Department of Social Development and World Peace
3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3180 FAX (202) 541-3339 TELEX 7400424

June 13, 1995

Dear Senator:

I write on behalf of the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Conference to share with you the experience of the Catholic community in serving those in need and the principles that we believe should guide welfare reform. These moral principles and policy priorities were outlined in a statement that the Administrative Board of our Conference issued in March of this year. Now that the Senate is debating welfare reform, I wish to reiterate our commitment to genuine reform of the welfare system and our concern that such reform reflect our nation's best values and offer genuine help and opportunity to our poorest families.

Poor families are not an abstract issue for us; they are in our shelters and soup kitchens, parishes and schools. Our everyday experience in helping families leave welfare suggests that hope, opportunity, and investment are essential to this transition. The social contract we seek will offer training, education, jobs, and other concrete assistance in exchange for the persistent commitment and effort of persons trying to leave poverty behind. Simply cutting resources and transferring responsibility is not genuine reform. We must resist the temptation to see poor women, minority families, or immigrants as either passive victims or easy scapegoats for our society's social and economic difficulties.

There are several positive elements in the bill which was reported out of the Senate Finance Committee:

- **inclusion of the JOBS program** which reflects our own principle that those who can work ought to work;
- **preservation of child welfare and child protection entitlements;**
- **recognition that the federal government should not deny children benefits** because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare; and
- **strengthening of child support enforcement mechanisms** and related data gathering requirements.

We are particularly pleased that "child exclusion/family cap" provisions were not included in the Senate bill. As you know, we strongly opposed such provisions in the House bill and will continue to do so as the bills move to Conference Committee.

Unfortunately, there are still significant elements of the bill which are clearly not consistent with our principle that genuine welfare reform should strengthen families, encourage productive work, and protect vulnerable children. We are not defenders of the welfare status

quo and we recognize the diverse role of federal, state and local governments as well as community institutions in helping families overcome poverty and meet their children's basic needs. However, we are deeply concerned about provisions that could leave many poor children worse off.

■ **Block Grants/Entitlements**

While we are not opposed in principle to block grants and support increased state involvement and flexibility, the block grant structure in this legislation erodes the national commitment to fight poverty and does not even require states to maintain their current level of effort. Freezing the federal contribution to program costs without any reference to the number of needy children or changing economic conditions, will undermine the system of income, nutrition and other supports which serves as a safety net for the most vulnerable. As advocates of both subsidiarity and solidarity, we support more effective and responsive federal-state-community partnerships, but we cannot support "reform" which will make it more difficult for poor children to grow into productive individuals. We cannot support reform that destroys the structures, ends entitlements, and eliminates resources that have provided an essential safety net for vulnerable children. We fear that the fiscal pressures which are driving Congress have led to a proposal more clear about reducing resources than reordering responsibilities.

■ **Treatment of Children**

While we appreciate the Senate Finance Committee's decision that children should not be denied benefits because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare, it has been reported to us that some Senators intend to offer amendments to deny benefits on these grounds. We oppose any attempt to deny benefits to children because of the age of their mother, their family's dependence on welfare or an arbitrary time limit on benefits. Such provisions, whatever their intentions, are likely to encourage abortion, especially in states which pay for abortions but not for assistance to these children. We do not believe that teenagers should be encouraged to set up their own households. However, in seeking to change the behavior of parents, these provisions hurt children, and some unborn children will pay with their lives. We have already seen preliminary indications of an increase in abortions in New Jersey, which has a family cap in place.

We also welcome the Senate's protection of the cash benefit for all children eligible for Supplemental Security Income [SSI]. We are concerned about more stringent eligibility requirements for children which may result in loss of benefits to hundreds of thousands of children. For us this is a matter of moral consistency. Our faith requires us to protect the lives and dignity of vulnerable children whether they are born or unborn. Every child is precious to us.

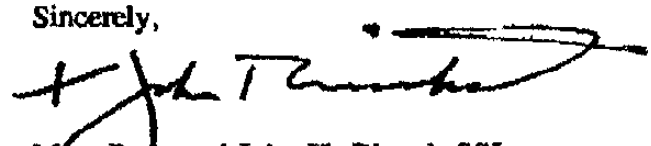
■ **Treatment of Aged and Disabled Legal Immigrants**

We are also concerned about the exclusion of aged and disabled legal immigrants from eligibility for assistance through the SSI program. We are also troubled by provisions that would severely restrict legal immigrants' eligibility for other Social Security Act programs, including Medicaid and child protection services. In many instances, the alternative to providing basic assistance to these individuals will be abject poverty, untreated illness, and continued domestic abuse. Costs associated with assisting these persons would inevitably be borne by state and local governments. The proposed measures would not only deny benefits to legal residents who have worked and paid taxes in the U.S. for years, but would even deny benefits to them after they became U.S. citizens. The deeming provisions have the potential for denying assistance to U.S. citizens when they are in genuine need. Such an approach does not advance the common good but further divides our people along economic, racial, ethnic and ideological lines.

We are very concerned that some Senators may seek to use this legislation to cut the Earned Income Tax Credit. To reduce this tax relief for working families would send exactly the wrong message at a time when our nation needs to reward work and help families raise their children in dignity. We strongly oppose amendments to weaken the EITC.

As the Bishops said in the enclosed statement issued in March, we strongly support genuine welfare reform. We are not defenders of the current system. The status quo is unacceptable. It is the nation's children who pay the greatest price for the failures of the current system. That is why genuine welfare reform is a moral imperative and an urgent national priority. For the Catholic community, the measure of welfare reform is whether it will enhance the lives and dignity of poor children and their families. The goal of reform ought to be to promote decent work and reduce dependency, not simply cut budgets and programs. The target of reform ought to be poverty, not poor families. We urge you to support provisions consistent with these principles and priorities and oppose measures which will undermine them.

Sincerely,



Most Reverend John H. Ricard, SSJ
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore
Chair, Domestic Policy Committee

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

Department of Social Development and World Peace
3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3180 FAX (202) 541-3339 TELEX 7400424

June 28, 1995

Honorable Robert Dole
Senate Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, DC. 20510

Dear Senator Dole:

Earlier this month, the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference sent every member of the Senate a statement of our principles and priorities on welfare reform. We reiterated our strong support for genuine welfare reform and our opposition to provisions which violate our pro-life and social justice principles. A copy of the letter is enclosed.

In that letter we expressed our strong support of the Finance Committee's rejection of mandated family cap and child exclusion provisions. We also promised our strong opposition to any floor amendment to mandate these provisions. We understand you are under some pressure from members of the Senate and some groups which insist on including such proposals. We strongly urge you to resist these pressures.

We reaffirm our principled and determined opposition to attempts to deny benefits to children because of the age of their mother, and their family's dependence on welfare. Such provisions, whatever their intentions, are likely to encourage abortion, especially in states which pay for abortions but not for assistance to these children. We do not believe that teenagers should be encouraged to set up their own households; however, in seeking to change the behavior of parents, these provisions hurt children, and some unborn children will pay with their lives.

There is much debate and conjecture about the human consequences of these measures. Now we have some evidence from the experience of a state held up as a model of this kind of welfare reform. As the attached fact sheet points out, these provisions in New Jersey have led to a reported increase in the abortion rate without any significant decrease in the rate of out-of-wedlock births. Pro-life principles should be upheld in the welfare debate. It is not logical to insist that young women will decide whether to have children based on the availability of assistance, then turn around and insist that the denial of assistance will play no role in a decision to end the life of that unborn child. As the early data from New Jersey apparently indicates, such measures do not reduce illegitimacy, but do increase abortion.

We urge you and all Senators to reject simple and dangerous fixes which encourage abortion without attacking the real causes of widespread illegitimacy in our society. We need real welfare reform which strengthens families, promotes work and responsibility and protects vulnerable children -- born and unborn.

Sincerely,

Most Reverend John H. Ricard, SSJ
Chairman, Domestic Policy Committee
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore

UPDATE ON THE FAMILY CAP PROVISIONS IN WELFARE REFORM
June 1995

As you may have read, the Senate has delayed its consideration of welfare reform until after the July 4th recess (June 30 to July 9). The Senate bill, unlike the House bill, does not prohibit states from giving cash aid to children of current welfare recipients or teen mothers. While not supporting teen parents setting up separate households, the Conference and Catholic Charities USA worked hard and successfully to at least provide vouchers to these children in the House bill. However, in the Senate, a number of Republican Members have threatened to filibuster any bill which does not prohibit states from providing cash assistance to children born to current welfare recipients and minor mothers. Our goal in the Senate is to keep these "child exclusion" provisions out of the bill while supporting efforts to provide teen parents with a range of benefits including parenting education, skills training and appropriate adult supervision.

The Conference's position is based on the belief that children should not be denied benefits because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare. These provisions, whatever their intentions, are likely to encourage abortion, especially in those states which pay for abortions, but not for assistance to these children.

New Jersey is the state with the most experience with a family cap. Here is a recap of the currently available information from recently released studies of the New Jersey Family Cap.

Has the abortion rate increased in New Jersey after the Family Cap/Child Exclusion?

Yes. In May, New Jersey welfare officials announced that:

The abortion rate among poor women increased 3.6% in the eight months after New Jersey barred additional payments to women on welfare who gave birth to additional children;

The total number of abortions performed on women receiving assistance through the main welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, increased from 7,619 in the same period a year earlier to 7,932.

This increase is exactly what pro-life opponents of the family cap predicted, and is particularly significant given that, for the previous four years, New Jersey's abortion rate had declined 12% and the national rate had declined 5%.

Does the Family Cap provision result in fewer births to welfare recipients?

No. A study conducted by Rutgers University indicates that the New Jersey law barring additional payments to welfare mothers who have more children has had no effect on birthrates among those women.

From August 1993 through July 1994, there was no significant difference between birth rates in the group of welfare mothers who received an additional monthly benefit if they gave birth to another child and those denied such a benefit.

Over the short term, the regulation appears not to have reduced births and to have had no impact on the child-bearing practices of those women subjected to its penalties and incentives. The study refutes several earlier announcements that birth rates among New Jersey welfare mothers had dropped dramatically since the state implemented the policy in 1992.

Conclusion

Although these results are preliminary, the abortion increase coupled with the absence of impact of the family cap on birth rates suggest that the policy of denying children benefits doesn't reduce illegitimate births except by increasing abortions.

65518 – Julia Baton

Catholic
Charities
USA

President William J. Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington, DC 20500

Bruce –
Can you help Julia Baton?
J.

June 1, 1995

Dear ~~Mr. President~~ Bill,

(Julia needs help answering letter)

As you know, our organization, Catholic Charities USA, and the Catholic bishops have been deeply involved in this year's welfare reform debate. Despite our best efforts to help to frame the moral and ethical questions, the House has passed a bill that would put millions of children at greater risk of hunger, neglect, abuse and even death. As the bishops wrote, with welfare benefits unavailable, many children may "pay with their lives" when their mothers despair of being able to raise them.

As the Senate floor debate approaches, it has become clear that the single most important issue will be continuation of a federal guarantee, an entitlement, for children in poor families. Time limits, work requirements and other specifics in the bill may be poorly conceived and destructive, but loss of the AFDC entitlement would be catastrophic. We feel strongly that the entitlement structure must be salvaged this year or there will be no framework on which a future Congress can re-weave a safety net for children and their families.

Your own defense of the Food Stamp entitlement has had a powerful effect on the debate in Congress, stiffening the spines of nervous Democrats and opening the eyes of many Republicans. Moreover, your threat to veto a Food Stamp block grant energized the anti-poverty and anti-hunger communities who sorely needed a ray of hope.

The lack of a similar veto threat on AFDC has been a glaring omission, frequently cited by senators of both parties as justification for their own sad failures to fight for the rights of poor children.

More then ever before, our poorest families need you to lead this fight to preserve the AFDC entitlement. We will be with you, and so will the bishops and many others. This is a defining moment in the history of social policy. Please lead the way.

Sincerely,

Fred Kammer

Fred Kammer, SJ
President

AK/sct

Episcopal Liaison
The Most Reverend
Joseph M. Sullivan

Chair
Rev. Timothy A. Hogan

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Ms. Lupe U. Macker

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June 20, 1995

The Reverend Fred C. Kammer, S.J.
President
Catholic Charities USA
Suite 200
1731 King Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your letter. I'm glad you enjoyed the picture and your visit to the White House.

As you know, I share your deep concern about the debate in Congress over welfare reform. I have long believed that government must work in partnership with people -- providing opportunity, encouraging responsibility, and strengthening families for the future. We must do everything in our power to help poor children and families to get on the path to self-sufficiency. I am firmly opposed to the current House proposal because it is both weak on work and tough on children, and I will fight any further measures that seek to undermine the fundamental covenant between America's government and the people it serves.

As always, I am grateful for your comments, and I will keep them in mind in the days ahead.

Sincerely, BILL CLINTON

BC/JFB/JAD/MAH/ws-efr (Corres. #2283585)
(6.kammer.fc)

cc: Pam Madaris w/copy of "Office of the President" form
cc: Jim Dorskind, 94 OEOB
cc: ~~Julia Baton~~
cc: Bruce Reed

Encl: NGA Summit Speech

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through John Podesta

CLEAR THRU JOHN PODESTA

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

① Mickey re Letter
② Don re Dick re 7/1 WR

Catholic Charities USA

MEMO

1731 King Street • Suite 200 • Alexandria Virginia 22314 • Phone: (703) 549-1390 Fax: (703) 549-1656

TO: SENATE LEGISLATIVE STAFF

FROM: SHARON DALY, DEPUTY TO THE PRESIDENT FOR SOCIAL POLICY

DATE: JUNE 21, 1995 Sharon

RE: DATA ON IMPACT OF THE NEW JERSEY "FAMILY CAP" POLICY

While Senators consider proposals to deny cash assistance to children born to mothers already on welfare, it is important for you to have the most up to date information on the effects of the New Jersey experiment.

I am enclosing data released last week by the New Jersey Department of Human Services and an analysis by Michael Laracy of the Annie E. Casey Foundation which explains the findings.

There are three important points to understand about the impact of the "family cap" or child exclusion policy in New Jersey:

1) Contrary to earlier testimony by CBO Director June O'Neil and published reports by Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation, the New Jersey program has not reduced out of wedlock births or births to AFDC recipients. The "family cap" has not "worked."

2) While the "family cap" has not reduced births, there has been a significant (almost 4%) increase in abortions among women on AFDC in New Jersey at a time when abortions among all other groups of women were declining in New Jersey and elsewhere.

3) All of the babies born to mothers affected by the "family cap" are growing up in greater deprivation, and so are their sisters and brothers who are now living further below the poverty line because already inadequate income must be stretched to provide for another child who needs clean diapers, clothes, toys and other necessities.

Please make sure that your Senator understands that, however well-intentioned, child exclusion policies and other <u>unproven</u> proposals to reduce illegitimacy should not be imposed on the states by federal mandate. In light of this most recent data, no additional states should even be permitted to experiment with such policies until and unless the final evaluation of the New Jersey program is complete and it can be demonstrated that the results are benign.

New Research Findings
on the
Impact of the New Jersey Family Cap on AFDC Births

- New preliminary research findings do not support the contention that the "family cap" policy--denying AFDC cash benefits to additional children born to mothers receiving welfare--has an effect on the number of AFDC births. At least that was the case in New Jersey between August 1993 and July 1994--the first 12 month period that a family's welfare grant would no longer increase if the mother had another child. A new study that examines the impact of the New Jersey family cap indicates no difference in the percentage of births to AFDC mothers who were subject to the family cap versus those who were not. New Jersey, one of eight states with a family cap, is the best state to study the impact of the family cap on AFDC births because it has had this policy in effect the longest (since October 1992).

- The preliminary findings indicate that between August 1993 and July 1994, 6.9 percent of AFDC mothers subject to the family cap gave birth to an additional child, whereas 6.7 percent of AFDC mothers not subject to the family cap gave birth to an additional child. This small difference is statistically insignificant. The results of this study were based on a comparison of two groups of AFDC mothers that through a random assignment were either subject to the family cap or not.

- The new estimates are much more accurate and complete, albeit still preliminary, than those made previously. These estimates are based on work completed by Rutgers University, the official evaluator of New Jersey's state-based welfare reform waiver demonstration. Due to the national significance of the family cap issue, the state applied for, and was awarded, funds by the Department of Health and Human Services to provide preliminary estimates of the effects of the family cap. This is the first set of analyses conducted for this study. A more complete set of analyses will be conducted and findings made available over the course of this summer.

- An unpublished, but widely publicized, study of the impact of the New Jersey family cap conducted last year which examined births to AFDC mothers subject to the cap versus births to AFDC mothers not subject to the family cap over the same time period (August 1993-July 1994) found a significant reduction in the percentage of additional births to AFDC mothers. Rutgers University researchers' assessment is that the primary reason for the difference between the earlier study and their own is that lengthy reporting delays of births caused the data used in the earlier analysis to be incomplete. In contrast, by the time Rutgers University conducted the same type of analysis, the data captured all births and is complete.

- The earlier study lent support to the idea that a family cap would reduce additional births to AFDC mothers. While still preliminary, these new estimates provided by Rutgers University about the impact of the family cap on additional births to AFDC mothers are the best available and counter earlier findings. More extensive analysis over a longer time period is needed before any definite conclusions about the impact of the family cap should be drawn.

Comparison of Additional Births to Mothers who Received AFDC in New Jersey During Some or All of the Period of August 1993 - July 1994 (Ongoing Cases Only)

	AFDC Mothers Subject to Family Cap	AFDC Mothers Not Subject to Family Cap
Percentage with a birth in the period August, 1993 through July, 1994	6.9%	6.7%
Number in sample	2,999	1,429

* While the family cap went into effect throughout New Jersey on October 1, 1992, the first births which would potentially be affected by this provision would not have occurred until August 1993, or 10 months after the effective date.

SOURCE: Rutgers University, Analysis of New Jersey AFDC caseload data.

"IF IT SEEMS TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE, IT PROBABLY IS."

Observations on Rutgers University's Initial Evaluation Findings that New Jersey's Child Exclusion Law Has Not Reduced AFDC Birth Rates . . . . . Contrary to Previous Claims by Its Supporters

Michael C. Laracy
Senior Program Associate
The Annie E. Casey Foundation

June 21, 1995

Introduction

This fact sheet and analysis is intended to assist in the interpretation of the recent release by the New Jersey Department of Human Services(NJDHS) and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (USDHHS) of the preliminary findings and impact data from their on-going evaluation of New Jersey's Family Development Program (FDP), which found **no reduction to date in the birth rate of welfare mothers attributable to FDP's child exclusion law.**

Specifically, Rutgers submitted their first evaluation deliverable under their contract with NJDHS, which focused on the vital question of whether FDP had caused birth rate reductions among mothers on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) on the order on 15, 19, or even 29 percent as many supporters of child exclusion laws had claimed. In a letter dated June 14, 1995, Rutgers stated:

- From August 1993 through July 1994 there is not a statistically significant difference between the birth rates in the experimental and control groups. We find a 6.9 percent rate for women subject to the Family Cap [i.e., child exclusion law] and a 6.7 percent rate for those in the control group. . .

- It is our assessment that the primary reason for the difference between our findings and those of earlier analyses . . . is that lengthy reporting delays by clients resulted in incomplete data available to earlier research efforts.

- Our findings should be considered as preliminary inasmuch as (1) only one full year of post-program data was available and (2) data on new application cases (N=4,5000) were too incomplete to include in the analysis.

A copy of the Rutgers report to NJDHS is attached as Appendix A of this analysis.

This fact sheet (1) provides a brief summary of FDP and its child exclusion law, (2)outlines the national debate about out-of-wedlock births and welfare reform, (3) analyzes relevant aspects of the Rutgers findings for the debate, and (4) concludes with a set of "questions and answers" that attempts to assist in appreciating the implications and consequences of these important developments.

Background

The Family Development Program, enacted in 1992, consists of six pieces of state

legislation, the best known of which is the child exclusion law. A summary of the FDP package is attached as Appendix B. Often referred to as the "family cap" law, this component of FDP stipulates that an AFDC family that has an additional child will not receive any cash assistance for the child if born more than ten months after the mother's application for AFDC. The ten-month provision is intended to exempt infants who were conceived **before** the mother applied for public assistance. According to state data, approximately 60 to 65 percent of all AFDC births are exempt from the penalty since most of the 10,000 or so children born to welfare families each year were conceived while the mothers were **not** on AFDC.

Previously, in New Jersey, the AFDC grant increased by an amount between $64 and $102 upon the birth of an additional child (the size of the increment depended upon family size). There are no exceptions made for cases of documented rape, incest, or contraceptive failure. The newborn's eligibility for Medicaid and food stamps are **not** affected. The law took effect on October 1, 1992, affecting children born to AFDC families ten months later, as of August 1, 1993.

