

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. list	Guests for the welfare reform bill signing event. 1p (partial)	8/21/96	P6/B6

P1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
P2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

PRM Personal records misfile defined in accordance with 44 USC 2201 (3).

RESTRICTIONS

B1 National security classified information [(b) (1) of the FOIA].
B2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
B3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
B4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
B6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
B7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
B8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(9) of the FOIA].
B9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

7/26

NOTE TO LARRY HAAS, KATHY MCKIERNAN --

Here are the Q and As we discussed yesterday. I talked through them with Bruce Reed, but you may want to touch base with him and with Rahm this morning.

I don't have a copy of the analysis yet, but I understand that it looks at the House bill -- not the improved Senate bill. I also believe that it does not account for the impact of increased child care and child support, nor for the effect of the imminent increase in the minimum wage. HOWEVER, I think we should avoid criticizing it so much that we get challenged to produce our own study.

Please call if you need more --

Melissa Skolfield

7/26/96

Q: What is your reaction to the analysis released today that shows welfare reform putting one million children into poverty?

A: First, it is not our analysis, and I can't comment on its validity. The important thing to us is getting a welfare reform bill that has bipartisan support, that overhauls the current failed system, and that demands work and personal responsibility. The President remains optimistic that Congress can act in a bipartisan fashion to draft legislation that he can support.

Q: But this analysis was done by the same people who did OMB's analysis last year -- and the numbers are quite similar. How can you possibly support legislation that will make a million children poorer?

A: As we said last year, no computer model can predict with 100 percent accuracy how individuals will respond when the system is fundamentally transformed. We believe that many women on welfare want to work, and will do so if they can find child care for their children. We believe that when society demands that absent parents pay child support, they will do so -- and that they should be forced to if they don't.

our own position is clear. We've consistently advocated policies to maximize the incentives and opportunities for success, and to reduce the risk to children. That's why we've argued for child care and performance bonuses that create incentives for welfare recipients to move to work. And that's why we've argued against Republican proposals that would simply punish kids -- block granting adoption and foster care, cutting the school lunch program, and reducing benefits for disabled kids, for example. We've made a lot of progress, and we hope that bipartisan progress will continue.

Q: So do you think these numbers are in the ballpark?

A: Again, it is not our analysis, and I can't comment on its validity. The important thing to us is getting a welfare reform bill that has bipartisan support, that overhauls the current failed system, and that demands work and personal responsibility.

But I've been told that the analysis was done on the House bill, and does not reflect the improvements made in the Senate. I also understand that it does not account for increases in child care and child support -- nor for the imminent increase in the minimum wage.

Q: Senator Moynihan is again charging that you've refused to do such a study yourselves because the President is so desperate that he'll sign anything. How do you respond?

A: The President's interest in welfare reform is longstanding, and his views are clear: we've got to dramatically change the system, and try something fundamentally new. The President is very concerned about the millions of children who are growing up on welfare right now, so maintaining the current system is not an option.

Remember, we have been fighting to protect children throughout the Administration and throughout this Congress. It's the Republicans who have proposed block granting adoption and foster care, cutting the school lunch program, and reducing benefits for disabled kids. It's the Republicans who opposed key amendments in the Senate to protect children. And it's the President who has not only opposed those proposals, but has championed a range of programs like Head Start and family leave to make American kids' lives better.

Q: Do you plan to do your own analysis?

A: No.

Q: What are the differences between the House and Senate bill?

A: The Senate bill has lower Food Stamp cuts, and fewer bans on aid to legal immigrants. It does not have a Food Stamp block grant. And it has tighter maintenance of effort provisions.

(NOTE: The Urban Analysis says these provisions would have only a modest impact on poverty.)

Central to all of this is the very basic value of work. Our country was built by the hardest working people on earth, who turned a hostile and undeveloped continent into the most prosperous nation in human history. Work gives hope and structure and meaning to our lives. It instills a sense of duty. It gives people a chance to earn their way, with dignity and self-respect.

The next few weeks can be a time of real bipartisan achievement for our country. If we put aside partisanship and continue to make progress, we will end welfare as we know it ... we will begin to break the cycle of dependency ... and we will give a new generation the chance to share in the American Dream.

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

*Legislative Reference Division
Labor-Welfare-Personnel Branch*

Teletypewriter Transmittal Sheet



FROM: Melinda Haskins

395-3923

DATE: 7/25/96

TIME: 2:15

Pages sent (including transmittal sheet): 2

COMMENTS:

WFL Bulletin re welfare reform bill.

TO: Ken Aplet.

cc: Bruce Reed
Barry White
Keith Fontana

PLEASE CALL THE PERSON(S) NAMED ABOVE FOR IMMEDIATE PICK-UP.

FROM WH Bulletin

7/25/96

III — —

Clinton likely to receive welfare reform on eve of his convention. President Clinton will likely receive the Republican welfare reform bill just prior to the Democratic National Convention, a GOP House leadership source reports this morning. According to the source,

the conference is currently developing language on the family cap provision "that isn't Byrdable." The leadership source added that the conference will probably wrap up no later than tomorrow, with a vote on the conference report coming next week. Congressional Republicans will hold the conference report until "right before" the Democratic convention and after the GOP convention, explaining that there is a "ten-day window" for the President to consider signing legislation and congressional Republicans "don't want him necessarily to be vetoing [the bill] during our [convention.]" According to the leadership source, the Republicans want their convention to "be positive," plus they do not want the news of the President's decision on welfare to drown out news from the GOP convention.

**THE SENATE WELFARE REFORM BILL:
SUMMARY OF IMPROVEMENTS TO THE VETOED CONFERENCE AGREEMENT**

The Senate welfare reform bill contains numerous improvements to the vetoed conference agreement, H.R. 4. The bill incorporates a number of key changes made by the National Governors' Association (NGA) as well as other improvements that were not included in the House measure that passed last week.

Protecting Children and Families

Health Insurance Coverage. The Senate bill assures that all categories of people now eligible for Medicaid will continue to be eligible for health care in the future, regardless of state welfare changes. The conference agreement failed to maintain categorical Medicaid coverage for low income families with children on cash assistance.

Child care. The Senate bill increases child care funding levels by \$4 billion over the conference agreement and \$4.5 billion above current law (under CBO estimates). The bill also would maintain the child care health and safety protections contained in current law and reinstate a quality set-aside.

Child Welfare. Whereas the conference report block granted administration and child placement services funding, the Senate bill retains current law child protection entitlement programs and services.

SSI children. Instead of the 2-tiered benefit system proposed under the conference report, the Senate bill provides full cash benefits to all eligible children. Like the conference report, the Senate bill would establish a new disability definition for children. The new definition would be effective immediately for new applicants and within one year for current beneficiaries.

Contingency Fund. Compared to the conference report, the Senate welfare bill raises the cap on the contingency fund from \$1 billion to \$2 billion to provide states with more protection in economic downturns. The proposal also adds a new trigger mechanism based on the Food Stamp caseload.

Exemptions to the Cash Assistance Time Limit. The bill increases from 15% to 20% the proportion of the caseload that States can exempt from the 5-year time limit on cash assistance, giving states the ability to make more allowances for adults who are unable to work or find work.

Family Cap. Unlike the conference bill which required states to impose a family cap unless they explicitly opt not to do so, the Senate bill has no family cap provision. The Senate bill gives states maximum flexibility to address family cap issues.

Food Stamp Program. Unlike the conference measure, the Senate bill does not include the optional Food Stamp block grant. In addition, the adjustable cap on Food Stamp spending is deleted, ensuring that additional benefits would be available when caseloads increase. States are allowed to exempt from disqualification due to hardship up to 10% of able-bodied childless adults who are not working or participating in a work program and to permit one month of job search or job search training. The cap on the excess shelter deduction is retained but set at a higher level than the conference bill.

Child Nutrition Program. The Senate bill prohibits conditioning food assistance on citizenship or immigrant status. There is no option for states to receive school nutrition funding in the form of a block grant. Also, the Senate bill maintains the current reimbursement rates for the Summer Food Service Program.

Adoption Tax Credit. The Senate bill includes a refundable tax credit to help families cover adoption expenses.

State Accountability

Objective Criteria. The Senate bill requires states to establish objective criteria for delivery of benefits and to ensure equitable treatment. The language specifies that families in similar circumstances should be treated equally and provides the opportunity for a fair hearing for those whose assistance is denied, reduced, or terminated. In addition, it includes mechanisms to enforce these provisions.

Transfers. Unlike H.R. 4, states would only be able to transfer cash assistance block grant funds to the child care block grant. This provision strengthens states' commitment to providing resources to poor families and children.

Requiring Work

Personal Responsibility Agreements. The Senate bill includes a provision to require welfare recipients to enter into personal responsibility agreements in order to be eligible for assistance.

Performance Bonus. Instead of simply reducing state maintenance of effort requirements, the bill provides \$700 million in new federal funds by 2002 for states that perform well on employment-related criteria.

Work Requirements for Mothers with Young Children. Instead of requiring all adult recipients to work 35 hours per week, the Senate bill recognizes that single parents with pre-school age children need part-time options on work. Single-parent families

Page 3

with children under age 6 would meet the work requirement by working 20 hours per week. In addition, single parents with children under 11 who are unable to find child care are exempt from sanctions.

Education Activities. The bill allows educational activities for teens who have not finished school to count toward the work requirement.

ASAP.

Melissa
690-6343

Q: Would the President sign the bill or not?

A: As the President said yesterday, a lot of progress has been made since he vetoed the last Republican bill. Unlike the vetoed bill, the Senate bill now provides guaranteed Medicaid coverage for pregnant women and poor children; increases child care funding; requires 80 percent maintenance of effort from states; includes a 20 percent exemption from the time limit; maintains health and safety standards for child care; provides a performance bonus for states; and rewards states for moving people from welfare to work. It also eliminated the block grant for foster care and adoption assistance, as well as the steep cuts in aid for disabled children. So, we've had lots of important successes. The House bill contains most of these same improvements. But we can't backtrack on this bipartisan progress. If Congress does go backwards, if they choose partisanship over bipartisan progress, there will be trouble in terms of getting the President's signature on a final bill.

(BACKGROUND: Lott remarks were made at his press availability yesterday, July 23.)

Q: But what exactly does the President want in the final bill for it to be acceptable?

A: The President wants bipartisanship to continue. Last year, the Senate passed a welfare reform bill 87-12. This year, the vote was only 74-24. In the House, moderate Democrats, like Rep. Tanner, voted against the Republican bill because it was too extreme. So the President would like the Democrats, like Senator Daschle, Senator Breaux, and Tanner, in conference as equal partners. He wants the bipartisan progress made on the Senate side to continue. And he's optimistic that will happen, and that he'll get a bill he can sign.

(Background: The Senate accepted two amendments that were top priorities for the Administration yesterday: to continue Medicaid coverage for families that reach the time limit, and to drop the Food Stamp block grant. However, two other amendments failed. The Breaux amendment to allow states to use federal funds for children's vouchers after the time limit got 51 votes but needed 60 to win. A less stringent Ford amendment on vouchers appeared to be headed for victory, before Lott injected partisanship into the debate and killed it 50-49. Assistance for immigrant children (Kennedy amendment) was defeated by 51 to 48, because it needed 60 votes to win.)

Q: Why are you optimistic that you'll get a bill the President can sign?

A: The Senate already made important improvements to the bill yesterday, and we believe that further improvements can be made in conference. For example, the Senate adopted bipartisan amendments to guarantee Medicaid coverage to families that hit the time limit, and to drop the Food Stamp block grant. Senator Lott said yesterday that the Administration should, and will, have input during the rest of the process. The Senator said that the Administration's "concerns will be heard, and some of them surely will be addressed."

DRAFT 7/23/96

MAJOR DEMOCRATIC IMPROVEMENTS TO WELFARE REFORM

ORIGINAL GOP

FINAL

WORK:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● measures participation ● no work bonus ● no specific child care money ● no state maintenance of effort ● job training funds raided ● no work exemptions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● measures real work ● performance bonus ● \$13.8 b for child care ● 80% maintenance ● no raid on job training ● exempts moms w/kids under 1 |
|--|---|

TIME LIMITS:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 10% exemption | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 20% exemption |
|---|---|

PROTECT KIDS:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● no Medicaid coverage ● optional food stamp block grant ● no child care money ● 30% x-ferability of CCDBG ● 30% x-ferability of block grant to anything ● home alone: penalties for moms who can't find child care even moms with infants ● moms w/kids of any age required to work up to 35 hours per week by 2002 ● deny teen moms aid ● no contingency grant fund ● SSI severely cut/block granted ● child protection programs block granted ● child care health & safety standards deleted ● child care quality setaside reduced ● no corrective action plan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chafee/Breaux complete coverage ● no food stamp block grant ● \$13.8 billion child care ● no x-fer of CCDBG ● restrict x-fer to child care ● no mom with child under 11 can be penalized if she can't find or afford child care ● state option to allow mom w/kids under 6 to work 20 hours ● state option ● \$2 billion contingency grant fund ● no block grant/no huge cut ● no block grant of child abuse ● health & safety standards retained ● child care quality setaside retained ● correction action plan required for states with increases in child poverty |
|--|--|

FAIRNESS & EQUAL PROTECTION:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● State doesn't have to have a plan ● no fair hearings ● no appeals process for families ● no involvement of local gov or private sector ● no equitable access for Indians ● no standards against fraud & abuse ● no growth bonus ● very weak displacement language ● no Medicaid transitional coverage ● no application of nondiscrimination ● no penalty for noncompliance w/plan ● no personal responsibility contract ● no procedures for women subject to domestic violence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● State plan required ● Fair hearings required ● appeals process ● involve & 45 day comment ● equitable access for Indians ● standards against fraud & abuse ● growth bonus ● stronger displacement language ● transitional coverage ● nondiscrimination laws apply ● penalty for noncompliance ● personal contract required ● procedures required for women subject to domestic violence |
|--|---|



7/29 copy
 Parenta, Reed,
 New, O'Connor
 FGI

555 West 57th Street / New York, N.Y. 10019 / (212) 246-7100 / FAX (212) 262-6350
 Kenneth E. Raske, President

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION



Date: 7/26/96

Time: _____

To: Harold Teles -
Name

Location

From: Ken Raske
Name

Location

We are transmitting 3 pages including this cover sheet. If you have not received all of the pages, PLEASE CALL OUR OFFICE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

MESSAGE: Any help you can provide on this would be appreciated. This is a huge problem for New York.

