broad, nebulous admonition to do the right thing.

Giving the high hat to legal immigrants and teen-age mothers, adamant about work but not providing for child care or job training, the bill is too hard-boiled to pass. But it will make a good borrow pit for lovers of the middle, who are leery of the fringe yet still want to give the far right something to write home about.

Some of this is pure politics — that is, raw exploitation of public misgivings and misunderstandings about welfare.

It has been characterized as a boondoggle because, 30 years hence, the country still has poor people and, indeed, it has become a multigenerational lifestyle for many. Once you paint that picture, it's a short leap to abolishing the programs because you can always tell yourself you've got the poor folks' best interest at heart.

There are, however, some earnest ideas and honest lamentation about the plight of the poor and dependent. Even so, the proposed remedies are often hatched from theory, from hunches, from plain ol' high hopes.

On the eve of the Senate debate, New York Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the acknowledged sultan of welfare reform, warned that "the nation is straying into the unknown



BARBARA CIMBINGS/Los Angeles Times Syndicate

York Times, Moynihan quoted a UCLA here.\* In a piece published in The New York Times, Moynihan quoted a UCLA here.\* In a piece published in The New York Times, Moynihan quoted a UCLA here.\* In a piece published in The New York Times, Moynihan quoted a UCLA here.\* In a piece published in The New York Times, Moynihan quoted a UCLA here.\*

In fairness, the original welfare system was guesswork, too. Some of it

worked. Some of it didn't. An overhaul is definitely in order.

But in the quest to reform the welfare system there is a conspicuous risk. If the federal government hands off the works to the states and abdicates its regulatory and enforcement roles, what is there to guarantee hungry and sick people will not be neglected if the state doesn't have the money or the mind to tend to them?

What happens if withdrawing the so-called "reward" of Aid to Families with Dependent Children does not result in fewer births to indigent, unmarried women as the theory goes — but rather, more abortions, more abandonment, more abuse or more sickly babies?

Do you suppose the proponents have any idea that most teen-agers who are sexually active do not have either pregnancy or welfare benefits in mind? Do you suppose they would try a different tack if they knew both the creation of a life and the sustenance of it are a sad afterthought in most cases?

Of these realities, some of this week's polished pontificators haven't a clue.

Unfortunately, they do have power to act on their ignorance.

That's a pity.

DEBORAH MATHIS' column is distributed by Tribune Media Services.

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## The Senate takes on welfare

The Senate started its debate on welfare reform this week, and disagreements were fierce—not only between Democrats and Republicans but between Bob Dole Republicans and Phil Gramm Republicans. Amid all the charges being flung across the Senate floor, it may be easy to forget the striking fact that Washington appears to be nearing a consensus on welfare that would have been unimaginable just a year or two ago.

The first tenet of the new consensus is the need to push welfare recipients into the world of work—with firm limits on how long anyone can stay on welfare. President Clinton's own plan, unveiled last year, emphasizes a two-years-and-out rule.

The second is that states should have more authority and responsibility for figuring out the best ways to combat poverty and dependency. The president has publicized his eagerness to support such experiments.

So far, so good. This dramatic shift in policy is the product of an acute disenchantment with the policies of the last 30 years. Welfare is more generous than it was before the Great Society—but the problems of long-term dependence and family disintegration are far worse among the poor than before. Americans have concluded that the lot of welfare recipients will never improve unless more is demanded of them.

The early debate in the Senate, however, does not inspire confidence that the final product from Congress will be worthy of becoming law.

The House version of welfare reform, passed last spring, was deeply flawed. While it is popular to do away with entitlements, the notion of turning welfare into a pure block grant is unacceptable. Like it or not,

millions of children are dependent on welfare. It would be unconscionable, while the states embark on their grand experiments, simply to cut them off when the budget runs out.

Nor does the Senate leadership seem to recognize that, for a successful transition to work, it must be prepared to spend heavily on child care and job training. Republicans in Washington love to point to the welfare successes of Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson—but they turn deaf when Thompson tells them that they have to spend money in the short run to save money in the long run. That kind of talk has no place in the debate between Dole and Gramm.

The Senate seems inclined to repeat the errors of the House. The White House, meanwhile, is eager to please. Clinton has let it be known he can probably work out his differences with Dole.

