

WR Rollout

June 10, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: BRUCE REED
SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM ROLLOUT

Here is a preliminary summary of next week's anticipated announcement of the President's welfare reform plan. We still need firm confirmation of the date (Tuesday) and the site (Delaware).

I. ANNOUNCEMENT

The President is scheduled to announce his welfare reform plan on Tuesday, June 14, at a successful welfare-to-work program in Delaware. The actual legislation is in clearance at OMB, and should be ready to introduce by the end of next week. Beyond Tuesday, the rollout will primarily involve Secretary Shalala, Director Panetta, Carol Rasco, and ~~those~~ ^{the rest} of us involved ~~with the welfare reform working group~~ ⁱⁿ.

The Presidential announcement will take place at one of two sites in Delaware -- either the lobby of a bank in Wilmington that has hired a number of ~~its~~ workers through the state's welfare-to-work program, or a nearby technical college that runs that training program. The event will showcase people who have been through the program and ~~given~~ ^{been} hired; if there is time, the President could lead a roundtable discussion with them before giving his speech.

We explored several other possible sites, including a speech at Georgetown (where the President made the initial campaign promise to end welfare) or a trip to Kansas City (which has an excellent welfare-to-work program). Delaware was chosen because it has the best welfare-to-work program within an ~~hour~~ ^{hour range} of Washington. Moreover, its current Governor, Tom Carper, is head of the Democratic Governors' welfare reform task force, and our most outspoken ally among Democratic governors on this issue -- while the previous Governor, Congressman Mike Castle, was the President's Republican counterpart and ally in passing the Family Support Act of 1988. Wilmington's mayor is African-American, as is the CEO of the bank we're considering as a site, and the state's program has a broad racial mix.

In preparation for the announcement, Carol has asked for time on the President's schedule Monday to review the details of the plan. Don Baer assigned ~~me to write~~ the

to me and
speech, ~~with help from~~ Bill Galston. Leg. Affairs will invite key members, including Moynihan; we do not expect many to come to ~~Delaware~~.

~~not ~~at all~~~~ from ~~at~~ the Del. delegation

II. LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL OVERVIEW

Under the direction of Pat Griffin and Susan Brophy here at the White House and Jerry Klepner at HHS, we have consulted extensively with members in both houses and both parties. Our bill is positioned in the center of the debate, with two or more liberal bills to our left and the Republican and Mainstream Forum bills to our right. There is overwhelming popular support for virtually every element of our plan. The major flashpoints in Congress will be over financing (the Hispanic Caucus will complain about our \$4 billion immigrant provision, although they much prefer it to the \$21 billion provision in the Republican and Mainstream Forum bills), time limits (the liberal bills have none), and the state option to limit additional benefits for additional children conceived on welfare (a sore point for the left).

We are relying on leadership and committee chairs to sponsor the President's bill. In the House, Sam Gibbons and Bill Ford have agreed to be sponsors; Gephardt is considering it. We had hoped to get Harold Ford as well, but after months of ~~seemingly positive~~ consultation, he has developed serious problems with our bill, which will have to move through his subcommittee of Ways and Means. We also ~~face~~ ^{expect} a chilly reception from the CBC. Moderate members like McCurdy and Alan Wheat will say nice things about the President's plan, but continue to sponsor their own. House Republicans tell us privately that they like our bill, but we don't know what their public posture will be -- although Rep. Clay Shaw told the AP Thursday that our plan "is real reform" and similar to theirs.

In the Senate, Moynihan seems delighted with the arrival of our bill, and raved about it at Daschle's policy luncheon for Democratic Senators on Thursday. We hope that he and Breaux and possibly Mitchell will sponsor it in the Senate. Most Senate Democrats should speak out in favor of our bill. We do not expect much activity in either house until after the 4th of July recess, when subcommittees may begin hearings.

The other major source of support will be from governors. The NGA is preparing a strong letter of support. We hope that some Republicans will speak positively, including Engler (but probably not Thompson). The only thing that stands in the way of unqualified support from the states is concern that certain provisions in our financing scheme may shift some costs their way, but on balance our plan should be a good deal for them. They strongly oppose the Republican financing proposal on immigrants as a substantial cost shift.

Many groups on the left will oppose or withhold support from our plan. Alexis Herman has held meetings here at the White House with African-American leaders, who expressed some reservations about the plan but whose main concern is that the President strike a positive tone with this issue. Organized labor is reasonably happy, and will consider endorsing.

III. COMMUNICATIONS

In Rahm's absence, I have been working with Avis LaVelle at HHS and Mark Gearan and others here at the White House to prepare a well-targeted communications plan for the rollout. We want to ensure favorable coverage for the President's plan, while recognizing that most of his time in coming weeks will be taken up with other issues.

When Rahm returns, he will run the communications effort, in collaboration with DPC and HHS. Here is a tentative schedule for the first two weeks:

Friday, June 10, 1994

Short interview of POTUS by US News and World Report (requested; Ricki is doubtful). Can be done by phone. US News to run 8-page story on welfare reform in next week's issue. **Note that Time will also feature welfare.**

Reed, Ellwood, and Bane will hold press briefing at HHS to release study identifying a \$34 billion child support enforcement gap.

Sunday, June 11, 1994

White House officials appearing on Sunday talk shows will preview upcoming announcement.

Monday, June 12, 1994

Short preview interview with USA Today on announcement.

US News and Time cover stories appear.

Tuesday, June 13, 1994

Presidential announcement in Delaware.

Secretary Shalala, Director Panetta, and welfare team available for morning shows to preview announcement, as well as evening talk shows (Crossfire, Larry King).

Background briefing for White House press corps on plan after speech with Secretary Shalala and welfare team.

"Nightline" segment on teen pregnancy and welfare reform.

Wednesday, June 14, 1994

Shalala and Panetta host background interview at White House with columnists on plan. POTUS drops by.

Shalala will do satellite feeds to selected markets.

Target state and regional press for follow-up stories on how welfare reform will affect existing state plans.

June 15 and beyond

Shalala and welfare reform team concentrate on:

- * Extensive outreach to radio talk shows outside the Beltway.
- * Targeted editorial boards.
- * Media with interested members of Congress

Shalala has pending requests to appear on "Evans and Novak" and weekend shows to explain plan.

National Press Club has requested Shalala speech on plan for June 24.