A variety of FDP's components required federal Section 1115 demonstration waivers, which were approved by USDHHS in the summer of 1992. Under the terms of the federal waivers, a rigorous research evaluation, including an impact analysis, was required. The state contract for the evaluation was awarded to Rutgers University through an open competitive bid. The full evaluation will not be completed for several years, with preliminary impact analysis originally not scheduled for release until 1996.

On November 8, 1993, the administration of then New Jersey Governor Jim Florio issued a press release claiming a significant 16 percent reduction in the number of children born to AFDC families as a result of the new regulations. His claim was based on a comparison of the AFDC birth rate for the months of August and September 1993 with the same two months one year earlier. He asserted that FDP was therefore an "obvious success." The law's sponsor, Assemblyman Wayne Bryant (D. Camden) exclaimed, "It's gratifying to hear reports indicating that fewer women are having babies."

However, at the same time, senior NJDHS officials urged caution about prematurely drawing inferences on the effects of FDP so shortly after implementation. They had serious reservations about attempting to use raw monthly data reports for such purposes since they were subject to subsequent revisions, as well as misinterpretation. Governor Florio's pronouncement was based on monthly reports filed with the state by the 21 county welfare agencies for administrative purposes, which are subject to extensive revision and updating. Although essential for routine program management, these initial reports are of highly variable quality and should not be used for program evaluation. **The Governor's claims were not based on the rigorous evaluation which was then being started by Rutgers.** The Commissioner of Human Services warned, "It is early... It's always difficult to speculate on this, to analyze what it actually means. Two months is not a lot of time to do statistical analysis." The Commissioner's caveats were not widely reported.

It is now abundantly evident that the reticence of the state agency officials was well

warranted.

In early 1994, the Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP) Published a critique of Florio's claims, concluding that his assertion of a 16 percent drop was completely unwarranted. The analysis, "The Jury is Still Out," cited several reasons why the claim was exaggerated and unbalanced:

- Much of the reduction was due to considerable lags in the reporting of children born to mothers sanctioned under law (because the children were not included in the families' grants, there was less reason for mothers to report them to the county welfare agencies until their normal recertification, when they were required to provide an update of their families' circumstances);

- Some of the remaining decline in the AFDC birth rate was due to a host of other factors not accounted for in the raw data or in simple "pre and post" comparisons (such as mothers who moved before reporting a birth), and so could not be attributed to the law; and

- A parallel 2 percent decline in New Jersey's general population's birth rates accounted for a portion of the remaining reduction.

Moreover, CLASP pointed to other important considerations that would help to put the Governor's claim in proper perspective:

- Even accepting the preliminary figures, the law's impact was only an annual caseload reduction of approximately one-quarter of one percent (0.0025)-- an impact of little consequence;

- To produce the relatively modest decrease in births, **five times as many newborns had to be penalized, putting them at higher risk of serious adverse -- and costly -- health and social consequences;**

- Initial assurances that there were no increases in the number of Medicaid abortions were unsubstantiated;

- Widespread delays in mothers reporting births were reportedly accompanied by instances of **non-reporting**, generating significant social and health repercussions for the children if they also lost access to food stamps, Medicaid, and WIC; and

- The law's provisions intended to induce new mothers to promptly return to work had not yet been shown to have any impact.

Nevertheless, based on extensive national press coverage of the law's alleged success -- and specifically the purported 16 percent drop in birth rates -- numerous states proceeded to consider and adopt their own versions of New Jersey's child exclusion law. Both the House and

Senate Republican welfare reform bills of 1993 would have mandated such provisions nationally, and even President Clinton included child exclusion provisions as a state option in his welfare reform bill, introduced in the summer of 1993.

This rush to judgement and national replication was given greater impetus in late 1994, when a draft document prepared by June O'Neill (then a professor of economics at New York City's Baruch College and now the director of the Congressional Budget Office) appeared to show even greater birth rate reductions -- **between 19 and 29 percent** -- due to FDP. Dr. O'Neill had been retained by the State of New Jersey to serve as an expert witness to testify in the defense of the child exclusion law in a federal lawsuit brought by Legal Services against the state. In order to facilitate her testimony, she was given privileged access to the still-incomplete data set being compiled by Rutgers as part of its impact evaluation. At that point, Rutgers was still gathering extensive data on roughly 4,500 welfare families (the "treatment group") who were subjected to all the new provisions of FDP (including, but not limited to, the child exclusion law) and an equal number of families who were exempt from FDP's reforms.

Dr. O'Neill analyzed the incomplete data set and concluded that the birth rate for the treatment group dropped 19 percent more than the rate for the control group. When adjusted for variations in the composition of the two groups, she found that treatment group's birth rate had dropped by 29 percent more than the control group's. Her testimony attributed the difference to the Child Exclusion Law, and she declared it highly successful, with few qualifications or caveats. However, because the federal judge decided to rule on more narrow legal grounds, rather than on the merits of the law, her testimony was never used in the federal lawsuit, and it was never officially released. (The federal court ruled for the defense, upholding the state law as a permissible approach to public policy, without addressing its merits. The case is now under appeal.)

Nevertheless, it was widely circulated and often cited by conservative policy analysts during the subsequent national debate. For example, in April 27, 1995 testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, Charles Murray, of the American Enterprise Institute, gloated: "Already, we know how wrong the experts [who had been skeptical about the impact of such laws] can be. Who among the experts predicted that New Jersey's cutoff of $64 of extra support for a second child [actually $102] would have the substantial effects on second births to welfare recipients that the work of June O'Neill, director of the Congressional Budget Office, has found? Certainly not I. Certainly not any of the many social scientists who constantly assure us that welfare does not encourage births. New Jersey had to go ahead and try before we could know."

Similarly, in the February 9, 1995 issue of his newsletter, "EYI," Robert Rector, of the Heritage Foundation, asserted (without ever actually mentioning the source), "Recent evidence from a carefully monitored New Jersey state experiment shows that limiting the value of welfare benefits can have a dramatic impact in reducing illegitimate births among women on welfare. In the experimental program, a four percent reduction in the dollar benefit [the actual penalty is actually on the order of 15 percent to 25 percent] was found to cause a 29 percent decrease in

future illegitimate births..." Rector proceeded to dismiss, out of hand, the possibility that lags in the reporting of births might have accounted for some of the apparent decrease; as it turns out, those lags appear to have been a decisive factor.

Of some significance to the on-going debate about child exclusion laws, on May 16, 1995, NJDHS announced that there appeared to be a four percent increase in the rate of abortions being performed for New Jersey AFDC mothers subsequent to the law's implementation. Specifically, during the first eight months of the law -- August 1993 through March 1994 -- the Medicaid abortion rate for women on AFDC was 3.67 percent higher than a comparable period immediately prior to the law's enactment. Opponents of abortion -- long concerned that the penalties of the child exclusion laws would coerce women into seeking abortions -- were galvanized by this development. Numerous social conservatives and religious groups came out in sharp opposition to such laws at both the federal and state levels. It should be noted that -- like the original birth rate data used by Florio, the abortion figures were raw "pre and post" data from monthly reports, not from the Rutgers evaluation.

Recently, the welfare reform bill passed by the U.S. House of Representatives, The Personal Responsibility Act (H.R. 4), **mandated that all states enact child exclusion laws.** Likewise, conservatives in the U.S. Senate have are currently pushing hard for comparable provisions in their counterpart bill. Moreover, a great many states have adopted, introduced, or are debating copy-cat bills. Invariably supporters have cited the Florio and O'Neill data as compelling evidence in their favor. In some instances, the strength of dramatic empirical results seems to have been pivotal. In fact, in recent months, child exclusion provisions have become among the most requested of Section 1115 waivers. See Appendix C for a profile of state waiver requests.

Under the terms of the original Rutgers evaluation contract, the preliminary findings discussed here would not have been available for several months. However, in early 1995, USDHHS and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, of Palo Alto, California, offered to support the costs of accelerating and enhancing the Rutgers effort to include expanded impact analysis and limited qualitative analysis. The New Jersey Department of Human Services has validated and authorized the transmittal of the current Rutgers findings to USDHHS as part of this expanded evaluation plan.

Questions and Answers

Q. The Rutgers analysis shows no difference between the birth rates for the women in the treatment group, who were affected by the child exclusion law, compared to an equal number of women in the control group who were exempt from the law's sanctions. What does this mean? What is its significance?

A. The Rutgers analysis reveals that the birth rates for both the treatment and control groups dropped virtually identical amounts from before the law took effect to afterwards. The lack of any significant difference between the two groups shows that **at least thus far**, the law has had **no impact** -- no effect -- on the child-bearing practices of the women subjected to it penalties and incentives. The principle significance of this finding of no impact is that it supersedes and strongly refutes earlier, unofficial, pronouncements that the law was reducing births to welfare mothers on the order of 15, 19, and even 29 percent. **Based on the Rutgers report, supporters of child exclusion laws -- in New Jersey, in the U.S. Congress, and in other state capitals -- no longer have any empirical evidence whatsoever for their claims that such laws will discourage out-of-wedlock births.**

Q. Are the Rutgers findings surprising?

A. Not really. Over the last decade, a series of studies have shown very little relationship between welfare grants levels and birth rates of low-income women. These analyses generally compared the birth rates for welfare mothers in a range of states between which the monthly cash grant levels varied widely. Although the findings were not uniform, they collectively show only modest correlations between the number of children in a family and the states' benefit levels. For white and Hispanic families there tended to be a slight positive correlation; for black families, no relationship whatsoever. (For an excellent summary of this research, see The Urban Institute's "Welfare Reform Briefs: Does Welfare Increase Out-of-Wedlock Births?" May 1995.) Thus, the Rutgers findings are quite consistent with the earlier scientific work in this area, all of which showed that reproductive decisions of low income women are **not** very sensitive to welfare grant levels.

The Rutgers results are only surprising in the extent to which they so decisively refute supporters' claims over the last two years that the New Jersey child exclusion law had dramatically reduced birth rates among women on welfare. (Many scholars have been skeptical about these assertions since they were not based on rigorous analysis and since they were so inconsistent with the research comparing birth rates across states mentioned above.)

Q. Is the Rutgers evaluation report definitive and final? Does it "prove" that the law will have no effect in the future?

A. The Rutgers study is **not** definitive, nor is it final; it is only the first of several analyses of the New Jersey package of welfare reform laws. The series of evaluations were required by the federal government as part of the waivers New Jersey was granted to implement the child exclusion law and FDP's other provisions. Subsequent reports will revisit the question of whether the birth rates change at later points in time. However, the findings released now are the first official and authoritative analyses of the law's effects; previous data and analyses were either unscientific, badly flawed, or based on incomplete sample data. They were all premature and unreliable, as the Rutgers data documents.

Because the current analysis is based on impact data that most researchers would still consider early or preliminary, no one should conclude that it is the final word. It is certainly conceivable that future evaluations, which will incorporate subsequent years of data, will show slightly different results. However, the fact that this evaluation shows **no** impacts thus far, strongly suggests that we should not expect dramatic results in the out years, certainly nothing on the order of 15 percent, 19 percent, or 29 percent.

Q. Do the results of the Rutgers evaluation mean that the earlier claims of impacts were invalid? Why such a great difference?

A. Yes, the Rutgers findings render all previous claims invalid. Specifically, they show that the pronouncement by former Governor Florio in November 1993 that the New Jersey child exclusion law was an "obvious success" because two months of data suggested a 15 percent drop in birth rates was unwarranted and without merit. (The many flaws of that claim were outlined in February 1994 in "The Jury Is Still Out" available from CLASP.) Likewise, the Rutgers study refutes the testimony drafted by June O'Neill late last year -- which claimed to find a drop of between 19 and 29 percent in birth rates. Probable reasons for the erroneous findings in her analysis lie in that it used **still incomplete** data, it did not use a long enough period of measurement (birth rates are volatile over short time frames), and it disregarded the lags in reporting births that were known to be a problem in the sample. Moreover, since it was prepared not as objective research but as defense testimony, it ignored any negative impacts upon the children who were born and sanctioned.

Q. Did other states or the federal government make any significant public policy decisions based on the earlier erroneous analyses and claims about impacts in New Jersey?

A. Absolutely. Unfortunately, at least ten states have enacted child exclusion laws, applied for federal waivers, or introduced legislation since the November 1993 Florio/Bryant announcement. In almost every instance, the alleged results from the New Jersey law were cited in support. Moreover, in its welfare reform bill, H.R. 4, the House of Representatives mandated that **all** states adopt such provisions, with many supporters citing the dramatic 29 percent figure. And, proponents in the Senate continue to cite the now discredited data.

Extensive press coverage and several conservative policy analysts have disseminated the erroneous findings, perpetuating widespread misconceptions about the impacts of the New Jersey law. The Rutgers evaluation devastates their arguments and challenges their credibility on this issue.

Q. Does the Rutgers evaluation say anything about possible negative consequences of the child exclusion law? What about the children who were born to families on AFDC and were excluded from their mothers' benefits?

A. Unfortunately, this initial evaluation is very narrowly focused and does not address the

vital question of how the law affects children who are born and are penalized by being excluded from their mothers' cash grants. Considerable research has show strong correlations between child poverty and short-term negative outcomes for children. That is, the poorer the child's family, the worse off the child tends to be. One inherent effect of the child exclusion law is that children who are born will be in deeper poverty than they would otherwise had been, since their mothers' grants are not increased on their behalf.

A reasonable hypothesis to test, therefore, is that the law might cause increased negative outcomes for infants penalized by it. However, for political and budgetary reasons, the Florio Administration had decided to minimize the evaluation of "social" impacts -- such as homelessness, hunger, incidence of child abuse or neglect, low birth weight and/or failure to thrive among infants, abortions, maternal or child stress, criminal behavior, or other negative child or maternal outcomes -- that plausibly might be unintended consequences of child exclusion laws. T

Fortunately, the administration of the current governor, Christie Whitman, has expanded the scope of the Rutgers evaluation, using the additional resources made available by USDHHS and the Kaiser Foundation, to include at least a limited analysis of social impacts. These findings will be released over the next several months.

Q. What is the significance of the fact that the birth rates for both the treatment and control groups dropped from the "pre" period to the "post" period? Is it possible that the law discouraged births in the control group -- even though they were exempt from the provisions of the child exclusion law -- as well as in the treatment group?

A. This is very hard to assess. Some proponents of child exclusion laws have already claimed -- without any basis whatsoever -- that the law actually caused the drop in the control group, perhaps because the women mistakenly **thought** it would affect them despite the fact that they were exempt from it. (This type of evaluation problem is generally referred to "control group contamination:" i.e., somehow, the intervention was inadvertently applied to a portion of the control group, as well as the treatment group.) However, Rutgers, NJDHS, and the county welfare agencies had instituted a series of procedures to ensure that all members of the control group understood that they would **not** be affected by the provisions of FDP: that they would treated as if the laws were never enacted. Thus far, there is no evidence of systemic or procedural failure or of control group contamination. Still, this is a possibility that needs continued close monitoring to ensure valid research conclusions.

Far more plausible explanations for the fact that the birth rate for **both** groups dropped lie in the normal reproductive behaviors of any cohort of women. First of all, women about the age of this cohort (average age in the mid-twenties) have declining birth rates over time, so each year the birth rate should naturally be lower, all other things being equal. Second, any women who gives birth in the "pre" period is considerably less likely to also give birth in the "post" period, one year later, so that portion of the sample will contribute to a normal decline. And, third, birth

rates for welfare families and U.S. families in general have been on the decline over the last several years. so the larger societal trends may have accounted for a portion of the drop. Also. it must be acknowledged that the recent social and cultural against having children out-of-wedlock, carried extensively in the media. **might** have some unmeasured affect on birth rates of women on AFDC during this period. independent of the specific provisions of the New Jersey law.

Q. What does the Rutgers study mean with regard to the recent announcement by NJDHS that there was an increase in the number of Medicaid-financed abortions among New Jersey welfare mothers since the law was implemented? If the law is not causing any reductions in the birth rate, how could it be causing an increase in abortions?

A. This is another difficult question; one, thus far, with no certain answer. Opponents of abortion have argued that child exclusion laws would force welfare mothers to terminate pregnancies they couldn't afford to bring to term because of the laws' penalties. They have correctly pointed out how difficult it is to change sexual behavior or contraceptive practice, at least in the short and mid-term. and that women who do become pregnant would opt to take advantage of the accessible. free. and safe abortions funded through New Jersey's Medicaid program. They thus feared that the reported drop in births to AFDC mothers was attributable to increased abortions, rather than to either abstinence or better birth control.

However, the four percent increase in the abortion rate occurred over a relatively short period: and -- like birth rates -- unexplained variations in the rates of abortions are normal. Moreover, while this increase in Medicaid abortions appears to have reversed a downward trend over the several years prior to the enactment of the child exclusion law, rigorous analysis is difficult due to a switch in the systems NJDHS used to reimburse Medicaid procedures. Finally, they are simple "pre and post" comparisons for the whole AFDC caseload: they are not from the treatment and control group samples.

At this point. the data on Medicaid abortions is comparable to the initial birth rate data that precipitated former Governor Florio's claims in late 1993: suggestive. but still unreliable and subject to major revisions. The most prudent course of action is to reserve judgement, pending the release of further Rutgers evaluations and data.

Q. How should policy-makers in Washington, DC, and in other state capitals interpret these preliminary Rutgers findings? Should the results of the Rutgers evaluation affect their decisions about enacting child exclusion laws?

A. Responsible public officials should pay serious attention to the Rutgers evaluation. **It starkly shows the danger of rushing to judgement on complicated and controversial public policy issues based on inadequate information.** (In this regard, it should be noted, that New Jersey's current governor, Christie Whitman, has consistently reserved judgement about the merits, or lack thereof, of the state's child exclusion law. She has said she wants to await the

results of the overall Rutgers evaluation.)

Proponents of child exclusion laws no longer have any empirical basis for their views. They can argue their case only on normative grounds, based on their values and believes. And, given the negative consequences of such laws for the poor children who are born and sanctioned (and the possibility that the laws might coerce women into seeking abortions), normative arguments are tenuous, at best. Policy-makers would be well advised to exercise caution in making decisions about adopting versions of New Jersey's law: **as was the case a year ago, "the jury is still out."**

Individuals interested in additional information about the New Jersey child exclusion law may contact the author, Michael C. Laracy, Senior Program Associate, at The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 701 St. Paul Street, Baltimore Maryland, 21202. Telephone number: 410-223-2907, Fax: 410-2223-2929. Internet: HN2938@handsnet.org.

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Catholic Charities USA

NEWS RELEASE

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June 14, 1995
For immediate release

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Proposed family cap will encourage abortions, harm children

Washington, DC — More abortions and greater poverty will result if the Senate approves proposals to deprive poor families of support for babies conceived while a family is on welfare, admonished Sharon Daly, deputy to the president of Catholic Charities USA.

Daly spoke today at a press briefing sponsored by pro-life and pro-choice groups advocating that Congress not impose cruel cuts on children.

Catholic Charities USA opposes welfare proposals such as the family cap because they would leave mothers without any cash support for their children.

It may seem surprising to find Catholic Charities against measures that some claim would reduce out-of-wedlock births. The Catholic Church's stand on sex outside of marriage is well-known, said Daly. "But this proposal would not achieve the intended result," she said.

"We know from experience that women don't become pregnant because they think their welfare benefits will increase. And we see a rise in abortions under these proposals. That is unacceptable."

A recent New Jersey study showed that after the "family cap" was imposed in that state, abortions went up among mothers on welfare while continuing to decrease among all other women, Daly said.

Daly detailed the monthly expenses for a newborn infant that include clothing, diapers, baby powder, wipes, pacifier, laundry, detergent, and transportation for medical checkups. These expenses for an additional child cost a welfare family at least $31.50 a month more than the welfare benefit, she said. An additional $29 a month would be spent if the baby needed an extra trip to the doctor for an ear infection, a used snow suit, or a teddy bear.

(MORE)

"Even with the welfare benefit for an additional child, the family has a $60.50 income deficit. If the family receives no extra income for the new baby, the deficit would be $117.50 in a median state. That economic pressure is forcing some women to abort.

"We speak from experience, not theory," Daly said. Each year, Catholic Charities agencies across the nation assist more than 135,000 family members facing unplanned pregnancies. Nine out of 10 Catholic Charities agencies have special programs for pregnant teenagers and women.

More than 10 million people of all religious, national, racial, social, and economic backgrounds received a variety of services from Catholic Charities agencies in 1993.

Catholic Charities USA is a network of some 1,400 agencies and institutions that form the nation's largest, private, social service organization. Staff members in local agencies, assisted by nearly 225,000 volunteers, work to reduce poverty, support families, and empower communities.

Catholic Charities organizations provide social services ranging from adoption and counseling to emergency food and housing.

Catholic Charities USA promotes public policies and strategies that address human needs and social injustices. The national office provides advocacy and management support for agencies. The Disaster Response Office organizes the Catholic community's response to U.S. disasters.