Main Number (212) 246-7100
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202 456-2883



555 West 57th Street / New York, N.Y. 10019 / (212) 246-7100 / FAX (212) 262-6350
Kenneth E. Rasko, President

July
Twenty-Six
1996

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I know you share the Greater New York Hospital Association's (GNYHA) concerns about provisions contained in S.1956, the Welfare Reform Reconciliation Act of 1996, that would severely restrict the ability of legal immigrants to obtain Medicaid coverage. This letter outlines those concerns and requests your help in addressing them.

As you know, while the bill passed by the Senate and it's companion legislation in the House of Representatives differ in many ways, both would prohibit states from granting full Medicaid coverage to legal immigrants who enter the United States on or after the date of enactment of the legislation. Each immigrant, with the exception of refugees, "asylees," veterans and their families, would be ineligible for Medicaid coverage, except for coverage for emergency medical services, for five years after entrance into the United States. In addition, each immigrant's sponsor's income would be "deemed" to be available to the immigrant for the purposes of determining Medicaid eligibility until the immigrant works for 10 full calendar years during which no welfare benefits were received or the immigrant becomes a U.S. citizen. States and local governments would also be prohibited from providing benefits to immigrants from most state and local programs even if they receive no Federal funding for such programs, with the exception of immunization programs and programs designed to test and treat symptoms of communicable diseases.

GNYHA members understand the concerns raised by many members of Congress regarding the "gaming" of Medicaid by some citizen sponsors of legal immigrants. We agree that, where possible and enforceable by Federal authorities, those who have taken a pledge to be financially responsible for the person that they invited to the United States should be obligated to fulfill that moral commitment.

Unfortunately, the practical effect of this legislation is simply to dramatically add to the uninsured poor population of the United States, particularly in states that have a large legal and

Page 2

illegal immigrant population such as New York. New York providers have had to absorb two straight years of state Medicaid budget cuts, as well as prepare for large Federal Medicaid and Medicare reductions in the coming years. These Medicaid eligibility cuts mean that New York providers, who are legally and morally obligated to care for all in need of treatment regardless of ability to pay, will see their revenue shrink even further, approximately \$1 billion over the life of the bill. It means another unfunded mandate targeted at New York's health care community.

We at GNYHA appreciate all your efforts in the past on behalf of our membership and we know that you are deeply concerned about maintaining the quality of our State's health care system. We know and appreciate your public statements in support of efforts to change the provisions of concern in the Senate bill during floor consideration. We ask your help in persuading the members of the House-Senate conference to mitigate as much as possible the impact of the Medicaid provisions on New York providers.

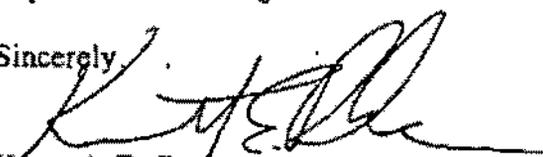
We support a total elimination of the Medicaid provisions; however, here are several alternatives that would at least lessen their impact:

- instead of an outright five-year ban, impose only the "decming" requirements on legal immigrants;
- exempt the children of legal immigrants under the age of 18;
- guarantee that the legislation only applies to those legal immigrants who enter the country after the enactment of this legislation (under the Senate bill, states have the option to continue coverage for those who are already eligible); and
- delay the implementation of the ban for at least two years and direct the GAO to issue a report on the impact of these eligibility changes on providers.

We are well aware that all of these amendments would decrease, at least slightly, the total savings of the underlying legislation. But the increased, targeted burden on New York providers and the New Yorkers they serve (who will ultimately share the cost of increased uninsured care, either through cost shifting or cuts in services) is unfair.

On behalf of the 174 not-for-profit hospitals and nursing homes we represent, GNYHA once again thanks you for all your help in the past and we appreciate any effort by you to help improve the final legislation.

Sincerely,



Kenneth E. Raske
President



STATE OF WASHINGTON
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-29-96

P.O. Box 40002 • Olympia, Washington 98504-0002 • (360) 343-6700 • TTY (360) 360-7330

Message of Robert Miller
He ~~was~~ talked
to me about this

July 19, 1996

PL

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

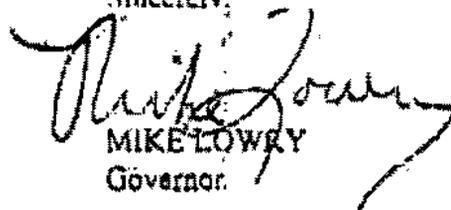
I have enclosed a copy of a letter I sent yesterday to Senators Daschle, Lott, Murray and Gorton, expressing my concerns of the welfare bill now being debated in the Senate.

I would appreciate your consideration of the points I have detailed in the letter to the Senators. I am very concerned that this bill would do more harm than good for the citizens of this country.

The state of Washington has been very successful in assisting our recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), in finding real jobs without using any of the punitive measures of the House passed bill. Our Employment Security Department announced yesterday that over 20,000 AFDC recipients have found jobs in the state this last year. The state of Washington would like to be able to continue on with this success.

I appreciate your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


MIKE LOWRY
Governor

Dear *[Handwritten Name]*

The welfare reform proposals currently before Congress are misguided. Setting unrealistic work participation goals and inadequately funding the block grant is a recipe for program failure. This proposal is mean-spirited against poor people and compliance with the program restrictions will be extremely difficult for all states.

As a governor who has had the responsibility for administering the current welfare program, I can attest that the provisions of the bill eliminating the entitlement to assistance, imposing a family cap, and setting hard time limits for assistance will not have the effect of assisting families to self-sufficiency but will only have the effect of punishing children for the mistake of being born into poor families. The information systems needed to track immigration status, time on welfare nationwide and participation in work activities alone will add prohibitive costs to the administration of these programs and constitute an unfunded mandate to the states of unprecedented size.

Eliminating the safety net of Medicaid, SSI and food stamps for persons who immigrated to our country goes against our entire history and is not only mean but un-American. To additionally make these restrictions take effect immediately is ludicrous. Immigrants constitute a valuable and vibrant sector of the state of Washington state's population and heritage. I urge you to resist the pull of political expediency, look at the effect of these decisions on real people and vote against these measures.

True welfare reform requires adequate health care, child care, education and training and collection of child support. Congressional efforts in this area should focus on those issues and avoid punitive measures which will create additional poverty and suffering for our nation's children.

Thank you for your attention to my concerns.

Sincerely,

[Handwritten Signature: Mike Lowry]
MIKE LOWRY
Governor



CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES

To: Leon Panetta
Jack Lew
Laura Tyson
George Stephanopoulos
Harold Ickes
Bruce Reed
Rahm Emanuel
Ken Apfel
Melanne Verveer

From: Bob Greenstein

Subject: The Urban Institute's Poverty Estimates — Do They Overstate the Effect of the Senate Bill?

Date: July 28, 1996

I am concerned there may be a belief in some quarters that the Urban Institute's estimate that the House bill would push 1.1 million children into poverty does not reflect — and significantly overstates — the impact of the Senate bill. Would that this were so. Unfortunately, it is not.

First, the estimates of the effects of the Senate bill on child poverty would be nearly identical to the estimates for the House bill. Second, the Urban Institute estimates are based on optimistic assumptions, as Urban Institute researchers have pointed out. In the real world, the impact on child poverty is likely to be considerably more severe.

I. The Senate Bill Would *Not* Have a Significantly Smaller Effect

The Senate and House bills would have nearly identical impacts on child poverty. CBO estimates that the total level of cuts in low-income benefit programs for families with children would be nearly the same under both bills.

To be sure, there are some key areas of difference between the two bills. But *none of the major differences affect the child poverty numbers one bit.*

- The House bill denies Medicaid to larger numbers of legal immigrants, but the Urban Institute didn't include changes in Medicaid in its study.
- The House has deeper food stamp cuts for unemployed people without children, but that doesn't affect the *child poverty numbers.*

- The House bill has a food stamp block grant option, but the Urban Institute assumed no state taking the block grant would cut food stamp benefits. In addition, the Senate bill substitutes \$1.2 billion in deeper, across-the-board food stamp benefits for the block grant.
- The House bill has a modestly lower maintenance-of-effort requirement for state welfare funding. But under the Urban Institute assumptions, this would have no effect on the level of state resources provided. This difference thus has no effect on the Institute's child poverty estimates.

In short, a statement that the poverty numbers would be significantly altered by the Senate bill would not be valid.

II. The Urban Institute Estimate Is Likely to be Low

Bending over backward to avoid criticism of being alarmist or partisan, the Urban Institute used a series of very optimistic assumptions. It assumed:

- No state in the country would adopt a time limit of less than five years. This almost certainly will prove not to be correct; 13 states have already sought waivers for shorter time limits.
- No state would withdraw any state resources in response to provisions of the bill enabling states to cut state funding to 75 percent or 80 percent of their 1994 levels.
- No state would reduce its cash benefit levels, except to the extent that federal block grant funds proved insufficient to maintain current benefit levels. Yet some governors have already proposed substantially larger benefit reductions to enable them to withdraw state funds.
- The number of parents who would find jobs when the time limit hits would be much greater than CBO assumes (and also greater than the Administration assumes).

These assumptions are highly optimistic. Accordingly, the Urban Institute assessment is likely to prove low, perhaps by a considerable margin. And since the child poverty effects of the House and Senate bills are similar, the Urban Institute estimate is likely to prove an understatement of the child poverty effects of the Senate bill as well.

One final note. The intangible effects of work are important. But most of the children pushed into poverty by the bill are in families that *already are working*. Those who don't work and just collect welfare are already poor.

Office of U.S. Congressman Tim Roemer

407 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3915 Office
(202) 225-6798 Fax

Date: 7-26

To: Kathy / Bruce Reed

Of: _____

Pages (Including Cover Sheet): 2

From: Katherine Graham

*If There Are Any Problems With The Transmission Of This Document
Please Contact This Office At (202) 225-3915.*

Comments: let me know what you think.

Would this be helpful / help give

the President some cover w/ the Dems.?

I look forward to hearing from you!

Thanks!

DRAFT

July 26, 1996

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

As strong supporters of welfare reform, we are writing to express our hope that the welfare bill which emerges from the House-Senate conference will be one that you can sign into law.

Last week, many of us voted for the new House-passed welfare reform measure (HR 3734). Although this is not a perfect bill, it represents a significant improvement both to the current system and to the previous welfare reform bill, HR 4. We are especially pleased that the new legislation adds \$4 billion for child care, eliminates the demonstration school lunch block grant, removes the adoption and foster care block grant, and provides a \$2 billion contingency fund. These provisions represent a major step forward to bringing about genuine and meaningful reform to the welfare system.

By standing firm to our commitment of moving people from welfare to work and protecting children, Democrats have helped to move Congress toward a bill that will get people off welfare without unduly punishing children. The Democratic party can claim responsibility for these improvements. Your veto of HR 4 and the 1995 Reconciliation bill (HR 2491) forced the Republican leadership to design a more workable and fair welfare reform measure, and has resulted in major improvements to the original legislation.

Mr. President, it is clear that our current welfare system must be reformed. Too many families are trapped in a cycle of welfare dependency, and the current system does little to encourage or help such individuals to find work. It is important to recognize that HR 3734 is not a complete and final solution to welfare reform. This reform will be a dynamic process, and will require adjustment and modification in the years ahead. However, we must begin to fix this problem now and move towards a system that promotes work, family and individual responsibility.

We urge you to closely examine the welfare reform bill that is sent to you, and express our sincere hope that it will be in a form that you can sign into law.

Sincerely,

Tim Roemer
Member of Congress

IMMIGRANTS

[Here are some of the arguments made by proponents of the immigrant bans.]

Length-of-residency: There are two categories of SSI for legal immigrants -- aged and disabled. According to a December 1993 analysis, 50% of legal immigrants receiving SSI for the aged and 65% of legal immigrants receiving SSI for the disabled have been U.S. residents for 5 years or longer (and therefore generally eligible to become citizens if they chose to) before they even apply for assistance. Those are the average percentages for applicants; the percentages for current recipients would be even higher. Around 27% of aged applicants and 36% of disabled applicants have been U.S. residents for 10 years or more before applying. (Again, the percentages for current recipients would be higher.)

Abuse of current rules: According to Census data, about 75% of elderly immigrants in California who receive public assistance have children whose incomes are above the state median. This could be addressed by stricter deeming instead of an outright ban, but proponents of bans argue that anyone who wants to get around the sponsorship rules can do so.

Not becoming a public charge is already a condition of entry into the U.S.: In order to enter the U.S., legal immigrants have to demonstrate that they will not become a public charge. In some cases, becoming a public charge is already grounds for deportation under current immigration law. The current provision, however, is difficult to enforce. The Jordan Commission called for a serious effort to strengthen and enforce the public charge provisions, and recommended that "deportation apply to sustained use of public benefits." (The Commission did not call for an outright ban.) Proponents of these bans argue that they will reduce legal immigration -- a goal the Commission and the Administration have endorsed, although we would obviously rather get there by lowering the annual caps on immigration instead of by reducing the attractiveness of legal residency.

READ!



- ① Elena
- ② Cut-off dates
- ③ Reg E event
- ④ Grace → child support

A NEW SYSTEM UNDER WELFARE REFORM

The Current Welfare System

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) is a cash assistance program, providing aid to single mothers and their children. As of May 1996, 12.5 million individuals received AFDC -- down from 14.2 million when President Clinton took office. Of those 12.5 million people, approximately 4 million are adults.

Medicaid pays for health care for AFDC recipients and all pregnant women and children up to age 6 with family income up to 133 percent of the federal poverty line. Medicaid coverage is also being phased in for poor children up to age 19 by the year 2000. The Food Stamp program provides nutrition assistance to all poor Americans, including AFDC recipients, the elderly, and many poor working families.

The elderly, blind, and disabled also receive public assistance, primarily through the Supplemental Security Income (SSI), which provides monthly cash benefits, as well as under the Medicaid, and Food Stamp programs.

Changes under Welfare Reform

Under the new law, federal AFDC funds will be delivered to states in the form of fixed block grants, and adults will be limited to 5 years of cash assistance (states will be able to exempt 20 percent of the caseload from the time limit). In addition, recipients will be required to work within two years of receiving assistance, through activities such as unsubsidized or subsidized employment, on-the-job training, work experience, or community service. These changes build on the reforms already taking place in 43 states under waivers granted by the Clinton Administration. For example, currently, 30 states and the District of Columbia have some form of time limit in place. The new welfare law preserves Medicaid coverage for poor children, the disabled, pregnant women, the elderly, and people on welfare. It also maintains the Food Stamp program, preserving the national nutritional safety net.