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ROLLOUT SCHEDULE

WEEK OF JUNE 6-10

- POTUS:** Interviews with TIME, US News, Newsweek
Meeting with Rasco et al to brief him on the plan?
- CONGRESS:** Meetings with key Congressional leadership
Meeting with House GOP WR Task Force
- OTHERS:** Release of Child Support background paper
Briefing for NGA, DGA, NACO, NLC, NCSL, USCM, APWA
Briefing for Labor

WEEK OF JUNE 13-17

- POTUS:** Announcement speech at Georgetown (or outside DC)
-- Meet with mothers who testified at our WR hearings
Possible field trip to LINK program in Kansas City
Interviews with major newspapers
- CONGRESS:** Briefings begin for caucuses, Dem Policy Comm., etc.
Transmittal of bill? (or when cleared)
- OTHERS:** Background briefings for press
Briefings for advocacy groups, others
Editorial boards, morning shows, etc.
Brief Cabinet at DPC June 13 - *Danna - Leon: Talk to Ellwood etc + Sandhill*
Brief WH staff

WEEK OF JUNE 20-24 AND BEYOND

- POTUS:** Possible NAACP speech in Chicago July 9
- CONGRESS:** Subcommittee hearings begin after July 4 recess
- OTHERS:** Teen pregnancy, child support, and other events with Shalala, other interested Cabinet members

WR-Rollout

TO: Rahm Emmanuel
FROM: Avis LaVelle
Melissa Skolfield
DATE: April 6, 1994
RE: Welfare Reform Rollout

Per your request, we have begun work on a rollout plan for the unveiling and introduction of legislation to reform the welfare system. Attached is a first cut for your review.

Please bear in mind that this strategy was based on four key assumptions. First, that we will be using the current messages and themes as the basis of our communications effort. Second, that we will be building on existing public relations opportunities such as speeches and congressional hearings. (For example, the Ways and Means Committee plans to hold two Washington, D.C. hearings in April and another two in May. The April hearings will be on state innovations and on welfare dynamics; the May hearings will be on transitional assistance and on the new work program.) Third, that we will primarily be relying on surrogates in the weeks prior to introduction of the bill.

Finally, and most important, this rollout plan assumes a four-week period prior to introduction of the legislation. Again, this assumption was made simply to facilitate the discussion; obviously, the schedule could be easily altered. We look forward to discussing this with you as the schedule is firmed up.

WEEK ONE
(April 10-16)

MESSAGE: WELFARE AS A TRANSITION TO WORK

POLICY POINTS:

Two year time limit
Private sector involvement
EITC, Health Care
Work program

EXISTING EVENTS:

Shalala speech to Urban Institute. (4/13)
Bane/Ellwood/Reed presentations to Urban Institute. (4/12)
Senate Labor/HHS Appropriations Subcommittee hearing. (4/11). Mary
Jo Bane has been invited to testify.

Connecticut and Pennsylvania waivers pending.

WEEK TWO
(April 17-23)

MESSAGE: RESPONSIBILITY/CHILD SUPPORT

POLICY POINTS:

In-hospital paternity establishment
child support enforcement
IRS enforcement

EXISTING EVENTS:

House Education and Labor Hearing on JOBS program. (4/19) Mary Jo Bane has been invited to testify.

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

Shalala child support event: Columbia Hospital for Women*
Shalala child support op/ed

Co-chairs:

release of child support issue paper/background media briefing
endorsement event with custodial parents' rights group/possible
regional press conferences with their affiliates
possible involvement of Treasury/IRS?

* Columbia Hospital for Women
2425 L Street. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
Contact: Sheila Bradley
Paternity Programs, DC Office of Child Support
(202) 724-5610
Jeanette Terrell, Columbia Hospital
(202) 293-6555

One of ten hospitals participating in streamlined in house hospital paternity program. Paternity establishment forms cross-referenced with OCSE files to enforce or file support order. Also, established teen program covering pre-natal care issues.

EVENT: DES witnesses father having paternity establishment form notarized by hospital birth recorder. Bane/Ellwood/Reed accompany?

WEEK THREE
(April 24-30)

MESSAGE: REACHING A NEW GENERATION

POLICY POINTS:

Phase-in
Minor mothers
requirements to stay in school
pregnancy prevention

EXISTING EVENTS:

Ways and Means Hearing on the Family/Teen Pregnancy/Demographics
(tentative)

Take Our Daughters to Work Day. (4/28)

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

If we're ready at this point to begin drawing press attention to welfare reform, Bane, Ellwood and Reed could host young welfare recipients for Take Our Daughters to Work Day. Other possible additions: a roundtable discussion in the afternoon with all hosts/participants; White House involvement; involvement of Dr. Elders; morning shows. Another possibility is a visit to a site (D.C. high school?) focused on keeping young mothers in school.

WEEK FOUR
(May 1-7)

WEEK PRIOR TO BILL INTRODUCTION

MESSAGE: WELFARE AS A TRANSITION TO WORK

POLICY POINTS:

Overall message

EXISTING EVENTS:

None

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

Presidential meeting with WRWG/photo op

Bane/Ellwood/Reed meeting with Caucus on Women's Issues/photo op

Bane/Ellwood/Reed Washington Post editorial board

Endorsement of phase-in/general principles by APWA?

Release of "need for reform" issue paper/background briefing

Embargoed briefings for news magazines

Special outreach to minority press

WEEK FIVE
(May 8-14)

TARGET WEEK FOR BILL INTRODUCTION

MESSAGE: WELFARE AS A TRANSITION TO WORK

POLICY POINTS:

Overall message

EXISTING EVENTS:

None.

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

Presidential site visit/announcement: Jubilee Jobs*

Presidential speech

Ways and Means hearing (JOBS)

(Work and Work Programs issue paper incorporated into testimony?)

Introduction ceremony with cosponsors

Post op/ed

cover story US News

Today show - Shalala

Good Morning America - Ellwood

other morning shows - Reed, Bane

satellite media tour/radio - Reed, Bane, Ellwood

* Jubilee Jobs

2712 Ontario Rd., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20009

Contact: Exec. Director Terry Flood

(202) 667-7390

Founded in 1981, Jubilee Jobs operates on the premise that the best step for a person ready and able to work is to be placed in a job as quickly as possible. Jubilee Jobs interviews an average of 1800 applicants each year and places over 500 in entry-level jobs annually. No fees are charged to the employer or the applicant. As part of its assessment process Jubilee Jobs runs Cana Industries, a bulk mailing service that is its main work-training program for the long-term unemployed. In addition, Jubilee Jobs runs the Barnabus Self-Employment Fund. This is a micro-enterprise development fund designed to provide training and small loans to prospective micro-business owners.