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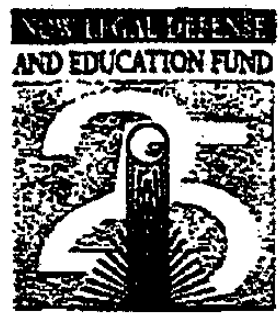

25 Years Defining and Defending Women's Rights

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Press Briefing on Child Exclusion
National Press Club
June 14, 1995

Statement of Kathryn J. Rodgers, Executive Director
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund

Sound-bites not sound policies are driving the welfare reform debate. And, the sound-bites are reaching receptive ears among the middle class voters that republicans and democrats alike, are wooing.

Middle class Americans have legitimate concerns. The economy has been, is and will continue for some time, to be in transition as it is restructured to meet global competition and shifting market demands. Companies are downsizing, job security and employment opportunities are shrinking. The real income of white men has declined substantially over the last decade. At the same time their current income is threatened, their health care systems and social security are under attack.

What to do to calm these fears? Well, one should look to the cause of the problem. James Carville had it right -- "it's the economy, stupid."

But instead politicians are taking the easy way out -- scapegoating the poor and punishing the most vulnerable of all -- children and babies who had absolutely nothing to do with creating these problems. But what they are doing is horribly misguided. Punishing children and poor women is not the way to address poverty and create a more secure economic environment for the middle class. The economy cannot be stabilized on the backs of the poor. Instead, our national policies must squarely address job creation, technology,

overseas competition and the changing labor market. Moving people out of poverty permanently can only be accomplished through education, training and skill building. And moving people out of poverty will do much more for all of us than pushing people farther into it.

Myths and stereotypes about AFDC families have fueled these misguided policies that punish poor children and coerce women's reproductive decisions. Hard facts that should shape policy are overlooked.

We and you need to expose the myths. First: the myth of large welfare families. The Congressional Budget Office reports that welfare recipients average less than two children per family -- the same as the national average. A second widely held misconception is that women receiving welfare have children for the extra $30 - $80 a month, depending on the state. What has largely been ignored are the numerous studies that contradict this myth. In fact, Mary Jo Bane and David Ellwood, two high level Health and Human Service representatives in the Clinton Administration have published research documenting that there is no relationship between fertility levels and welfare benefits. And, just last year, Professor Mark Rank, of Washington University in St. Louis, published his results of an eight-year longitudinal study that showed similar results.

These policies will be ineffective for another reason as well: they are an unrealistic attempt by government to intrude on an intensely personal decision. Pregnancy, and reliance on and access to birth control, are among the most private matters facing any individual. Under the Child Exclusion proposals, an individual whose contraception fails will be denied subsistence benefits necessary to support the child. The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists reports that condoms have only a 90% effectiveness rate and diaphragms used with spermicide have only an 82% effectiveness rate at preventing pregnancy. Under the Child Exclusion programs, the child ultimately suffers simply because of her birth, even if the parent was behaving "responsibly" in using birth control.

If it has already been documented that welfare benefits are not an incentive for poor women to have children, then why do so many members of Congress want to starve poor children to change their mothers' behavior?

Scapegoating those less well off is an age-old tactic. Politicians think it makes them look as if they are accomplishing something. In reality the only thing they are doing is blaming and punishing. The real key to welfare reform is job training, skill building and education.

If the Senate bill incorporates the same punitive measures that are in the House Personal Responsibility Act, the safety net for many poor children will be eliminated. It is an unconscionable form of punishment to eliminate aid to innocent children born into poverty, based solely on their parents' behavior.

NATIONAL ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LEGAL CONSORTIUM

Asian American Legal Defense & Education Fund
New York

Asian Law Caucus
San Francisco

Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California
Los Angeles

STATEMENT OF NAPALC EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
KAREN K. NARASAKI
June 13, 1995

The National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium opposes the welfare reform bill passed by the Senate Finance Committee for the devastating impact it will have on lawfully admitted immigrant children.

This bill would give states the option of barring legal immigrants from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In addition, the bill restricts access for all programs authorized under the Social Security Act, including Medicaid, Child Welfare Services, maternal and child health services block grants, foster care, and adoption assistance by requiring that service providers count the income of the immigrant's sponsor. This deeming would effectively disqualify most of these immigrants and would not even be terminated when the immigrants become U.S. citizens.

Besides unconstitutionally creating a second class citizenship status for Asian Pacific Americans and other immigrants who become citizens, the impact of this bill on immigrant children would be disastrous. Malnourished children would be ineligible to receive state aid. Abused children would not be afforded legal protection. Poor children who are ill would be unable to receive much needed medical attention. These children of legal permanent residents and naturalized citizens would be denied the safety net for which their parents have paid taxes. It is beyond unfair; it is outrageous.

Therefore, I strongly urge you to consider what is really at stake - the welfare of America's children. No one doubts that welfare reform is necessary. However, I urge Congress to propose more fair and sensible welfare reforms that would not unjustly harm law-abiding, tax-paying citizens and residents of the United States.

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NAPALC is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization whose mission is to advance and protect the legal and civil rights of Asian Pacific Americans. It is affiliated with the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund in New York, the Asian Law Caucus in San Francisco and the Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California in Los Angeles.

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Apart on Abortion, Together on Benefits for Children: Congress Must Not Overhaul Welfare By Gutting Civil Liberties

Statement of Liz Symonds, Legislative Counsel ACLU's National Legislative Office

For IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 14, 1995

"The American Civil Liberties Union, which unequivocally supports a woman's right to reproductive freedom, today joins with our opponents on the abortion issue in opposing welfare measures that would harm children. As a member of a coalition of nearly 100 religious, civil rights and women's rights organizations, the ACLU opposes all policies that target poor women and children and that unfairly deny them public assistance. If Congress wishes to reform the welfare system, it must respect the rights of welfare recipients, protect children and strengthen families. Unfortunately, many of the provisions of the Senate Finance Committee bill and amendments expected on the floor later this week fail on all three counts.

"Among the possible child exclusion proposals are provisions that would cut off aid to children born to families already receiving AFDC. Another suggestion would be to deny assistance to children born to a single teenage mother until she turns 18, and to the mother as well. Another would reduce aid for children whose paternity has not been established by the state. And yet another measure, also already contained in the House bill, would base increases in block grants for public assistance to states on an "illegitimacy ratio"— that is, the number of out-of-wedlock births in a state plus any increase in the total number of abortions, divided by the number of abortions. These are mean-spirited proposals that only punish children for the behavior of their parents.

"The ACLU opposes measures that would violate a woman's right to privacy by dictating her reproductive decisions as a condition of receiving public assistance. We believe that certain measures violate the right to equal protection by targeting the most vulnerable people in our society -- such as legal immigrants and indigent children -- for disparate treatment. We oppose measures that would restrict the freedom of movement of poor families. And we believe that proposals to create new government computer databases for tracking individuals pose a threat to the privacy rights of all. Finally, we oppose efforts that threaten the rights of children at risk for abuse and neglect by dismantling federal protections in child welfare systems.

"Under the guise of reforming welfare and reducing economic dependence our elected officials may attempt to drastically cut public assistance to poor women and children. But the ACLU will vigorously oppose efforts to do so by stripping people of their fundamental rights."

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Catholic
Charities
USA

President William J. Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500

June 1, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, our organization, Catholic Charities USA, and the Catholic bishops have been deeply involved in this year's welfare reform debate. Despite our best efforts to help to frame the moral and ethical questions, the House has passed a bill that would put millions of children at greater risk of hunger, neglect, abuse and even death. As the bishops wrote, with welfare benefits unavailable, many children may "pay with their lives" when their mothers despair of being able to raise them.

As the Senate floor debate approaches, it has become clear that the single most important issue will be continuation of a federal guarantee, an entitlement, for children in poor families. Time limits, work requirements and other specifics in the bill may be poorly conceived and destructive, but loss of the AFDC entitlement would be catastrophic. We feel strongly that the entitlement structure must be salvaged this year or there will be no framework on which a future Congress can re-weave a safety net for children and their families.

Your own defense of the Food Stamp entitlement has had a powerful effect on the debate in Congress, stiffening the spines of nervous Democrats and opening the eyes of many Republicans. Moreover, your threat to veto a Food Stamp block grant energized the anti-poverty and anti-hunger communities who sorely needed a ray of hope.

The lack of a similar veto threat on AFDC has been a glaring omission, frequently cited by senators of both parties as justification for their own sad failures to fight for the rights of poor children.

More then ever before, our poorest families need you to lead this fight to preserve the AFDC entitlement. We will be with you, and so will the bishops and many others. This is a defining moment in the history of social policy. Please lead the way.

Sincerely,

Fred Kammer, SJ
President

AK/sct

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CHILD EXCLUSION TASK FORCE

June, 1995

Dear Senator,

As national, state and local organizations with a diversity of views on many issues, we are united in our efforts to promote the health and welfare of America's children. We came together last year in opposition to a welfare reform proposal that would allow states to deny benefits to innocent babies simply because they were born into families receiving AFDC. The House has passed its version of welfare reform that not only includes a required "family cap," but adds even more punitive and mandatory child exclusion proposals. We believe that these provisions, even after attempts to modify their cruelty, endanger the health and welfare of millions of America's children. Enacting into law the following provisions would severely harm the children of already impoverished families:

- **WE OPPOSE PROVISIONS THAT WOULD DENY BENEFITS TO CHILDREN SIMPLY FOR BEING BORN INTO FAMILIES RECEIVING WELFARE.**

- **WE OPPOSE PROPOSALS THAT WOULD DENY BENEFITS FOR CHILDREN WHOSE PATERNITY HAS NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY ESTABLISHED BY THE STATE.**

- **WE OPPOSE ANY PROVISION THAT WOULD DENY BENEFITS TO THE CHILDREN OF UNMARRIED TEENAGERS.**

Our principal concern with excluding children from subsistence welfare benefits is that, if enacted, each of these provisions will hurt the children of already impoverished families. Years of social science scholarship makes it clear that people make childbearing decisions for complex and varied reasons. The promise of a tiny incremental gain in welfare benefits is not an inducement to have additional children. Family values will not be advanced by making it more difficult for poor mothers to provide for their children and escape from poverty. Any short-term fiscal savings gained by excluding children from receiving subsistence benefits will be outweighed by the long-term social costs of their impoverishment and the further deterioration of families already in distress.

We urge you to oppose these anti-child, anti-family provisions.

Please contact Martha Davis of NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund at (212) 925-6635, Liz Symonds, ACLU at (202) 675-2337 if you have questions or need more information.

LAUCH FAIRCLOTH
NORTH CAROLINA

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3305

May 18, 1995

The Honorable Bob Packwood
Chairman, Senate Finance Committee
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Bob:

As Senator Faircloth discussed with you last Thursday, we strongly recommend that the welfare reform bill to be marked up in the Finance Committee include the following four provisions:

1) Restrictions on the use of federal funds for cash benefits to young unwed mothers (i.e., under the age of 21, or at a minimum the age of 18);

2) A family cap restricting the use of federal funds to provide added benefits for mothers on welfare who have additional children;

3) Grant adjustments based on an illegitimacy ratio as provided in the House bill;

4) The work requirements as provided in the House bill (these requirements have already been accepted by Govs. Weld, Engler and Thompson);

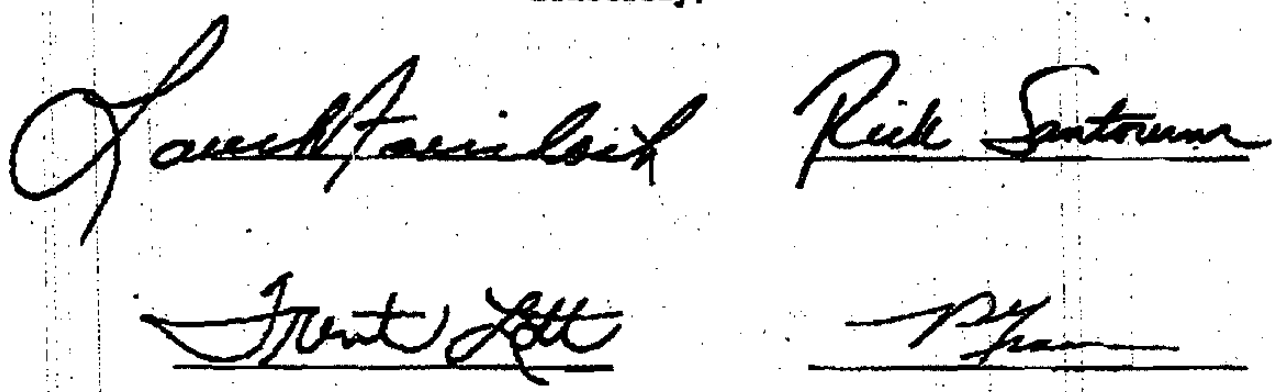
We are very concerned that if the Finance Committee does not address the underlying root cause of welfare dependency, illegitimacy, that any attempt at welfare reform will fail. Moreover, it is our strong belief that the only way to effectively curb the alarming rise in out of wedlock births is to restrict the use of federal funds for cash benefits to young unwed mothers. Individual states would remain free to use their own state funds to provide cash benefits to unwed mothers if they so desired, however, the use of federal funds would be prohibited.

For the past 30 years the federal government has subsidized and thus promoted self-destructive behavior like illegitimacy and family disintegration. Consequently, the out-of-wedlock birth rate in the United States has climbed from 7% in 1965 to 30% in 1994. At its current rate of growth, the out-of-wedlock birth rate will reach 50% by the year 2015, a truly frightening prospect.

If the Finance Committee chooses to ignore the urgent issue of illegitimacy, rather than act decisively to reverse current trends, the most significant welfare reform opportunity yet will be squandered.

Finally, we want to make it very clear that if the Finance Committee bill does not address the four provisions outlined above we will have no choice but to oppose the bill in the full Senate.

Sincerely,



FEMINISTS FOR LIFE OF AMERICA

Statement by:
Serrin M. Foster
Executive Director
June 14, 1995

For Immediate Release

PRO-LIFE FEMINISTS REACT TO THREATENED AMENDMENTS TO SENATE WELFARE REFORM

When President Clinton included an option to withhold benefits from children born to women already on welfare in his Work and Responsibility Act last spring, he added one more reason to a long list that women have abortions as a last resort, rather than a free choice.

The Republican's Personal Responsibility Act went even further, denying benefits to children of teen moms, or those children whose paternity has yet to be established.

Unfortunately, the unintended effect of a few of these measures may be to eliminate the child. The House passed legislation that was amended to reward states financially for reducing the number of illegitimate children, even in circumstances where abortion increases.

Now it is important to note that Feminists for Life is not opposed to welfare reform. We support efforts to root out fraud and abuse, child support by non-custodial parents, and require work by those who are able.

Instead the debate has centered around mothers, who already have a disproportionate share of the responsibility. The government intends to punish these mothers by withholding benefits.

Somewhere along the line we have forgotten that this debate is really over the *child*, not the mother, who is losing out on benefits. It is the child, through no fault of her own, who will go without.

For us it is also about the child who may not be born at all.

On May 16, New Jersey welfare officials announced what Feminists for Life had feared: The abortion rate had increased by 3.6% since the family cap was implemented in 1993. The increase of abortions were minimized in press statements by New Jersey officials.

It is no surprise that in the state of New Jersey, where the governor sets aside an entire day to celebrate a women's so-called right to abort her child, where abortions are free to poor women, but a born child is abandoned by the government, that the loss of an additional 313 children is considered insignificant.

PRO WOMAN • PRO LIFE

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It is even more astounding that pro-life senators who propose to deny benefits to children simply due to the circumstances of their birth, have not learned anything from the experiment on children in New Jersey.

We can do better than this.

We need sound public policy which encourages work by those who are able, effective teen pregnancy prevention programs and strong enforcement of child support orders, not flawed incentives that come at the expense of children.

When pro-lifers and pro-choicers, civil libertarians and religious organizations put aside differences to find real solutions for the betterment of our children, we can only hope that those on Capitol Hill will do the same.

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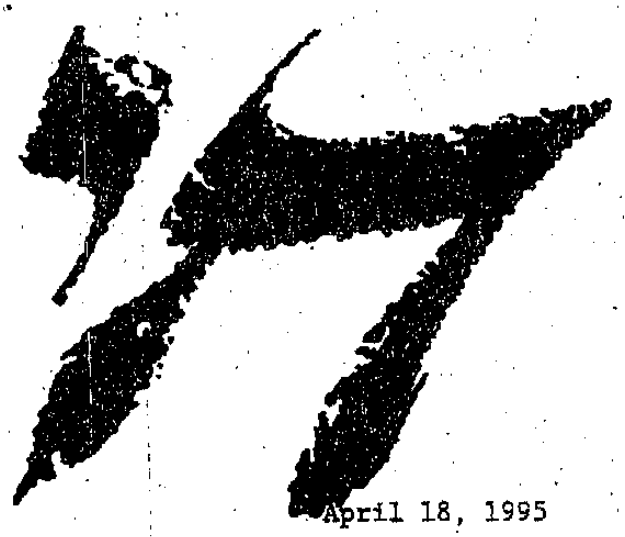
Established in 1972, Feminists for Life is a non-sectarian, grass-roots organization that seeks true equality for all human beings, particularly women and children. Feminists for Life opposes all forms of violence, including abortion, euthanasia and capital punishment, as they are inconsistent with the core feminist principles of justice, non-violence, and non-discrimination. Our efforts focus on education, advocacy, and facilitation of practical resources for women in need.



RELIGIOUS ACTION CENTER
OF REFORM JUDAISM

WR Religion Groups

April 18, 1995

To: Rahm Emanuel
From: David Saperstein

The Religious Action Center pursues social justice and religious liberty by mobilizing the American Jewish community and serving as its advocate in the nation's capital

2027 Massachusetts Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 387-2800
Fax (202) 667-9070

Rabbi David Saperstein
Director and Counsel

Rabbi Lynne Landsberg
Associate Director

Evely Lasar Shlensky,
Chairperson
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Rabbi Eric Yoffie
Director
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

The Religious Action Center is under the auspices of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, a joint instrumentality of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations with its affiliates: American Conference of Cantors, Association of Reform Zionists of America, National Association of Temple Administrators, National Association of Temple Educators, National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, North American Federation of Temple Youth

From several sources, at the same time, there is a strong desire for a meeting of prominent religious leaders with the President to discuss the issue of welfare reform. There are two focuses to the religious communities' concerns: the first is the moral issues underlying the changes being considered and the second is the enormous impact these changes will have on the social service delivery network of the religious community -- the nation's largest and, arguably, most effective social service providers.

I have no idea what number of people would be most appropriate and am enclosing a tentative list comprised of the heads of the Catholic Church, the NCC related denominations, the Baptist community, the National Congress of Black churches the Jewish community. In addition, included are the heads of key social service delivery agencies in the religious communities and some key clergy who run superb local service projects right out of their churches and synagogues. I have indicated the key people to invite if you are in the 20 person delegation range.

Two caveats: First, the enclosed is a tentative list, that will need to be refined. I have addresses and phone numbers for almost all of them if this gets far enough that you need them. Second, while there is significant interest in taking advantage of every opportunity to raise the profound moral issues that underlie our nation's policy choices in the social welfare arena, I want to emphasize that the religious leaders do not want this cast in a partisan political context. I hope we can find an appropriate way to obviate that concern.

LIST OF INVITES

* Indicates my suggestion for definite invitee. There are about 27.
? Indicates my suggestion for invitee if possible. About 10.
You need to figure that a number will not be able to come on short notice.

This is a good mix of social service providers - national and local with the heads of representative denominations; strong minority representation.
There are a couple more I need to check out e.g. Salvation Army.
While I think there is a strong representation of the historically Black churches you might want to check with Ben Johnson at the liaison office to see if I've hit the politics correct. Don't forget that several of them are included in the NCC list and in local providers.
There are one or two difficult political judgement calls we need to discuss. I've played it safe but we should talk about it.