The law also includes provisions opposed by the Administration that would deny SSI and Food Stamps to most legal immigrants for five years or until they attain citizenship. States would have the option to continue to provide Medicaid and AFDC benefits to legal immigrants. About ___ non citizens currently receive SSI, and ___ receive Food Stamp benefits.

A Fundamental Improvement over the Status Quo

This comprehensive bipartisan welfare reform legislation will change the nation's welfare system into a transitional assistance program that requires work in exchange for time-limited assistance. The law contains strong work requirements, a performance bonus to reward states for moving welfare recipients into jobs, state maintenance of effort requirements, comprehensive child support enforcement, and supports for families moving from welfare to work -- including increased funding for child care and guaranteed Medicaid coverage. As the President has said, this legislation gives us a chance "to transform a broken system that traps too many people in a cycle of dependence to one that emphasizes work and independence, to give people on welfare a chance to draw a paycheck, not a welfare check."

Combined with the EITC and the minimum wage increase won by this Administration, the new, transitional welfare system will help move AFDC recipients from welfare to work. In Colorado, for example, a mother with two children will increase her income by more than 50 percent -- from \$8,000 to \$12,600 -- even if she only works part-time at the minimum wage. Plus, she'll receive health care, Food Stamps, help in collecting child support, and child care assistance if she needs it.

The President has pledged to fix the provisions in the bill that would deny assistance to legal immigrants and cut back on Food Stamp assistance for working families. As the President has said, these provisions are wrong, and his Administration will work to correct them.

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1
LISTED IN THE WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

THE FOLLOWING PAGE HAS HAD MATERIAL REDACTED. CONSULT THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER FOR FURTHER
INFORMATION.

Welfare Reform Bill Signing Event
(This list is submitted by Bruce Reed)
August 21, 1996

WH PASSHOLDERS

Carol Rasco
Bruce Reed
Cathy Mays

<u>Name</u>	<u>DOB</u>	<u>SSN</u>	<u>Organization</u>
Lcc Bowes			America Works
Peter Cove			America Works
Al From			DLC
Robert Michael Kaus			Writer
Michael Langton			Goodwill Industries
Bonnie LePard			Spouse--Bruce Reed
Lawrence Mead			Professor, NYU
Paul Offner			DC Government (formerly with Moynihan)
Sandra R. Purgahn			CEO, Acadina Goodwill
Donald Roberts			President & CEO, Goodwill Industries
Sarah Shuptrine			Southern Institute on Children & Families
Kathryn Way			(formerly with WH and WR Working Group)

Welfare reform stirs ire on Clinton's left

CDF supporters see a betrayal

By Cheryl Weitzstein
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

When Bill Clinton won the presidency in 1992, few observers were more delighted than children's advocate Marian Wright Edelman and her husband, Peter.

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton — a longtime board member of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), the multimillion-dollar nonprofit group founded by Mrs. Edelman — was a close friend.

Both Edelmanns were mentioned for top jobs in the new administration. CDF Board Chairman Donna E. Shalala was tapped to head the powerful Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), and she welcomed dozens of CDF workers into the agency.

But on Aug. 22, 1996, as Mr. Clinton signed a welfare-reform bill in the Rose Garden, hundreds of protesters from CDF and other groups were in the street.

"If we wanted a president who would repeal welfare, we would have voted for a Republican," said one placard.

HHS Deputy Assistant Secretary Wendell E. Primus resigned in protest a few days before the welfare bill was signed. Last week, Mr. Edelman, an acting assistant secretary at HHS, and HHS Assistant Secretary Mary Jo Bane, an early Clinton appointee, said they too were quitting because of their concerns about the welfare-reform law.

What do the departures mean? Has the cozy relationship between the CDF and the Clinton White House cooled? Who will run welfare reform? And was the president's heart in the decision to overhaul the nation's social safety net or was it an elect-me ploy?

Observers see many things in the kaleidoscope of the Clinton administration. Some see the HHS departures as acts of principle.

"I think both Mary Jo and Peter should be commended for standing on principle," said David S. Liederman, executive director of the Child Welfare League of America, a frequent ally of CDF.

This stand-up-to-the-liberals tactic has worked for Mr. Clinton before.

They and Mr. Primus had long worked "to lift kids out of poverty," he said. "So to be part of an administration that signs a bill that's going to put more kids in poverty ... it's just totally contrary to everything that we believe."

Others, noting a longtime philosophical disagreement on welfare reform, saw pragmatism at work.

"It's the end of the first term, people often decide to return to academia — I'm not sure they didn't just see a propitious moment," said Michael D. Tanner, Cato Institute welfare analyst.

"Peter Edelman and Mary Jo Bane are the premier defenders of the welfare state ... and so I think that I am not unhappy about their departure," said Robert L. Woodson Sr., president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. "Their departure, I think, certainly signals that the Clinton administration is serious about welfare reform," he added.

The HHS resignations "add credibility" to the belief that Mr. Clinton signed welfare reform "because he believes it's the best thing for the country, not for political purposes," said American Enterprise Institute's Ben Wattenberg. It also shows "that he really did face down his fairly liberal welfare establishment. I give him credit for that. ... I salute him."

But, assuming the CDF is on the outs with the White House, this is probably only until after the election, some said.

The liberal groups "were very vocal, very upfront" in protesting welfare reform "and Clinton wanted to stand up to them publicly and be seen as breaking with a very powerful Democratic constituency," Mr. Tanner explained.

"They were this year's Sister Souljah, in essence," he added, referring to the rap musician Mr. Clinton scolded for racist lyrics during the 1992 campaign.

This stand-up-to-the-liberals

Shalala given little sway over major decisions

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Will resignations at the Department of Health and Human Services reach up to Secretary Donna E. Shalala?

Here's what the pundits think:

• "I'm kind of surprised that Donna Shalala is still around. I expect her to leave in the second term. She has really had very little clout in the administration in the beginning — she was pushed aside in health care, pretty much ignored on welfare. And I think that — if her influence was through Hillary and if [the resignations] represent a decline in that wing of the White House — I think that in a year or so, she'll go back to academia herself."

— Michael D. Tanner
Cato Institute

• "I don't know. But I think it will be very difficult for her to [stay on and oversee welfare reform] and I wouldn't be surprised if she didn't go next."

— Robert L. Woodson Sr.



Donna E. Shalala

founder and president, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise

• "My guess is Donna Shalala is a survivor. Let me change that to a smart survivor. And she will come back to fight another day."

— Ben Wattenberg
American Enterprise Institute
— Cheryl Weitzstein

tactic has worked for Mr. Clinton before — he always moves to the political center during a campaign, said Robert Pambianco, research associate of the Capital Research Center, which tracks the activities of nonprofit groups.

"But I wouldn't underestimate the influence that far-left interest groups like the CDF have over this administration," Mr. Pambianco said. "CDF is a constituency that is very hard for Clinton to say no to. But the most important thing to Clinton is always getting re-elected, and that will trump his liberal ideology and his friendship with Marian Edelman or her husband, Peter."

CDF's "main patron," Mr. Pambianco and others noted, has always been Mrs. Clinton.

When legal troubles forced her into the background, "that cost CDF their best weapon," said Mr. Tanner. Should the first lady re-

sume a high-profile position, their influence could rise accordingly.

Thoughts about the future of welfare reform under a second Clinton term focus on administration appointees, especially the key position Mrs. Bane resigned.

Olivia Golden, a CDF alumna, is temporarily taking the spot. More CDF-type appointees would signal resistance to reform — and support for the idea Mr. Clinton should gut the changes in a new term.

The best thing the president could do is "get rid of them all and listen to the Democratic Leadership Council," said Mr. Woodson, referring to the "new" Democratic wing. "Their members have sensible welfare programs."

"Our position in the party has improved steadily ever since" welfare reform was signed, gleefully noted Ed Kilgore, senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, the DLC's think tank.

Clinton shows distrust of coalition approach

By Ben Barber
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The image of the United States as a solitary fighter for justice in a remote corner of the Middle East is a far cry from the Clinton administration's early promise of "aggressive multilateralism" to resolve international disputes.

Yet that is precisely what the world watched this month when

NEWS ANALYSIS

the United States fired 44 cruise missiles at Iraq without the benefit of diplomatic cover from the United Nations or even the Persian Gulf war coalition. America stood virtually alone.

The only foreign support came from loyal Britain and Canada, docile Japan, and feisty Israel. The U.S. attack faced criticism from Arab states, Turkey, France and Russia. Even some Americans who had long argued against multilateralism criticized President Clinton for failing to rally support.

The dispatch of Defense Secretary William J. Perry to the Middle East over the weekend reflected a growing desire within the administration to try to win that support and rebuild the Gulf coalition pieced together by President Bush and his secretary of state, James A. Baker III.

But even so, the American response to Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein's latest aggression has forced heavy thinkers on both sides of the multilateralism-vs.-unilateralism debate to rethink cherished positions.

Defenders of the latest action say Mr. Clinton was forced to act swiftly when 30,000 Iraqi troops backed by tanks overran a protected Kurdish enclave. The need for speed did not allow for cobbling together the kind of coalition Mr. Bush used to drive Saddam from Kuwait in 1991.

These defenders also note that Mr. Clinton began to downgrade his emphasis on multilateralism after 18 U.S. servicemen were killed in a raid during the U.N. peacekeeping mission in Somalia in 1993. He issued presidential directive No. 25, stating that U.S. troops would be sent abroad only to defend U.S. interests.

Paul Wolfowitz, a Reagan and Bush administration official, suggested that the debate between unilateralism and multilateralism does not necessarily mean either relying on the United Nations or going it alone.

Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole "wants to rely on allies who share our values" rather than groups such as the United Nations, said Mr. Wolfowitz, a foreign policy spokesman for the Dole campaign.

Relying on the United Nations "means the lowest common denominator" will determine when the United States acts, he said. "We could do things only when the most repressive and timid countries are ready."

A prominent analyst who requested anonymity because of her sensitive government position argued that with shrinking military budgets, it's unlikely the United States can solve world problems either alone or through treaties with a few allies.

"Some folks overstate the case, either saying we must take all problems to the U.N. or that we won the Cold War and don't need the U.N.," the analyst said. "That's rhetoric. I know of no country that thinks it can take care of itself on its own."

It seems that Saddam is aware of the American debate over acting alone or through the United Nations. His limited actions in the Kurdish region in Iraq's north seem designed to widen the wedge between America and its allies and are likely to continue.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1996

~~This has been a historic debate~~
We have come a long way in
this debate. 6 mos ago.

Draft 7/30/96 7pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON WELFARE REFORM
[BRIEFING ROOM]

August 1, 1996

225-2159
2571

Good morning.

When I sought the office of President, four years ago, I vowed that we would end welfare as we know it. Today, the Congress will vote on ^{bipartisan} welfare reform legislation that is tough on work, demands responsibility, is fair to families, and ^{protects} children. I will sign it into law. Welfare as we know it will be over, an era of responsibility and work will have begun. ~~At last, we will make welfare what it was meant to be: a second chance, not a way of life.~~ *and does right by ~~families~~ ^{parents} and children.*

This ~~historic~~ legislation represents real and bipartisan welfare reform. It is not perfect; it does not fully meet every one of my concerns; ~~in some respects it goes too far, and in others, not far enough.~~ But today the welfare system is badly broken. It undermines our values, it traps generation after generation in dependency, and it hurts the very people it was supposed to help. This ~~sweeping~~ ^{bill} legislation is much, much better than the status quo -- for those on welfare, and for our country. ~~Let me tell you why I believe this is so.~~

I have upheld ~~stands~~ reform welfare for 15 years as a President. I have spent time in welfare offices, and I have believed to reform welfare on welfare who want to go to work and get out of the broken system. In the last three years, I have granted waivers to all states more than any previous time as EO's

throughout this debate, I have called for challenged Congress to send me a bill that meets my basic principles

time limits on welfare. ~~It should require welfare recipients to go to work, it should give people the child care and health care they need to move from welfare to work. It should crack down on child support enforcement. And it should protect children.~~ This legislation meets every one of these principles. It offers the ~~best~~ ^{best} chance in a generation to break the cycle of dependency that has trapped too many people on welfare.

The struggle for real and bipartisan welfare reform has taken years. I have acted, within my authority as President, to reform welfare, working with 41 states to launch 67 separate welfare reform experiments. We have required teen mothers to stay in school, and we have required federal employees to pay child support. For fully 75% of welfare recipients across America, the rules have changed.

For three and a half years, I have worked with Congress to craft bipartisan legislation that finishes the job of welfare reform. As you know, six months ago the Republican majority in Congress sent me welfare legislation that had its priorities backwards: it was soft on work, and tough on children. It failed to provide child care and health care so that people can move from welfare to work without hurting their children; it imposed deep and unacceptable cuts in school lunch, child welfare, and help for disabled children. That bill came to me twice. And I vetoed it twice.

The legislation before the Congress today is significantly better than the bill I vetoed last year. It requires work and imposes time limits. It includes very tough provisions cracking down on deadbeat parents. It [more good stuff the bill does??].

- heccc
- bonus
- drops cuts, protects nutrit. safety net
- vouchers for kids.

CSE

And the Congress has taken out many of the worst elements of the bill I vetoed, and put in many of the things I asked for. This bill does not repeal the national guarantee of health care for poor children, people with disabilities, pregnant women and elderly Americans under Medicaid.

It provides \$4 billion more for child care, so that mothers can move from welfare to work and still protect their children.

In recent days, the congressional majority made further improvements to the bill so that it would meet with my approval. Congress preserved the guarantee of food stamps for poor children . . . xx xxx

I will sign this bill. So because this is real welfare reform that I believe is tough on work and fair to children, I will sign this bill. I want to be clear, however. There remain several ways in which I believe this legislation goes too far.

This legislation goes too far in two respects that matter very much to me, and I am determined to keep working for improvements in two important areas where the legislation goes too far. First, I believe it cuts more money than is necessary to balance the budget by the Year 2002. I believe that we should use some of these additional savings to further expand opportunity for the hardest pressed Americans. I will propose ways to do that in coming weeks.

First - Second, I am concerned that although we made progress in maintaining the national nutritional safety net, some of the cuts in food stamps still go further than they should. As we work toward a balanced budget, I am committed to making sure that we do right by our hardest-pressed working families.