WEEK SIX
(May 15-21)

MESSAGE: WELFARE AS A TRANSITION TO WORK

POLICY POINTS:

transitional child care
education and training

EXISTING EVENTS:

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

Ways and Means hearing. (WORK)
Shalala address to National Press Club
Shalala op/ed: need for child care and other services
release of child care issue paper/background briefing by co-chairs

Shalala visit to teen program (Hunter/NYC)
NYT ed board (NYC)
DES meeting with women's magazines (NYC)

Presidential travel: Paquin School, Baltimore*

Laurence G. Paquin School
2200 Sinclair Lane
Baltimore, MD 21213
Contact: Principal Rosetta Stith
(410) 396-9398

A Baltimore City Public Alternative School established in 1966 serving expectant and parenting middle and secondary school adolescents. Approximately 300 students are enrolled per quarter between the ages of 12-19. The curriculum is a comprehensive Middle/Secondary High School program grades 7-12. Support services include a health center, Job/Career and Employment Counseling, On-site day care program. Special programs include 'Young Sensations', a vocational entrepreneur program which designs and manufactures clothes for infants and toddlers; 'For Dads Only', a counseling program for young fathers; and 'Pair and Share', an education and training program for the student's mother to return to school and learn a marketable skill.

EVENT: Classroom visit/discussion with young mothers; also potential visit to on-site child care facility.

WEEK SEVEN
(May 22-28)

MESSAGE: RESPONSIBILITY/ACCOUNTABILITY AND PERFORMANCE

POLICY POINTS:

National fraud database
simplification between programs
asset rule/eligibility changes
"one stop shopping"
non-custodial parent demonstrations?

EXISTING EVENTS:

None.

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

Congressional hearing (fraud/simplification or
non-custodial parents)*
Roundtable with co-chairs/recipients and administrators
APWA endorsement

*** Possible witnesses:**

Kansas City Futures Program, Kansas City, MO: a model for reinventing the welfare system and the JOBS programs by putting more emphasis on local implementation and privatization. The program was designed and is implemented locally by a Futures Advisory Committee and is outcome-driven with accountability for results. Standards for educational achievement, successful completion of training, wages at job placement, and job retention have been set.

Fast Forward, St. Paul, MN: Fast Forward is a model program for reinventing government assistance. This program has reworked the computer database system for social service providers and enhanced case management services in a way that has produced increasing success rates since it began five years ago.

OR IF FOCUS IS NON-CUSTODIAL PARENTS:

Episcopal Community Services' Fathers Program, Minneapolis, MN: The Fathers Program, begun in 1989, is designed to help noncustodial fathers ages 18 to 25 towards self-sufficiency through education and employment while at the same time assuming a more responsible and informed care taking role with their children.

Parents' Fair Share Demonstration, Trenton, NJ: Operation Fatherhood, housed at the Union Industrial Home for Children in Trenton, works with noncustodial fathers ages 16-35 who are unemployed or underemployed.

WEEK EIGHT
(May 29-June 4)

MESSAGE: STATE FLEXIBILITY

POLICY POINTS:

Work program/discretionary extensions
Responding to the local labor market
Building on successful state programs
NCP/IDA/ child support assurance demonstrations

EXISTING EVENTS:

None.

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

Endorsement event with NGA or Democratic Governors - DC

Cabinet/Presidential travel to selected states with current AFDC waivers or model programs. States should be chosen by intergovernmental/legislative affairs based on endorsement, but possibilities include Florida, Georgia and Vermont as well as several other states which have been granted waivers by the Administration.

Sites could be scheduled around existing travel plans. The following program is typical.

Rhode Island's Adolescent Pregnancy Project: The statewide APP program enrolls all parenting teens who have not completed their secondary education, who are not attending school or an education program, and who do not have good cause for nonparticipation. Thirteen community agencies operate APP programs. The program works to enter the teen parent into school or an educational program and work with the teen on all issues that may prevent re-entry. Statewide, the program was working with more than 700 participants as of March 1993.

WEEK NINE
(June 5-12)

MESSAGE: WORKING WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR

POLICY POINTS:

business subsidies
private industry councils
micro-enterprises
IDAs

EXISTING EVENTS:

None.

POSSIBLE ADDED EVENTS:

Presidential meeting with former welfare recipients who received microloans

Presidential travel - Chicago or St. Louis

Women's Self-Employment Project, Chicago, IL: WSEP is an entrepreneurial training program for low-income women. WSEP's Women's Business Initiative (WBI) is a three-year program offering a total of 150 Chicago women receiving AFDC benefits a chance to get self-employment training and begin their own business without losing their AFDC benefits. Of the 50 women WBI trained in its first year, 37 completed the training and 18 have already begun operating businesses.

Project Work, St. Louis, MO: Project Work is a micro-enterprise training program that provides the classroom business skills and the community and bank liaisons to make self-employment possible for interested AFDC recipients. In its first program year, 26 participants completed the program and 18 of them got loans and are starting their businesses.

21st Century Communities Demonstration, Kansas City, MO: Although still in its early stages, this program involves one community in a wage supplementation program under which eligible individuals can voluntarily participate in wage supplemented employment. Waivers for the program were granted in January 1993 and the program is currently recruiting businesses to participate.

**Goal Number One:
(Work)**

"And to all those who depend on welfare, we should offer this simple compact: We will provide the support, the job training, the child care you need for up to two years. But after that, anyone who can work must work -- in the private sector, if possible, in community service, if necessary. We will make welfare what it ought to be: A second chance, not a way of life..."

**President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994**

POLICY COMPONENTS:

Making Welfare A Transition To Work

- ▶ Childcare
- ▶ Job Search
- ▶ More Funding for JOBS/Education and Training
- ▶ Integration with Mainstream Training Programs

Two-Year Time Limit

- ▶ Everyone Who Is Able Is Expected To Do Something From The First Day
- ▶ Work for Wages/A Paycheck, Not a Welfare Check
- ▶ The Dignity and the Responsibility of a Real Job
- ▶ Limited Exemptions Available at State Determination

Promoting Work and Opportunity

- ▶ Preference for Private Sector Jobs
- ▶ Public Sector Jobs as Last Resort
- ▶ Earnings Disregard/Asset Changes
- ▶ Subsidies/Microenterprises
- ▶ EITC, Health Reform to Reward Those Who Work
- ▶ Part-time Work Option
- ▶ Limited WORK Slots

GOAL NUMBER TWO
(Responsibility and Accountability)

"This spring, I will send you comprehensive welfare reform legislation that builds on the Family Support Act and restores the basic values of work and responsibility."