Baptist

The Reverend Dr. Cecil Sherman
Coordinator, Cooperative Baptist Fellowship
(Talk to me, if we get to the larger list)

The Reverend Dr. Bob Ricker
President, Baptist General Conference

*The Reverend Dr. Richard Ice
President, American Baptist Houses of the West (Chicago)

*The Reverend Dr. Kenneth Hall
President, Buckner Benevolencies (Dallas)

Catholic

Laurie Baretto
Director of Government Relations
Catholic Charities, Chicago

?John Carr
Secretary, Department of Social Development and World Peace
U.S. Catholic Conference
(202) 541-3180

Sharon Daly
Deputy to the President for Social Policy
Catholic Charities USA
(703) 549-1390 X39

*The Reverend Fred Kammer, SJ
President, Catholic Charities USA
(703) 549-1390 X25

*Cardinal William Keeler, Archbishop of Baltimore

Chair, National Council of Catholic Bishops
(202) 541-3100

*Bishop John H. Ricard, S.S.J.
Chair, Domestic Policy Committee
U.S. Catholic Conference
Auxiliary Bishop, Baltimore
(410) 547-5452
(f) (410) 727-5432

Evangelical Community

Larry Jones
President, Feed the Children

*Dr. Don Argue
President, National Association of Evangelicals
Box 28
Wheaton, IL 60189
(708) 665-0500
f)708-665-8575

*The Rev. George Marshall
President, Pentacostals

Historically Black Churches (some covered under NCC)

*Bishop Roy L.H. Winbush
Chair, Congress of National Black Churches

?The Reverend Dr. H. Michael Lemmons
Executive Director
Congress of National Black Churches
(202) 371-1091

*The Rev. J. Alfred Smith
(former President, Progressive Baptist, runs very large inner city program)
2nd Baptist Church, Oakland, Cal.
[Check with Ben Johnson at the White House Liaison office]

Jewish

American Jewish Committee
Alfred H. Moses, President
(212) 751-4000

American Jewish Congress
Robert K. Lifton, President
Mark Pelavin, Washington Representative
(212) 879-4500
DC: (202) 332-4001

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Melvin Salberg, National Chairman
David Friedman, Director, Washington, D.C. Office
(212) 490-2525
DC: (202) 452-8310

B'nai B'rith
Kent E. Schiner, President
(202) 857-6600

Council of Jewish Federations
*Maynard Wishner, President
?Marty Kraar, Exec. V.P.
(212) 598-3562

Diana Aviv, Director, CJF Washington Action Office
DC: (202) 785-5900

*Dr. Lucy Steinitz
Director, Jewish Family Service of Baltimore
410-235-9006

Jewish Labor Committee
Lenore Miller, President
(212) 477-0707

Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.
Warren S. Dolny, National Commander
(202) 265-6280

National Council of Jewish Women
Susan Katz, President
(212) 645-4048

*Lynn Lyss
Chair, National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC)
(314) 725-3799
f (314) 725-3899
?Larry Rubin
Exec. V.President, (NJCRAC)
(212) 684-6950

Hadassah
Deborah Kaplan, President
(212) 355-7900

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
*Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
(212) 249-0100

Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism
*Rabbi David Saperstein, Director
(202) 387-2800

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
*Dr. Granchrow Mandell, President
(212) 563-4000

United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism
*Alan Ades, President/Chairman of the Board

Women's League for Conservative Judaism
Audrey Citak, President
(212) 628-1600

Women's American ORT, Inc.
President, Sandra Isenstein
(212) 505-7700

National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (NCC)

*Bishop Melvin Talbert
President-Elect, NCC
(also United Methodist Church)
(916) 374-1510

*Reverend Dr. Joan Brown Campbell
General Secretary
NCC
(212) 870-2141

James A. Hamilton
Washington Office, NCC
(202) 544-2350

?Mary Cooper
Washington Office, NCC
(202) 544-2350

American Methodist Episcopal Church
*Bishop John Bryant
President, Bishops Council

Bishop H. Hartford Brookins
(310) 472-7122

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
Bishop Reuben Speaks
(704) 637-6018

American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A
*The Rev. Dr. Daniel E. Weiss
(610) 768-2274

Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese
The Most Reverend Metropolitan Philip Saliba
(201) 871-1355

Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
The Reverend Dr. Richard Hamm
(317) 635-3310

Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
*Bishop Nathaniel Linsey
(513) 861-0655

Church of the Bretheren
The Reverend Dr. Donald E. Miller
(708) 742-5100

Coptic Orthodox Church in North America
Reverend Father Yacob Ghaly
(914) 356-5257

Diocese of the Armenian Church of America
Archbishop Khajag Barsamian
(212) 686-0710

The Episcopal Church
*The Right Reverend Edmond L. Browning
(212) 867-8400

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
*The Reverend Dr. Herbert W. Chilstrom
(312) 380-2605
*2 other service providers. I will have to send later.

Friends United Meeting
Johan Maurer
(317) 962-7573

Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America
*The Most Reverend Archbishop Iakovos
(212) 570-3500

Hungarian Reformed Church in America
The Right Reverend Alexander Forro
(914) 454-2560

International Council of Community Churches
The Reverend Dr. Jeffrey Newhall
(708) 479-8400

Korean Presbyterian Church in America
Reverend John T. Woo
(908) 591-2771

Moravian Church in America
The Reverend Dr. Gordon L. Sommers
(610) 865-3137

National Baptist Convention of America
The Reverend Dr. E. Edward Jones
(318) 221-2629

National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.
*The Reverend Dr. Henry Lyons
(813) 383-5410

The Orthodox Church in America
The Most Reverend Metropolitan Theodosius
(516) 922-0550

Patriarchal Parishes - Russian Orthodox Church
Bishop Paul
(212) 289-1915

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting/Religious Society of Friends
Nancy Middleton
(215) 241-7210

Polish National Catholic Church of America
The Most Reverend John S. Swantek
(717) 346-9131

Presbyterian Church (USA)
*The Reverend James E. Andrews
(502) 569-5360

Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.
The Reverend Dr. Bennett W. Smith
(716) 852-4504

Reformed Church in America
The Reverend Wesley Granberg-Michaelson
(212) 870-2841

Serbian Orthodox Church in the USA and Canada
The Right Reverend Bishop Christopher
(708) 367-0698

The Swedenborgian Church
The Reverend Edwin Capon
(617) 969-4240

Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch
Archbishop Mar Athanasius Y. Samuel
(201) 778-0638

Ukranian Orthodox Church in America
The Most Reverend Bishop Vsevolod

(718) 297-2407

The United Church of Christ
*The Reverend Dr. Paul Sherry
(216) 736-2101

The United Methodist Church
*Bishop J. Woodrow Hearn
President, Council of Bishops
(713) 528-6881

*Dr. Cathie Lyons
Associate General Secretary
Health and Welfare Program Department
(212) 870-3871

Check out Salvation Army

Welfare Reform
Interfaith Impact Foundation
Conference Call

DATE: Wednesday, April 19, 1995

TOPIC: Welfare Reform

MODERATOR: Flo McAfee

TIME: 11:00 am-11:40 am (EDT)

Agenda

11:00-11:05 am	I. Welcome/Introductions	Flo McAfee Associate Director Office of Public Liaison
11:05-11:20 am	II. Overview of Welfare Reform	Bruce Reed Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
11:20-11:30 am	III. Questions and Answers	
11:30-11:40 am	IV. Activity Updates	Participants

WELFARE REFORM CONFERENCE CALL
IMPACT INTERFAITH CONFIRMATIONS

TOPIC: Welfare Reform
BRIEFER: Bruce Reed
DATE: Wednesday, April 19
TIME: 11:00 am - 11:45 am
CONFERENCE
CALL CODES: (202) 456-6755 or 6766 or 6777 code: 0055

NAME/TITLE	ORGANIZATION ADDRESS	TELEPHONE FAX	CODE #
Bruce Reed	White House Briefer		456-6755 code: 0055
Kim Bobo Jim	Interfaith Impact 1449 W. Fargo, #3 Chicago, IL 60626	T:312-274-5875 F:312-262-6602	456-6755 code: 0055
Rev. Carol Worthing	Illinois Impact/ Illinois Council of Churches Springfield, IL	T:217-544-3423 F:217-544-9307	456-6755 code: 0055
Sue Thornton	Texas Impact Austin, TX	T:512-472-3903 F:512-477-8934	456-6755 code: 0055
Scott Anderson	California Impact Sacramento, CA	T:916-442-5447 F:916-442-3036	456-6755 code: 0055
Helyne Meshar	Jewish Public Affairs California Impact Sacramento, CA	T:916-442-3520 F:916-442-3036	456-6755 code: 0055
Dr. Dennis Swearngin	Missouri Impact Columbia, MO	T:314-442-0038 No Fax	456-6755 Code: 0055
Flo McAfee	White House	456-2930	456-6766 Code: 0055
Judy Hoffman	Ecumenical Ministries of Iowa Des Moines, IA	T:515-292-2660	456-6766 Code: 0055
Ed Bloch	New York Interfaith Albany, NY D'Amato	T:518-436-9319 F:518-427-6705	456-6766 Code: 0055
Rev. Amos Brown	Missouri Impact Kansas City, MO	T:816-421-5527 F:816-421-0013	456-6766 Code: 0055

Joan Diefenbach	New Jersey Impact Trenton, NJ	T:609-396-1057 F:609-396-7646	**456-6766** **Code: 0055**
Thomas Smith	Dir. of Public Policy Ohio Council of Churches	T:614-885-9590 F:614-885-6097	**456-6766** **Code: 0055**
Tony Lee	Washington Council of Churches Seattle, WA		**456-6766** **Code: 0055**
Rev. Jim Bell	**Impact Interfaith** **Executive Director** **Washington, DC**	**T:202-543-2800**	**456-6777** **Code: 0055**
Rev. Jim Munson	Lutheran Social Services Wichita, KS	T:316-686-6645 F:316-686-0453	456-6777 Code: 0055
Ellen Lowe	Oregon Impact Salem, OR Backward	T:503-225-7007 F:503-371-9540	456-6777 Code: 0055
Ben Baldus	Michigan Impact Lansing, MI		456-6777 Code: 0055
Rev. Patricia McClurg	Christian Council of Delaware Wilmington, Delaware	T:302-366-0595 F:302-366-0714	456-6777 Code: 0055
Rev. Jim Miller	Rhode Island Council of Churches Providence, RI	T:401-253-1245 F:401-331-3080	456-6777 Code: 0055
Rev. Paul Gehris	Pennsylvania Impact Harrisburg, PA	T:717-545-4761 F:717-545-4765	456-6777 Code: 0055

The Washington Office of the Episcopal Church
110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Suite 309, Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-7300 (800) 228-0515

April 19, 1995

Dear Bruce,

To follow up on the April 11 conference call, I would like to share our office's recent activities regarding welfare reform. Last week, we sent the enclosed policy alert to our grassroots Episcopal Public Policy Network. I also sent a letter and the Church's resolution to each Episcopal member of Congress.

In addition, we have developed advocacy materials to train and encourage our network of 200 community-based service providers to visit their members of Congress and discuss welfare reform. One staff member is conducting advocacy seminars for the service providers in key congressional districts.

I hope you find this information interesting. If I can be of any assistance, please do not hesitate to call.

Sincerely yours,

Fr. Robert J. Brooks
The Presiding Bishop's Director
of Government Relations

The Episcopal Church Public Policy Network

Policy Alert

110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Suite 309, Washington, D.C. 20002
1-800-228-0515, (202) 547-7300, FAX (202) 547-4457

April 4, 1995

Welfare Reform

Welfare reform will have a profound effect on the Episcopal Church and all those who provide or receive welfare assistance.

Some in Congress are calling the churches a great "untapped resource in the welfare reform debate." Some would dismantle the federal safety net and expect the churches to take over.

Let Congress know that the churches are already doing their share, usually with very small budgets. Only by working **together** can churches and government tackle poverty. We cannot do it alone!

The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 recently passed the House. This legislation would be extremely harmful to poor children, teen mothers, and legal immigrants. It would not provide recipients with the tools they need to gain self-sufficiency. It also sets the stage for a harmful competition among States to provide the least benefits. The Senate is working on its own version of welfare reform.

Urge your Senators and Senators Kassebaum, Packwood, Chafee, and Moynihan (names and address on back) to oppose the House-passed Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 and work toward a welfare system that lifts people out of poverty, not simply off of welfare rolls.

The Church's Executive Council Resolution on welfare reform is enclosed.

Sample Letter

Too busy? Use the sample letter! You may...

- use it as a model to write your own letter. **or...**
- address it, sign it, and send it!

Make copies and send it to as many Members as you can. Congressional offices read, count, and record form letters, just like personal letters.

Note: The sample letter is meant *only* to be a *convenience* for you, not to dictate your thoughts. Original letters from **you** are always best.

Jan 19, 95

SR—Russell Building
SD—Dirksen Building
SH—Hart Building

* All Telephone numbers preceded by 22 prefix

UNITED STATES SENATE

Washington, D.C. 20510

104th CONGRESS
SUITE AND TELEPHONE LIST

Copies Available in Sergeant at Arms Office, S-321, U.S. Capitol

INFORMATION
From Outside Dial:
* Senate—224-3121
* House—225-3121

From Inside Dial:
* 0 for Capitol Operator Assistance
* 9 for an Outside Line

Senator		Suite	Phone
Vice President			
GORE, Al			4-2474
ABRAHAM, Spencer	(R-MI)	SD-B40-4	4-4822
AKAKA, Daniel K.	(D-HI)	SH-720	4-6361
ASHCROFT, John	(R-MO)	SH-705	4-6154
BAUCUS, Max	(D-MT)	SH-511	4-2651
BENNETT, Robert F.	(R-UT)	SD-241	4-5444
BIDEN, Jr., Joseph R.	(D-DE)	SR-221	4-5042
BINGAMAN, Jeff	(D-NM)	SH-110	4-5521
BOND, Christopher S.	(R-MO)	SR-293	4-5721
BOXER, Barbara	(D-CA)	SH-112	4-3553
BRADLEY, Bill	(D-NJ)	SH-731	4-3224
BREAUX, John B.	(D-LA)	SH-516	4-4623
BROWN, Hank	(R-CO)	SH-716	4-5941
BRYAN, Richard H.	(D-NV)	SR-364	4-6244
BUMPERS, Dale	(D-AR)	SD-229	4-4843
BURNS, Conrad	(R-MT)	SD-183	4-2644
BYRD, Robert C.	(D-WV)	SH-311	4-3954
CAMPBELL, Ben Nighthorse	(D-CO)	SR-380	4-5852
CHAFEE, John H.	(R-RI)	SD-567	4-2921
COATS, Dan	(R-IN)	SR-404	4-5623
COCHRAN, Thad	(R-MS)	SR-326	4-5054
COHEN, William S.	(R-ME)	SH-322	4-2523
CONRAD, Kent	(D-ND)	SH-724	4-2043
COVERDELL, Paul	(R-GA)	SR-200	4-3643
CRAIG, Larry E.	(R-ID)	SH-313	4-2752
D'AMATO, Alfonse M.	(R-NY)	SH-520	4-6542
DASCHLE, Thomas A.	(D-SD)	SH-317	4-2321
DeWINE, Mike	(R-OH)	SR-140	4-2315
DODD, Christopher J.	(D-CT)	SR-444	4-2823
DOLE, Robert	(R-KS)	SH-141	4-6521
DOMENICI, Pete V.	(R-NM)	SH-328	4-6621
DORGAN, Byron L.	(D-ND)	SH-713	4-2551
EXON, J. James	(D-NE)	SH-528	4-4224
FAIRCLOTH, Lauch	(R-NC)	SH-702	4-3154
FEINGOLD, Russell D.	(D-WI)	SH-502	4-5323
FEINSTEIN, Dianne	(D-CA)	SH-331	4-3841
FORD, Wendell H.	(D-KY)	SR-173A	4-4343
FRIST, Bill	(R-TN)	SH-825	4-3344
GLENN, John	(D-OH)	SH-503	4-3353
GORTON, Slade	(R-WA)	SH-730	4-3441
GRAHAM, Bob	(D-FL)	SH-524	4-3041
GRAMM, Phil	(R-TX)	SR-370	4-2934
GRAMS, Rod	(R-MN)	SD-B40-3	4-3244
GRASSLEY, Charles E.	(R-IA)	SH-135	4-3744
GREGG, Judd	(R-NH)	SR-393	4-3324
HARKIN, Tom	(D-IA)	SH-531	4-3254
HATCH, Orrin G.	(R-UT)	SR-135	4-5251
HATFIELD, Mark O.	(R-OR)	SH-711	4-3753
HEFLIN, Howell	(D-AL)	SH-728	4-4124
HELMS, Jesse	(R-NC)	SD-403	4-6342
HOLLINGS, Ernest F.	(D-SC)	SR-125	4-6121
HUTCHISON, Kay Bailey	(R-TX)	SH-703	4-5922
INHOFE, James M.	(R-OK)	SR-453	4-4721
INOUYE, Daniel K.	(D-HI)	SH-722	4-3934
JEFFORDS, James M.	(R-VT)	SH-513	4-5141
JOHNSTON, J. Bennett	(D-LA)	SH-136	4-5824
KASSEBAUM, Nancy Landon	(R-KS)	SR-302	4-4774
KEMPTHORNE, Dirk	(R-ID)	SD-367	4-6142
KENNEDY, Edward M.	(D-MA)	SR-315	4-4543
KERREY, J. Robert	(D-NE)	SH-303	4-6551
KERRY, John F.	(D-MA)	SR-421	4-2742
KOHL, Herb	(D-WI)	SH-330	4-5653
KYL, Jon	(R-AZ)	SR-363	4-4521
LAUTENBERG, Frank R.	(D-NJ)	SH-506	4-4744
LEAHY, Patrick J.	(D-VT)	SR-433	4-4242
LEVIN, Carl	(D-MI)	SR-459	4-6221
LIEBERMAN, Joseph I.	(D-CT)	SH-316	4-4041
LOTT, Trent	(R-MS)	SR-487	4-6253
LUGAR, Richard G.	(R-IN)	SH-306	4-4814
MACK, Connie	(R-FL)	SH-517	4-5274
McCAIN, John	(R-AZ)	SR-111	4-2235
McCONNELL, Mitch	(R-KY)	SR-120	4-2541
MIKULSKI, Barbara A.	(D-MD)	SH-709	4-4654
MOSELEY-BRAUN, Carol	(D-IL)	SH-320	4-2854
MOYNIHAN, Daniel Patrick	(D-NY)	SR-464	4-4451
MURKOWSKI, Frank H.	(R-AK)	SH-706	4-6665
MURRAY, Patty	(D-WA)	SH-302	4-2621
NICKLES, Don	(R-OK)	SH-133	4-5754
NUNN, Sam	(D-GA)	SD-303	4-3521
PACKWOOD, Bob	(R-OR)	SR-259	4-5244
PELL, Claiborne	(D-RI)	SR-335	4-4642
PRESSLER, Larry	(R-SD)	SR-243	4-5842
PRYOR, David	(D-AR)	SR-267	4-2353
REID, Harry	(D-NV)	SH-324	4-3542
ROBB, Charles S.	(D-VA)	SR-493	4-4024
ROCKEFELLER IV, John D.	(D-WV)	SH-109	4-6472
ROTH, Jr., William V.	(R-DE)	SH-104	4-2441
SANTORUM, Rick	(R-PA)	SD-B40-2	4-6324
SARBANES, Paul S.	(D-MD)	SH-309	4-4524
SHELBY, Richard C.	(R-AL)	SH-509	4-5744
SIMON, Paul	(D-IL)	SD-462	4-2152
SIMPSON, Alan K.	(R-WY)	SD-105	4-3424
SMITH, Bob	(R-NH)	SD-332	4-2841
SNOWE, Olympia J.	(R-ME)	SR-174	4-5344
SPECTER, Arlen	(R-PA)	SH-530	4-4254
STEVENS, Ted	(R-AK)	SH-522	4-3004
THOMAS, Craig	(R-WY)	SD-B34	4-6441
THOMPSON, Fred	(R-TN)	SD-506	4-4944
THURMOND, Strom	(R-SC)	SR-217	4-5972
WARNER, John W.	(R-VA)	SR-225	4-2023
WELLSTONE, Paul	(D-MN)	SH-717	4-5641

The Honorable _____
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator _____

I am writing as a member of the Episcopal Church to urge you to oppose the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995. Jesus, through his teaching and his example, taught us to minister to those who are poor. As a Christian community, we are called to this ministry through both our private actions and our public policies. Welfare reform, therefore, must not focus on eliminating programs, but eliminating poverty and the damage it inflicts on children, their families, and our entire society. We need to empower, not punish those who are poor.

Welfare reform will have a profound effect on the Episcopal Church and other churches across the country which provide assistance to those in need. Contrary to the popular notion that churches are an "untapped resource in the welfare reform debate," churches already provide a great many services with very limited budgets. In addition to the social services provided by many parishes, the Episcopal Church sponsors a network of approximately 200 community-based centers to support those who need assistance. We are obligated and willing through our faith to help those in need, but churches simply do not have the capacity to replace the work of the federal government.

Certainly, our welfare system needs reform. We need to break the cycle of dependency by empowering welfare recipients with jobs, in order that they may fulfill their God-given identity and potential. Welfare reform also must provide recipients with tools, such as education, training, affordable housing, and child care. Moving people off welfare and into self-sufficient, productive lives would require a budget *investment*, not a budget cut.

I am concerned with the Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 for several reasons:

- It does not provide welfare recipients with the tools they need with which to take responsibility for their lives. While this legislation requires work, it does not help people find work.
- Cutting off assistance for unwed teen mothers and those that have children while on welfare will punish children and do little to stop teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births.
- Block grants with no federal entitlement to welfare will enable each State to decide benefit levels. States have an incentive to provide lower benefits than neighboring States in order to drive those who are poor to seek greater benefits elsewhere. This could result in a race among States to provide the least benefits -- a race in which those who suffer most are the most vulnerable.