Second I believe Third, this legislation goes too far in denying benefits to the children of some legal immigrants, who pay taxes and work hard for their families, I did everything I could to make sure that this provision would not hurt these children. I am disappointed that the Congressional majority refused to make this change. I will return to Congress to ask them to change this provision of the law. And I will take executive action to cut through red tape to make sure that everyone who is eligible to become a citizen can do so as quickly as possible.

All of these concerns are real. But they do not undercut the central fact: This is real welfare reform. It is fair. It is bipartisan. It will make responsibility a way of life, not an option. It will enable us to transform the lives of our people all across America.

I want to congratulate the members of Congress of both parties who set aside partisanship to work together on this legislation. This is an historic achievement for the American people. I hope that Congress will build on this progress in the days to come, and reach you and find a way to complete this historic work by sending me a minimum wage bill increase to reach work before they go home for the August recess.

When we work together... about

Handwritten notes:
will ~~take~~ help people go to work & earn a paycheck not a welfare check.
I will sign this bill.
I believe that immigrant children who are displaced benefit to society should be taken care of.
I believe that the budget falls, we reached agreement on 21 B in food stamp cuts, which are included in the bill, but there is one cut that the Congress majority has not added one cut that we did not agree to - it should be restored.
I believe that the legislation goes too far.
I believe that the budget falls, we reached agreement on 21 B in food stamp cuts, which are included in the bill, but there is one cut that the Congress majority has not added one cut that we did not agree to - it should be restored.
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

July 30, 1996

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

We are writing to express our strong support for welfare reform, and our hope that you will sign the new welfare reform legislation, HR 3734, into law.

Although we recognize that HR 3734 is not a perfect bill, it represents a significant improvement both to the status quo and to the previous welfare reform bill, HR 4. We are especially pleased that the new legislation adds \$4 billion for child care, eliminates the demonstration school lunch block grant, removes the adoption and foster care block grant, and provides a \$2 billion contingency fund. These provisions represent a major step forward to bringing about genuine and meaningful welfare reform.

In addition, we are very pleased that many of the positive Senate provisions were adopted by the House-Senate conference committee. Specifically, the conference agreement allows States to use the Title XX block grant to provide vouchers for children, removes the optional food stamp block grant, strengthens the State maintenance of effort requirement, and ensures that low-income mothers and children retain their Medicaid eligibility.

By standing firm to our commitment of moving people from welfare to work and protecting children, Democrats have helped to move Congress toward a bill that will get people off welfare while protecting children. The Democratic party can claim responsibility for these improvements. Your veto of HR 4 and the 1995 Reconciliation bill (HR 2491) forced the Republican leadership to design a more workable and fair welfare reform measure, and has resulted in major improvements to the original bills.

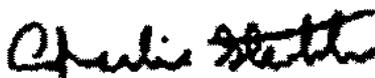
Mr. President, it is clear that our current welfare system must be reformed. Too many families are trapped in a cycle of welfare dependency, and the current system does little to encourage or help such individuals to find work. It is important to recognize that HR 3734 is not a complete and final solution to welfare reform. This reform will be a dynamic process, and will require adjustment and modification in the years ahead. However, we must begin to fix this problem now and move towards a system that promotes work, family and individual responsibility.

We sincerely hope that you will sign the new welfare reform legislation into law, and finally end welfare as we know it.

Sincerely,



Tim Roemer
Member of Congress



Charles Stenholm
Member of Congress



John Tanner
Member of Congress

G. V. Montgomery
G. V. Montgomery, M.C.

Ike Skelton
Ike Skelton, M.C.

Tim Holden
Tim Holden, M.C.

Scotty Baesler
Scotty Baesler, M.C.

Gary Condit
Gary Condit, M.C.

Bill Brewster
Bill Brewster, M.C.

William Orton
William Orton, M.C.

Jerry Kledzka
Jerry Kledzka, M.C.

Samford Bishop
Samford Bishop, M.C.

William Lipinski
William Lipinski, M.C.

L.F. Payne
L.F. Payne, M.C.

Paul McHale
Paul McHale, M.C.

Mike Doyle
Mike Doyle, M.C.

Gene Taylor
Gene Taylor, M.C.

Bud Eramer
Bud Eramer, M.C.

Owen Pickett
Owen Pickett, M.C.

Collin Paterson
Collin Paterson, M.C.

Glen Bowder
Glen Bowder, M.C.

Frank Mascara
Frank Mascara, M.C.

Chet Edwards
Chet Edwards, M.C.

Jane Harman
Jane Harman, M.C.

Pat Danner
Pat Danner, M.C.

Charlie Rose

Charlie Rose, M.C.

Tim Johnson

Tim Johnson, M.C.

James Traficant

James Traficant, M.C.

Earl Pomeroy

Earl Pomeroy, M.C.

Pete Geren

Pete Geren, M.C.

Blanche L. Lincoln

Howard Smith

Jim Moran

Elizabeth Dineen

J. Barcia

Bob Clement

Robert H. ...

[Blank lines for signatures]

[Blank lines for signatures]



DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION

July 31, 1996

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Governor Gaston Caperton
West Virginia
Chair

Governor Howard Dean
Vermont
Vice Chair

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Governor Evan Bayh
Indiana

Governor Mel Carnahan
Missouri

Governor Lawton Chiles
Florida

Governor Parris N. Glendening
Maryland

Governor Bob Miller
Nevada

Governor Roy Romer
Colorado

Governor Pedro Rossello
Puerto Rico

Katherine Whelan
Executive Director

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of Democratic Governors, we would like to commend you for your leadership on reform of our nation's welfare system and applaud your decision to sign the conference agreement before Congress.

The final agreement, although not perfect, represents a significant improvement over the bill vetoed last year and meets our shared goals for a reformed system. The bill is strong on work, time limits assistance and provides adequate protections for children.

A number of critical provisions, championed by you and Democratic Governors, have been included in the final agreement. These include adequate resources for child care, significant reform of the child support enforcement system, an economic contingency fund, an assurance of health care coverage for low-income families and the flexibility for states to provide assistance to children after the five-year time limit.

This bill does represent a real step forward. It is a victory for all who believe welfare must provide a second chance, but not a way of life. This bill will complement what Democratic Governors are doing in many of our states under waivers, and allow others to take the same initiative.

We continue to share your concerns on the level of cuts in the food stamp program and the restrictions on benefits for legal aliens, and we hope to work with you to revisit these issues.

You have kept your promise to the American people. Thank you for your leadership and congratulations for your successful work in improving and moving this welfare bill forward.

Sincerely,

Gaston Caperton
Governor of West Virginia
DGA Chair


Howard Dean, M.D.
Governor of Vermont
DGA Vice Chair



 NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES

444 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W. SUITE 515 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
 202-624-5400 FAX: 202-737-1069

July 31, 1996

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
 Speaker of the House
 H-230 Capitol Building
 Washington, D.C. 20515

JAMES J. LACK
 STATE SENATOR
 NEW YORK
 PRESIDENT, NCSL

ALFRED W. SPEER
 CLERK OF THE HOUSE
 LOUISIANA
 STAFF CHAIR, NCSL

WILLIAM FOUND
 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Speaker Gingrich:

The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) has long sought federal legislation reforming our welfare system and now urges your support for the conference agreement on H.R. 3734. This legislation builds on the numerous state legislative welfare reform efforts of the past decade and on federal waivers granted in recent years:

We particularly are pleased with the creation of block grants for cash assistance and child care and the programmatic and administrative flexibility they may bring. The inclusion of increased child care funding, establishment of a contingency fund, preservation of child welfare entitlements and preservation of state legislative authority over block grant funds are notable achievements and represent key provisions recommended and sought by NCSL. We are further gratified with the inclusion of several policy options, such as the state option to provide Medicaid to legal immigrants and refugees, recognition of the need for adequate transition time, restructuring of child support collection systems and initiatives as well as an exemption for states from electronic benefit transfer liabilities.

We remain particularly concerned about work participation requirements and a related array of policy mandates and sanctions. These will be troublesome. The flexibility needed in the work participation area is missing. Furthermore, the Congressional Budget Office has repeatedly warned of the multi-billion dollar shortfall in federal funding for work efforts. We recommend that Congress and the Administration collaborate with state legislators and others to review and evaluate work requirements, state experiences with these requirements, funding needs and worker placement and job retention accomplishments commencing with the 105th Congress.

The Honorable Newt Gingrich
Speaker of the House
July 31, 1996
page 2

We continue to question policy changes in H.R. 3734 regarding income security accessibility for legal immigrants and refugees. We remain convinced that H.R. 3734 will produce unfunded mandates and cost shifts to state and local governments of unacceptable proportions. We strongly recommend that Congress and the Administration immediately begin an analysis and review of state experiences regarding income security program availability for legal immigrant populations, particularly children, the elderly and the disabled. Those provisions of H.R. 3734 regarding legal immigrants should be tested against the intent and objectives of S. 1, the Unfunded Mandate Reform Act of 1995, and Executive Order 12875. This recommended review and analysis should involve state legislators and other officials.

H.R. 3734 represents a number of policy compromises. It also offers states new opportunities to manage a welfare system most Americans agree needs restructuring and redirection. Despite some of its aforementioned shortcomings, we encourage your support for H.R. 3734 and urge you to work with state legislators to ensure its success.

Sincerely,



Michael E. Box
Majority Chairman, Alabama House
President, NCSL



James J. Lack
State Senator, New York
Immediate Past President, NCSL

Welfare Reform Talking Points August 1, 1996

- o **A broken system.** When President Clinton ran for president four years ago, he pledged to end welfare as we know it. Since taking office, President Clinton has done everything in his power to transform the welfare system into one that rewards work, protects children, and promotes parental responsibility. But he has emphasized from the start that we need national legislation to get the job done.
- o **A much improved bill.** We've come a long way in this debate. Last year the Republican majority in Congress sent President Clinton legislation that had its priorities backward: It was soft on work, and tough on children. It failed to provide child care and health care. It imposed deep and unacceptable cuts in school lunches, child welfare, and help for disabled children. The bill came to President Clinton twice and he vetoed it twice. The current bipartisan bill is significantly better than the bills the President vetoed. Congress has removed many of the worst elements the President objected to, and has included many of the improvements the President called for.
- o **Rewarding work.** The new bill is strong on work. It provides \$4 billion more for child care so that mothers can move from welfare to work, and gives states powerful performance incentives to place people in jobs. It requires states to hold up their end of the bargain by maintaining their own spending on welfare. And it gives states the capacity to create jobs by taking money now used for welfare checks and giving it to employers as income subsidies, as an incentive to hire people, or to create community service jobs.
- o **Protecting Children.** This new bill is better for children than the two bills President Clinton vetoed. It maintains the national nutritional safety net by eliminating the food stamp cap and the optional block grant. It drops the deep cuts and devastating changes in school lunch, child welfare and help for disabled children. It allows states to use federal money to provide vouchers to children whose parents can't find work after the time limits expire. It protects children by maintaining health and safety standards for day care. And it preserves the national guarantee of health care for poor children, the disabled, pregnant women, the elderly, and people on welfare.
- o **Demanding responsibility.** This bill also includes the child support enforcement measures President Clinton proposed -- the most sweeping crackdown on deadbeat parents in history. We can now say to parents, if you don't pay the child support you owe we will garnish your wages, take away your driver's license, track you across state lines and if necessary make you work off what you owe.
- o **Parts of the bill still need to be fixed.** The legislation is, however, far from perfect. There are parts of it that are wrong and need to be fixed. This bill still cuts deeper than it should in nutritional assistance, mostly for working families with children. The bill would also repeal the excess shelter deduction, which helps some of our hardest-pressed working families with children. In addition, the bill includes provisions that will hurt legal immigrants, denying medical and other help to families with children who fall on hard times through no fault of their own.
- o **A record of accomplishment.** Over the past three and half years, President Clinton has done everything in his power as president to promote work and responsibility, working with 41 states to give them 69 welfare reform experiments. The Clinton Administration has also required teen mothers to stay in school, required federal employees to pay their child support, cracked down on people who owe child support and cross state lines. As a result, child support collections are up 40 percent to \$11 billion, and there are 1.3 million fewer people on welfare today than when President Clinton took office.

8/1

NOTE TO BRUCE AND RAHM --

Pear is calling me and Mary Jo's press office with questions about the language in the bill that lets existing waivers trump the bill's new work requirements. This is the same issue we got at yesterday's press briefing, and the same charge in today's NYT editorial.

Here's what I'm going to give him unless you object. Please give me a call. Thanks.

Melissa

cc: Michael Kharfen, ACF

It is not unusual for Congress to insert some type of "grandfather clause" or transition period into legislation. That appears to be what they've done here.

Need to examine it further before we can conclude what it's impact will be. Many states, for example, have waivers operating in only one or two counties - may mean that states have to meet the work requirements and strict time limits in parts of the state, but not in others.

All 41 demonstrations are different - some have very tough work requirements and time limits already. Some states may already be exceeding the work requirements for 1997 today.

There is value in having demonstrations continue, because they will be evaluated, and states can learn from each other what works the best. And as soon as the demonstrations are over, states will have to meet the work requirements for that year.

When we see the final legislative and report language, we'll be consulting with Congress and the states - but our goal will be to move everyone into private sector jobs as quickly as possible.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

31-Jul-1996 04:11pm

TO: Carol H. Rasco
TO: Kenneth S. Apfel

FROM: Diana M. Fortuna
Domestic Policy Council

CC: William White

SUBJECT: Welfare reform and SSI for disabled children

Wow.

I expect to receive calls (and I think Bill White of public liaison is already getting them) from disability folks asking us to put SSI for disabled kids into the same category of "we'll fight to soften it later" as food stamps and legal immigrants.

You both are probably already getting calls asking that everything under the sun get stuck in this category. And I know that there has been little interest in Congress in softening this.

Obviously I assume that we should not be making any kind of representations to groups beyond what the President said today. But do you think it would be appropriate to respond privately to a few advocates like Rhoda Schulzinger and Marty Ford that, if they are able to get Congress interested in softening this, whether through grandfathering or whatever, we would be willing to talk? They probably won't have any more success than they did before. Any advice on what to say other than that it was the right decision overall?

My understanding is that kids now on the rolls will get taken off beginning July 1997.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDE

31-Jul-1996 06:37pm

TO: Jennifer Palmieri
TO: Holly Carver
TO: Rahm Emanuel
TO: Bruce N. Reed

FROM: Betsy Myers
Office of Public Liaison .