"If we value personal responsibility, we cannot ignore the \$34 billion in child support that absent parents ought to be paying to millions of mothers and children...To absent parents who aren't paying their child support, we'll say, 'If you're not providing for your children, we'll garnish your wages, we'll suspend your license, we'll track you across state lines, and if necessary, we'll make some of you work off what you owe. People who bring children into this world can't just walk away...'"

President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994

POLICY COMPONENTS:

Accountability for Taxpayers

- ▶ Rewarding Work, Not Dependency
- ▶ Reinforcing Values: Work, Family, Opportunity, Responsibility
- ▶ National Fraud Database

Encouraging Responsibility for Non-Custodial Parents

- ▶ Child Support Enforcement/Award Updating/New Hires
- ▶ Paternity Establishment
- ▶ IRS enforcement, license suspension
- ▶ Access and Child Support Assurance Demonstrations

Rewarding Performance, Not Process

- ▶ Mutual Responsibility between the Recipient and the State
- ▶ Changing the Culture of the Welfare Office
- ▶ Making the System Work

**Goal Number Three:
(Reaching A New Generation)**

"I do think it's something the American people want us to do...It's a pro-work, pro-family, pro-community position. I think the idea that people would be moving from dependence to independence, from welfare to work, under circumstances which would still permit them to be successful as parents, I think has great appeal to the American people...We've got to help them turn their lives around."

**President Bill Clinton
USA Today interview
March 23, 1994**

"If we value strong families, we cannot perpetuate a system that penalizes those who stay together. Can you believe that a child who has a child gets more money from the government for leaving home than for staying with a parent or a grandparent? That's not just bad policy, it is wrong. And we must change it."

**President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994**

POLICY COMPONENT:

Prevention of Long-Term Dependency

- ▶ A National Mobilization Against Teen Pregnancy
- ▶ Requirements To Stay in School
- ▶ Requirements for Minor Mothers to Live at Home
- ▶ Mentoring
- ▶ Responsible Family Planning

Breaking the Cycle of Poverty for Families With Children

- ▶ Phase-In 25 & Younger
- ▶ A Strong Signal To Young Men and Women
- ▶ State Option To Do More
- ▶ Mandatory JOBS for Young Fathers

TALKING POINTS IN PREPARATION
4/6/94

Overall Plan

Caseload Effects

Child Care

Child Support Enforcement

Cost

Financing

Interplay With the Family Support Act

Minor mothers - Requirement to Live at Home

Phase-in

Preventing Fraud

Response to Charles Murray

Republican Plan

Sanctions

State Issues

Teen Pregnancy

Two-Parent Families

Where Are the Jobs?

The WORK Program

Welfare Reform Documents to Produce by Roll-Out

1. Ten-page summary of proposal (non-HSP)
2. Other press documents (Public Affairs)
3. Complete set of specifications (HSP)
4. Legislative language (leg. counsel)
5. Section-by-section explanation (leg. counsel)
6. Cost table with short paper on impacts and how estimates developed (HSP) (Paper should be for layperson's understanding w/ detailed methodology attached in appendix.)
7. Long description of proposal (already done by HSP)
 - Comments due 4/18
 - Next draft by 4/22
8. Questions and answers (WG staff w/ HSP review)
9. Working papers (HSP)
 - Child support enforcement
 - Need for reform
 - AFDC
 - Education and training programs
 - Child care
 - Dynamics
10. Possible rationale (HSP)
11. Side-by-side of plans (WG staff w/ HSP review)
12. Chartbook (HSP)

WR - To Do
Rollat

TO: Mary Jo Bane
David Ellwood
Bruce Reed

PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: Jeremy Ben-Ami

SUBJECT: Political/Communications Next Steps for Welfare Reform

DATE: September 21, 1993

I am writing to encourage a focussed discussion of our next steps on the political/communications front for welfare reform. Building on a fairly successful initial phase of outreach and intake, our next phase must engage key external players more concretely and lay the groundwork for successfully launching the plan. Whatever we may think of the health care process, the political operation was up and running for months prior to the announcement, and its centralized, coordinated efforts are paying off this week in a well-orchestrated kick-off.

This memo recommends a series of concrete steps between now and the end of the year. We have discussed and are even moving forward on a number of them -- but not in as strong or coordinated a fashion as we could to be as effective as possible. There may be disagreement about the substance of the recommendations. I am less concerned about the outcome on each item, than with setting up a process for addressing, resolving and moving forward on them.

Timing

We are eight weeks away from presenting policy options to the President (according to our most recent discussions). We envision presenting a welfare reform plan to the public early next year - centered around the State of the Union and the budget message. This means that, by November, a document will exist outlining a general plan and options that, not long after, will evolve into the "administration plan." We must further assume that as soon as a document exists and goes to the White House, its existence, if not the document itself, will be public knowledge.

These assumptions lead to the thrust of this memo -- if, in roughly two months, we will be fairly far along in developing our plan, we must ensure that this does not come as a surprise to several key constituencies: the Hill, the Gang of 14, the advocacy community, and labor. We have promised each that they will be involved in a meaningful way in the development of our plan. To date, we have successfully engaged them in our intake/outreach efforts and given them plenty of opportunity to

provide input. However, there has been little serious discussion of real options and policy choices. In light of our timetable, the time to begin serious discussions on these fronts is here.

Concrete Concerns/Steps

The following is a recommended plan of action for the next six-eight weeks laying the groundwork for a mid-November presentation to the President. Again, it is not so much the actual recommendations that are important as the need for coordinated decision and movement on each front.

Yes
1. Legislative Outreach -- We must step up our activity on the Hill, scheduling meetings at a staff level and, where appropriate, among principals. Health care and NAFTA may be on the front burner, but plenty of personal and committee staff who work on our issues are not tied up this fall. As you know, we must do all we can to ensure that members never feel that we moved ahead without them. Engaging Congress and gauging their reactions to specific policy options is also vital to the presentation of options to the White House. The Tom Downey dinners, for instance, would be one component of this outreach.

These meetings should be guided by an overall strategy, which should be designed and agreed upon shortly. I would urge that this strategy be coordinated with the White House Office of Legislative Affairs.