Dole, who decided Tuesday to put off a vote until September, should use the breathing room to come up with a more reasonable package. If he doesn't, and the final House-Senate agreement reflects what was approved by the House, Clinton should veto it.

If reform along the lines now envisioned does become law, the states will have the burden of proving that they will not let firmness become mere stinginess. They will have to show not only that they can save taxpayers money but curb the social pathologies that have caused such widespread disenchantment with the welfare status quo.

They will be judged by results, not by intentions. Welfare's failures produced the emerging consensus, but welfare reform will have to succeed to sustain it.

## EDITORIALS

# Welfare Reform Key: Working for Benefits

*"Welfare started as a substitute for a deceased breadwinner. But it became a lifetime support system for someone who never had a breadwinner."*  
—Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.)

With that quote, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee summed up all that is wrong with welfare as we know it. That it has become an entitlement, rather than a short-term safety net, is what rankles taxpayers most.

Unfortunately, there are no easy alternatives. The problem of poverty cannot be solved without dealing with a host of other social problems, including ineffective public education, lack of health insurance and inadequate child care options.

But that doesn't mean improvements are out of the question. In particular, legislators now debating welfare reform in Washington *must* require recipients to work—no matter how menial the job. This provision is even more important than setting lifetime limits on the ability to collect welfare. Asking recipients to earn a paycheck will improve their self-image. Likewise, once taxpayers are convinced that government has stopped giving away their money, they'll be more amenable to paying for support services such as child care, health care and job training.

Congress would do well to take a close look at Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson's welfare reform plan, unveiled last week. He would require all recipients to work but also provide them with child care and health care, job training and financial counseling. There are no estimates of how much Wisconsin's plan might cost. However, it has the critical ingredient to ending welfare as we know it: It will require recipients to do something besides just cash a check.

# March 1995

## Welfare Reform Schedule

**SUNDAY**

**19: HANDS AROUND THE CAPITOL**

**Rally "to Save the Children's Safety Net" on the Hill**

**MONDAY**

**20: WEEKEND RE-CAP**

**Advance Administration Views Letter**

**Advance State by State Numbers**

**Senate Finance Committee Hearing on Work**

**FYI: Press Conference to Release Poll, Commissioned by National Child Care Organizations, on Child Care**

**FYI: ABC Monday Night Movie on ACES**

**TUESDAY**

**21: STATE BY STATE NUMBERS - IT DOESN'T ADD UP**

**Welfare Reform on the Floor - Debate on the Rule**

**Release State by State Numbers - Gephardt Press Release\***

**Release Administration Views Letter/SAP**

**FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing**

**FYI: American School Food Service Association Press Conference on Spending Cuts -- PTA, FRAC, American Academy of Pediatrics also participating**

**FYI: NBC Nightly News - Bill Moyers Commentary on Welfare Reform**

\* Regional Media

WEDNESDAY 22: HOUSE DIVIDED

**Welfare Reform on the Floor**

FYI: Republican Women Members News Conference on Amendments to HR4

FYI: Reps. Stenholm, Deal News Conference on Alternative to Republican Welfare Reform Plan

FYI: Press Conference to Introduce the Child Support Responsibility Act - Sens. Feinstein, Dodd, Snowe, Bradley, Wellstone

FYI: GOP Town Hall Meeting at the Chamber of Commerce on Issues in the Contract, Including Welfare Reform

FYI: House Child Work Group Sponsored Lunch/Discussion on Children's Issues with CDR's Counsel

FYI: Washington Child Development Council Rally for D.C. Children

FYI: Senate Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy Hearing on SSI and SSDI Programs - Chater Testifies

FYI: House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee Hearing

- DOA  
- Not real WR  
- POTUS start

THURSDAY 23: DIVIDED THEY FALL - REPUBLICANS IN DISARRAY

**Welfare Reform on the Floor**

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing

POTUS Phone Call to Women Members?

FRIDAY 24: ?

**Welfare Reform on the Floor**

SATURDAY 25: ?

**MONDAY**                      **27** : ?

Senate Finance Committee Hearing?

**TUESDAY**                      **28** : ?

Senate Finance Committee Hearing?