SUBJECT: Women & Welfare Reform

July 31, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR: LEON PANETTA
ALEXIS HERMAN
DONNA SHALALA
RAHM EMANUEL
BRUCE REED

FROM: BETSY MYERS

RE: WOMEN AND WELFARE REFORM

As anticipated, women leaders are reacting to the President's decision to sign the welfare bill with considerable unhappiness.

In order to make this bill more palatable to women, it would help -- by sending the right signal -- if the President would verbally acknowledge women's concerns in the welfare debate. Nearly 100 percent of welfare recipients are women and children.

The Republicans clearly understood the importance of reaching out to women on this issue when they showcased Susan Molinari today to address the bill's significance in helping women.

The issue of specifically addressing the special needs of battered women is one way to mend some fences with the women leaders whom we will need to mobilize their memberships in the Fall (the Council of Presidents of 100 Women's Organizations represents more than 6 million women). The President has two immediate opportunities:

- (1) Urge States to use their option -- as lined out in the final version of the welfare bill -- to exempt battered

women from the time limits and other restrictions. Exempting battered women from the requirements was part of the Senate bill (proposed by Sen. Wellstone and accepted on the floor on July 18) -- but was changed in the final bill to become optional for the States.

Welfare reform's time limits fail to take into account the traumatic effects that domestic violence inflicts and the time needed to heal from emotional and physical injuries. Nor do they acknowledge that the continuing threats and harassment battered women and their

children face from batterers can limit women's chances of finding and keeping a job.

Urge States to use their option to:

- (a) screen and identify individuals receiving assistance with a history of domestic violence;
 - (b) refer individuals who are battered to counseling and supportive services; and
 - (c) "waive, pursuant to a determination of good cause, other program requirements such as time limits (for so long as necessary) for individuals receiving assistance, residency requirements, child support cooperation requirements, and family cap provisions, in cases where compliance with such requirements would make it more difficult for individuals receiving assistance under this part to escape domestic violence." (from S.1956)
- (2) Announce a DOJ - HHS study of the correlation between domestic violence and poverty, as Leon indicated to women's groups in his meeting on June 19 that he supported. DOJ and HHS have already gathered the funding for a small scale study in four states. There has never been a Federal study done to explore the special needs of battered women as it relates to public assistance.

Domestic violence impacts women of all incomes, but poor women need the resources to escape it, and these resources have been under attack in Congress. As many as 50 to 60 percent of all welfare recipients are current or former battered women, according to a new study by the well-respected Taylor Institute. To date, there is not a single study of an entire AFDC caseload which measures the number of women on welfare who are current or past victims of domestic violence, sexual assault or incest. We believe that once a state conducts its own study, it will then be more likely to respond programmatically to battered women's need for a safety net.

The Taylor Institute estimates that a fund of \$250,000 could make four state studies a reality. HHS and DOJ have already gathered the funding for this.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ALEXIS HERMAN

CC: LEON PANETTA, BRUCE REED, AND RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT: CONSTITUENT REACTION TO WELFARE REFORM

Knowing of your strong desire to sign an "acceptable" welfare reform bill reflecting the principles of work, family, and responsibility, and that is consistent with your commitment to balance the budget, this memorandum summarizes some of the comments we have received from our base groups about H.R. 3734 ("Welfare and Medicaid Reform Act of 1996.") As you will note, the bill has generated strong reaction from advocacy groups. Many of the groups we have been working with for the past three and half years -- seniors, women, African American, Hispanic, religious, people with disabilities, and service providers representing families and children -- strongly recommend that we reject the Republican welfare proposals outright, while others are working aggressively to support amendments that would improve the bill. Similar comments have also been made about the Wisconsin (W-2) waiver proposal and most of the letters and statements we have received refer to the W-2 and the welfare legislation as one effort. These sentiments are not just limited to Washington - based organizations, but are coming from state and local organizations as well.

There is general acceptance that we need to reform the current welfare system, but there is deep concern about the direction the welfare reform bill is taking, and its consequences to the poor and women with small children. So prevalent is this belief, many groups have taken to holding press conferences denouncing the Republicans and have taken out full-page *New York Times* advertisements. Leaders of the top religious and charitable organizations (National Council of Churches, Second Harvest, Bread for the World, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, Congress of National Black Churches, and others) held a press conference on Capitol Hill on Thursday, July 18, expressing their opposition to the welfare bill and requested an urgent meeting with the President. The National Council of Churches and others are also mobilizing their constituency to call their Senators and the White House in massive numbers on Monday, July 22, 1996 as part of a national call-in day protesting the welfare reform legislation.

A broad range of concerns have been raised by these groups about the Republican bill, but the main issues are:

- Preserving a safety net for when women and children fall on hard times

- Providing adequate, affordable child care and nutrition
- Providing training and transportation
- Providing adequate wages (not sub-minimum wages) and health care
- Providing benefits to children and the immigration provisions
- Providing exceptions for battered women from time requirements.

In addition, women groups are asking that the White House publicly verbalize our understanding of women's vulnerabilities and the impact these proposals will have on women. They want to hear the Administration articulate our concern for vulnerable families. They also want us to come out loud and clear on exceptions for battered women by: (1) supporting Senators Wellstone and Simon and Representative Roybal-Allard's concurrent resolution calling for a continued safety net for battered women, and (2) announcing a DOJ and HHS study of the correlation between domestic violence and poverty and of battered women's needs for a safety net.

The Senate in their final deliberations may produce a bill more acceptable to these organizations and that can serve to help moderate the House bill when it goes to conference. In the event a bill is eventually passed that you plan to sign, we will need to think carefully how we roll-out our decision and provide advance notification to our major groups who may not support our decision. Bringing the key groups in to meet with Leon would be extremely helpful. In the attachment to this memorandum, I have listed some of the quotes from the many letters we have received.

....[T]he Catholic Bishops' Conference has long supported genuine welfare reform that strengthens families, encourages productive work, and protects vulnerable children. However, we oppose abandonment of the federal government's necessary role in helping families overcome poverty and meet their children's basic needs. Simply cutting resources and transferring responsibility is not genuine reform. For these reasons, we have major concerns about the legislation moving through the Congress and the Administration's apparent willingness to sign such legislation.

-- Most Reverend William S. Skylstad, Bishop of Spokane
United States Catholic Conference

"All of us support a sensible and sensitive reform of the present welfare system....

Parents who are encouraged to work must be assured of adequate day care for their children, training for meaningful and gainful work; adequate health insurance for family, and in every instance be afforded courtesy and dignity.

There must be no compromise on these issues. Such a compromise will cast shadows of disillusionment on folks already disillusioned, and will have an impact on the voter turnout."

-- Joseph E. Lowry, Founding President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

"On behalf of 165,000 members, I urge you to veto the welfare bill because it wipes away the safety net for women and children in poverty. AAUW believes that this welfare bill is not fundamentally different from the welfare reform bill that you vetoed last January. This bill does not address the underlying problems of welfare -- such as violence against women, lack of decent paying jobs, tracking women in low-paying jobs, pay inequity, and health care security."

-- Jackie DeFazio, President American Association of
University Women

"Both the Republican welfare bill and the Wisconsin plan would shred the federal safety net for women and children. . . These plans are unacceptable not just to all our groups but unacceptable under the very principles you have enunciated over three and a half years. Mr. President, we know that you will keep in mind that for millions of children and their families who need this assistance the federal safety net is the only protection that keeps them from absolute destitution. Without this net, they are helpless.

-- Coalition on Human Needs
Forty-six co-signing organizations including the key children's leadership as the NEA, Children's Defense Fund, Child Welfare League of America, National Black Child Development Institute and National Association of Child Advocates.)

"...[M]embers of the disability community are gravely concerned about the drastic consequences of the pending welfare reform legislation on children and adults with disabilities and their families.... Our most serious objections to the bill are... [m]ajor reductions in the children's Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program...[,] most legal immigrants with disabilities, including those who became disabled long after coming to this country, will lose access to SSI and food stamps [, and]...[u]nprecedented cuts in the food stamp program will curtail access for people with disabilities who depend on them for basic assistance.... We urge you to veto the welfare bill because it will significantly harm people with disabilities."

-- Rhoda Schulzinger
Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law
Washington, D.C.

"We are a member of Catholic Charities USA and are concerned about the upcoming vote on welfare reform. Your leadership is crucial in this important arena.

- 1) Please veto any welfare bill that would abolish the federal safety net for children.
- 2) Please preserve our country's federal nutrition safety net.
- 3) Please veto any bill that would block grant or make deep cuts in Food Stamps.
- 4) Please veto any bill that bars assistance to immigrants."

-- Paul Buckmaster, Executive Director
Catholic Social Services, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

-- Todd Alan Graff, Diocesan Coordinator
Catholic Charities
Winona, Minnesota

"As a representative of 80,000 working women nationwide, BPW knows what it takes to get women into jobs -- skills, training, education, and support mechanisms like quality child care. Instead of helping women become self-sufficient, the welfare proposals would simply punish them for being poor.

I grew up with a single working mom. My mother and I pieced together a living on our minimum-wage jobs. Had I not been able to work during high school, we would have ended up at the welfare office. My mother and I were not lazy. We were not afraid to work. The most important thing for us was that we knew that help was there if we ever needed it. We never thought the safety net would be yanked away -- why should it? We lived in the United States of America, the richest country in the world. We can certainly afford to spend one percent of our federal budget to provide a modest safety net for women and their children."

-- Audrey Tayse Haynes, Executive Director,
Business and Professional Women/USA

"In all, about \$8 billion will be cut while approximately 315,000 children with severe disabilities will either lose benefits or be found ineligible over the next six years. The Arc believes that by enacting more moderate reforms, Congress could restore public confidence in the program without undercutting a critical safety net for so many children with disabilities and their families."

-- Marty Ford
The Arc and Consortium for Citizens With Disabilities
Washington, D.C.

"The need for welfare reform still remains of the type that the President initially advocated. He put forward a powerful vision of providing better for our poorest families by helping them improve their ability to provide for themselves. Unfortunately, there is nothing of that original vision in this current legislation."

-- Heidi Hartmann, Institute for Women's Policy Research

"All we ask is that he acknowledge -- just acknowledge -- that there are many women who wind up on welfare not because they are dependent, but because various things in their lives have been undependable -- like an abuse in their relationship, or a partner who walks out or dies, or the lack of health insurance or child care."

-- Ellen Bravo, 9to5, National Association of Working Women)

"Women struggling to get off welfare want what all of us want: a decent job, health insurance and child care. The Wisconsin waiver plan undermines the Administration's own positions on (1) raising the minimum wage and (2) Earned Income Tax Credit. ... I'm particularly concerned to read the President may soon sign W-2.... The sub-minimum wage needs to be resolved. This is a huge issue. How could this Administration support a sub-minimum wage?

I just don't want there to be a situation where 9to5 has to have a press conference denouncing the President. It's not that we will vote for Dole, but women simply will not be energized to help in 1996.

When Clinton gives his speech, all we ask is that he would acknowledge -- just acknowledge -- that there are many women who wind up on welfare not because they are dependent, but because various things in their lives have been undependable -- like an abuse in their relationship, or a partner who walks out or dies, or the lack of health insurance or child care. If the President could just make the point -- somewhere, somehow in all this -- that there are many people who end up on AFDC precisely because they are trying to be responsible for their families. It would be nice if someone once would make this acknowledgement."

-- Ellen Bravo, Executive Director, 9to5, the National
Association of Working Women

"The Wisconsin welfare waiver request shreds Wisconsin's safety net for women and their children. It fails to provide a safety net for those who play by the rules, and does nothing to protect children. When recession hits, impoverished families in Wisconsin could be denied any assistance to get back on their feet from a state overwhelmed by requests."

-- Coalition on Women and Job Training (Twenty two labor unions and religious, women's and civil rights groups, including AFSCME, National Council of La Raza, NOW Legal Defense & Education Fund and United Methodist Church General Board on Church and Society)

"We are tired of raising our voices against these drastic proposals -- only to be ignored. We should not risk the health and safety of millions of children, by forcing their mothers into low-wage jobs with no guarantees of decent health care and child care. Mr. President, we appeal to you to preserve the federal government's entitlement to poor mothers and their children."

-- Susan Bianchi-Sand, Chair, Council of Presidents of 100 Women's Organizations (representing more than six million women)

"We know that a large proportion of the women on welfare are there because of violent relationships. Without a means to support themselves and in a state of terror, women can risk the lives of themselves and their children and stay in the violent situation. Cutting the entitlement is to shred their only hope."

-- Eleanor Smeal, Feminist Majority

"The President must be a defender of children, families, women. Don't lose that. We need the gender gap. There cannot be a blurring of the lines with Republicans."

-- Betty Friedan, noted author

"The need for welfare reform still remains of the type that the President initially advocated, reform that would encourage work more and provide education, training, child care and public service jobs. He put forward a powerful vision of providing better for our poorest families by helping them improve their ability to provide for themselves... Unfortunately, there is nothing of that original vision in this current legislation."

-- Heidi Hartmann, Executive Director
Institute for Women's Policy Research

"Without entitlement program funding, states may be forced to refuse assistance to families who qualify, regardless of how abject their poverty. Time limits for recipients of welfare benefits not only penalize women for their inability to find employment, but also penalize their children by denying them benefits."

-- Julia R. Scott, President
National Black Women's Health Project

"The Republican idea of welfare reform is backward, punishing, and intrusive in the lives of poor families. This 'Catch 22' legislation will send mothers with substantial child-rearing responsibilities into makework jobs that pay sub-minimum wages, with no future for advancement. It is an immoral plan that will condemn millions of women and children to dire, hopeless poverty.

Domestic violence is one of the major contributors to the cycle of poverty. We know that at least 50 percent of women on public assistance face violence. When women seek to become more independent through education or employment, the beatings escalate. The promise of the Violence Against Women Act is seriously compromised by these harsh welfare 'reform' policies."

- Patricia Ireland, President, National
Organization for Women

"The President has at least got to show he's a kinder, gentler welfare reformer. Our instinct is to protest -- how can we support a party that doesn't support us?"

The women and men of this nation who support you (and right now, that's a comfortable majority) are not all 'loony lefties' but just average decent people, and they do not want you to sign a bill that will hurt poor children and is potentially lethal to their moms. If you welcome and sign a welfare bill that resembles one drafted by Newt and Dole, you will lose much of the goodwill that you have built up with your support of Family Leave, reproductive rights, fighting harsh budget cuts and promoting the promises of the women's conference in Beijing.