2. Labor -- We should make every effort to have labor in our camp before going public and to avoid negotiating with them on the Hill. Announcing our plan with labor support in January/February dramatically improves our position. This means trying to reach an early agreement with AFSCME on as many of the most difficult points of contention as possible. This advice is based on the clear lessons of the National Service effort. You will also note that the AFL-CIO endorsed the health plan on the day it was announced.

risky
To this end, we should open concrete negotiations with AFSCME in the near future. We need to designate a lead negotiator and make clear to AFSCME that that person has the authority to talk. We should aim to present to the White House in November an outline of what it would take to reach agreement with labor and what the impact would be on the politics and the policy.

3. Solidifying a Base in the Center -- Our early outreach efforts to the advocacy community have heavily favored liberal/left groups. It is important to do our best to work with them, but we should pursue more aggressively centrist, moderate groups that could be critical to passage. I recommend a concerted effort to meet and work with groups such as the DLC, the Empowerment Network and to reach out to like-minded organizations

around the country. I would recommend a particularly active role for Bruce and the White House in this effort.

4. Business -- We should aim not only to get business support for the reform plan but to get concrete commitments from the business community to provide private sector jobs for people leaving welfare. The White House and the Labor Department worked together on a commitment by business to provide summer jobs for youth, and a similar effort should be launched for welfare reform. Ideally, this would result in a winter/spring event at which the President, flanked by business leaders, announces a challenge to the business community to commit x hundred thousand entry level jobs to those leaving welfare under his plan. To be most successful, this effort requires White House leadership and focus in the near future -- meaning that those handling relations with the business community need to be told that this is a priority.

5. Polling -- We need to move forward with further opinion and market research on how best to sell the welfare reform package. Professional focus groups of key constituencies and a quality poll will help us get a better grasp of exactly how to sell the proposals we may put forward. What does the public expect "Ending welfare as we know it" to mean? Will tax and spend attacks kill support for a plan then spends money on child care and training? How about tax and spend attacks on one million workfare jobs? Allan Rivlin is putting together a draft discussion guide for focus groups and a draft opinion survey, but we need a commitment of White House resources now to get this done.

6. Message/Rhetoric -- The administration's language on welfare reform has to be better controlled. One overriding concern is to eliminate language perceived as "client-bashing" or racist from the rhetoric. Equally important is beginning to frame the public debate in ways that help us sell the ultimate plan. We need to renew our pressure for a meeting with the top levels of the White House communications staff to open this discussion, and then we need to urge them to commit their help in shaping the message, fitting it into ongoing communications efforts, and, perhaps most importantly, ensuring that we avoid critical future blunders.

7. Summit -- A well-orchestrated, high visibility summit on welfare is something that sparks many people's interest -- particularly around the announcement of a plan early next year. Planning should begin in November for a successful January event. This means getting general concurrence from the White House about timing and themes. We should start to draft a proposal for their review within the next month to six weeks.

8. Working Papers -- The Working Group has promised a series of working papers during the summer and fall. We need a clear series of topics and a schedule for their release. They should

be prepared with input and assistance from the communications and press offices as they will serve as the primary public documents supporting our political/communications efforts.

9. Intergovernmental -- Lost in the above should not be the importance of moving forward with the Gang of 14. We have done a good job of involving them in the early stages of input, and the organizations are relatively pleased with our efforts. They, too, are ready to move to the next level of more concrete discussions, and again it would seem wise to have at least some of these discussions in advance of presenting options to the President. STATE OUTREACH

Leadership and Coordination

My final recommendation returns to a refrain you have heard from me before -- we need leadership and coordination on the political/communications front. I continue to emphasize this because, as the only person devoting full-time to the politics of welfare reform, I think I see it most directly. The following are the problems as I see them:

- (1) a lack of coordination between politics and policy -- for instance, the people creating legislative and media strategies don't feel they have a good sense of where the policy is headed. By the same token, as discussions of policy begin to crystallize, the political people should be involved because the policy needs to account for the political realities. At the moment, the two discussions are taking place in fairly separate environments.
- (2) no one has the authority or responsibility for making the things recommended above happen. We have discussed, and even agreed to, many of them yet they do not seem to happen. We are fortunate to have so many people on our team with experience and expertise. Yet they disagree, as will happen, and, to move forward successfully, the team needs a clear game plan, leadership and structured decisionmaking.
- (3) Issues of political strategy are not high enough on the agenda when we do meet in a decision making group (i.e., the retreats). Time devoted to the political side of our work should not be viewed as taking away from "policy and substance."

45 | I offer two options for addressing these issues: one is for the three of you to become more directly involved in overseeing the political side of this operation. For instance, you could chair the communications meetings and or combine them with steering committee meetings. This would allow you to give strategic guidance and keep the pressure on to actually make some of the above recommendations happen.

The other option is for you to clearly empower a political/communications director with the authority and responsibility to pull the pieces together and act as go-between among the various political offices here, at the White House, and the three of you. Till now, I have tried to fill this role, but I do not have the clear authority to push the pieces along. I am not arguing that you need to empower me, only that you need to empower someone. Right now, I feel responsible for these things, but powerless. This is difficult for me, and bad for the effort.

Your entire team needs to be working from the same game plan, and you need strong management to keep everyone moving forward together. I imagine there might be disagreement among the people involved over steps outlined above. I know there is disagreement both over strategy and over responsibilities. These need to be settled. My bottom line has less to do with the substance of these recommendations than with the need to resolve those differences and to take strong, affirmative steps forward in the very near future.

I welcome the opportunity to discuss these recommendations with you in more detail.