DES Site Visit in Macon, Georgia

FYI: Appropriations Subcommittee Hearing on ACF Budget - MJB Testifies

**WEDNESDAY**                      **29** : ?

Senate Finance Committee Hearing?

FYI: DES at the Economic Conference (Roundtable on Working Families)

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing

**THURSDAY**                      **30** : ?

POTUS Speech to Florida Legislature

**FRIDAY**                      **31** : ?

# March/April 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

**MONDAY** 27: NO MOMENTUM

Senate Finance Committee Hearing on SSI

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing

**TUESDAY** 28: STATE SUPPORT FOR CHILD SUPPORT

Senate Finance Committee Hearing on Child Support

DES Site Visit in Macon, Georgia

DTE Site Visit in Baton Rouge, Louisiana

FYI: Appropriations Subcommittee Hearing on ACF Budget - MJB Testifies

FYI: U.S. Commission on Child and Family Welfare Public Hearing

FYI: CDF Press Conference to Release Yearly Report, "State of America's Children"

**WEDNESDAY** 29: FUNDAMENTAL CHOICES ON DIRECTION OF REFORM

Senate Finance Committee Hearing - Advocates to Testify

Southern Economic Conference

FYI: DES at the Economic Conference (Roundtable on Working Families)

FYI: Bradley Press Conference on Child Support with Senators Snowe, Dodd, Lieberman

FYI: Action Institute for the Study of Religion Conference on Welfare Reform with Gingrich and Governor Engler

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing

FYI: U.S. Commission on Child and Family Welfare Public Hearing

*Chubb  
Easter Vigil*

*\* → PPI - work family (Lieberman)  
DPC - work site visit*

*\* Regional Media*

*Wed 12 MBA meeting*

*Thurs 11:30 100 days press conf/DGA - Leon*

*Tues DGA press conf hearing in afternoon*

**THURSDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **30:** ENDING WELFARE AS WE KNOW IT

**POTUS Speech to Florida Legislature**

**FYI: News Conference on Welfare Reform/Legal Immigrants - Reps. Ros-Lehtinen, Diaz-Balart, Furse, Kim, Gejdenson, Lantos**

**FYI: Children's Rights Council News Conference on Parent Education with Reps. Foley, Wyn, Ford**

**FYI: Heads of Communion of the National Council of Churches Meeting**

**FRIDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **31:** ?

**MONDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **3:** ?

**TUESDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **4:** ?

**Senate Government Affairs Committee (Chair - Roth) Hearing on EITC**

**WEDNESDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **5:** ?

**Senate Government Affairs Committee (Chair - Roth) Hearing on EITC**

**Senate Indian Affairs Committee (Chair - McCain) Hearing on Welfare Reform/Tribes - MJB to Testify**

**THURSDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **6:** ?

**DES Welfare to Work Site Visit with Rep. Gejdenson**

**DES Meeting with the Hartford Courant Editorial Board**

**FRIDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **7:** ?

# March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

CSE RAID?

**FRIDAY** 10: ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH - FIXING THE FAULTS

**DES Testifies Before the Finance Committee on Welfare Reform**

FYI: Americans for Democratic Action Press Conference on Welfare Reform/Unemployment

FYI: National Commission on Childhood Disability Conference on SSI

**MONDAY** 13: OKLAHOMA WAIVER

**HHS Approves OK Waiver**

Meetings with Moderate Republican Members Begin

POTUS at the National League of Cities?

**TUESDAY** 14: TEEN PREGNANCY

**Advocates Testify Before the Senate Finance Committee on Teenage Parents and Welfare (Granger, Besharov, Maynard, Moore)**

POTUS Speech to the PTA? VPOTUS Speech?

FYI: CATO Institute Forum on Welfare Reform with Charles Murray and Will Marshall (Marshall on Teen Cut-Off?)