Battered women are often running for their lives, and that makes it hard to get or keep jobs. Without this safety net, women will die. A joint resolution asks Congress to look at violence before they pass a welfare bill. The resolution is now an amendment which will be offered by Senators Simon and Wellstone. We need your support for this amendment."

-- Pat Reuss, Senior Policy Analyst
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund

"We urge your unwavering opposition to Senate and House welfare block grants that will result in greater poverty and illness for millions of American women and children. The current legislation, like that you previously vetoed, contains, in the words of your veto message, 'excessive program cuts in human terms -- to working families, single mothers with children, abused and neglected children, low-income legal immigrants, and disabled children' and 'threatens the national nutritional safety net.'

Mr. President, do not become the President history will remember as the one who dismantled a 60-year federal safety net for poor families."

-- Nancy Duff Campbell, co-President
National Women's Law Center

"Current proposals to reform welfare severely curtail parents' access to education and job training services enabling them to compete for jobs that pay a family wage. These proposals, combined with job training consolidation, substantially diminish poor mothers' opportunities. Women recognize that their education and training needs have not been a priority for the Administration. Support for the welfare reform bill only reinforces that message."

-- Rubie Coles and Jill Miller,
Co-Executive Directors
Women Work! The National Network for Women's
Employment

"The welfare bill does not protect children or mothers who 'play by the rules.' The welfare bill does not ensure women who work a minimum wage, protection from sex discrimination, or the protection of the Family and Medical Leave Act. The welfare bill does not guarantee child care. The welfare bill threatens to add millions of poor women to the ranks of the uninsured. The welfare bill eliminates the nutrition safety net. The welfare bill puts battered women and their children at greater risk. Millions of women will lose the health care benefits for themselves and their kids they now receive under AFDC.

The welfare bill violates the principles that this Administration has stood for concerning welfare reform, health care reform, women's rights, civil rights, and workers' rights. We call on the President to veto it."

-- Judith L. Lichtman, President
Women's Legal Defense Fund

"Every woman knows her husband or partner could walk out, anytime, and every woman knows that domestic violence can happen. They need a safety net -- and it is no net if it is not guaranteed.

The gender gap is only there if there is a difference in the way that the two Presidential candidates deal with women's issues. Though not true two years ago, today welfare is a women's issue. The women's vote -- particularly its enthusiasm -- will in part ride on this. Basic political motto -- 'dance with them that brung ya.'"

-- Diana Pearce, Director
Wider Opportunities for Women -
Women and Poverty Project

"...[W]e urge the Administration to veto the welfare reform bill...and, in negotiating any compromise welfare legislation, to ensure that there are no restrictions on any child's access to education and related services, regardless of immigration status."

-- Antonia Hernandez, President and General Counsel
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

"On behalf of the 180 national organizations that comprise the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the nation's oldest and most broadly-based civil rights coalition, we write to raise our concerns about the welfare reform measures currently under consideration by Congress and their impact on basic civil rights protection for families struggling to escape poverty.

...[A]ny final welfare reform legislation must guarantee the fair, nondiscriminatory granting of benefits based on need; maintain civil rights, due process, and labor law protection; prohibit the discriminatory denial of benefits based on circumstances of birth; and assist families to achieve economic independence. Unfortunately, many of the federal welfare reform proposals being considered by Congress fall far short of these fundamental principles."

-- Wade J. Henderson, Executive Director
 -- Dorothy I. Height, Chairperson
 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

"For families with children who have high medical needs, including families who have fallen into deep poverty trying to meet the needs of such children, this position is cruel and potential deadly."

-- Office for Church in Society,
 United Church of Christ on behalf of 25 member
 organizations

"If the program is cut many of us will not be able to continue to serve nutritious food the children need. . . Their parents will have to pay for the food, which will cause many of them to quit their jobs. It will have a devastating affect on their lives and ours."

-- Julie Boettcher
 Licensed Family Day Care Provider, Minnesota

"On behalf of the 55,000 children in Minnesota who go hungry every day, I urge you to veto any bill that blocks grants or cuts child nutrition programs. Hungry children cannot learn, they suffer from headaches, irritability, dizziness, weakened immune systems, have shorter attention spans, and are prone to behavior problems."

-- Mary Wilcox, MSW
 Child Nutrition Coordinator,
 Minnesota Food Share

"[it is] vitally important that we in Wisconsin do not see families, and particularly our state's children, plummeting deeper and deeper into the depths of poverty because of a hasty decision at the federal level."

-- Ethel Dunn
 Wisconsin Resident

"I am asking you to do what is right for children, their families, and day care home providers by preserving Senate Bill 1120 as it affects the CACFP. Please do not support the devastating provisions in HR 3507."

-- Thora Cahill
Illinois Child Care Bureau

We believe all work should be rewarded with wages adequate to ensure that the workers and his or her dependents can lead lives of dignity.

--Wisconsin Conference of Churches 19 co-signing church
leaders

"While the 'new' welfare plans contain both a few improvements and some further steps backward, they pose the same dangers to children as the bills vetoed by the President. These measures still abandon the basic federal assurances of aid for poor children and families, make Medicaid ford parents and older children who lose their AFDC benefits, provide inadequate child care funding for parents who are required to work, and eliminate almost all help for legal immigrants in need. There is no more justification for adoption or acceptance of these bills in their current form than there was for the President to sign the welfare plans sent to his desk six months ago."

-- The "New" Republican Welfare Plan
Childrens Defense Fund

"We... strongly urge you to veto any welfare legislation that would...abolish the federal safety net for children[,] ...places a mandatory "family cap"[,] ...block grant or make deep cuts in Food Stamps[, or] ...bars assistance to immigrants."

-- People's Resource Center
Wheaton, Illinois

"I urge you to veto any welfare legislation that will bring great harm to our most needy -- women and children.Our women are trying to get off welfare -- they just need this chance. Don't allow this legislation to destroy their hopes!"

-- Ruth Mulligan, Case Manager
Mercy Hospice
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"On behalf of the [twenty] religiously affiliated organizations we represent, we are writing to urge you to veto the welfare provisions contained in H.R. 3507 and S. 1795.... We are concerned that these bills would deny desperately needed assistance to families simply because they have been unable to support themselves through employment and reach the designated time limit.... In addition, we oppose the deep cuts in the Food Stamp Program proposed in these bills."

-- Mary Anderson Cooper
National Council of Churches
Washington, D.C.

"On behalf of the 155,000 members [nationwide] of the National Association of Social Workers, I am writing to express our serious concerns with the Wisconsin Works (W-2) waiver request... We do not believe that Wisconsin's reform proposal will help welfare recipients become self-sufficient. Most families unable to attain unsubsidized employment will remain deep in poverty. In many cases, families working every available hour under program rules will be poorer than they are under current law. In addition, many families will lose child care assistance and health care coverage."

-- Robert J. Cohen, Executive Director
National Association of Social Workers
Washington, D.C.

"Favorable comments you have made about the Republican welfare bill and the Wisconsin welfare waiver request over the last two weeks have caused the gravest concern among our [forty-six] groups. Your administration has been tough when it comes to welfare reform, but never heedless of the consequences to children and families... Both the Republican welfare bill and the Wisconsin plan would shred the federal safety net for women and children. Of additional concern to us is the removal of Medicaid coverage for AFDC participants, the waiver of the guarantee of child care for all those who require it, the subminimum wage, and the inflexibility of the work requirements in the Wisconsin and Republican plans."

-- Jennifer A. Vasiloff, Executive Director
Coalition on Human Needs

"We respectfully request that careful scrutiny be given to the W-2 Wisconsin Waiver Request before final approval is rendered. While all thinking parties agree that the goal of welfare reform is to move families out of poverty and into work there is a question whether granting these waivers, as proposed, will serve that aim."

-- Ethel Dunn, Executive Director
Grandparents United for Children's Rights, Inc.
Madison, Wisconsin

"As spiritual and moral leaders in our state, we are concerned with how this program will affect the poor... Like our colleagues in the Wisconsin Catholic conference...we believe...W2 weakens the safety net in a number of ways."

-- Heads of the Judicatories
Protestant and Anglican denominations
Wisconsin of Churches

"There are many problems with Wisconsin Works (W-2) that will have a very negative impacts on low-income people. Several are listed below. Any one of these problems would justify opposition to the legislation. In a state that has been experiencing a sharp drop in the number of welfare recipients there is no justification for such a harsh and unjust treatment of those in need."

-- Pat Conover
United Church of Christ
Office for Church in Society

"We urge you to veto the current welfare "reform" package. Our representatives have worked hard over the past year and a half to try to assist members of Congress to craft meaningful welfare reform, which truly assists people in moving from welfare to work. We view the current package as failing to meet that objective."

-- Richard S. Mockler, Executive Director
Catholic Charities of California
Sacramento, California

....[T]he Republican...[welfare] bill is terrible news for hungry and poor people. It would allow states to dismantle national standards and make deep cuts in food stamps and would end the right to cash assistance for poor children and families through Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)."

-- David Beckmann, President
Bread for the World
Silver Spring, Maryland

"This is an urgent plea... Mr. President, sign a bill that supports genuine welfare reform, not this devastating legislation. This bill simply reduces resources and reallocates responsibilities without protecting children and helping families overcome poverty. It attacks poor children, hungry families, and immigrants, not poverty."

-- Sr. Joan Pytlik, Social Action Director
Fr. Jim Brockman, Director of Hispanic Ministries
Diocese of Little Rock
Little Rock, Arkansas

"Last year over 11 million people in need came to us for food, shelter, counseling, refugee resettlement, job training, and refuge from domestic violence... The welfare reform proposal before you reflects ignorance and prejudice far more than the experience of this nation's poorest working families and welfare families. This bill would end the basic guarantee of protection to our neediest families and, in the words of Milwaukee's Archbishop Rembert Weakland, OSB, nullify 'America's 60-year covenant with its poor children and those who nurture them.'" ...Please stop this so-called "welfare reform"...

-- Fred Kammer, President
Catholic Charities, USA
Alexandria, Virginia

"Changes must be made in the W-2 waiver request before it can be approved. The guarantee to coverage must be restored. No child should lose coverage or benefits. Families should not lose coverage. Premiums should be prohibited. Medicaid funds must be spent on medical assistance only. Without these changes, the most vulnerable Americans will be denied care that is available to them now. "

-- Ron Pollack, Executive Director
Families USA Foundation
Washington, D.C.

"The precipitous fall in SSI child allowance rates to 30% in 1996 from a 1991 high of 70% shows how severely SSA has restricted eligibility for children...The child rate shows how unnecessary it is to make any major changes in the legislation, especially the abolition of the IFA [individual functional assessment test], currently in bi-partisan bills."

-- Jonathan M. Stein
Community Legal Services
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

"A vote to support the Medicaid ban and deeming of legal immigrants will effectively render 830,000 people uninsured in California -- an increase from 6.6 million to 7.4 million. If taken, this action will have the disastrous result of a cost shift from the federal government to state and local entities and to health care providers."

--Mark Lowman, Vice President
California Healthcare Association
Sacramento, California

"It is one thing to change the rules of the welfare system. It is quite another thing to say, even if you play by the rules, society will not help you. This is not welfare reform but welfare repeal. Such a message may be politically attractive in this election year; it is not morally justifiable."

--Archbishop Rembert Weakland
Archbishop of Milwaukee

To: Evelyn-Lieberman
Bruce Reed
Betsy Myers
Vicki Radd
Lisa Ross

From: Lyn Hogan

Date: August 1, 1996

Re: Welfare Talking Points On Children and Families

The President Has Made The Right Decision

We are all urgently concerned about the families who receive welfare. There are close to 15 million Americans receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) today, most of whom are women and children.

People who are concerned about women and children should be supporting the President in his pledge to sign this bill. Only if the welfare system is transformed into an employment system will we enable millions of parents to support their children through work, not welfare.

The President Has Worked Hard To Help Women and Children

The President has approved waivers from welfare regulations in 41 states; he has worked to improve child support enforcement, increasing payments by \$11 billion dollars; he has created initiatives to prevent teen pregnancy so young women don't end up on welfare; and he has prevented Republicans from cutting child welfare programs, especially those that help children in foster care.

The President made sure that an additional *\$4 billion dollars* for child care was included in this bill, so when welfare recipients go to work, they can count on the availability of child care.

The President maintained the Medicaid guarantee to ensure that poor women and their children *don't* lose their health care benefits.

And most important, the President is giving these women and children a chance!

The President has fought hard to change the current welfare system so he can change the lives of the women and children who receive welfare.

The President Recognizes That Not All Welfare Recipients Are Alike

The President realizes that every welfare recipient's circumstances are different. Some women receive welfare because their husbands left them and are not paying child support; some women receive welfare because they have lost their jobs and need temporary help while searching for a new job; other women are victims of domestic violence and must flee their home situation; still other women have health problems or are struggling with a substance abuse problem.

Because the President recognizes and understands these different situations, he insisted that this welfare bill exempt 20 percent of the caseload from being subject to the five year limit. Though, with new work provisions in place, it is unlikely that many people will run into the five year time limit.

The President also supported an important amendment, added by Senator Wellstone, that ultimately gives states the option to exempt victims of domestic violence from the work requirement.

The Current Welfare System Hurts More Than It Helps

It is the current welfare system, not the proposed reforms, that most endanger women and children.

As a country, we have a moral obligation to reform today's failed, dysfunctional welfare system without hurting children and their parents.

Now, the President will finally receive a bill that will give him that chance. This welfare bill will create a new employment system—not the same old income maintenance system—that will move women off of welfare and into work and will create a better life for them and their children.

The Current Welfare System Is Fundamentally Flawed, This Bill Will Change A Flawed System

There are no incentives in the current system to encourage states, program administrators, and caseworkers to move welfare recipients off of welfare and into work.

Instead, today, many states write the welfare checks and write off the welfare recipients, because current law doesn't allow them to do much more.

This welfare reform bill will change all of that. States will receive bonuses for moving recipients into work; states will have the flexibility to design programs that work for the people in their state; and the women and children who move from welfare to work will receive child care subsidies so they can remain working once they find a job.

Once the welfare bill is signed and implemented, women who want a chance to be independent from welfare to work, and to raise their children with dignity, will be given that chance.

Success Will Be Up To The States

Once this bill is signed, it will be up to states to carry out the President's vision.