TIMELINE	INTERNAL	ADVOCACY GROUPS	CONGRESS	INTERGOVERNMENTAL
Pre-November 20	Develop single document for use in discussion of options with all outside groups		ASL to call key hill staff to inform of upcoming process	IGA will arrange meetings for WG members and State and Local task Force members. Kathi and John to meet with staffs of national orgs.
Week One: November 22 - November 24	Prep Meeting for Working Group chairs and members who will be holding outreach meetings to go over how options will be presented.	Share draft options memo with key groups, as appropriate. Ask for their review in advance of meeting with WG chairs the following week. <u>Meeting</u> AFSCME -- 11/24		

TIMELINE	INTERNAL	ADVOCACY GROUPS	CONGRESS	INTERGOVERNMENTAL
<p>Week Two: November 29 - December 3</p>		<p><u>Meetings with Chairs</u> CLASP, CDF, CBBP</p> <p><u>Meetings with staff</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o child support groups - Paul L o child care groups - Joan L o business - Bruce, Jeremy, Bonnie 	<p>Briefings at a staff level begin for key committees, leadership, caucuses including Mainstream forum -- bipartisan approach</p>	<p>Kick-off, lengthy meeting with WG members and Task Force members.</p> <p>NGA NACO APWA NCSL USCM NLC all invited through task force</p>
<p>Week Three: December 6 - December 10</p>		<p>Schedule meetings for consultation with chairs or key WG members and staff.</p> <p><u>With Chairs</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. DLC/PPI 2. Religious 3. Women 4. African American 5. Hispanic 6. NASW/FRAC/COHN 		

TIMELINE	INTERNAL	ADVOCACY GROUPS	CONGRESS	INTERGOVERNMENTAL
<p>Week Four: December 13 - December 15</p>		<p>Ask for written comments by early in the week and incorporate comments into options paper as appropriate. Follow up meetings at a staff level to explore substantive ideas and suggestions.</p> <p>Summary report of meetings, comments and WG reactions prepared by Outreach staff.</p>		

April 29, 1994

WR-Rollat

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL
Subject: Welfare Reform Strategy

This memo attempts to outline a strategy for the introduction of welfare reform legislation.

Over the course of the last 6-10 days, the politics surrounding welfare reform have improved significantly for us. The focus has shifted away from the President's proposal, and turned to the divisions within the Republican Party. The Republicans, both on the Hill and in the party generally, are split on issues of financing and substance.

The left has also put forward a plan, which puts the President in the "political center."

The Republicans don't seem to be seeking Democratic signatures for a discharge petition which would force our hand. Pat has done an excellent job preventing this.

Stan has just finished a poll on welfare reform, and will brief Bruce Reed and me on Monday. He will also give us guidance on language.

Following is a suggested roll-out plan surrounding welfare reform:

- PRINT STORIES ON DETAILS: Bruce and I met with members of the HHS communications staff to develop a strategy to get out the details of the welfare reform in print stories. In particular, we are working to get out those aspects of the President's plan that wouldn't ordinarily get covered (i.e. fraud, deadbeat dads, job training, etc.)
- ELITE PRESS: As we prepare to introduce legislation, which should occur when it is most helpful to the health care effort, the President should sit down with the reporters who pay attention to this issue. The President would outline his vision of welfare reform, both philosophically and programmatically.

Relevant reporters include: Michael Kramer, Joe Klien, Ron Brownstein, Jeff Greenfield, Garry Seib, Mickey Klaus, etc. These reporters are "referees" on welfare, and will send signals about the seriousness of our proposal.

- **BIPARTISAN MEETING:** Before formally introducing welfare reform legislation, the President should consider meeting with a bipartisan group of members of Congress who have been working on the issue for a long time.
- **INTRODUCTION OF PLAN:** When we decide upon a date for introduction, the President should deliver a major policy address at Georgetown University, where he gave his welfare reform speech during the campaign.
- **TRAVEL:** The day after the President introduces his plan, he should travel to a state where there is already a pilot reform program in place, such as Florida or Wisconsin.



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20201

May 17, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Carol Rasco
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

FROM: Avis LaVelle *AL*
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

Melissa Skolfield *MS*
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Welfare Reform Communications

CALL
MELISSA

Secretary Shalala asked us to give you an update on the communications plan for the "rollout" of welfare reform, which we have been developing here at HHS. As you may know, we have had preliminary discussions on this topic with Bruce Reed and Rahm Emmanuel, but have been waiting for a decision on the target date for introduction of the bill to make the final decisions.

In the meantime, we have prepared several documents, and others are in the clearance process. A set of talking points (attached) was completed in early May; the first five documents were approved and are in use by HHS and by the White House Press Office. The remaining seven documents should be cleared this week. Our intention is then to use these internal talking points as the basis for a set of external fact sheets for the media, the Hill, and other outside groups.

In addition, we have prepared two op/eds for Secretary Shalala: one on the improvements we're making to the entry-level jobs available to welfare recipients (i.e., health insurance, child care and the EITC), and one on child support enforcement. These were on hold until the final policy decision were made, but are now ready to be released as soon as the communications plan is finalized. We are also starting to work on a stump speech; a "Q and A" document for internal use; and a short (5-7 page) summary of the plan itself.

Finally, we are beginning to update the comprehensive communications rollout plan, which we originally submitted to Bruce and Rahm in early April, to reflect an introduction date in early June. As you may know, Rahm has expressed concern about a high profile welfare reform rollout that might distract attention from health reform and the crime bill. Now that we have a better sense of the timing, however, we will be working closely with him to develop the most strategic approach possible to launching welfare reform. If we can provide any further information at any time, please let us know.

cc: Rahm Emmanuel
Bruce Reed

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **OVERALL PLAN**
May 4, 1994

"It's time to honor and reward people who work hard and play by the rules. That means ending welfare as we know it--not by punishing the poor or preaching to them, but by empowering Americans to take care of their children and improve their lives. No one who works full-time and has children at home should be poor anymore. No one who can work should be able to stay on welfare forever. We can provide opportunity, demand responsibility, and end welfare as we know it." President Clinton, Putting People First, p. 164.

Welfare reform is based on two simple principles: work and responsibility. Unfortunately, the current welfare system undermines these values by making welfare more attractive than work, and allowing parents to avoid responsibility for supporting their children. The President's plan would restore the basic values of work and responsibility, provide opportunity, and promote the family.

Under the President's plan, welfare will be about a paycheck, not a welfare check. To reinforce and reward work, our approach is based on a simple compact. Support, job training, and child care will be provided to help people move from dependence to independence. But after two years, anyone who can work, must work--in the private sector if possible, in a public service job if necessary.

Reform will make welfare a transitional system leading to work: a second chance, not a way of life. From the very first day, the new system will focus on making young mothers self-sufficient. With child care and job search assistance, many people will move into the workforce well before the two-year time limit. And from the very first day, teenage mothers will be required to live with their parents, stay in school, and attend job training or parenting classes. Everyone will be moving toward work.

Our approach also correctly focuses on young parents--those who have the most to gain and the most at risk. By initially focusing our resources on mothers under age 25, we will send a strong signal to teenagers that welfare as we know it has ended. They must get the message that staying in school, postponing pregnancy, preparing to work, and supporting their children are the right things to do. As welfare reform is phased in, a larger percentage of the caseload will be covered; and states which want to move even faster will be able to use federal matching funds to do so.