**WEDNESDAY** 15: LICENSE REVOCATION

**Release Study on Driver's License Revocation in 19 States\***

FYI: National Community Action Foundation Conference Begins

FYI: Mikulski at the Center on National Policy

\* Regional Media

# March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

<b>THURSDAY</b>	<u>16: ?</u>	
<p><b>POTUS Speech to the National Conference of State Legislatures at the White House?</b></p> <p>Rules Committee Hearing</p> <p>Release One Pagers on Funding Losses By State Under Archer (All Titles, Food Stamps, Child Care)*</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>→ McCurry - 1pm - Kick Rules story</i></p> <p>Targeted Editorial Calls: MJB, DTE, BR</p>		
<b>FRIDAY</b>	<u>17: ?</u>	<i>#'s ?</i>
<p>Panetta/DES Lunch with Women Members of Congress</p>		
<b>SATURDAY</b>	<u>18: ?</u>	<i>Shalala Briefing - Gari Jensen</i>
<p>Radio Address? Release Child Support Study?</p>		
<b>MONDAY</b>	<u>20: ?</u>	<i>State by State #'s? BC letter</i>
<p>SAP/Administration Views Letter?</p> <p><i>Tues</i> - <del>DES/POTUS</del> at the Caucus?</p>		
<b>TUESDAY</b>	<u>21: ?</u>	
<p>Welfare Reform on the Floor</p>		
<b>WEDNESDAY</b>	<u>22: ?</u>	
<p>Welfare Reform on the Floor</p>		

\* Regional Media

# March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

**FRIDAY** 10: ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH - FIXING THE FAULTS

**DES Testifies Before the Finance Committee on Welfare Reform**

**FYI: Americans for Democratic Action Press Conference on Welfare Reform/Unemployment**

**FYI: National Commission on Childhood Disability Conference on SSI**

**MONDAY** 13: OKLAHOMA WAIVER

**HHS Approves OK Waiver**

**Meetings with Moderate Republican Members Begin**

**POTUS at the National League of Cities**

**TUESDAY** 14: TEEN PREGNANCY

**Advocates Testify Before the Senate Finance Committee on Teenage Parents and Welfare (Granger, Besharov, Maynard, Moore)**

**FYI: CATO Institute Forum on Welfare Reform with Charles Murray and Will Marshall (Marshall) on Teen Cut-Off?)**

**WEDNESDAY** 15: LICENSE REVOCATION

**Release Study on Driver's License Revocation in 19 States\***

**Media on License Revocation: ABC Evening News, NBC, CBS, NPR Radio, Targeted Editorial Calls, Regional TV**

**FYI: National Community Action Foundation Conference Begins**

**FYI: Mikulski at the Center on National Policy**

**THURSDAY** 16: RULES COMMITTEE - ANOTHER MISS

**Rules Committee Hearing**

**POTUS Speech to the National Conference of State Legislatures at the White House?**

\* Regional Media

<b>FRIDAY</b>	<b>17: ?</b>	
<b>SATURDAY</b>	<b>18:</b>	<b>CHILD SUPPORT</b>
Radio Address on Child Support		
<b>SUNDAY</b>	<b>19: ?</b>	
Rally "to Save the Children's Safety Net" on the Hill		
<b>MONDAY</b>	<b>20: ?</b>	
SAP/Administration Views Letter?		
DES/POTUS at the Caucus?		
<i>Leak SAP/Letter</i> <i>State by state (Gephardt)</i> <i>CALL GERI JENSEN</i>		
<b>TUESDAY</b>	<b>21: ?</b>	<b>VAWA - Victims</b>
Welfare Reform on the Floor		
DES at Caucus?		
<i>Cave on Rules?</i>		
<b>WEDNESDAY</b>	<b>22: ?</b>	<b>- A.M. Shows -</b>
Welfare Reform on the Floor		
<i>POTUS Congratulations Calls: <sup>Mary</sup> BWSK</i>		
FYI: House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee Hearing		