The President has pledged to give the Governors the flexibility they need to create programs that will work in their states--that will be responsive to each state's individual circumstances.

States that choose to slash benefits and *force* non-working recipients into the labor market without the adequate supports will exacerbate poverty, not relieve it.

States that work to put good programs in place, like Colorado, Maryland and California, will help alleviate poverty.

cc: Carol Rasco
Jeremy Ben-Ami
Elizabeth Dryc

Significance

Who: Leg. -

Gov. - bring CEO recip.

Managers -

NCSL - Wayne Bryant

Recipient

Trade man

CEO - Oregon, Missouri

Supporters: Am. Works, PPT, McKinleys, Kathleen Kelly, Paul Offner

→ CSE implementation (E.O. 13)

CSE: NYC man

→ Ask JBA re CEOs - props, Toby Herr, Barbara Blum (Klaus Nat Bank)

→ Phil Lader

→ Don: Arkansas ♀

→ Bobby Kennedy speech

→ Larry Mead

Cynthia Rice / Susie
Laurie Rubner

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
FRIDAY, AUGUST 9, 1996

CLINTON/GORE '96 TRAVEL DAY

tba		MORNING RUN
9:30 am		THE PRESIDENT departs the Sheraton Miramar Hotel via motorcade en route site tbd [drive time: 20 minutes]
9:50 am		THE PRESIDENT arrives site tbd
10:00 am- 11:45 pm		HOLD FOR EVENTS TBD SITE TBD Remarks: Staff Contact: Event Coordinator: Paula Thomasson PRESS ???
11:50 am		THE PRESIDENT departs site tbd via motorcade en route Los Angeles International Airport, Los Angeles, California [drive time: 20 minutes]
12:10 pm		THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive Los Angeles International Airport
12:30 pm	(PST)	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady depart Los Angeles Los Angeles International Airport via Air Force One en route airport tbd, Jackson Hole, Wyoming [flight time: 1 hour, 55 minutes] [time change: + 1 hour]
2:25 pm	(MST)	THE PRESIDENT and the First Lady arrive airport tbd, Jackson Hole, Wyoming
		HOLD FOR VACATION
BC AND HRC RON		PRIVATE RESIDENCE JACKSON HOLE, WYOMING



436 SIXTH STREET • PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA 15238
 (412) 926-6100 • FAX: (412) 826-107

ANDREW L. STERN
 INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

BETTY BEDNARCZYK
 INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

*CC
 B Reed
 R Emanuel
 H Ickes
 K Apple*

July 19, 1996

The Honorable William
 White House
 Washington, D.C.

BY WAY OF FAX: 202-456-6...

RE: H.R. 3734 and S. 1795

Dear President Clinton:

I am an International Vice President of Service Employees International Union, representing over one million (1,000,000) members.

Our Union worked extremely hard to get you elected in 1992, and we have supported you during your term as President. However, if you do not **VETO** the above referenced bills which will make deep cuts in food programs, cuts in SSI for severely disabled children, and eliminate the right to cash assistance (AFDC) for families and children, I will not work for your re-election! I will urge our membership to not work for your re-election. **We will not do phone banks, voter registration, or literature distribution on behalf of your re-election.**

Please reconsider your position! Please **veto** any welfare bill that will hurt children and their families. Please save our nation's nutrition safety net. Please **veto** any bill that would block grant and/or make deep cuts in food stamps, child nutrition or cash assistance programs.

Sincerely,

Rosemary Trump
 International Vice President
 SEIU, AFL-CIO, CLC

RT/jz

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Facsimile from Diane Ikamiyashiro
Office of Presidential Letters and Messages

Voice: (202) 456-5519 FAX: (202) 456-5426

Number of Pages (including cover): 11

Date: 8.2.96

Time: 10:42 a.m.

To: Bruce Reed

Voice: 6.6515

FAX: 6.5557

~~W*~~ Memo to the President from COS

[] incoming letter(s) from: 2nd M.W. Edelman

re: _____

[] for your review

[] per my e-mail or voice-mail message to you

[] per your request

Additional comments:

8-1-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JUL 29 P7:35

July 29, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LEON E. PANETTA
CHIEF OF STAFF



SUBJECT: Telephone Call to Marian Wright Edelman

Marian Wright Edelman is anxious to meet with you in the early part of the week on welfare reform. While I do not think it is necessary for you to meet with her, I strongly recommend that you place a call to her before Wednesday so you may discuss her concerns.

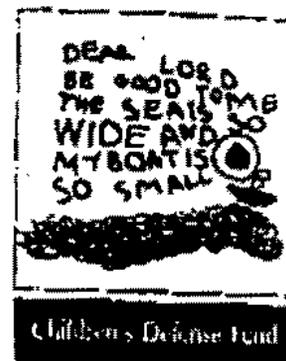
Attached is the letter she sent you requesting the meeting, along with a statement she plans to release calling on you to veto the welfare reform bill.

Attachment

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

Handwritten note:
Need to coordinate with Jim Dorskind



July 29, 1996

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I always seek to share my about to be expressed public views with your staff and with you before I release them. Therefore, I enclose my statement on the pending anti-child Senate and House "welfare reform" legislation for your information. I hope you will veto it.

I request a five minute meeting with you today or Wednesday or before you decide whether or not to sign any pending "welfare reform" bill.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Marian Wright Edelman

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Monday, July 29, 1996

Contact: Sarah Howe 202-662-3609
Lisa McDougal 202-662-3615

**SENATE AND HOUSE WELFARE BILLS A FRAUD ON AMERICAN PEOPLE
& POLITICAL CHILD ABUSE**

Edelman Urges Presidential Veto of Social Time Bomb

WASHINGTON, D.C. – The following statement was issued today by Children's Defense Fund President Marian Wright Edelman during a news conference at the National Press Club:

"Calling the pending Senate and House legislation 'welfare reform' is like calling ketchup a vegetable. Unlike ketchup, the massive harm these so-called 'welfare reform' bills will inflict on poor, hungry, and disabled children and those at risk of domestic violence is life threatening and permanent for the many children they will leave behind in hunger and poverty.

"These pernicious Senate and House welfare bills are social and political time bombs that will explode in families, schools, neighborhoods, and cities all over America for years and decades to come. If enacted, they will leave a moral hole in the soul of America that can never be repaired.

"As an American, as a parent, as a child advocate, and as a person of faith, I am ashamed that I and my colleagues have to hold a press conference urging any of our political leaders from any party – in the Congress or in the White House – to reject legislation they know will hurt children. What kind of political leaders hold children hostage in an election year game of political chicken to see who will blink first in enacting reform that will hurt millions of poor and disabled children, working families, and legal immigrants?

"What kind of leaders would vote for a welfare bill that will throw another 2.6 million families, including 1.1 million children into poverty and further impoverish millions more already poor children and families in the richest nation on earth? What kind of political leaders would vote to eradicate a 61-year-old national safety net for children, permit states to decrease their own child investments by at least 20 percent, cut \$60 billion from poor families – the majority of whom work and are struggling to make ends meet – and from legal immigrants, while not cutting a dime from corporate welfare recipients, affluent individuals, or Pentagon fat?

-more-

Welfare/Page 2

"What kind of leaders would deny benefits to more than 300,000 disabled children and as many as 350,000 legal immigrant children and cut food benefits for 14 million children? What kind of political leaders would propose to take away an average of \$1300 from low-income families while considering new tax breaks for non-poor families and corporations?

"What kind of leaders would talk about putting people to work while guaranteeing not a single new job, and without assuring adequate child care for all the parents they require to work? What kind of leaders would deny millions of children survival assistance, even diapers, after their parents are cut off from all income assistance as millions will be under Senate and House bills?

"The American people ought to ask their leaders to cite the biblical and American principles of justice that would justify turning the needy into the greedy and the greedy into the needy official national policy.

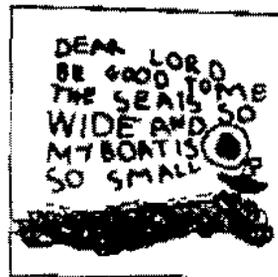
"The President of the United States rightly has twice vetoed false welfare reform bills that hurt children. Moral and political consistency require him to veto current Senate and House bills which would hurt millions of children. At McClellan Air Force Base, California on July 23, the President said, "I just don't want to do anything that hurts children." That same day in Sacramento he said, "We want real welfare reform . . . that honors work and protects children." And so do we. We are committed to working with the Congress and with the Administration on real welfare reform that protects children, puts parents in training and into work after the election year games are over.

"Since the last anti-child welfare reform bill was vetoed by the President on January 9, 488,227 American children have been born into poverty and 5,230 children have died from poverty. It is unconscionable that Congress and President Clinton would knowingly exacerbate this indefensible and largely preventable poverty by making millions more children poor, hungry, and homeless.

"Albert Camus said in 1948, "perhaps we cannot prevent this from being a world in which children are tortured. But we can reduce the number of tortured children." Perhaps we cannot end child poverty this year, but we can surely keep more children from becoming poor by rejecting unjust legislation.

"If America cannot stand up for, protect and invest in its children, it does not stand for anything and will not stand strong in the new century and millennium. The infants and toddlers and school-age children whose lives will be stunted by this false 'welfare reform' legislation deserve more from their nation. I hope the Congress and the President of the United States will give our children what they deserve -- freedom from hunger, poverty, neglect and abuse."

[Handwritten initials]



Children's Defense Fund

JUL 29 7:37

July 19, 1996

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

As politically popular as it may appear to be in an election year to support welfare reform at any cost, I urge you to veto, once again, the anti-child, anti-poor, anti-working family, and anti-legal immigrant "welfare reform" legislation pending in the Congress. I do so strongly and unwaveringly for the many reasons stated below.

I strongly support your desire for and the need to enact true welfare reform legislation that encourages and enables parents to work. Welfare reform that guarantees parents training and jobs, protects children from poverty, prevents neglect and abuse, improves child life chances through adequate nutrition, health and child care, and leaves children and families better rather than worse off, is long overdue.

None of the pending Congressional welfare reform bills meets these tests. Instead, they single out children and poor families for unfair massive budget cuts and the destruction of basic nutrition, child care and health protections. Corporate welfare recipients, wealthy Americans, Pentagon contractors and other powerful interest groups have not been subjected to such budget assaults.

Since you vetoed the last anti-child welfare reform bill on January 9, 488,227 babies have been born into poverty; 5,230 children have died from poverty; and 17,510 infants have died in the first year of life.

25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
Telephone: 202 628 8787
Fax: 202 662 3510

Pending welfare reform legislation will exacerbate this indefensible and largely preventable child poverty, suffering and mortality in the richest nation on earth. Making even one more child poor should be avoided. Enacting legislation that you, the Congress, and I know will make hundreds of thousands -- even millions -- of children poorer and hungrier cannot be justified on either moral or common sense grounds.

The costs of child poverty to the children and to the nation are astounding. Low income children are three times more likely than other children to die during childhood, and suffer far more frequently and longer from a range of disabilities and illness. They have lower average IQs and achievement scores and higher grade retention and dropout rates. A study directed by Nobel Laureate Robert Solow concluded that the estimated cost of our nation's already extraordinarily high child poverty rates in terms of lost productivity when the children become adults is over \$36 billion a year.

The "welfare reform" bills moving through Congress contain essentially the same fundamental flaws as the bills you rightly vetoed earlier. I urge you to stand up for children again by vetoing unjust welfare reform legislation that will:

- push at least 1 million new children into poverty and drive millions more children deeper into poverty. While some may dispute the precise numbers, we know that hundreds of thousands more children will be impoverished by the pending bills. It would be unconscionable for you not to document the impact of any bill likely to harm children before signing it. To paraphrase an African proverb: Not to know is bad. Not to want to know is worse. Convenient political ignorance at the expense of children is indefensible.
- eradicate and replace the sixty year old guarantee of income assistance for poor children and families with flat sum block grants with billions fewer federal and state dollars and little or no state accountability. This is radical abandonment of national protection of children and the poor. It replaces national justice with justice by geography for children who chose neither their parents nor place of birth. Stripping them of guaranteed protection during times of natural disaster,

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recession, and parental unemployment as this legislation does is just plain wrong.

- impose a mandatory "family cap" in all states unless they enact laws to exempt themselves from its requirements. States would be unable to offer assistance for babies born to families already on welfare, driving them deeper into poverty. This unfairly punishes children in an attempt to punish and change parental behavior without a shred of evidence it would work. Why not wait and see what experience shows from waivers you have granted before placing many more children in jeopardy?
- erode current state investment in children. Children will be far worse off if states cut income assistance up to 20 percent as the Senate bill or 25 percent as the House bill allows. Maintaining current state effort should be a bottom line requirement in any welfare reform legislation.
- require that children in families who reach the federally mandated five-year time limit be given nothing whether or not the parent can find work. States would not even have the option to offer vouchers to meet children's most basic needs after the time limit. An estimated 3.3 million children would lose all assistance once a five-year limit was fully phased in. Any state could impose a much shorter time limit and leave children and families destitute earlier. How can these provisions be squared with your repeated assertion that those who play by the rules should be protected? What does a parent do who seeks but cannot find a job? And worse, what do the children do?
- deny 300,000 children with serious disabilities SSI (Supplemental Security Income) cash assistance.
- make many more children hungrier. Food stamp cuts of \$27.5 billion over six years will reduce the average nutrition benefit from 80 to 66 cents a person a meal taking inflation into account. Households with income below half the poverty level (\$6,250 for a family of three) would lose an average of \$650 a year in food stamp benefits. A total of 14 million children will lose nutrition benefits.

- allow states to eliminate guaranteed nutritional aid to poor families by choosing a food stamp block grant and no longer require food assistance to families meeting their eligibility criteria.
- render most legal immigrants, including children, immediately ineligible for almost all federal and state benefits and services other than emergency services. These anti-legal immigrant provisions are harsher than those you previously vetoed which permitted a one-year phase-in period before aid cut off.
- threaten child safety. The House bill block grants child protection services and ends assured federal funds for preventing child abuse and neglect. (The Senate bill rejects these block grants.)
- exempt states from any obligation to provide assistance to anyone, including a woman and her children trying to escape abuse. No domestic violence victim could be confident that if she left her abusive spouse she could rely on cash assistance for herself and her children for even a short period of time until she could secure employment.
- impose unrealistic and underfunded work requirements without enough child care money to support parents who must work. States cannot put the required 1.7 million mothers to work without a giant leap upward in capacity. In 1994 only 450,000 parents participated in the JOBS program (which has a broader and more flexible definition of allowable activities). Preliminary staff estimates by the Congressional Budget Office indicate there would be a shortfall of \$12.8 billion if states fully implemented the work requirements, and another \$1.5 billion shortfall in related child care funding.
- guarantee not a single job or job training. Mothers trying to compete for a job providing a real route out of poverty would find it extremely difficult to get the education or training they need. Although half of AFDC mothers have not completed high school, the bills restrict access to training and education. Most training would have to be in addition to a 35-hour per week work requirement and most likely would not be

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accompanied by help with child care. And for all the talk about work, no jobs are assured.