I emphasize again my support for welfare reform. The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 in its current form, however, is far too heavy on punishment and light on empowerment. I urge you to vote against this legislation and continue to work toward a welfare system that helps disadvantaged people help themselves.

Sincerely,

Resolved, that the Executive Council adopt the following principles related to legislation proposed in Congress *(excerpt)*:

1. Support efforts to reform the current welfare system to break the cycle of dependency, including removing the disincentive to work by allowing recipients to keep a larger portion of their earnings before losing assistance, and to empower individuals with the tools to take responsibility for their own lives, such as jobs, education, training, low-cost housing, and language skills; and

2. Encourage further study of welfare models that emphasize placing people in jobs prior to education and training programs in order that recipients may begin to gain quickly a sense of dignity and responsibility; and

3. Support a welfare system which does not discriminate on the basis of marital status, age, legal immigrant status, or ability to identify other parent; and

4. Support a welfare system that holds families together when there is no evidence of parental abuse or neglect; and

5. Support federal nutrition programs; and

6. Support efforts to enforce parental child support payments; and

7. Recognize that health care coverage mobility and security are essential components of reforming the welfare system.

Explanation

Welfare reform promises to be a highly contentious issue in the 104th Congress. While the Church provides some assistance to the poor and disadvantaged, Congress also has an important role to play. Any reform of the current welfare system certainly will affect the Church's work in every community across the country.

As a Christian community, we are called to stand with and seek justice for the poor. We believe, therefore, that welfare reform must focus not on eliminating programs but on eliminating poverty and the damage it inflicts on children, their families, and our entire society. We need to empower, not punish, the poor.

Empowerment begins by putting people to work. Welfare reform must remove the disincentives to work by allowing recipients to keep job earnings without losing welfare payments. Under the current system, each dollar earned at a job is deducted from welfare assistance. The system also must guarantee health coverage for recipients who work. Fear of losing Medicaid drives many people away from jobs that cannot provide health care coverage.

Welfare reform must not discriminate against unwed teenaged mothers, immigrants, or other people in an attempt to address other social problems. Cutting off welfare to pregnant teens, for example, only furthers the problems of poverty, while avoiding positive steps, like education, to address teen pregnancy.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
RESOLUTION PASSED FEBRUARY 1995

Resolved, that the Executive Council meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, February 13-17, 1995,

1. Affirms our commitment, as called for in our Baptismal Covenant, to strive for justice and peace and, in seeking to serve Christ through the dignity of all persons and continue to be a voice for the voiceless in society; and

2. Affirms that civil government in the United States was created of the people by the people and for the people to meet common needs and provide for the common good, and that government, once created, has a responsibility to fulfill these goals; and

3. Seeks to work in partnership with government to provide for our common goals and promote peace with justice and social and spiritual well-being for all in the United States and abroad.

Explanation

The Church and government must respond to increasingly difficult times in the United States. Many people are suffering from fear and uncertainty about their jobs, their personal safety, and the disintegration of the social fabric. The American Dream, in which those who work hard and play by the rules have the opportunity to improve their lives and those of their children, is fading. People have lost control of their livelihoods through stagnant wages, corporate downsizing, and epochal shifts in the economy. People are vulnerable to random and uncontrollable violence, which poisons communities and isolates people from one another. As a result, fear and frustrations are increasingly misplaced on racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities as well as immigrants and the impoverished.

The Church has a crucial responsibility to address this fear, to offer healing to our wounded communities, and to provide guidance in troubling times. The Church must actively minister to and with the poor, nurture our sense of community, and advocate for policies that reflect the teachings of Christ. The voice of the Church must be heard clearly in the national discussion over the future of the country.

Government also must fulfill its role to promote the common good and strengthen our communities, not to succumb to fear and hopelessness. Government has a responsibility to promote justice and equality for all.

The Church and government can work together, as in the past, to heal our communities, each fulfilling its responsibilities and supporting the other in its efforts. Despite dwindling resources, our collective strength is far more powerful than those of individuals acting alone. The Church must continue its traditional and primary ministry to and with the poor and oppressed.

MORAL PRINCIPLES *and* POLICY PRIORITIES FOR WELFARE REFORM

A CATHOLIC
CHILDREN AND FAMILIES
first
CAMPAIGN

A STATEMENT OF THE
ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD
OF THE UNITED STATES
CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

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COALITION ON HUMAN NEEDS
1000 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 342-0726

Jennifer A. Vasiloff
Executive Director

June 8, 1995

Dear Senator:

I am writing on behalf of the Coalition on Human Needs, an alliance of over 100 national organizations working together to promote public policies which address the needs of low-income and other vulnerable Americans. The Coalition's members include civil rights, religious, labor and professional organizations and those concerned with the well-being of children, women, the elderly and people with disabilities.

The Senate Finance Committee voted on May 26 to support welfare legislation which would replace a number of federally guaranteed assistance programs including Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) with a Temporary Assistance Block Grant. **While the Coalition on Human Needs supports needed reform of our welfare system, we must state our unequivocal opposition to the bill reported out of the Senate Finance Committee.**

The Packwood bill contains the basic structural flaws of the welfare legislation passed by the House of Representatives, the Personal Responsibility Act. The Packwood bill would shred the safety net that sustains millions of poor people in our country, including millions of children. We are especially concerned that the bill:

- **ends any guarantee of at least minimal assistance to those in need:** In short, no child would be assured of receiving federal aid, regardless of how poor they are.
- **freezes the federal share of welfare program costs at the 1994 spending level through Fiscal Year 2000.**
- **assesses each state's entitlement to AFDC block grant money on the basis of 1994 spending levels rather than on current poverty need.** This eliminates federal flexibility to increase funding should the number of eligible people rise. Under this block grant structure, states and poor people will suffer during times of recession, high unemployment and population growth.
- **eliminates the traditional federal-state partnership by releasing states from their current obligations to match federal assistance funds:** States are free to withdraw any portion of their share of welfare costs under the block grant structure.
- **forbids states to grant benefits to those who have received AFDC for more than 5 years, even to those who are actively seeking employment.**
- **allows states to adopt arbitrary and punitive policies, such as denial of benefits to children born out of wedlock to teen parents and mandated family caps.**

- **makes it virtually impossible for legal immigrants to receive Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and greatly reduces the number of children with disabilities who would be eligible for the program.**

Although the Packwood bill makes some cosmetic changes to the Personal Responsibility Act, it fails to achieve real welfare reform -- reform which would help families move from welfare to economic self-sufficiency. The Packwood bill imposes much higher work participation requirements than most states can realistically achieve. According to the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), forty-four states would be more likely to accept a penalty of a 5% reduction in federal welfare funds rather than comply with the bill's high work participation requirements. In addition, CBO estimates indicate that under the current formula, education, job training, work and child care costs would absorb well over half of the funds available to states in the Temporary Assistance Block Grant.

The Packwood bill imposes empty work requirements which fail to address the challenges of job creation, training, education and child care. It ends the guaranteed safety net that provides minimum assistance to millions of children and their families.

We strongly urge you to oppose this bill.

Sincerely,

Jennifer A Vasiloff

Jennifer A Vasiloff
Executive Director

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
Department of Social Development and World Peace
3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3180 FAX (202) 541-3339 TELEX 7400424

June 13, 1995

Dear Senator:

I write on behalf of the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Conference to share with you the experience of the Catholic community in serving those in need and the principles that we believe should guide welfare reform. These moral principles and policy priorities were outlined in a statement that the Administrative Board of our Conference issued in March of this year. Now that the Senate is debating welfare reform, I wish to reiterate our commitment to genuine reform of the welfare system and our concern that such reform reflect our nation's best values and offer genuine help and opportunity to our poorest families.

Poor families are not an abstract issue for us; they are in our shelters and soup kitchens, parishes and schools. Our everyday experience in helping families leave welfare suggests that hope, opportunity, and investment are essential to this transition. The social contract we seek will offer training, education, jobs, and other concrete assistance in exchange for the persistent commitment and effort of persons trying to leave poverty behind. Simply cutting resources and transferring responsibility is not genuine reform. We must resist the temptation to see poor women, minority families, or immigrants as either passive victims or easy scapegoats for our society's social and economic difficulties.

There are several positive elements in the bill which was reported out of the Senate Finance Committee:

- **inclusion of the JOBS program** which reflects our own principle that those who can work ought to work;
- **preservation of child welfare and child protection entitlements**;
- **recognition that the federal government should not deny children benefits** because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare; and
- **strengthening of child support enforcement mechanisms** and related data gathering requirements.

We are particularly pleased that "child exclusion/family cap" provisions were not included in the Senate bill. As you know, we strongly opposed such provisions in the House bill and will continue to do so as the bills move to Conference Committee.

Unfortunately, there are still significant elements of the bill which are clearly not consistent with our principle that genuine welfare reform should strengthen families, encourage productive work, and protect vulnerable children. We are not defenders of the welfare status

quo and we recognize the diverse role of federal, state and local governments as well as community institutions in helping families overcome poverty and meet their children's basic needs. However, we are deeply concerned about provisions that could leave many poor children worse off.

■ **Block Grants/Entitlements**

While we are not opposed in principle to block grants and support increased state involvement and flexibility, the block grant structure in this legislation erodes the national commitment to fight poverty and does not even require states to maintain their current level of effort. Freezing the federal contribution to program costs without any reference to the number of needy children or changing economic conditions, will undermine the system of income, nutrition and other supports which serves as a safety net for the most vulnerable. As advocates of both subsidiarity and solidarity, we support more effective and responsive federal-state-community partnerships, but we cannot support "reform" which will make it more difficult for poor children to grow into productive individuals. We cannot support reform that destroys the structures, ends entitlements, and eliminates resources that have provided an essential safety net for vulnerable children. We fear that the fiscal pressures which are driving Congress have led to a proposal more clear about reducing resources than reordering responsibilities.

■ **Treatment of Children**

While we appreciate the Senate Finance Committee's decision that children should not be denied benefits because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare, it has been reported to us that some Senators intend to offer amendments to deny benefits on these grounds. We oppose any attempt to deny benefits to children because of the age of their mother, their family's dependence on welfare or an arbitrary time limit on benefits. Such provisions, whatever their intentions, are likely to encourage abortion, especially in states which pay for abortions but not for assistance to these children. We do not believe that teenagers should be encouraged to set up their own households. However, in seeking to change the behavior of parents, these provisions hurt children, and some unborn children will pay with their lives. We have already seen preliminary indications of an increase in abortions in New Jersey, which has a family cap in place.

We also welcome the Senate's protection of the cash benefit for all children eligible for Supplemental Security Income [SSI]. We are concerned about more stringent eligibility requirements for children which may result in loss of benefits to hundreds of thousands of children. For us this is a matter of moral consistency. Our faith requires us to protect the lives and dignity of vulnerable children whether they are born or unborn. Every child is precious to us.

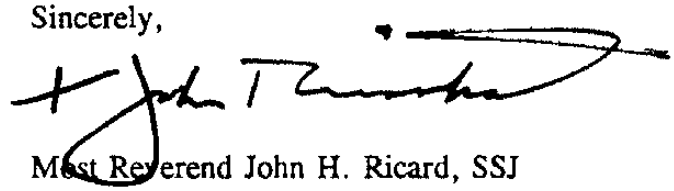
■ **Treatment of Aged and Disabled Legal Immigrants**

We are also concerned about the exclusion of aged and disabled legal immigrants from eligibility for assistance through the SSI program. We are also troubled by provisions that would severely restrict legal immigrants' eligibility for other Social Security Act programs, including Medicaid and child protection services. In many instances, the alternative to providing basic assistance to these individuals will be abject poverty, untreated illness, and continued domestic abuse. Costs associated with assisting these persons would inevitably be borne by state and local governments. The proposed measures would not only deny benefits to legal residents who have worked and paid taxes in the U.S. for years, but would even deny benefits to them after they became U.S. citizens. The deeming provisions have the potential for denying assistance to U.S. citizens when they are in genuine need. Such an approach does not advance the common good but further divides our people along economic, racial, ethnic and ideological lines.

We are very concerned that some Senators may seek to use this legislation to cut the Earned Income Tax Credit. To reduce this tax relief for working families would send exactly the wrong message at a time when our nation needs to reward work and help families raise their children in dignity. We strongly oppose amendments to weaken the EITC.

As the Bishops said in the enclosed statement issued in March, we strongly support genuine welfare reform. We are not defenders of the current system. The status quo is unacceptable. It is the nation's children who pay the greatest price for the failures of the current system. That is why genuine welfare reform is a moral imperative and an urgent national priority. For the Catholic community, the measure of welfare reform is whether it will enhance the lives and dignity of poor children and their families. The goal of reform ought to be to promote decent work and reduce dependency, not simply cut budgets and programs. The target of reform ought to be poverty, not poor families. We urge you to support provisions consistent with these principles and priorities and oppose measures which will undermine them.

Sincerely,



Most Reverend John H. Ricard, SSJ
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore
Chair, Domestic Policy Committee

WR-Church

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

10-Apr-1995 08:04pm

TO: Bruce N. Reed

FROM: Floydetta McAfee
Office of Public Liaison

CC: Cathy R. Mays

SUBJECT: Welfare Reform Conference Call

The following thirteen individuals will be on the 11:00 am conference call:

✓ Catherine PinkertoN
Catholic NETWORK
Washington, DC

Target social service workers

✓ Father Robert Brooks
The Episcopal Church
Washington, DC

Chafee: pressure from moderate GOP govs

✓ Sharon Daily
Catholic Charities USA
Washington, DC

-Jennifer Need something to be for
- Modest change, moratorium on family cap
→ NCSL

✓ Nancy Chupp
Church Women United
Washington, DC

✓ Nancy Wisdo
U.S. Catholic Conference
Washington, DC

✓ Deena Margolis
National Council of Jewish Women
Wahsington, DC

✓ Rev. Rodney Page
Executive Director
Oregon Ecumenical Ministries
Portland, Oregon

→ working w/Gov. Kitzhaber
- Maintenance of effort
- states vs. other states -
- carve out for Oregon option

Jennette Oxford
Executive Director
Reformed Organization of Welfare
St. Louis, Missouri

Eleanor

✓ Barbara Howell
Bread for the World
Washington, DC

Father Art Johnson (Franciscan Priest)
St. Joseph's Rehabilitation Center
Saranac Lake, NY
Note: He deals with alcoholic and drug rehab, many of whom are Welfare recipients.

Rabbi David Saperstein
Religious Action Center
Washington, DC

✓ Kay Bengsten
Governmental Affairs Office
Lutheran Church
Washington, DC

Targeting Budget Comm.

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

Department of Social Development
and World Peace

John L. Carr
Secretary

3211 4th Street, N.E., Washington, DC 20017-1194
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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

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Center for Community Change

Deepak Bhargava
Director of Public Policy

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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

Department of Social Development and World Peace
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Written Testimony
on
Welfare Reform
before the
Senate Finance Committee

March 29, 1995

by

John L. Carr
Secretary, Department of Social Development and World Peace
United States Catholic Bishops Conference

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Senate Finance Committee:

Introduction

My name is John Carr. I serve the United States Catholic Bishops as the Secretary of their Department of Social Development and World Peace. My testimony today is taken from a statement requested, revised and adopted less than two weeks ago by a unanimous vote of the 50 bishops who serve on the Administrative Board of the Bishops' Conference. It reflects the principles and priorities of the U.S. Catholic bishops on welfare reform.

According to the bishops, our nation faces fundamental choices on welfare reform. This debate and these decisions will be a test of our nation's values and our commitment to the "least among us." Our people and leaders share many similar goals, including reducing illegitimacy and dependency, promoting work and empowering families. The Congress must sort through fiscal, political, and ideological pressures to fashion real reform which reflects our nation's best values and offers genuine help and opportunity to our poorest families. We pray this debate will advance the common good, not further divide our people along economic, racial, ethnic and ideological lines.

For the Catholic community, the measure of welfare reform is whether it will enhance the lives and dignity of poor children and their families. The goal of reform ought to be to promote decent work and reduce dependency, not simply cut budgets and programs. The target of reform ought to be poverty, not poor families.

The purpose of the statement is not to make any partisan point, but to share our principles and experience in hopes they will help lift up the moral dimensions and human consequences of this debate. As religious teachers, the bishops draw their directions from consistent Catholic moral principles, not ideological or political agendas. The values that guide this approach to welfare reform are not new:

-- respect for human life and human dignity;

-- the importance of the family and the value of work;

-- an option for the poor and the call to participation;

-- the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity.

But they take on special urgency when a fifth of our children are growing up poor in the richest nation on earth and 30 million Americans of all ages live in poverty. Lack of opportunity, poverty and dependency are destroying millions of families, harming countless children.

As pastors, the bishops also seek to share our community's experiences in serving those in need. Poor families are not an abstract issue for us; they are sisters and brothers. They have names and faces. They are in our shelters and soup kitchens, our parishes and Catholic Charities agencies. As the largest non-public provider of human services to poor families, the Catholic community knows all too well the failures and abuses of the current system, the potential and limitations of private and religious charity, and the ways in which lives are diminished and dignity denied by widespread dependency and poverty in our land.

No institution in American life is more committed to the basic moral values of marriage, family, responsibility, work, sexual restraint, and sacrifice for children than our Church. We preach, teach and promote these values every day in our parishes, schools, and outreach efforts. We also are committed to the values of justice, charity and solidarity with the poor and vulnerable. We believe our society needs both more personal responsibility <u>and</u> broader social responsibility, better values <u>and</u> better policies to reduce poverty and dependency in the United States.

The Urgency of Reform

We strongly support genuine welfare reform which strengthens families, encourages productive work, and protects vulnerable children. We are not defenders of the welfare status quo which sometimes relies on bureaucratic approaches, discourages work, and breaks up families. However, we oppose abandonment of the federal government's necessary role in helping families overcome poverty and meet their children's basic needs.

It is worth recalling that many of us are or have been the beneficiaries of government assistance -- direct and indirect, but many are rightly frustrated by the current welfare system:

- -- recipients who find their dignity undermined and their needs poorly addressed;
- -- taxpayers who fear their dollars encourage dependency rather than empowerment;
- -- providers who spend more time checking for fraud than helping families;
- -- and public officials who have responsibility without adequate resources, accountability without sufficient authority.

The status-quo is unacceptable. It is children who pay the greatest price for the failures of the current system. Genuine welfare reform is a moral imperative and urgent national priority.

An Agenda for Reform

Welfare reform needs to be comprehensive in analysis, but targeted and flexible in its implementation. We seek a new approach which promotes greater responsibility and offers more concrete help to families in leaving poverty behind through productive work and other assistance. Increased accountability and incentives should be tailored to a particular family's needs and circumstances, not "one size fits all" requirements. Top down reform with rigid

national rules cannot meet the needs of a population as diverse as poor families. However, simply shifting responsibility without adequate resources, standards and accountability could leave America's poor children worse off. Genuine welfare reform should rely on incentives more than harsh penalties; for example, denying needed benefits for children born to mothers on welfare can hurt the children and pressure their mothers toward abortion and sterilization.

More specifically, we will advocate for welfare reform which:

A. Protects Human Life and Human Dignity

We believe a fundamental criterion for all public policy, including welfare reform, is protection of human life and human dignity. In states across the country, our State Catholic Conferences have stood against proposals which deny benefits to children because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare. These provisions, whatever their intentions, are likely to encourage abortion, especially in those states which pay for abortions, but not for assistance to these children. In seeking to change the behavior of parents, these provisions hurt children, and some unborn children will pay with their lives.

Our Church works every day against sexual irresponsibility and the out-of-wedlock births which come with it. We do not believe teenagers should be encouraged to set up their own households. However, legislation offering increased flexibility to states should not restrict assistance in ways we, and most observers, believe will encourage abortions. We are working with Catholic Charities USA and other national pro-life groups in opposing these provisions and in proposing alternatives that provide assistance in ways that safeguard children but do not reinforce inappropriate or morally destructive behavior.

For us, this is a matter of moral consistency. Our faith requires us to protect the lives and dignity of the vulnerable children whether they are born or unborn. We cannot support policies which will likely lead to more abortions. Every child is precious to us. We recognize human life is also threatened and diminished by the failures of the current welfare system and our broader culture. Children thrown from windows, found in dumpsters, and abused in their homes are tragic symptoms of culture in disarray and a welfare system in urgent need of real reform. It is worth noting that it is not just low income families that sometimes engage in destructive behavior. Personal irresponsibility, family disintegration, and loss of moral values touch not just the "down and out," but also the "rich and famous" and the rest of us.

B. Strengthens Family Life. Welfare reform should affirm the importance of marriage, strong intact families, personal responsibility, self discipline, sacrifice, and basic morality. It should help mothers and fathers meet the social, economic, educational, and moral needs of their children. We support a children's tax credit (which includes poor families), a strengthened Earned Income Credit, and stronger child support enforcement to help meet the economic needs of America's families. We also support policies to keep families together and fathers involved, including new efforts to discourage parenthood outside of marriage, an end to marriage penalties in our tax code, and a halt to welfare policies which discourage marriage and discriminate against two parent families. Our society must discourage adolescent sexual activity and teen pregnancy with at least as much urgency and persistence as we bring to discouraging smoking and substance abuse among our young.