→ Script Debate  
→ POTUS Letter

\* Regional Media

# March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

<b>FRIDAY</b>	<b>17: REAL REFORM? - NEXT WEEK</b>	
<p><b>Release Child Support Report - Embargoed</b></p> <p><b>Tape Radio Address - Embargoed</b></p> <p><b>DES Briefs Reporters - Embargoed</b></p> <p><b>State Numbers to Gephardt - Embargoed</b></p> <p><b>FYI: Bob Greenstein, of the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, Press Conference on Food Stamps and Child Nutrition</b></p>		
<b>SATURDAY</b>	<b>18: CHILD SUPPORT</b>	
<p><b>Radio Address on Child Support</b></p>		
<b>SUNDAY</b>	<b>19: HANDS AROUND THE CAPITOL</b>	
<p><b>Rally "to Save the Children's Safety Net" on the Hill</b></p>		<p><i>DoA</i>  <i>They get nothing from this</i>  <i>- needs coming off</i>  <i>- they're killing themselves for nothing</i></p>
<b>MONDAY</b>	<b>20: WEEKEND RE-CAP</b>	
<p><b>Advance Administration Views Letter : WPst, ABC</b></p> <p><b>Advance State by State Numbers : NYT, AP</b></p> <p><b>Senate Finance Committee Hearing on Work</b></p> <p><b>FYI: Press Conference to Release Poll, Commissioned by National Child Care Organizations, on Child Care</b></p> <p><b>FYI: ABC Monday Night Movie on ACES</b></p>		

*RAMM*  
*- Gerri call?*  
*- Op-ed?*

→ FAX to Ginsburg - GERHARDT

→ Interns: Background on Newt, Arroyo, Show on WA - Unwed teens, etc. (Have party groups?)

\* Regional Media

**TUESDAY** 21: ?

*Tech  
Encl  
Public  
Subtitles*

*18  
Family Cap  
Child care  
Immigrant  
Driver License*

**Welfare Reform on the Floor - Debate on the Rule - 12 noon**

**Gephardt Releases State by State Numbers\***

**Release Administration Views Letter/SAP**

**FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing**

**WEDNESDAY** 22: ?

**Welfare Reform on the Floor**

**POTUS Phone Call to Women Members?**

**FYI: Senate Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy Hearing on SSI and SSDI Programs - Chater Testifies**

**FYI: House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee Hearing**

**THURSDAY** 23: ?

**Welfare Reform on the Floor**

**FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing**

**FRIDAY** 24: 0

**Welfare Reform on the Floor**

**SATURDAY** 25: ?

\* Regional Media

# February/March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

**FRIDAY** 17

Continue Targeted Editorial Calls\*

DES Interviews for Sunday Stories

**MONDAY** 20

Holiday

**TUESDAY** 21: CHILD SUPPORT

HHS Press Release on Record Increase in IRS Child Support Collections

DES Interviews with National Radio Networks

**WEDNESDAY** 22: CHILD NUTRITION

House EEO Committee Mark-Up

HHS Releases Views Letter

HHS Releases Child Care State by State Numbers\*

USDA Releases Views Letter

Haas on Today Show

DES Breakfast: House Conservative Democrats Budget Group

**THURSDAY** 23: CHILD CARE

House EEO Committee Mark-Up

DGA Distributes Child Care Numbers and Letter from Governors Dean, Carper, and Carnahan

Targeted Editorial Calls on Child Care

Senate Budget Committee Hearing: DES testifies

Possible ABC-TV News Segment on Child Care

FYI: NAACRA News Conference with Senator Dodd on Child Care Issues

FYI: Child Care Providers Day on the Hill/Rally at the Capitol

FYI: FRAC Press Conference .

\* Regional Media

**FRIDAY** 24: WORK

**Mickey Kaus Article**

Dear Colleague w/Kaus Article

Kaus Article to Editorial Writers

Pitch AP, WSJ, Periscope on Kaus Article

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO  
Committee Hearing - POSTPONED

**SUNDAY** 26: CHILD SUPPORT

Advance Executive Order

**MONDAY** 27: OUR PLAN

**POTUS Signs Executive Order on Child Support**

**DES Speech at APWA Conference - 24th Waiver\***

USDA Releases State by State Numbers

Governor Dean/Democratic Governors Press Conference on Child Nutrition

Targeted Editorial Calls: Child Nutrition

**TUESDAY** 28: WORK

**House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up: Walk-Through**

Conservative Democratic Coalition Press Conference

Republicans Release Mark-Up Document

FYI: Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee Hearing

FYI: Child Welfare League of America Press Conference

FYI: Catholic Conference/Catholic Charities Day on the Hill

\* Regional Media

**WEDNESDAY** 1: STILL WEAK ON WORK AND TOUGH ON KIDS

**House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up (Pro-Life Amendments?)**

Food Stamp Press Conference?