To support work and responsibility, work must pay. Already, 70 percent of welfare recipients leave the welfare rolls within two years--but most will eventually return. That's why we must use the Earned Income Tax Credit, guaranteed health care at work, and child care to make any job more attractive than welfare. The EITC alone will effectively make a minimum wage job pay \$6.00 an hour, helping

to lift millions of people who work out of poverty.

To reinforce personal responsibility, the plan will take new steps to require full payment of child support. It sets up a new system of paternity establishment to enforce the responsibility of both parents from the moment the child is born. It involves the IRS in tracking delinquent parents from the moment they start a new job to the point that child support is delivered to the family. And it sets up a computer system to be sure that parents don't avoid their responsibilities by crossing state lines.

Responsibility and accountability must also extend to the welfare office itself. Unfortunately, the current system focuses too often on simply sending out welfare checks. We must change the welfare office to a place that is fundamentally about moving people into the workforce. To do that, we must reward performance, not process, and change the culture of the welfare office.

Our approach builds on the successful philosophy of the Family Support Act, championed by then governor Clinton in 1988. More federal funding will help states provide increased job opportunities and basic skills training to mothers over age 25, even before the plan is fully phased in.

Moyukha

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **REPUBLICAN PLANS**
May 3, 1994

"There are all kinds of proposals out there. I know that the Republican welfare reform proposal has a lot of things in it that I like. But I think it's way too hard on financing things through savings from immigrants. I think it goes too far there."
President Clinton, press conference 3/24/94

President Clinton has sought to reform welfare for years and we are pleased that Republicans have developed legislation which shares many of his priorities. President Clinton sponsored innovative programs as governor of Arkansas and was instrumental in passage of the Family Support Act of 1988. His campaign focused attention on welfare reform, and we're glad Republicans agree on the need for change.

The Republican legislation is proof that the consensus on the need for reform reaches across party lines. Everyone--Democrats and Republicans, administrators and recipients--agree that we must reform the welfare system. It doesn't work, and it doesn't reflect the important American values of work and responsibility.

The Republican legislation includes many elements of the plan that President Clinton has already outlined. Both emphasize the values of work, family, opportunity, and responsibility. Both make public assistance a transitional benefit leading to mandatory work; emphasize parental responsibility and delaying sexual activity; and provide funding for education, training, child care, and job creation. And both recognize that we must spend money to move young mothers toward self-sufficiency.

However, our plan places a greater emphasis on making work pay. We recognize that 70 percent of welfare recipients already leave the rolls within two years and just need help keeping that first job. Republican legislation in the House of Representatives caps the Earned Income Tax Credit, a powerful work incentive with bipartisan support. That's exactly the wrong approach.

In addition, the Republican plan's financing unfairly penalizes vulnerable groups and the states. The Senate bill, for example, makes sweeping cuts in benefits for legal immigrants. The House bill reduces food stamps, WIC, and other nutrition programs serving children and the elderly. Such cuts in cost-effective programs might actually increase long-term costs--and would inevitably add to state financial burdens.

While the mainstream Republican legislation overlaps significantly with our proposal, we reject the more punitive reforms developed by Charles Murray and William Bennett. By completely eliminating benefits for teenage mothers, their plan would "write off" an entire generation instead of building job skills and self-sufficiency. We believe the Administration's approach is a better way to reward work and responsibility.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **RESPONSE TO CHARLES MURRAY**
May 3, 1994

"He did the country a great service. I mean, he and I have often disagreed, but I think his analysis is essentially right. Now, whether his prescription is right, I question...I once polled 100 children in an alternative school in Atlanta--many of whom had had babies out of wedlock--and I said, 'If we didn't give any AFDC to people after they had their first child, how many of you think it would reduce the number of out-of-wedlock births?' Over 80 percent of the kids raised their hands. There's no question that that would work. But the question is...Is it morally right?"

"...There is no question that...if we reduced Aid to Families with Dependent Children, it would be some incentive for people not to have dependent children out of wedlock...[O]nce a really poor woman has a child out of wedlock, it almost locks her and that child into the cycle of poverty which then spins out of control further."

President Clinton, NBC News interview 12/3/93

Teen pregnancy, illegitimacy, and single-parent families are important problems which must be addressed. We agree that violence, crime, drug use, poverty, and homelessness are in part linked to the breakdown of families.

However, holding teenage parents responsible for support of their children makes more sense than simply cutting off benefits. Our approach would condition teenage mothers' AFDC benefits on staying in school, living at home with their parents or a responsible adult, identifying their child's father, participating in job training, and attending parenting classes. This combination of "carrots and sticks" is only possible if you continue benefits for single mothers who take steps toward self-sufficiency--and reduce benefits for those who don't.

Simply cutting off support to teenagers and their young children is irresponsible, dangerous, and potentially counterproductive. In a recent poll, an overwhelming 70 percent of Americans rejected this approach.¹ While Murray says his approach will not harm children, the truth is that millions of young mothers and children would no longer have a safety net of any sort. This untried approach would almost certainly increase crime and homelessness. The President's strategy of time-limited benefits and supportive services would, like Murray's, end welfare as a way of life--but would preserve it as a "second chance."

It's important to demand responsibility of teenage fathers as well as teenage mothers. One of the worst features of Charles Murray's approach is that it lets teenage fathers off the hook. True welfare reform demands that both parents take

¹Los Angeles Times poll of 1,682 adults in April 1994. The margin was +/- 3%. Asked if they would support "no benefits" for women with children born out of wedlock, 70% said no and 26% said yes.

responsibility for their children, and we believe no plan will succeed without a commitment to paternity establishment and tougher child support enforcement.² Our proposal requires mothers to provide paternity and locating information before receiving benefits. We will also develop hospital-based programs to determine paternity for all babies, since studies have shown such proactive efforts to be most successful.

Conditional AFDC benefits work. A rigorous evaluation of one such program in Illinois and New Jersey found that teenage mothers who received conditional benefits, along with case management and support services, achieved significantly higher rates of school attendance and employment. The 3,000 participants who faced a \$160 reduction in their monthly AFDC grants had success rates nearly 20 percent higher than young mothers who did not face sanctions or receive services. Simply "writing off" an entire generation of young people would do nothing to build job skills and turn dependence into independence.