C. Encourages and Rewards Work. Those who can work ought to work. Employment is the expected means to support a family and make a contribution to the common good. Too often welfare discourages work by eliminating health and child care benefits for

those who leave the welfare rolls for the labor market. Real reform will offer education, training and transitional help to those who exchange a welfare check for a paycheck. The challenge is to insure that reform leads to productive work with wages and benefits that permit a family to live in dignity. Rigid rules and arbitrary time-lines are no substitute for real jobs at decent wages and the tax policies which can help keep families off welfare.

D. Preserves a Safety Net for the Vulnerable. For those who cannot work, or whose "work" is raising our youngest children, the nation has built a system of income, nutrition and other supports. Society has a responsibility to help meet the needs of those who cannot care for themselves, especially young children. AFDC, food stamps, and other entitlement programs provide essential support for poor children. We will support more effective and responsive federal-state-community partnerships, but we cannot support "reform" that will make it more difficult for poor children to grow into productive individuals. We cannot support reform that destroys the structures, ends entitlements, and eliminates resources that have provided an essential safety net for vulnerable children or permits states to reduce their commitment in this area. Also, we cannot support punitive approaches that target immigrants, even legal residents, and take away the minimal benefits that they now receive. Like U.S. citizens, legal immigrants are required to pay taxes and are vulnerable to the unanticipated: job loss, traffic or on the job accidents, the serious illness of a child, domestic violence.

E. Builds Public/Private Partnerships to Overcome Poverty. As advocates of both subsidiarity and solidarity, we believe a reformed welfare system should rely more fully on the skill and responsiveness of community institutions and increased involvement and creativity of

states. However, private and religious efforts to serve those in need are being severely stretched. They cannot -- and should not -- be seen as a substitute for wise public policy that promotes effective public/private partnerships.

Overcoming poverty and dependency will require more creative, responsive and effective action in both the public and private sectors. Overly bureaucratic programs must give way to more community, local and family initiatives, more responsive to individual needs, potential and problems. Mediating institutions can serve people with greater effectiveness, efficiency and dignity. We are not opposed to carefully designed block grant initiatives in some areas if they come with adequate resources, accountability and safeguards for poor families. States can shape programs to meet their local realities, but poverty has national dimensions and consequences that require federal commitment and national standards, safeguards, and protections. The nation needs to reform its welfare system, not abandon the federal government's role and responsibilities in fighting poverty. At the same time, private service providers should not be burdened with the enforcement of immigration laws, which may violate their religious and moral principles, burden volunteers or divert funds from their essential mission.

F. Invests in Human Dignity. In the long run, real welfare reform will save money, but in the short run it will require new investments in a family tax credit, education, training, WIC, work and child support. Recent state experiences support the reality that moving people off welfare will be neither easy nor inexpensive. Our everyday experience in helping families leave welfare suggest that hope, opportunity and investment are essential to this transition. The social contract we seek will offer training, education, jobs and other concrete assistance in exchange for persistent commitment and effort of persons trying to leave poverty. Simply

cutting resources and transferring responsibility is not genuine reform. We must resist the temptation to see poor women, minority families or immigrants as either passive victims or easy scapegoats for our society's social and economic difficulties.

Conclusion

We believe our society will be measured by how "the least of these" are faring. Welfare reform will be a clear test of our nation's moral priorities and our commitment to seek the common good. We hope the welfare reform debate will be a time for civil and sustained dialogue, more focused on the needs and potential of poor families than on the search for partisan advantage. We hope these reflections will contribute to this important debate which will say so much about what kind of society we are and will become.

A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby
801 Pennsylvania Avenue SE ■ Suite 460 ■ Washington DC 20003 ■ (202) 547-5556 ■ FAX (202) 547-5510

TO Bruce Reed, Deputy Director to the President for Domestic Policy

c/o Flo McAfee, Associate Director
White House Office of Public Liaison

FROM Catherine Pinkerton CSJ
NETWORK

RE Reflections following Conference Call on Welfare Reform, April 11, 1995

Recycled Paper

A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby
801 Pennsylvania Avenue SE ■ Suite 460 ■ Washington DC 20003 ■ (202) 547-5556 ■ FAX (202) 547-5510

Bruce Reed
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Domestic Policy
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bruce:

I am not certain if we have met, but I am a lobbyist for NETWORK: A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby. We were founded by Catholic sisters twenty-five years ago to address legislation that affects the economically poor both at home and abroad. Many of our members own and operate health care and social service institutions in the U.S. and elsewhere. Consequently, federal budget priorities, housing, health care and welfare are key issues for us.

We have as members not only individuals but also whole congregations of women religious, diocesan social justice entities, Catholic Charities groups, etc. It's a highly educated and motivated membership.

I am grateful to Flo for arranging these conference calls. I truly appreciated your very comprehensive overview of the Administration's assessment of the welfare reform legislation and situation. Most appreciated was your realistic projections concerning Senate action and the possibility of this horrendous bill passing through reconciliation.

Just a few? comments/scratchings/learnings gained through giving some 30 workshops across the nation in 16 states thus far - more to go...

1. The workshop covers

a) the current economic context of welfare reform and how we got here - deficits, debt, job reality, poverty, etc.

b) Catholic Social Teaching and its implications for welfare reform;

Recycled Paper

c) the historical evolution of the nation's social welfare system, its philosophical and political roots and its reflection of the role of the government in assuring the common good; differences between the parties on common good;

d) the programs which comprise that system and their present costs, percentage of the federal budget;

e) the other entitlement programs and their costs; also corporate and Pentagon welfare

f) myths about welfare recipients;

g) why the system needs reform and the elements of authentic reform;

h) The Personal Responsibility Act - its overturn of 60 years of safety-net programs by a Congress new to the Hill, mean-spirited, without real historical knowledge of the long evolution of the programs and without a comprehensive evaluation of their pros and cons (some not even able to tell the difference between Medicaid and Medicare as we sadly learned) and within an impossible time frame.

We break down the bill to "bitable" bits, show the difference between categorical spending and block grants and the implications for the States in which we are presenting.

i) Strategies for Action.

We have done these now in some 16 states with more scheduled into June. The workshops are sponsored by religious congregations, health care and social service systems (Catholic Charities); diocesan entities; our own membership - one by a Dean of a Law School, etc. The audiences are mainly religious who work with the poor or sponsor/own institutions; social service personnel; Charities and diocesan groups; welfare recipients.

I even did a workshop in Newt's district. These people are furious with his arrogance and inability to listen to those disagree with him. One sponsor of the workshop was a professor who is a Manager of the State Universities of Georgia. These are people with clout.

LEARNINGS:

1) People are hungry for knowledge about the actual "welfare programs", their costs and their percentage of federal/state budgets. At first they see the lunacy of the GOP emphasis on programs costs in balancing the budget. Then they become aware of the aspect of punishing the poor and shifting funds to the wealthy and ANGER!!!

2) They are appalled at the speed of the reform, its discounting of viable alternatives, its meanness, especially toward children.

3) **BUT!!!They are looking for a positive counter message, one which will mobilize others who share their concern for doing right.**

They are looking to the President to say IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS exactly what is wrong about the House plan and what he proposes as an alternative. They keep hearing he has no alternative even if we speak to the best parts of The Work and Responsibility Act.

His message must be more than condemnation of the House Bill and its meaness to children. Those of us who know PRA realize there is enough in it to dissent for generations to come.

(Within the last fifteen minutes, three calls came in from a large California Hospital System, one from a social justice coordinator of the system, the others from two Community Administrators who own hospital systems. The questions:

"What do we offer as an alternative? What is the President offering? We need to hear more specifics. Why is the President 'cowed' by the Governors? One of our administrators just called and said that once the Governors get the block grant, forget the poor. They will use federal money to balance state budgets.".

The President needs to come out against the demise of entitlements, speak to the real the implications of block grants for the States. He should refuse any further state waivers that give leeway to capping.

Further, the President needs to target social service workers and those who will end up fighting for a share in the "block grant pots" as one of them characterized them.

She turned to the audience and asked: "How many of you have applied to Trust Funds for grants, knowing that your proposal better be the best if you wanted the funding? Welcome to constant proposal writing, my friends, but in this case, you will send families and children away hungry and homeless when you don't get a share of the pot."

People vacillate between anger and powerlessness. They desperately need someone to empower them. These people really believe in the President, but they think he is too timid about speaking out on the specifics of what he will stand for and what he will definitively veto. The whole bill is totally flawed , not only because of its orientation and its implications for the poor, but also because of its denial of the Constitutional role of the federal government to protect the common good. This is a teachable moment for him!

He can mobilize a lot of people. But he needs to get some sound bites which energize and mobilize people.

Perhaps this sounds like "pie-in'the sky." But I and those who surround me believe that welfare reform is symbolic of who and what this nation is becoming. Are we a compassionate people who believe in the common good? As Christians we are taught to see reality as Jesus did through the eyes of the poor. That knocks out "trickle-down economics." It measures the moral fabric of a nation in how it cares for the most vulnerable in its midst.

Such a view does not diminish personal resposibility. If we would empower the poor through helping them to be productive members of society, then we need to use more, not fewer resources, in moving them from welfare to work. When people see that that would pay off in less crime, less violence, more stable families, a more productive economy, they are willing to see their money so dedicated.

Robert Reich is a good ally for the President to take with him. He is able to explain the frustrations of the middle class to themselves. The middle class are turning against the poor because of false concepts about them and the constant feeding of the elusion of the American dream. Reich's ability to communicate with them coupled with the President's ability to envision and inspire is an unbeatable combination, a awesome accumulation of intelligence, creativity and strategy. GO FOR IT, BRUCE.

Catherine Pinkerton CSJ
(202) 547-5556
(202) 547 5510 (FAX)

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

TO: Mark Gearan
Bruce Reed

FROM: Marilyn DiGiacobbe

DATE: March 29, 1995

MEETING: Meeting with Southern Region Catholic Communicators

DATE/TIME: Wednesday, March 29, 1995
1:15pm-2:15pm

LOCATION: Room 476, Old Executive Office Building

PARTICIPANTS: Representatives of 8 southern region diocese and communication staff of the U.S. Catholic Conference. See list attached.

PURPOSE: To encourage an ongoing dialogue with this group. This meeting will focus on welfare reform.

BACKGROUND: The Catholic Communicators are the diocese communication directors who handle the day to day public relations and communications for the diocese. They are under the umbrella of the U.S. Catholic Conference and on policy issues, communicate the policy set by the Administrative Board of Bishops of the Catholic Conference.

The Catholic Conference's position on welfare reform is focused around the following broad principles:

- respect for human life and human dignity;
- the importance of the family and the value of work;
- an option for the poor and the call for participation and;
- the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity.

Attached is a copy of the Catholic Conference's policy priorities on welfare reform released March 19.

AGENDA: Marilyn DiGiacobbe - Welcome

Mark Gearan - Brief remarks

Bruce Reed - Remarks on Welfare Reform followed by question and answer session.

Attachments:

List of participants

U.S. Catholic Conference welfare reform release and position paper

Catholic Communicators - Southern Region

Sister Carol Elizabeth Stovall
Catholic Diocese of Palm Beach
Palm Beach Gardens, Florida

Mr. Robert Camillus Edwards
Catholic Diocese of Richmond
Richmond, Virginia

Ms. Mary Virginia Ross-Agosta
Archdiocese of Miami
Miami, Florida

Ms. Mary Muthig Jeffcoat
Diocese of Charleston
Charleston, South Carolina

Reverend Larry W. Dorsch
Diocese of Wheeling-Charleston
Wheeling, West Virginia

Ms. Joann Keane
Catholic Diocese of Charlotte
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mr. Frank Morock
Diocese of Raleigh
Raleigh, North Carolina

Reverend John J. Geaney, CSP
ITP/Paulist Communications
Silver Spring, Maryland

Reverend Lawrence Rice, CSP
ITP/Paulist Communications
Silver Spring, Maryland

Mr. Ramon E. Rodriguez
Catholic Communication Campaign
United States Catholic Conference
Washington, DC

Ms. Miriam A. Crawford
Office for Communications Policy
United States Catholic Conference
Washington, DC

Ms. Gail Hunt Violete
Catholic Diocese of Charlotte
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mr. Patrick Canan
Office for Government Liaison
U S Catholic Conference
Washington, DC

MORAL PRINCIPLES AND POLICY PRIORITIES

FOR WELFARE REFORM

A STATEMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD

OF THE

UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

FOR RELEASE MARCH 19, 1995

Introduction

At this moment in the life of our nation in which we Americans struggle to find a balance between the needs of our poor and the demands of fiscal accountability for our future economic health, we want to present once again the principles of Catholic social teaching in order to provide a context for national discussion. We focus on the question of welfare reform, although our concerns extend equally to critical issues of human life, budget priorities, housing, the rights of immigrants and health care reform.

Our nation faces fundamental choices on welfare reform. This debate and these decisions will be a test of our nation's values and our commitment to the "least among us." Our people and leaders share many similar goals, including reducing illegitimacy and dependency, promoting work and empowering families. The Congress must sort through fiscal, political, and ideological pressures to fashion real reform which reflects our nation's best values and offers genuine help and opportunity to our poorest families. We pray this debate will advance the common good, not further divide our people along economic, racial, ethnic and ideological lines.

As the Administrative Board of the United States Catholic Bishops' Conference, we offer these reflections as a contribution to this important debate. Our purpose is not to make any partisan point, but to share our principles and experience in hopes they will help lift up the moral dimensions and human consequences of this debate. As religious teachers, we draw our directions from consistent Catholic moral principles, not ideological or political agendas. The values that guide our approach to welfare reform are not new:

- respect for human life and human dignity;
- the importance of the family and the value of work;
- an option for the poor and the call to participation;
- the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity.

But they take on special urgency when a fifth of our children are growing up poor in the richest nation on earth and 30 million Americans of all ages live in poverty. Lack of

opportunity, poverty and dependency are destroying millions of families, harming countless children.

As pastors, we also seek to share our community's experiences in serving those in need. Poor families are not an abstract issue for us; they are sisters and brothers. They have names and faces. They are in our shelters and soup kitchens, our parishes and Catholic Charities agencies. As the largest non-public provider of human services to poor families, the Catholic community knows all too well the failures and abuses of the current system, the potential and limitations of private and religious charity, and the ways in which lives are diminished and dignity denied by widespread dependency and poverty in our land.

No institution in American life is more committed to the basic moral values of marriage, family, responsibility, work, sexual restraint, and sacrifice for children than our Church. We preach, teach and promote these values every day in our parishes, schools, and outreach efforts. We also are committed to the values of justice, charity and solidarity with the poor and vulnerable. We believe our society needs both more personal responsibility and broader social responsibility, better values and better policies to reduce poverty and dependency in the United States.

The Urgency of Reform

We strongly support genuine welfare reform which strengthens families, encourages productive work, and protects vulnerable children. We are not defenders of the welfare status quo which sometimes relies on bureaucratic approaches, discourages work, and breaks up families. However, we oppose abandonment of the federal government's necessary role in helping families overcome poverty and meet their children's basic needs.

It is worth recalling that many of us are or have been the beneficiaries of government assistance -- direct and indirect, but many are rightly frustrated by the current welfare system:

- recipients who find their dignity undermined and their needs poorly addressed;
- taxpayers who fear their dollars encourage dependency rather than empowerment;
- providers who spend more time checking for fraud than helping families;
- and public officials who have responsibility without adequate resources, accountability without sufficient authority.

The status-quo is unacceptable. It is children who pay the greatest price for the failures of the current system. Genuine welfare reform is a moral imperative and urgent national priority.

An Agenda for Reform

Welfare reform needs to be comprehensive in analysis, but targeted and flexible in its implementation. We seek a new approach which promotes greater responsibility and offers more concrete help to families in leaving poverty behind through productive work and other assistance. Increased accountability and incentives should be tailored to a particular family's needs and circumstances, not "one size fits all" requirements. Top down reform with rigid national rules cannot meet the needs of a population as diverse as poor families. However, simply shifting responsibility without adequate resources, standards and accountability could leave America's poor children worse off. Genuine welfare reform should rely on incentives more than harsh penalties; for example, denying needed benefits for children born to mothers on welfare can hurt the children and pressure their mothers toward abortion and sterilization.

More specifically, we will advocate for welfare reform which:

A. Protects Human Life and Human Dignity

We believe a fundamental criterion for all public policy, including welfare reform, is protection of human life and human dignity. In states across the country, our State Catholic Conferences have stood against proposals which deny benefits to children because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare. These provisions, whatever their intentions, are likely to encourage abortion, especially in those states which pay for abortions, but not for assistance to these children. In seeking to change the behavior of parents, these provisions hurt children, and some unborn children will pay with their lives.

Our Church works every day against sexual irresponsibility and the out-of-wedlock births which come with it. We do not believe teenagers should be encouraged to set up their own households. However, legislation offering increased flexibility to states should not restrict assistance in ways we, and most observers, believe will encourage abortions. We are working with Catholic Charities USA and other national pro-life groups in opposing these provisions and in proposing alternatives that provide assistance in ways that safeguard children

but do not reinforce inappropriate or morally destructive behavior.

For us, this is a matter of moral consistency. Our faith requires us to protect the lives and dignity of the vulnerable children whether they are born or unborn. We cannot support policies which will likely lead to more abortions. Every child is precious to us. We recognize human life is also threatened and diminished by the failures of the current welfare system and our broader culture. Children thrown from windows, found in dumpsters, and abused in their homes are tragic symptoms of culture in disarray and a welfare system in urgent need of real reform. It is worth noting that it is not just low income families that sometimes engage in destructive behavior. Personal irresponsibility, family disintegration, and loss of moral values touch not just the "down and out," but also the "rich and famous" and the rest of us.

B. Strengthens Family Life. Welfare reform should affirm the importance of marriage, strong intact families, personal responsibility, self discipline, sacrifice, and basic morality. It should help mothers and fathers meet the social, economic, educational, and moral needs of their children. We support a children's tax credit (which includes poor families), a strengthened Earned Income Credit, and stronger child support enforcement to help meet the economic needs of America's families. We also support policies to keep families together and fathers involved, including new efforts to discourage parenthood outside of marriage, an end to marriage penalties in our tax code, and a halt to welfare policies which discourage marriage and discriminate against two parent families. Our society must discourage adolescent sexual activity and teen pregnancy with at least as much urgency and persistence as we bring to discouraging smoking and substance abuse among our young.

C. Encourages and Rewards Work. Those who can work ought to work. Employment is the expected means to support a family and make a contribution to the common good. Too often welfare discourages work by eliminating health and child care benefits for those who leave the welfare rolls for the labor market. Real reform will offer education, training and transitional help to those who exchange a welfare check for a paycheck. The challenge is to insure that reform leads to productive work with wages and benefits that permit a family to live in dignity. Rigid rules and arbitrary time-lines are no substitute for real jobs at

decent wages and the tax policies which can help keep families off welfare.

D. Preserves a Safety Net for the Vulnerable. For those who cannot work, or whose "work" is raising our youngest children, the nation has built a system of income, nutrition and other supports. Society has a responsibility to help meet the needs of those who cannot care for themselves, especially young children. AFDC, food stamps, and other entitlement programs provide essential support for poor children. We will support more effective and responsive federal-state-community partnerships, but we cannot support "reform" that will make it more difficult for poor children to grow into productive individuals. We cannot support reform that destroys the structures, ends entitlements, and eliminates resources that have provided an essential safety net for vulnerable children or permits states to reduce their commitment in this area. Also, we cannot support punitive approaches that target immigrants, even legal residents, and take away the minimal benefits that they now receive.

E. Builds Public/Private Partnerships to Overcome Poverty. As advocates of both subsidiarity and solidarity, we believe a reformed welfare system should rely more fully on the skill and responsiveness of community institutions and increased involvement and creativity of states. However, private and religious efforts to serve those in need are being severely stretched. They cannot -- and should not -- be seen as a substitute for wise public policy that promotes effective public/private partnerships.

Overcoming poverty and dependency will require more creative, responsive and effective action in both the public and private sectors. Overly bureaucratic programs must give way to more community, local and family initiatives, more responsive to individual needs, potential and problems. Mediating institutions can serve people with greater effectiveness, efficiency and dignity. We are not opposed to carefully designed block grant initiatives in some areas if they come with adequate resources, accountability and safeguards for poor families. States can shape programs to meet their local realities, but poverty has national dimensions and consequences that require federal commitment and national standards, safeguards, and protections. The nation needs to reform its welfare system, not abandon the federal government's role and responsibilities in fighting poverty. At the same time, private service providers should not be burdened with the enforcement of immigration laws.