HRC Speech to the Child Welfare League of America

FYI: Children's Defense Fund (CDF) Press Conference on Balanced Budget Amendment/  
Welfare Reform

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO  
Committee Hearing

**THURSDAY** 2: MIDTERM REPORT CARD - A FAILING GRADE

**House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up**

DES Speech at the Child Welfare League of America Conference

Release Administration Views Letter

State by State Numbers of Kids Cut-Off?\*

FYI: Child Welfare League Day on the Hill

FYI: Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) Press Conference

FYI: Urban Institute Press Briefing on Welfare/Jobs

**FRIDAY** 3: CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

**House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up**

POTUS Press Conference

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO  
Committee Hearing

**MONDAY** 6: FOOD STAMPS

**House Agriculture Committee Staff Briefs Reporters**

Weld, Allen, Gingrich and Archer Press Conference on State Perspectives on Welfare Reform

FYI: Child Care Action Campaign, CDF, Child Welfare League Press Conference to Announce  
Nationwide Campaign to Oppose Child Care Cuts

\* Regional Media

**TUESDAY** 7: 25th WAIVER

**POTUS Speech to NACo - 25th Waiver\***

House Agriculture Committee Mark-Up - Walk Through

Govs. Chiles/Dean Statements Re: NACo Speech

Advocates Statements Re: NACo Speech

DES/VPOTUS Satellite Media

MJB/DTE Radio Interviews

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO  
Committee Hearing

**WEDNESDAY** 8: ?

Ways and Means Committee Vote on Welfare Reform Bill

House Agriculture Committee Mark-Up

Govs. Thompson/Dean Testify Before Senate Finance Committee

FYI: DES Testifies Before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on HHS Budget

**THURSDAY** 9: ?

Advocates Testify Before the Senate Finance Committee

FYI: DES Testifies Before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on HHS Budget

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO  
Committee Hearing

**FRIDAY** 10: ?

DES Testifies Before the Finance Committee on Welfare Reform

*LETTER ON CSE*

*RADIO ADDRESS: LICENSES*

**MONDAY** 13: ?

Meetings with Moderate Republican Members Begin - Tentative

\* Regional Media

**TUESDAY**

**14: ?**

**Advocates Testify Before the Senate Finance Committee on Teenage Parents and Welfare**

**Projects in Progress**

**State by State One Pagers**

\* Regional Media

# March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

<p><b>FRIDAY</b> 10: ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT</p> <p><b>DES Testifies Before the Finance Committee on Welfare Reform</b></p>
<p><b>MONDAY</b> 13: OKLAHOMA WAIVER</p> <p><b>HHS Approves OK Waiver</b></p> <p>Meetings with Moderate Republican Members Begin</p> <p>POTUS at the National League of Cities?</p>
<p><b>TUESDAY</b> 14: TEEN PREGNANCY</p> <p><b>Advocates Testify Before the Senate Finance Committee on Teenage Parents and Welfare (Granger, Besharov, Maynard, Moore)</b></p> <p>POTUS Speech to the PTA? VPOTUS Speech?</p> <p>FYI: CATO Institute Forum on Welfare Reform with Charles Murray and Will Marshall (Marshall on Teen Cut-Off?)</p>
<p><b>WEDNESDAY</b> 15: LICENSE REVOCATION</p> <p><b>Release Study on Driver's License Revocation in 19 States</b> <i>Govs press conf?</i></p> <p>FYI: National Community Action Foundation Conference Begins</p> <p>FYI: Mikulski at the Center on National Policy</p>
<p><b>THURSDAY</b> 16: ?</p> <p><b>POTUS Speech to the National Conference of State Legislatures at the White House?</b></p> <p><b>Release One Pagers on Funding Losses By State Under Archer (All Titles, Food Stamps, Child Care)</b></p>

<b>FRIDAY</b> 17: ? <b>POTUS Lunch with Women Members of Congress</b>
<b>SATURDAY</b> 18: ? <b>Radio Address? Release Child Support Study?</b>
<b>MONDAY</b> 20: ? <b>Administration Views Letter?</b> <b>DES/VPOTUS at the Caucus?</b>
<b>TUESDAY</b> 21: ? <b>Welfare Reform on the Floor</b>
<b>WEDNESDAY</b> 22: ? <b>Welfare Reform on the Floor</b>