- eliminate guaranteed health coverage through Medicaid for children who lose AFDC or SSI as well as for legal immigrant children. Health coverage could end for 1.2 million women and children if all states implemented a two-year time limit on cash assistance. While amendments to the pending welfare bills may address the potential loss of Medicaid coverage for children who lose AFDC, the loss of coverage for SSI and legal immigrant children in itself would be a major blow to efforts to extend health coverage to all children.

Taken together, these assaults on children are far too grave to be justified on any grounds. While genuine reform on a national level is essential, you have eloquently reminded the nation many times that three-fourths of all families on welfare live in states that already have "reformed" their welfare systems under waivers granted by your administration. We should continue down this path until it is possible to secure national reforms that do not come at the expense of essential food, health care, and basic income support for our most vulnerable children.

Only you can stop unjust erosion in child well being and lead our nation towards real and needed welfare reform. Only you can prevent the enactment of welfare legislation that increases rather than decreases the number of children living in poverty in the richest nation on earth. Only you can provide the political and moral leadership and direction to help our nation do better -- as it must -- for our children. Only you can give our children hope and rekindle confidence in fair government for all and not just for some.

As you know, on June 1, 1996 hundreds of thousands of parents, grandparents, and community leaders from every race, class, state, faith, and political party stood together at the Lincoln Memorial to commit ourselves to doing better for children and to urge our communities and government at all levels to do better. As we face a new century and millennium, a thriving and rapidly expanding national movement for children is committed to doing everything in our power to make children America's first priority, and to make the kind of proposals that harm children that we have witnessed this year unthinkable in years to come.

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Albert Camus said in 1948: "Perhaps we cannot prevent this world from being a world in which children are tortured. But we can reduce the number of tortured children." Perhaps we cannot end child poverty this year, but we can surely keep more children from becoming poor by rejecting unjust legislation.

If America cannot stand up for, protect, and invest in its children, it does not stand for anything and will not stand strong in the new century and millennium. The infants and pre-schoolers and school age children whose lives will be stunted by this false welfare reform legislation deserve more from their nation. I hope you will see that they get it.

Sincerely yours,



Marian Wright Edelman

**THE SENATE WELFARE REFORM BILL:
SUMMARY OF IMPROVEMENTS TO THE VETOED CONFERENCE AGREEMENT**

The Senate welfare reform bill contains numerous improvements to the vetoed conference agreement, H.R. 4. The bill incorporates a number of key changes made by the National Governors' Association (NGA) as well as other improvements that were not included in the House measure that passed last week.

Protecting Children and Families

Health Insurance Coverage. *The Senate bill assures that all categories of people now eligible for Medicaid will continue to be eligible for health care in the future, regardless of state welfare changes. The conference agreement failed to maintain categorical Medicaid coverage for low income families with children on cash assistance.*

Child care. *The Senate bill increases child care funding levels by \$4 billion over the conference agreement and \$4.5 billion above current law (under CBO estimates). The bill also would maintain the child care health and safety protections contained in current law and reinstate a quality set-aside.*

Child Welfare. *Whereas the conference report block granted administration and child placement services funding, the Senate bill retains current law child protection entitlement programs and services.*

SSI children. *Instead of the 2-tiered benefit system proposed under the conference report, the Senate bill provides full cash benefits to all eligible children. Like the conference report, the Senate bill would establish a new disability definition for children. The new definition would be effective immediately for new applicants and within one year for current beneficiaries.*

Contingency Fund. *Compared to the conference report, the Senate welfare bill raises the cap on the contingency fund from \$1 billion to \$2 billion to provide states with more protection in economic downturns. The proposal also adds a new trigger mechanism based on the Food Stamp caseload.*

Exemptions to the Cash Assistance Time Limit. *The bill increases from 15% to 20% the proportion of the caseload that States can exempt from the 5-year time limit on cash assistance, giving states the ability to make more allowances for adults who are unable to work or find work.*

Family Cap. *Unlike the conference bill which required states to impose a family cap unless they explicitly opt not to do so, the Senate bill has no family cap provision. The Senate bill gives states maximum flexibility to address family cap issues.*

Food Stamp Program. Unlike the conference measure, the Senate bill does not include the optional Food Stamp block grant. In addition, the adjustable cap on Food Stamp spending is deleted, ensuring that additional benefits would be available when caseloads increase. States are allowed to exempt from disqualification due to hardship up to 20% of able-bodied childless adults who are not working or participating in a work program and to permit two month of job search or job search training. The cap on the excess shelter deduction is retained but set at a higher level than the conference bill.

Child Nutrition Program. The Senate bill prohibits conditioning food assistance on citizenship or immigrant status. There is no option for states to receive school nutrition funding in the form of a block grant. Also, the Senate bill maintains the current reimbursement rates for the Summer Food Service Program.

Adoption Tax Credit. The Senate bill includes a refundable tax credit to help families cover adoption expenses.

State Accountability

Objective Criteria. The Senate bill requires states to establish objective criteria for delivery of benefits and to ensure equitable treatment. The language specifies that families in similar circumstances should be treated equally and provides the opportunity for a fair hearing for those whose assistance is denied, reduced, or terminated. In addition, it includes mechanisms to enforce these provisions.

Transfers. Unlike H.R. 4, states would only be able to transfer cash assistance block grant funds to the child care block grant. This provision strengthens states' commitment to providing resources to poor families and children.

Requiring Work

Personal Responsibility Agreements. The Senate bill includes a provision to require welfare recipients to enter into personal responsibility agreements in order to be eligible for assistance.

Performance Bonus. Instead of simply reducing state maintenance of effort requirements, the bill provides \$700 million in new federal funds by 2002 for states that perform well on employment-related criteria.

Work Requirements for Mothers with Young Children. Instead of requiring all adult recipients to work 35 hours per week, the Senate bill recognizes that single parents with pre-school age children need part-time options on work. Single-parent families with children under age 6 would meet the work requirement by working 20 hours per week. In addition, single parents with children under 11 who are unable to find child care are exempt from sanctions.

Education Activities. The bill allows educational activities for teens who have not finished school to count toward the work requirement.

WELFARE REFORM Q&A
ADELANTE CON CLINTON PHONE CALL
JULY 27, 1996

Q. Will you veto the Congressional welfare reform bills if they include bans on benefits for legal immigrants?

A. Throughout this debate, I have been troubled by the depth of cuts in benefits for legal immigrants. The House welfare bill would actually take Medicaid away from legal immigrants who are already in this country -- literally throwing people out of nursing homes. That's just wrong. [NOTE: You should focus your criticism on this provision -- the House bill's retroactive ban on Medicaid, which would throw current Medicaid recipients off the rolls. We believe we can beat the retroactive Medicaid ban in conference.]

Q. Will you draw the line at deeming, or can you support a ban?

A. I supported the Castle-Tanner welfare reform bill in the House, which included an important exemption for immigrant children. I also supported the Breaux-Chafee bill in the Senate, which exempted the disabled. I am working hard to get the Congress to moderate these cuts.

Q. Do you think Congress is unfairly singling out immigrants for blame?

A. People in public life should be working to bring this country together, not looking for ways to divide us. That is why I am so offended by the Gallegly provision to let states ban illegal aliens from schools. I am pleased that many prominent Republicans and every major law enforcement organization are standing with me. If Congress sends me the Gallegly amendment, I will veto it -- because it's the right thing to do.

TALKING POINTS
URBAN INSTITUTE STUDY
7.26.96

The Urban Institute has released a poverty analysis of the House welfare reform bill, contending that it would move 1.1 million children below the poverty line when fully phased in. By contrast, their estimate was 2.1 million for last year's House bill, 1.5 million for the vetoed bill, and 1.2 million for last year's Senate bill which we supported. The report attributes most of these impacts to cuts in Food Stamps and legal immigrants, rather than AFDC, but it recommends vouchers and a 25% hardship exemption from the time limit.

From our perspective, the report overlooks several crucial points:

Child Support: The analysis does not take into account the increase in child support collections that will result from enactment of the welfare reform bill. This is a glaring omission. If all parents paid the child support they should, we could move more than 800,000 women and children off welfare immediately.

Minimum Wage: The report does not take into account the impact that the pending increase in the minimum wage will have in reducing poverty -- both by raising earnings for working families (\$2,000 a year for a full-time worker) and by making work considerably more attractive than welfare. OMB estimates that through the combined impact of the 1993 changes in EITC and Food Stamps and the pending increase in the minimum wage, we will have moved 1 million children out of poverty. This reduction in poverty is taking place immediately -- while the Urban Institute's hypothetical increase in poverty is projected for the year 2002.

Senate Improvements: The study is based on the House bill, before the Senate improvements. The Senate bill has about 10% less in budget cuts than the House bill.

Value of Work: The study assumes that welfare reform will do little to change behavior. We believe that work requirements, time limits, child care and health care -- in combination with a higher minimum wage and the EITC -- will change behavior dramatically. Work will become far more attractive than welfare, and the welfare system will have to focus on putting people in jobs instead of writing them checks. We also believe that work has inherent value. Over the long term, children who grow up in families and communities where there is work will be far better off than children who grow up in families and communities where there is only welfare -- even if the children on welfare look slightly better off in a static poverty analysis.

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

July 25, 1996

The Honorable Clay Shaw
Chairman
Subcommittee On Human Resources
B-317 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Now that both the House and Senate have passed sweeping welfare reform bills, we are very close to an historic overhaul of welfare programs. As you begin your work on the welfare reform conference report, we wanted to share with you our views on several important issues in the legislation. The Senate bill made important improvements in the areas of equal protection, maintenance of effort and transferability, and child protection that must be preserved. In addition, there are several issues that should be addressed in a conference report. These issues are based on the motion to instruct conferees that was unanimously approved by the House.

1) **Giving states the tools to move welfare recipients to work.** It is critical that any welfare reform bill provide states with the flexibility and resources necessary to operate successful work programs. We are concerned that the mandates in H.R. 3734 are unrealistic and conflict with work programs that states are currently implementing. The National Governors' Association adopted a resolution expressing concern about "restrictions on state flexibility and unfunded costs" in the work requirements of H.R. 3734. The Congressional Budget Office determined that there would be a \$12.9 billion shortfall in the funding necessary to meet the work requirements in H.R. 3734. CBO assumed that most states would choose to accept penalties instead of attempting to meet the work requirements and indicated that states would be forced to restrict eligibility and reduce benefits in order to offset the increased costs of meeting the work requirements. The Opportunities Committee recognized the problem states would face in meeting the work requirements when it authorized \$3 billion in discretionary funds for work programs, but it is unlikely that these funds will ever be appropriated. We must provide states with the flexibility and resources necessary to continue the reforms that are being implemented across the country if welfare reform is to be successful.

2) **Protection for children.** We are very concerned about provisions in H.R. 3734 prohibiting states from providing any assistance to children in families who lose cash assistance because of the time limits. The federal government should not prohibit state legislatures from choosing to provide non-cash assistance for the needs of children after the time limit. The fiscal pressures facing states makes it unlikely that states will be able to provide vouchers with state funds if they are prohibited from using any federal funds to provide vouchers. Allowing states to exempt twenty percent of the caseload from the time limits will not address this issue because states will need to utilize this hardship exemption to exempt the portion of the caseload that everyone acknowledges are not able to work because of disability or other causes.

3) **Maintenance of Effort** The Senate bill contained a somewhat stronger maintenance of effort provision and greater protections ensuring that federal block grant funds are used for the purposes of the program by limiting transfers to the child care block grant. Maintaining the Senate provisions on these issues is important in ensuring that Federal and state resources are devoted to moving welfare recipients to work and protecting children.

4) **Preserving Medicaid eligibility.** The House bill contained language added as part of the self-executing rule preserving current eligibility standards for Medicaid coverage. The Senate adopted a similar provision with strong bipartisan support. Maintaining this provision is critical to ensuring that the bill does not result in a reduction of health care coverage for low-income families or increase the burden of uncompensated care on health care providers.

5) **Preserving Food Stamp safety net.** The House bill contained an optional food stamp block grant which will jeopardize the national food stamp safety net. The Senate adopted a bipartisan amendment eliminating the food stamp block grant. The Senate also unanimously adopted an amendment ensuring that individuals who are actively seeking employment through a structured job search program will not lose food stamps as a result of a time limit. We urge you to adopt the Senate provisions on both of these issues to ensure that the food stamp safety net is preserved for the less fortunate in society. We also urge you to restore the excess shelter deduction for families with children.

6) **Protecting health care providers from uncompensated care.** We are concerned about the impact that denying Medicaid to non-citizens will have on the health care system. The House bill would deny Medicaid to all legal immigrants, including those currently in the country, until citizenship. This will effectively deny Medicaid to thousands of individuals. However, health care providers will continue to be morally and legally obligated to provide care to these individuals, resulting in a \$9 billion cost shift to health care providers that will affect the availability and quality of care for all Americans. The Senate bill moderated the impact of these provisions by applying the ban prospectively only. The conference report should at a minimum adopt the Senate position on this issue.

7) **Maintain protections against child abuse** The House bill placed programs for child abuse prevention into a block grant. The Senate eliminated this provision. The conference report should not put programs for child abuse prevention into a block grant.

8) **Applying savings to deficit reduction.** The savings in this bill are almost certainly the only deficit reduction from entitlement programs that have a chance of being enacted this year. We are therefore troubled by reports that the savings from this bill will be used to fund a tax cut before Congress has enacted savings to achieve a balanced budget. We urge you to add "lockbox" language to the conference report ensuring that any savings from the bill are applied to deficit reduction.

A conference report which addresses the concerns outlined above will receive strong bipartisan support and, more importantly, will ensure that welfare reform is successful. We remain hopeful that a meaningful welfare reform bill can become law this year if the issue can be separated from partisan political concerns. We look forward to working with you to develop a strong, workable welfare reform bill that can become law.

Sincerely,