F. Invests In Human Dignity. In the long run, real welfare reform will save money,

but in the short run it will require new investments in a family tax credit, education, training, WIC, work and child support. Recent state experiences support the reality that moving people off welfare will be neither easy nor inexpensive. Our everyday experience in helping families leave welfare suggest that hope, opportunity and investment are essential to this transition. The social contract we seek will offer training, education, jobs and other concrete assistance in exchange for persistent commitment and effort of persons trying to leave poverty. Simply cutting resources and transferring responsibility is not genuine reform. We must resist the temptation to see poor women, minority families or immigrants as either passive victims or easy scapegoats for our society's social and economic difficulties.

Conclusion

For the Catholic community, the measure of welfare reform is whether it will enhance the lives and dignity of poor children and their families. The goal of reform ought to be to promote decent work and reduce dependency, not simply cut budgets and programs. The target of reform ought to be poverty, not poor families. We believe our society will be measured by how "the least of these" are faring. Welfare reform will be a clear test of our nation's moral priorities and our commitment to seek the common good. We hope the welfare reform debate will be a time for civil and sustained dialogue, more focused on the needs and potential of poor families than on the search for partisan advantage. This debate could set an important framework for how our nation addresses not only welfare, but also other human needs. We hope these reflections will contribute to this kind of debate and will encourage Catholics to bring their voices and values to this important national dialogue which will say so much about what kind of society we are and will become.

Office for Media Relations
3211 Fourth Street, N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194

DATE: March 17, 1995

FROM: Msgr. Francis Maniscalco

O- 202/541-3200
H-202/529-9214

EMBARGOED: Not for Release until Sunday, March 19, 1995

CONTACT: Msgr. Francis Maniscalco
John Carr (202) 541-3181
(301) 322-2044

TO: Diocesan Communications Director
Next week is the Welfare Reform Debate. The Administrative Board of the Conference requested and adopted the Statement. Please share the material with your bishop.

Catholic Bishops Administrative Board Calls Welfare Reform "Moral Imperative," Urges Congress "Target Poverty, Not Poor Families."

Statement calls "status-quo unacceptable," urges reform to protect life, promote family and work, and preserve safety net.

Insisting the welfare "status quo is unacceptable," the Administrative Board of the Nation's Roman Catholic Bishops suggest that the debate over welfare reform "will be a test of our nations' values and our commitment to the 'least among us'."

In a statement of their principles and priorities, the bishops said "for the Catholic community, the measure of welfare reform is whether it will enhance the lives and dignity of poor children and their families. The goal of reform ought to be to promote decent work and reduce dependency, not simply cut budgets and programs. The target of reform ought to be

poverty, not poor families. We hope the welfare reform debate will be a time for civil and sustained dialogue, more focused on the needs and potential of poor families than on the search for partisan advantage."

The purpose of the statement requested and adopted by the 50 bishops attending the Administrative Board meeting "is not to make any partisan point, but to share our principles and experience in hopes they will help lift up the moral dimensions and human consequences of this debate."

The statement said that the bishops "strongly support genuine welfare reform which strengthens families, encourages productive work, and protects vulnerable children. We are not defenders of the welfare status-quo which sometimes relies on bureaucratic approaches, discourages work, and breaks up families. However, we oppose abandonment of the federal government's necessary role in helping families overcome poverty and meet their children's needs."

Bishop John Ricard, Chairman of the Bishops' Domestic Policy Committee, said the statement reflected the bishops roles as both teachers and pastors. "We lead a community of faith, not an interest group. Our focus is the life and dignity of poor children, not partisan or ideological agendas. We share the values of many reformers and concerns about costs, but worry about human consequences for poor children of some proposals. We have to find a way to bring together our best values and adequate resources in a new public-private partnership to combat poverty and dependency."

The bishops statement reflects traditional Catholic teaching on human life and dignity, work and family responsibility, concern for the poor and principles of solidarity and subsidiarity. These principles according to the bishops "take on special urgency when a fifth of our children are growing up poor in the richest nation on earth and 30 million Americans of all ages live in poverty. Lack of opportunity, poverty and dependency are destroying millions of families and harming countless children."

They statement also reflect the Church's experience as the nation's largest non-governmental provider of human services. "Poor families are not an abstract issue for us; they are sisters and brothers. They have names and faces. They are in our shelters and soup

kitchens, our parishes and Catholic Charities agencies.. . .The Catholic community knows all too well the failures and abuses of the current system, the potential and limitations of private and religious charity, and the ways in which lives are diminished and dignity denied by widespread dependency and poverty in our land."

The statement cites the frustration with the current system experienced by recipients, taxpayers, providers and public officials. "The status-quo is unacceptable," they declare. It is children who pay the greatest price for the failures of the current system. Genuine welfare reform is a moral imperative and urgent national priority."

The bishops "seek a new approach which promotes greater responsibility and offers more concrete help to families in leaving poverty behind through productive work and other assistance. . .Increased accountability and incentives should be tailored to a particular family's needs and circumstances, not "one size fits all" requirements. Top down reform with rigid national rules can't meet the needs of a population as diverse as poor families. However, simply shifting responsibility without adequate resources, standards and accountability could leave America's poor children worse off." According to the bishops, "Genuine welfare reform should rely on incentives more than harsh penalties; for example, denying needed benefits for children born to mothers on welfare can hurt the children and pressure their mothers toward abortion and sterilization."

The bishops statement steers a middle course between supporters of existing government efforts and those who would abandon or dramatically reduce assistance to the poor. The statement emphasizes the failures of the current system and the urgency of reform, but warns against abandoning or diminishing the national commitment to help poor children and families.

The Bishops' Conference will work for reform which protects human life and human dignity. The bishops oppose "proposals which deny benefits to children because of their mother's age or dependence on welfare. These provisions, whatever their intentions, are likely to encourage abortion, especially in those states which pay for abortions, but not for assistance to these children. In seeking to change the behavior of parents, these provisions hurt children, and some unborn children will pay with their lives. . .For us, this is a matter of moral

consistency. Our faith requires us to protect the lives and dignity of the vulnerable children whether they are born or unborn." The bishops also "recognize human life is also threatened and diminished by the failures of the current welfare system and our broader culture. Children thrown from windows, found in dumpsters, and abused in their homes are tragic symptoms of culture in disarray and a welfare system in urgent need of real reform."

The bishops supports reform which strengthens family life, including a children's tax credit (which includes poor families), a strengthened Earned Income Credit, and stronger child support enforcement to help meet the economic needs of America's families." The bishops also "support policies to keep families together and fathers involved, including new efforts to discourage parenthood outside of marriage, an end to marriage penalties in our tax code, and a halt to welfare policies which discourage marriage and discriminate against two parent families. Our society must discourage adolescent sexual activity and teen pregnancy with at least as much urgency and persistence as we bring to discouraging smoking and substance abuse among our young."

The Bishops' Conference will advocate for reform which encourages and rewards work. The bishops state, "Those who can work ought to work. . .Too often welfare discourages work by eliminating health and child care benefits for those who leave the welfare rolls for the labor market. Real reform will offer education, training and transitional help to those who exchange a welfare check for a paycheck. Rigid rules and arbitrary time-lines are no substitute for real jobs at decent wages and the tax policies which can help keep families off welfare."

The bishops insist welfare reform must preserves a safety net for the vulnerable. The bishops believe, "Society has a responsibility to help meet the needs of those who cannot care for themselves, especially young children. AFDC, food stamps, and other entitlement programs provide essential support for poor children. We will support more effective and responsive federal-state-community partnerships, but we cannot support reform that destroys the structures, ends entitlements, and eliminates resources that have provided an essential safety net for vulnerable children. "The bishops also oppose punitive approaches that target immigrants, even legal residents, and take away the minimal benefits that they now receive.

The Bishops Confrence encourage reform which builds public/provide partnerships to overcome poverty. The bishops "believe a reformed welfare system should rely more fully on the skill and responsiveness of community institutions and increased involvement and creativity of states. However, private and religious efforts to serve those in need are being

severely stretched. They cannot -- and should not -- be seen as substitute for wise public policy that promotes effective public/private partnerships. . .We are not opposed to carefully designed block grant initiatives in some areas if they come with adequate resources, accountability and safeguards for poor families. States can shape programs to meet their local realities, but poverty has national dimensions and consequences that require federal commitment and national standards, safeguards, and protections. The nation needs to reform its welfare system, not abandon the federal government's role and responsibilities in fighting poverty."

The Bishops' Conference will continue to work for reform that invests in human dignity. The statement suggest that "In the long run, real welfare reform will save money, but in the short run it will require new investments in a family tax credit, education, training, WIC, work and child support." The bishops support proposals to "offer training, education, jobs and other concrete assistance in exchange for persistent commitment and effort of persons trying to leave poverty. Simply cutting resources and transferring responsibility is not genuine reform. We must resist the temptation to see poor women, minority families or immigrants as either passive victims or easy scapegoats for our society's social and economic difficulties."

The bishops claim that "no institution in American life is more committed to the basic moral values of marriage, family, responsibility, work, sexual restraint, and sacrifice for children than our Church. We preach, teach and promote these values every day. We also are committed to the values of justice, charity and solidarity with the poor and vulnerable. We believe our society needs both more personal responsibility and broader social responsibility, better values and better policies to reduce poverty and dependency in the United States."

The bishops' statement urges the Congress to "sort through fiscal, political, and ideological pressures to fashion real reform which reflects our nation's best values and offers genuine help and opportunity to our poorest families. We pray this debate will advance the common good, not further divide our people along economic, racial, ethnic, and ideological lines."

In closing, the bishops encourage Catholics "to bring their voices and values to this important national dialogue which will say so much about what kind of society we are and will become."

A copy of the statement is attached.

For additional information contact:

John Carr, Secretary
Department of Social Development and World Peace
United States Catholic Conference
(202) 541-3181 (Office)
(301) 322-2044 (Home)

Catholic Charities USA Legislative Alert

March 22, 1995

PLEASE TELL YOUR CONGRESSPEOPLE TO VOTE AGAINST CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1214, THE WELFARE REFORM BILL

Yesterday's *AdvoFax* and Sunday's *New York Times* reported that the House Republican leadership had agreed to support three amendments endorsed by Catholic Charities USA and the National Right to Life Committee. The three amendments were designed to reduce the potential for more abortions that would be caused by the welfare bill's provisions on teen mothers, the family cap, and the bonus for any states that improved their so-called "illegitimacy ratio."

Last night the House Rules Committee failed to honor the reported promises of Committee Chair, Gerald Solomon (R-NY), despite pleas from the Bishops' Conference and a letter from Cardinal O'Connor.

On the floor, only the Smith amendment will be allowed up for a vote. It would allow states to use block grant funds for vouchers for goods and services for children born to mothers already on welfare.

Neither the Bunn amendment on teen mothers nor the Volkmer-Stark amendment on the illegitimacy ratio will be considered on the floor if the rule is adopted.

This is the last Straw!

The bill has many dangerous provisions:

IT WOULD INCREASE HUNGER BY

- ✓ cutting food stamps by 14 percent over the next five years; and
- ✓ denying food stamps to able-bodied childless adults who cannot find jobs within 90 days.

Episcopal Liaison
The Most Reverend
Joseph M. Sullivan

Chair
Rev. Timothy A. Hogan

Vice Chair
Ms. Lupe U. Mueller

Secretary
Sister Barbara A. Moore, CSJ

Treasurer
Mr. Jerome E. Rauchhaus

President
Rev. Fred Kammer, SJ

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IT WOULD ENDANGER CHILDREN BY

- ✓ abolishing federal law to protect children from abuse and neglect;
- ✓ repealing guaranteed federal matching funds for foster care and adoption; and
- ✓ slashing funds for child protection by $2.9 billion over five years.

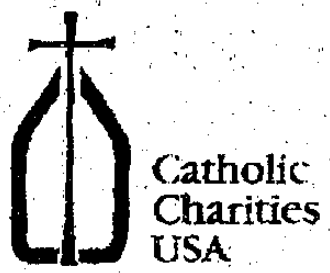
IT WOULD ABANDON HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF DISABLED CHILDREN BY

- ✓ denying them eligibility for the SSI;
- ✓ eliminating cash benefits for children outside institutions.

There is not enough time or space to detail all the dangerous provisions of this bill!

Please call your Representatives this morning!

THE MESSAGE IS: DEFEAT THE RULE ON H.R. 1214-WELFARE REFORM. GIVE THE RULES COMMITTEE A SECOND CHANCE TO FIX THIS FLAWED BILL.



March 22, 1995

Dear Representative:

We are shocked and disappointed that the House Rules Committee has not ruled the Burn and Volkmer/Stark amendments in order since these amendments would reduce the potential for an increase in abortions occasioned by provisions of H.R. 1214. The United States Catholic Bishops' Conference, Catholic Charities USA and the National Right to Life Committee all agree that, without these amendments, H.R. 1214 is likely to increase abortions among teenagers and mothers on welfare.

The failure of the Rules Committee to allow votes on these amendments is the last straw. Not only does the bill deny or reduce benefits for 2.8 million families in the AFDC Program, it would also eliminate cash benefits under the SSI Program for hundreds of thousands of handicapped children. In addition, the bill fails to provide for vigorous efforts to ensure that all child support is collected. Moreover, the bill would deny aid to immigrants who need and deserve the support of this country.

For these reasons we urge you to vote to reject the rule on H.R. 1214. We are confident that if the Rules Committee and House Leadership have another opportunity, they can devise a much better bill to address these critical issues. At the very least, welfare reform should not mean more abortions!

Sincerely,

Fred Kammer SJ

Fred Kammer, SJ
President

Episcopal Liaison
The Most Reverend
Joseph M. Sullivan

Chair
Rev. Timothy A. Hogan

Vice Chair
Mr. Lupe D. Mactor

Secretary
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CARDINAL'S OFFICE
1011 FIRST AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10022

March 15, 1995
By Telefax

Dear Chairman Solomon,

I understand that today or tomorrow your committee will decide on the conditions for consideration of the welfare reform bill by the House of Representatives. I would urge that you ensure that amendments are permitted to remove from the bill three provisions that are very likely to increase pressures on women to have abortions.

Representative Jim Bunn and Representative Chris Smith have specific amendments to remedy these problems. I hope you will incorporate their amendments into the bill, or, at the very least, permit them to offer their amendments on the House floor.

These amendments would accomplish the following:

1) States would be permitted to use federal funds to provide cash or vouchers to support children born to unmarried mothers under 18. The cash or vouchers could be provided only to responsible adults who supervise young mothers and their children.

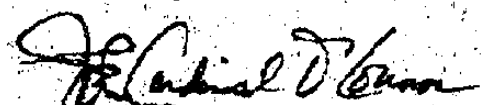
2) States would be permitted to use federal funds for additional assistance in the form of vouchers for goods and services needed by a child born to a mother already receiving welfare.

3) The so-called "illegitimacy ratio" provision would be dropped from the bill. While well intented, under certain demographic conditions, this provision could have the effect of rewarding states in which abortions increase.

On another matter, I am very disappointed that no one was able to find any other way to secure sufficient support to bring the recision bill to the floor of the House than to jettison the Istook amendment to limit Medicaid funding for abortions.

In light of the fate of the Istook amendment, I hope the Rules Committee will look with more favor on the efforts of Representatives Bunn and Smith and other pro-life leaders to keep welfare reform from causing even more abortions.

Faithfully,



Archbishop of New York

The Honorable Gerald Solomon
Chairman, House Rules Committee
H312
The Capitol Building
Washington, DC 20515

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 4

OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY

(Page and line numbers correspond to those of H.R. 1214)

Page 34, strike line 1 and all that follows through line 15 and insert the following:

1 "(5) NO ADDITIONAL CASH ASSISTANCE FOR
2 CHILDREN BORN TO FAMILIES RECEIVING ASSIST-
3 ANCE.—
4 "(A) GENERAL RULE.—A State to which a
5 grant is made under section 403 may not use
6 any part of the grant to provide cash benefits
7 for a minor child who is born to—
8 "(i) a recipient of benefits under the
9 program operated under this part; or
10 "(ii) a person who received such bene-
11 fits at any time during the 10-month pe-
12 riod ending with the birth of the child.
13 "(B) EXCEPTION FOR VOUCHERS.—Sub-
14 paragraph (A) shall not apply to vouchers
15 which are provided in lieu of cash benefits and
16 which may be used only to pay for particular
17 goods and services specified by the State as
18 suitable for the care of the child involved.

1 "(C) EXCEPTION FOR RAPE OR INCEST.—
2 Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect
3 to a child who is born as a result of rape or in-
4 cest.

Mr. Bunn's draft

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 4, AS REPORTED

OFFERED BY MR. BUNN OF OREGON

In section 405(a) of the Social Security Act, as proposed to be added by the amendment made by section 101 of the bill, strike paragraph (4) and insert the following:

"(4) NO ASSISTANCE FOR OUT-OF-WEDLOCK BIRTHS TO MINORS UNLESS CERTAIN CONDITIONS ARE MET.—A State to which a grant is made under section 403 may not use any part of the grant to provide cash benefits for a child born out-of-wedlock to an individual who has not attained 18 years of age, or for the individual, until the individual attains such age or unless the following conditions are met:

"(A) The individual is in, or has graduated from, a secondary school or a program offering the equivalent level of vocational or technical training, or has obtained a certificate of high school equivalency.

"(B) Any cash benefits for the child or the individual are provided only to—

"(i) an adult with whom the individual and child reside, and whom the State

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1 recognizes as acting in loco parentis with
2 respect to the individual; or
3 "(ii) the maternity home, foster home,
4 or other adult-supervised supportive living
5 arrangement in which the individual lives.
6 "(C) Any vouchers provided in lieu of cash
7 benefits for the individual or the child may be
8 used only to pay for—
9 "(i) particular goods and services
10 specified by the State as suitable for the
11 care of the child (such as diapers, clothing,
12 or cribs); or
13 "(ii) the costs associated with a ma-
14 ternity home, foster home, or other adult-
15 supervised supportive living arrangement
16 in which the individual and the child live.".

The Nation

Abortion Foes Worry About Welfare Cutoffs

By TAMAR LEWIN

THE debate over abortion has been a fault line in American life for more than two decades, separating friend from friend, feminist from fundamentalist, Democrat from Republican — and increasingly, Republican from Republican.

But now a dispute about what consequences proposed welfare revisions portend for abortion threatens not only to splinter conservative Republicans, but to strain their ties to traditional allies like the Catholic Church and the National Right to Life Committee. The dispute also is creating common ground for new partnerships.

Opposition to abortion has long been a basic tenet of conservative Republicans. So has indignation over the rise in teen pregnancy and the number of babies being born to unmarried women who depend on welfare to support them. Until recently, both views co-existed relatively peaceably under the Family Values banner.

Conservatives now face a conundrum. The bill being advanced by House Republicans would deny Federal cash assistance for babies born to unmarried girls under 18, or to mothers who are already getting welfare at the time of the birth, or mothers who had received benefits any time in the previous 10 months.

Should the conservatives commit themselves to reining in welfare? Should they try to stem the tide of births to unwed teen-agers by ensuring that poor women will get no financial reward for giving birth too young or too often? And will that just encourage more young women to have abortions?

Two Can't Live as Cheaply

Several Republican Congressmen — including some who signed on to House Speaker Newt Gingrich's Contract With America, which featured this welfare revision — now say they cannot reconcile the welfare changes with their opposition to abortion.

"I've been in the pro-life movement for 20 years, and I know there is overwhelming data that financial pressures are one of the main reasons some women have abortions," said Representative Christopher H. Smith, the New Jersey Republican who is co-chairman of the House Pro-Life Caucus. "I can't vote for something that's going to tip women toward abortion."

Even some proponents of the proposed welfare cutoff acknowledge that, at least in the short run, it would cause more abortions.

Whether this is good depends on what one thinks of abortion, Charles Murray said last summer. Mr. Murray is co-author of "The Bell Curve" (The Free Press, 1994), which theorizes that society is stratified by I.Q., which is based in part on genetic endowment.

Last month, Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, said his group would not support the Republican national ticket in 1996 unless the party's candidates oppose abortion. But Mr. Reed, like many conservatives, favors the welfare revisions anyway. He said his priority is to end the "culture of illegitimacy."

Long Run vs. Short Term

And William Kristol, the conservative strategist who heads the Project for the Republican Future, says the party will not be riven by the dispute. "At the end of the day, it's not a big issue because in the long run, an attack on illegitimacy is an attack on promiscuity is an attack on abortion," he said. "We can't not reform welfare because it might lead to a few more abortions. And I do think there is a plausible argument that the reforms might discourage teen-agers from sexual activity, and therefore reduce the number of abortions."

But for some, the welfare proposal has become a watershed. Last month, the National Right to Life News featured a front-page headline: "Welfare Reforms Pose Threat to Unborn Babies."

"If we were to stand silently by and not have the courage to speak out against these proposals, then we could never look anyone in the eye again and say we support alternatives to abortion," said Wanda Franz, president of the National Right to Life Committee.