Throughout the next few weeks it is important to continue to illustrate the Administration's commitment to the child support enforcement issue. Building on the Executive Order on federal child support enforcement, the President's speech to NACo this week, and the current climate on the Hill, the following several child support-related events might be used as a means to communicate our message, such as:

#### **Presidential/Cabinet Level Officials Events:**

- On March 10, Secretary Shalala will talk about child support in her testimony before the Senate Finance committee. She will reiterate the Administration's record, and the need for Congress to include strong child support enforcement measures, especially license revocation, as part of any welfare reform effort.
- POTUS meets with a bipartisan group of women members of Congress to discuss the importance of child support legislation and license revocation, including the bills introduced by Representatives Barbara Kennelly and Nancy Johnson.
- POTUS and Secretary Shalala address the child support issue whenever possible while on travel, especially in states that are active in enhancing child support enforcement. Currently, there are ten states that have received waivers on child support from the Clinton Administration: CT, IN, MI, MS, NY, OH, OR, VT, VA, WI. Visits to these states would provide an opportunity to stress the Administration's record on both child support and state flexibility.
- POTUS and/or Secretary Shalala meet with caseworkers and parents who have had problems enforcing payment of their child support orders, and in some cases resulted in the need to seek temporary public assistance.
- Release a report on the 19 states currently operating license revocation programs and their success in increasing child support collections.

#### **Measures to Build on the Executive Order:**

The following initiatives would deliver the message that the Administration is taking serious steps to make the federal government a model employer in the area of child support.

- Ask the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) to hold a training session with the Cabinet or with Personnel Directors from the agencies on how to implement and how to comply with the new Executive Order.
- As a condition of employment, require that all federal job applicants attest to whether he or she is meeting any legally recognized child support obligations. If past due child support is owed, require that the job applicant must enter in to and be honoring a payment plan.
- Send SWAT teams of child support enforcement staff to the agencies to meet with those who are owed child support and help them file claims on the spot.

# February/March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

<b>FRIDAY</b>	<u>17</u>		
<p>Continue Targeted Editorial Calls*</p> <p>DES Interviews for Sunday Stories?</p>			
<b>MONDAY</b>	<u>20</u>		
<p>Holiday</p>		<p>USA Today - IRS #604m</p>	
<b>TUESDAY</b>	<u>21</u>	<b>CHILD SUPPORT</b>	
<p>Child Support Press Release*    IRS</p>			
<b>WEDNESDAY</b>	<u>22</u>	<b>MEAN TO VULNERABLE KIDS</b>	
<p>House EEO Committee Mark-Up: Child Nutrition and Child Welfare</p>		<p>Health &amp; Nutrition for kids School lunch, breakfast WSC, Family child day care</p>	
<p>Views letter?</p>	<p><u>JOINT VIEWS LETTER</u></p>		
<p>USDA/Brazelton/Dr.'s Press Conference?</p> <p>USDA State by State Numbers?*</p>			
			<p>FRAC advocates</p>
<b>THURSDAY</b>	<u>23</u>	<b>CHILD CARE</b>	
<p>House EEO Committee Mark-Up: Child Care</p> <p>Release State by State Numbers?</p> <p>Child Care Providers Day on the Hill/Rally at the Capitol</p> <p>Senate Budget Committee Hearing: DES testifies</p> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">House Dem Concern. budget group</p>		<p>Michelle Nieves, ABC</p>	<p>A.A. TV</p>

\* Regional Media

<b>FRIDAY</b>	<b>24: ?</b>		
<p>24th Waiver?</p> <p>DES at the National Press Club?</p> <p>FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing</p>			
<b>SATURDAY</b>	<b>25</b>		
<p>POTUS Radio Address on Child Support/Welfare?</p>			
<b>MONDAY</b>	<b>27: ?</b>	APWA - Shalala?	WORK
<p>POTUS Signs Child Support Executive Order OR Child Disability Day?</p> <p>House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up?</p> <p><i>*'s - WORK/KIDS CUT-OFF</i></p> <p><i>Braulton?</i></p>			
<b>TUESDAY</b>	<b>28: ?</b>	Shalala - Colorado	WORK
<p>25th Waiver*? POTUS Event?</p> <p>House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up</p>			
<b>WEDNESDAY</b>	<b>1: WORK</b>		
<p>House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up</p>			
<b>THURSDAY</b>	<b>2: MEAN TO KIDS</b>		
<p>House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up</p>			

FOOD STAMPS

FS FRAUD LETTER

\* Regional Media

**FRIDAY**

**3: REPUBLICAN DISSENTION**

**House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up**

**SATURDAY**

**4**

**POTUS Radio Address on Child Support/Welfare?**

**Projects in Progress**

**State by State One Pagers**

**Status???**

**Food Stamp Fraud?**

**Immigration Event?**

**Numbers of Kids Effected by State?**

# February/March 1995 Welfare Reform Schedule

<p><b>FRIDAY</b> _____ <u>17</u></p> <p>Continue Targeted Editorial Calls*</p> <p>DES Interviews for Sunday Stories</p>
<p><b>MONDAY</b> _____ <u>20</u></p> <p>Holiday</p>
<p><b>TUESDAY</b> _____ <u>21</u>: CHILD SUPPORT</p> <p>HHS Press Release on Record Increase in IRS Child Support Collections</p> <p>DES Interviews with National Radio Networks</p>
<p><b>WEDNESDAY</b> _____ <u>22</u>: CHILD NUTRITION</p> <p>House EEO Committee Mark-Up</p> <p>HHS Releases Views Letter</p> <p>HHS Releases Child Care State by State Numbers*</p> <p>USDA Releases Views Letter</p> <p>Haas on Today Show</p> <p>DES Breakfast: House Conservative Democrats Budget Group</p>
<p><b>THURSDAY</b> _____ <u>23</u>: CHILD CARE</p> <p>House EEO Committee Mark-Up</p> <p>DGA Distributes Child Care Numbers and Letter from Governors Dean, Carper, and Carnahan</p> <p>Targeted Editorial Calls on Child Care</p> <p>Senate Budget Committee Hearing: DES testifies</p> <p>Possible ABC-TV News Segment on Child Care</p> <p>FYI: NAACRA News Conference with Senator Dodd on Child Care Issues</p> <p>FYI: Child Care Providers Day on the Hill/Rally at the Capitol</p> <p>FYI: FRAC Press Conference</p>

\* Regional Media

**FRIDAY** 24: ?

Food Stamp Fraud Press Conference?

Advance Executive Order?

FYI: Post Secondary Training and Education Subcommittee of the House EEO Committee Hearing

**SATURDAY** 25: CHILD SUPPORT?

POTUS Signs Executive Order on Child Support in Federal Government?

POTUS Radio Address on Child Support?

**MONDAY** 27: 24th WAIVER?

DES Speech at APWA Conference - 24th Waiver

USDA Releases State by State Numbers

Governor Dean/Democratic Governors Press Conference on Child Nutrition

**TUESDAY** 28: WORK

House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up  
*- 12 noon, No votes.*

*10 a.m. Coalition Press Conf.*

Release Administration Views Letter

FYI: House Agriculture Committee Mark-Up?

FYI: Child Welfare League of America Press Conference - *impact of child welfare block grant on states - state by state on Title II*

FYI: Catholic Conference/Catholic Charities Day on the Hill

**WEDNESDAY** 1: REPUBLICAN DISSENTION

House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up  
*- And's.*

PPI

FYI: House Agriculture Committee Mark-Up?

*Ag Fraud?*

HRC Speech to the Child Welfare League of America

*EDF on BBA or WR*

\* Regional Media

**THURSDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **2: MEAN TO KIDS**

**House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up**

**DES Speech at the Child Welfare League of America Conference**

**Child Disability Day?**

**State by State Numbers of Kids Cut-Off?\***

**FYI: Child Welfare League Day on the Hill**

**FRIDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **3: WRAP-UP**

**House Ways and Means Committee Mark-Up**

**POTUS Press Conference?**

**TUESDAY** \_\_\_\_\_ **7: 25th WAIVER**

**POTUS Speech to NACo - 25th Waiver**

*Shelata - Sen Finance Comm - 8, 9, 10*

\* Regional Media

**Projects in Progress**

**State by State One Pagers**