"This is not a little blip," said Helen Alvare, a spokeswoman for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. "This has to do with the basic pro-life commitment of the Republican party. We grant the goodwill of those seeking to end the culture of teen parenting. But we cannot seek a good end by evil means. We must not penalize innocent children by cutting off their support because their mother was too young, or has other children on welfare. And we cannot take action that will push more women toward abortion."

Mr. Smith is offering an amendment to allow states to give vouchers for diapers and other baby needs to women already on welfare. Representative Jim Bunn — a freshman from Oregon who refused to sign the Contract with America last year because he feared the welfare cutoffs would encourage abortion — would let states give cash to the parents of teen-mothers who live at home and remain in school, or vouchers to those who do not live with their parents but are still in school.

Strange Bedfellows

Kim Gandy, executive vice president of the National Organization for Women, which is working with conservative groups that oppose the welfare cutoffs, said of her old abortion foes (and new allies): "This is the first time in my memory that they've been involved in anything for children after birth."

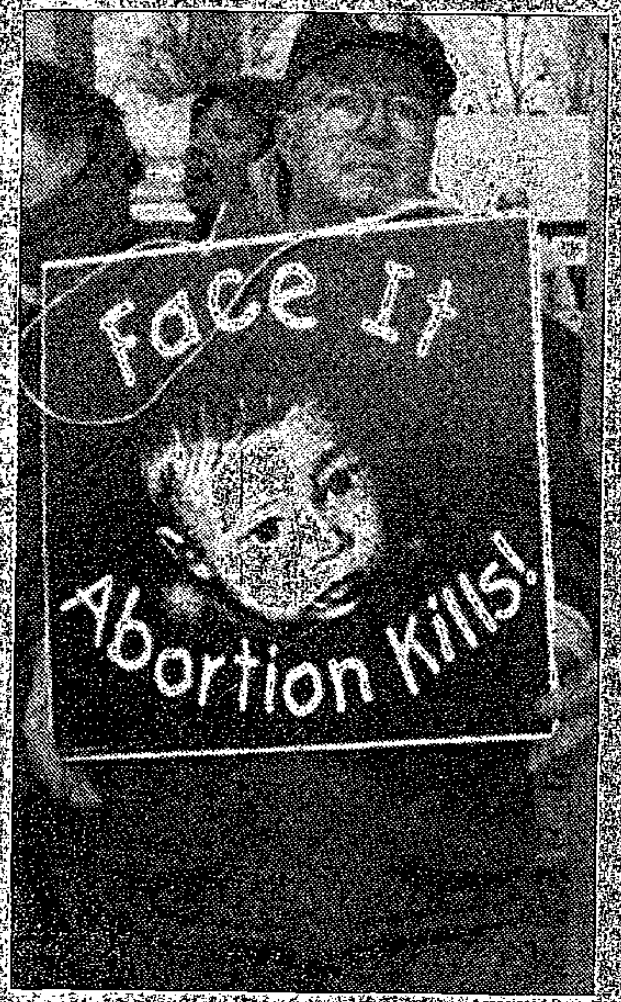
In January, the Alan Guttmacher Institute, a non-profit research group, warned that welfare cutoffs would place the Federal Government in a "truly indefensible position" by denying funds for abortion, encouraging pregnant women on Medicaid to have babies they could not afford to support, and then punishing them by denying benefits for the children.

Liberals say the Government should finance abortions for low-income women who want them, provide welfare benefits for those raising their babies, and increase funding for family planning services.

"In the whole debate over teen pregnancy and welfare reform, no one is talking about increasing access to family planning and abortion," said Jacqueline Darroch Forrest, research director of the Guttmacher Institute. "The issues are connected," she said, "and if we want to reduce teen pregnancy and abortions, we need to do more with contraception."

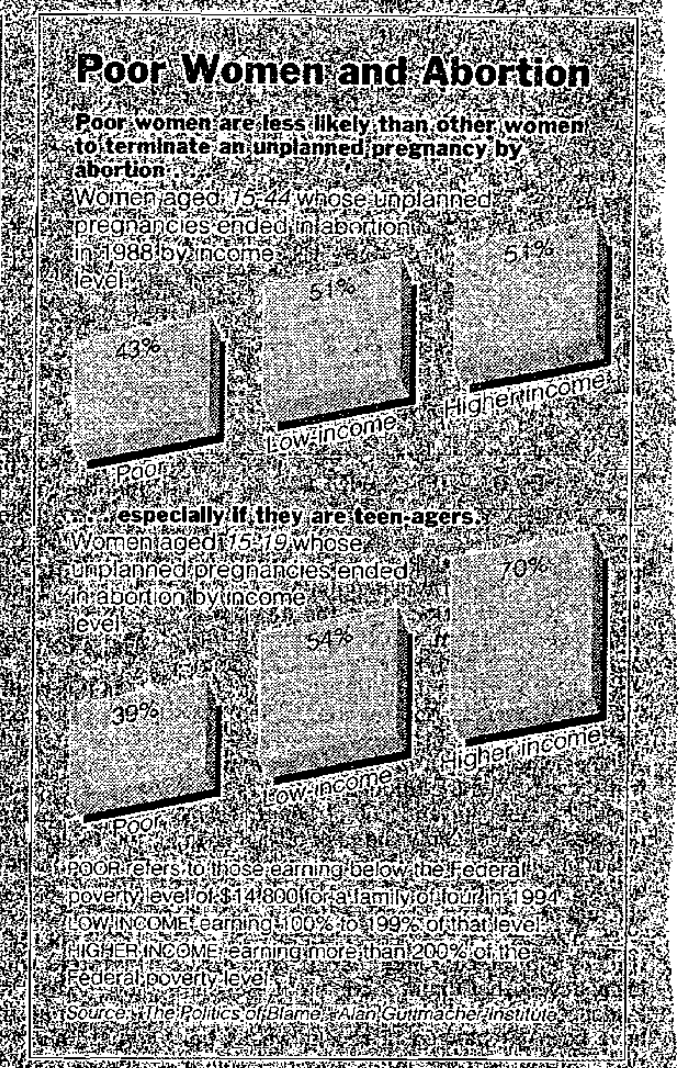
As campaign agendas are being hammered into legislation, the connections and contradictions are being brought home to conservatives, too.

"Teenage mothers killing their own babies is not welfare reform," said Mr. Bunn, the Oregon congressman. "This is definitely the hardest issue for me so far. It's great to be part of a Republican majority trying to move through a lot of things I think are critically important, but I think my friends are making a mistake on this, and I won't be a part of it."



Associated Press

Protesting abortion in Brookline, Mass., this month.



O'Connor Links Cuts in Welfare to More Abortions

By PETER STEINFELS

John Cardinal O'Connor said last week that the legislation cutting back welfare proposed in the Republican Party's Contract With America was "immoral in its virtually inevitable consequences."

The strongly worded statement, which came in a column that appeared on Thursday in Catholic New York, the archdiocese weekly, drew attention to the fears of many abortion opponents that the political party that has been their standard-bearer is now championing a measure that could result in tens or even hundreds of thousands of additional abortions.

In his column Cardinal O'Connor, the Archbishop of New York, cited the case of Representative Jim Bunn of Oregon, a strong opponent of abortion who is one of the Republicans swept into Congress last November on the conservative tide.

Precisely because of his anti-abortion convictions, Mr. Bunn has refused to sign the Republican contract.

It is an awkward position for a freshman Republican, Mr. Bunn says, but he just cannot approve the welfare cuts that the contract proposes and that the House Ways and Means Committee is now debating.

"As a pro-life member of Congress," Mr. Bunn said at a press conference last month, "I thought it was quite inconsistent to tell someone with a crisis pregnancy to have her babies but refuse to help her."

Mr. Bunn, along with other Republican dissenters, like Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, is currently sending a "Dear Colleague" letter to other House members maintaining that proposed reductions in Federal welfare assistance are "likely to produce dire consequences for innocent unborn children."

Other declared opponents of abortion disagree with this position. The Christian Coalition, for example, continues to lobby actively for the contract. Ralph Reed, the coalition's executive director, says the main goal of welfare cuts is to stop subsidizing "the culture of illegitimacy and dependency." Once unwanted pregnancies and single parenthood are no longer perceived as the Government's responsibility, the theory goes, Americans will voluntarily support a vast network of church and private efforts to help women in need.

Southern Baptist Convention leaders who have challenged the nomination of Dr. Henry W. Foster Jr. for Surgeon General of the Public Health Service because he has performed abortions are not taking a position on welfare reductions. But they surmise that even stiff measures could quite likely reduce rather than increase abortions, at least in the long run.

Cardinal O'Connor agreed that there were "some fine ideas" in the contract, but said that the welfare proposal "isn't one of them."

Richard Land, executive director of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, does not deny the basis of the Cardinal's fears. "We do not want to see women aborting their babies because they see it is not economically viable to have those babies," Mr. Land said in a telephone interview.

But Mr. Land views the current welfare system as so destructive of marriage and the discipline essential to well-being in a free-market society that he is urging a thorough overhaul of the system without taking a position for or against the proposed cuts.

"There are two competing evils here," he said. "We're going to resist being boxed into a corner where we have to choose one over the other. We are going to do our best to have our cake and eat it too."

The division over abortion and welfare is only partly a matter of different Christian traditions. Mr. Land pointed out that although Roman Catholic bishops had also called for changing the welfare system, their judgments about "how evil it is" were mixed.

But Protestant leaders in the National Right to Life Committee have vocally opposed the proposed welfare reductions, while some Catholic leaders close to the Republican Party have either kept silent or, like the Rev. Robert A. Sirico, a leader in the growing school of Catholic free-market theorists, strongly backed them.

"I would go further than the contract," said Father Sirico, who is president of the Acton Institute, a nonprofit organization based in Grand Rapids, Mich., and devoted to making a moral case for the market economy.

The likelihood of more abortions as an outgrowth of welfare reductions is not clear, he said, noting that the number of abortions had dropped in some states after welfare benefits were cut.

Cardinal O'Connor, in his column, also discussed thinkers who admit that welfare cuts will probably increase abortions in the short term but insist that eventually those reductions will change sexual behavior and yield fewer abortions. He said he was "unaware of any hard evidence" supporting their analyses.

And in a sentence reflecting the anguish this issue is stirring in the anti-abortion ranks, he asked whether even a long-term benefit could offset "a programmed 'short-term' increase in abortions, if we believe that every abortion destroys a human life?"

Gay Writer Fasts In Jail, Seeking Talk With Pat Robertson

By DAVID W. DUNLAP

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WR - Catholic Church

Bishops Critical Of Gingrich on Welfare Cutback

Panel on Sexual Abuse Recommends Compassionate Response to Victims

By Laurie Goodstein
Washington Post Staff Writer

The nation's Catholic bishops yesterday criticized welfare reform proposals by incoming House speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) to sharply limit welfare payments and turn the poor over to charities and orphanages.

"The state has an obligation to take care of those who cannot take care of themselves," the Rev. John H. Ricard, auxiliary bishop of Baltimore, told reporters at the annual meeting here of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The meeting also grappled with sensitive internal issues such as clergy sexual abuse and the role of women in the church.

"Children will be adversely affected by policies" that would cut welfare benefits drastically, said Ricard, who chairs the bishops' domestic policy committee. He decried a "bumper-sticker approach" to social policy, saying slogans such as "three strikes you're out, lock them up for good—those are not going to work."

The bishops have previously stepped into the role of guardians of the poor, denouncing President Ronald Reagan during his administration for economic policies that they said amounted to an assault on poor and low-income people. They also were outspoken in the debate over health care reform. In an era when the American public says it is less tolerant than ever of supporting welfare programs, the church is signaling it will continue its advocacy for the poor.

The bishops say their stand is not partisan, but principled. They back Gingrich and some Republicans on such proposed social policies as tax credits for children, vouchers for private schools and a ban on federal funding for abortion.

On television Sunday, Gingrich said that Congress should consider cutting off welfare recipients after 60 days and turning over more care for the destitute to private charities and orphanages.

The bishops' principles on welfare reform, which they developed for the outgoing Congress, state: "Real welfare reform seeks to help people leave poverty behind, not just leave the welfare rolls."

The Catholic church, through such agencies as Catholic Charities and the Campaign for Human Development, has years of experience in moving families from welfare to self-sufficiency, said John Carr, secretary to the U.S. Catholic Conference's department of social development and world peace. "Inflexible rules" do not work, Carr said. "We do set standards, but they're different for different people."

After nearly a decade of unfolding scandals, a committee of bishops yesterday issued recommendations encouraging dioceses to respond compassionately to the victims of sexual abuse. Each of the nation's 185 Catholic dioceses sets its own guidelines, and the committee is recommending policy based on its survey of guidelines already in place in 157 of them.

In the past, the bishops' first instinct was to turn to lawyers to defend the church from abuse allegations, said Archbishop John R. Roach of St. Paul and Minneapolis. Now, he added, the bishops have learned "legal counsel is important, but it's not the key element here. . . . It has got to be your perpetual instinct to assist the abused and to do what you can for the perpetrator."

The bishops committee's five key recommendations for handling allegations are: respond promptly, relieve the suspected abuser from ministerial duties, cooperate with the investigation and any legal proceedings, reach out to the victims and their families, and deal openly with the community, including the news media.

Bishop John F. Kinney of Bismarck, N.D., who chaired the study, said his committee has no clear picture of the scope of sexual abuse in the church, or of the financial cost of litigating and settling claims. The committee did not survey dioceses on such questions because it was not sure how to elicit responses to such sensitive issues, he said.

Outside the Omni Shoreham Hotel, where the bishops are holding their four-day meeting, two victims' advocacy groups applauded those dioceses that have made progress in dealing with allegations openly and helping provide therapy for victims.

But one group, the Survivors Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP), issued a list of what it said were the six "most dangerous dioceses" for abuse victims: Camden, N.J.; Kansas City, Mo.; Providence, R.I.; Milwaukee; Santa Fe, N.M.; and Chicago.

In those dioceses, church leaders have responded to victims with countersuits or other "fierce legal tactics," withheld therapy from victims, required gag orders in legal settlements, kept accused perpetrators in active ministry or tolerated rallies and marches in support of alleged perpetrators, said Barbara Blaine, president of the Chicago-based SNAP.

In the diocese of Camden, target of a class action lawsuit claiming sexual abuse by 30 diocesan priests, Bishop James T. McHugh recently called such legal action a "new type of terrorism" against the church. McHugh refused requests for interviews yesterday at the bishops conference.

Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, archbishop of Chicago, denied SNAP's claim that his diocese had paid for countersuits against sexual abuse victims. He said he knew of one case in his diocese in which a pastor and a lay person accused of abuse were exonerated in a jury trial and later privately brought a countersuit.

But the archdiocese has a policy against countersuits, said Bernardin, because "we don't want to deter victims from coming to us for assistance."

Last year, Bernardin was accused of sexual abuse by a man who later dropped his lawsuit. "I never even thought of a countersuit," Bernardin said yesterday, "and I think SNAP gave me credit for that."

Pope: Church Must Repent For Sins Across History

Los Angeles Times

VATICAN CITY, Nov. 14—Looking ahead to the year 2000, Pope John Paul II today demanded that his church publicly repent for sins committed by Catholics across history in errant, overzealous defense of their faith.

The Roman Catholic church, said the pope, "cannot cross the threshold of the new millennium without encouraging her children to purify themselves, through repentance, of past errors and instances of infidelity, inconsistency, and slowness to act."

The major papal policy statement came in a 16,000-word letter to Catholics that outlines plans for a series of reflections, meetings and ceremonies building up to the year 2000, which the church will celebrate as a "great jubilee which will take place simultaneously in the Holy Land, in Rome, and in local churches around the world," the pope said.

THE WASHINGTON POST TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1994

WR – Catholic Church

Bishops' Leader Warns Against 'Punitive' Welfare Cuts

By DAVID GONZALEZ

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 14 — Even as Representative Newt Gingrich, the incoming Speaker of the House, is proposing to drastically scale back welfare payments and have charities and orphanages assume greater responsibility for the poor, the head of the nation's Roman Catholic Bishops conference warned today against "punitive welfare provisions" that would harm families and children.

Archbishop William H. Keeler of Baltimore, the president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, did not refer to Mr. Gingrich by name, saying instead that the bishops' opposition to such policies was not partisan, but in keeping with the church's teaching on "the dignity of life."

"We in the church stand with the unborn and the undocumented, the poor and the vulnerable, the hungry and the homeless in defense of human rights and human life," Bishop Keeler said in his opening remarks to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which is meeting here this week. "Our advocacy does not fit ideological or partisan categories, for our witness is not politically correct, but unfailingly consistent."

Steering a course between partisan poles, Bishop John H. Ricard, an Auxiliary Bishop in Baltimore and chairman of the bishops' committee drafting a report on violence, said the political debate was being dominated by "bumper-sticker morality and bumper-sticker politics" that forced "false" choices between individual responsibility and government spending. "There has to be personal responsibility," Bishop Ricard said. "We also believe the society has a responsibility for those who cannot care for themselves."

Bishop Ricard acknowledged that the Republican majority in Congress may make it harder to attain that balance, but noted that the church was not powerless. "We have to bear in mind as the Catholic Church we bring to the debate of forming a social policy a broad network of Catholic institutions and parishes," he said. "We feel we have the Catholic people on our side and have the strengths to address these issues in a meaningful way."

Bishop Ricard said the bishops had developed criteria for assessing any social spending proposals presented in the Republican-led Congress. Conference officials said they would examine budget, tax and welfare measures "from the bottom up," with an eye to how they would affect children and the poor.

John Carr, the secretary for social development and world peace at the United States Catholic Conference, the bishops' social policy arm, said that limiting the duration of welfare eligibility or reducing benefits for children born out of wedlock were unrealistic. The church's experience running social welfare programs, he said, shows that flexibility is needed.

Human rights and human life were two of the themes on the conference's agenda. In his opening remarks Bishop Keeler touched on the tension between the church and the media, a topic that he addressed at last year's meeting.

He said today that news reports about last September's Cairo Conference on World Population and Development "trumpeted the absurdity that the church was in a dark alliance with an international fundamentalist front to enslave women." During that conference, the Vatican campaigned against including abortion in family planning programs and extending those programs to adolescents.

The Pope's stance was born of his desire to preserve the dignity of women, family values and human life, Bishop Keeler said.

Later this week, the bishops' Ad Hoc Committee on Sexual Abuse will present its report on how to "enhance" diocesan policies regarding allegations of sexual abuse by members of the clergy. Bishop John Kinney of Bismarck, N.D., the committee chairman, said the 28 guidelines were based on principles that encouraged prompt response to victims, relieving the accused from his assignment if warranted, complying with civil authorities and dealing openly with the public. "As long as we are not able to talk about it, people will say maybe there is a cover-up," he said.

He said the committee had yet to compile data on the number of cases of sexual abuse members of the clergy or the amount of money paid in legal settlements. But he added that his impression from conversations with various bishops was that the percentage of priests who were pedophiles was less than "2 or 3 percent" and that the legal liabilities were not as high as victims' rights groups have suggested.

Members of the committee on sexual abuse emphasized that the church's response had to be pastoral in nature, admitting that when church officials first started dealing with the issue they relied more on civil law. "The church's primary response has got to be your pastoral instinct to assist the abused and do what you can for the perpetrator," said Archbishop John R. Roach, the Archbishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

The report was based on a review of the policies of 157 of the nation's 185 Roman Catholic dioceses. Bishop Kinney underscored that the recommendations were guidelines; governance of a diocese, he said, is left to the bishop, who answers to the Pope.

While several groups representing victims of sexual abuse commended the committee for reaching out to them, representatives of one group today said that stronger action must be taken to bridge the gap between recommendations and local practices. The group, The Survivors Network of Those Abused by Priests, issued a list of six archdioceses that, it said, mistreat those who come forward with allegations of sexual abuse, launching countersuits, for example, and retaining accused priests in their assignments.

"Our view is the policy statements and the written documents are really meaningless unless they are followed," said David Clohessy, the group's national director. "In diocese after diocese across the country we've seen a huge difference between what is said and done."

Corrections

A brief front-page report on Saturday, summarizing an article about Congressional Republicans' reactions to victory, referred imprecisely to automobiles used by Representative Newt Gingrich. The Cadillac in which he rode had been provided by a group he was addressing; he did not trade in his own car. Mr. Gingrich's comments are reported today on page B8.

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An article yesterday about an arrest in the slaying of Gerald Goldberg, a deliveryman in Brooklyn, referred incorrectly to the victim's business. He delivered eggs and a variety of dairy products to local stores, but he did not deliver milk.

A picture caption yesterday with a pop review of a performance by the Proclaimers at Tramps misidentified the performer shown. He was Craig Reid; his twin brother, Charlie, also performed.

•

A report in the Off the Menu column of The Living Section last Wednesday about the formation of a catering company by Daniel Boulud and Jean-Christophe Le Picart referred incorrectly to Mr. Le Picart's previous catering concern, Tentation. It is still in business, under the name Tentation, Potel & Chabot, owned by Potel & Chabot, a Parisian catering company.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1994

PHOTOCOPY -- PRESERVATION

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