²"I am letting unmarried fathers off the hook...Given that a woman chooses to engage in sex knowing that the man is not wearing a condom, what is the responsibility of a male for the fact that a child is conceived and carried to term in an age when contraceptives and abortion are freely available?...As far as I can tell, he has approximately the same casual responsibility as a slice of chocolate cake has in determining whether a woman gains weight." Charles Murray, The Sunday Times 11/14/93

Welfare Reform Working Group

Talking Points: **STATE ISSUES: FINANCING, FLEXIBILITY, AND WAIVERS**

May 3, 1994

"I do believe the states are the laboratories of democracy. I do believe that where people are charged with solving the real problems of real people, reality intrudes, and politics often is more likely to give way to making progress...[The Family Support Act] was never fully implemented because [states] had to spend all [their] money on mandatory...medical costs and building prison cells...So we need to begin there."

President Clinton, remarks to the National Governors' Association 2/1/94

"We gave the states more power to innovate because we know that a lot of great ideas come from outside Washington and many states are already using it."

President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

President Clinton's welfare reform plan will support states while increasing flexibility. President Clinton recognizes that some welfare problems require federal aid in the form of technical assistance, simplified regulations, or greater federal funding. But other problems are tied to specific social and economic issues and demand local flexibility.

Already, the Clinton administration has recognized the value of state efforts. Since January 1993, HHS has granted demonstration waivers to 14 states. States are already experimenting with time-limited aid programs followed by work, assistance for two-parent families, and special requirements for teenage mothers. Our welfare reform program will build on the knowledge and experience gained through these state initiatives.

Welfare reform will not mean additional unfunded state mandates. Instead, we will increase federal funding for JOBS, pregnancy prevention, child care, and child support enforcement. We will provide new funding for WORK programs. And we will raise federal matching rates to make money more available.

States will share in the benefits of welfare reform. Since AFDC is a joint federal-state program, states will benefit from welfare reform's emphasis on child support enforcement and moving recipients into the work force.

The WORK program continues and expands the flexibility of the existing JOBS program. States must provide work opportunities for those unable to find unsubsidized private sector jobs after two years, but states and local communities can tailor these WORK programs to local needs and circumstances. Local governments will be able to subsidize private sector employers, create public sector work slots, or enter into creative agreements with businesses or non-profit agencies.

The Administration's plan recognizes that states will need adequate time to move to the new system. By contrast, the House Republican welfare plan (HR 3500) requires an eight-fold increase from current participation levels within eight years. And while state costs would inevitably grow, the Republican bill provides no additional federal matching dollars for work and training programs, child care, or other services. Our phase-in strategy lets states start with a manageable caseload, and go further with federal help if they wish to.

NO

The Clinton plan will likely provide state options to:

- Extend assistance to poor two-parent families;
- Use monetary incentives as well as sanctions to keep teen parents in school or GED-class;
- Deny increased benefits to women who have additional children while on welfare;
- Develop mandatory work programs for noncustodial parents;
- Grant a limited number of extensions to women in work-study programs or other activities necessary to prepare for work;
- Set higher earnings disregards for recipients.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **WAIVERS**
May 3, 1994

"We [must] also revolutionize our welfare system. Last year, we began this. We gave the states more power to innovate because we know that a lot of great ideas come from outside Washington and many states are already using it."
President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

"I do believe the states are the laboratories of democracy. I do believe that where people are charged with solving the real problems of real people, reality intrudes, and politics often is more likely to give way to making progress."
President Clinton, remarks to the National Governors' Association 2/1/94

President Clinton's welfare reform plan builds on a strong record of state innovation and state success. Under the Social Security Act, the Department of Health and Human Services can exempt states from laws governing the AFDC and Medicaid programs. This waiver program has allowed states to explore alternative welfare approaches and adapt federal programs to local needs.

The Clinton administration has streamlined the waiver process, increasing state flexibility while maintaining quality services for HHS beneficiaries. Faster reviews have meant more flexibility for states and a better federal partnership.

The scale of the waiver program reflects state eagerness for welfare reform. Since January 1993, HHS has approved welfare demonstration projects in 14 states: Arkansas, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Eleven other states have applications pending.

Waivers allow a striking variety of initiatives. Some states have required teenage mothers to live at home rather than in households of their own, to stay in school, and to participate in job training. Others have reduced or eliminated aid after two years--often providing transitional jobs--in order to encourage work and self-sufficiency.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **TEEN PREGNANCY**
May 3, 1994

What we'll do

"They have to come to understand that children having children is just wrong, and can't lead to anything good for them...We have to change that, and we have to help them change that."
President Clinton, American Society of Newspaper Editors 4/13/94

Kramer
Keph

Teen pregnancy is an important issue for this Administration because it's linked to poverty, welfare dependency, child health, and other domestic issues. Each year, 200,000 teenagers aged 17 and younger have children. The babies are often low-birth weight; infant mortality rates are also disproportionately high among this population. Teen pregnancy frequently leads to poverty and welfare dependency. The costs to society are enormous.

Preventing teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births is a critical part of welfare reform. Cases headed by unwed mothers accounted for most of the growth in the welfare rolls over the last decade. We need to send the strongest possible signal to teens that pregnancy and childbirth should be delayed. And we also need to focus on teens who are already mothers--with mentoring, child care, time-limited AFDC benefits, requirements to live with a caring adult and identify their child's father, incentives to stay in school, and other services necessary to put them on the path to work and self-sufficiency.

The link between teen births and poverty is clear. Approximately 80 percent of the children born to teenage parents who dropped out of high school and did not marry are poor. In contrast, just 8 percent of children born to married high school graduates aged 20 or older are poor.

Our reform proposal tells adolescents that both parents have clear obligations that will be enforced. Mothers must provide paternity information before receiving benefits, and absent fathers must pay child support. Automated state systems will use wage-withholding and license suspension to collect support. And a new national database will follow cases across state lines.

Teen pregnancy prevention requires cooperation between HHS, Education, Labor, Justice, and other agencies. The problem's connection with other issues such as violence, drugs, crime, and education makes such interagency coordination essential. Our effort will involve School-to-Work, Head Start, child care expansion, child support enforcement, health care reform, and the EITC.

ways to
have
child
o/w

This Administration recognizes that government can't do it all. Our proposal will bring together local schools, communities, families, and churches.

work w/ early phase in
stay in school
minor means

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **SANCTIONS**
May 3, 1994

"We should insist that people move off welfare rolls and onto work rolls. We should give people on welfare the skills they need to succeed, but we should demand that everybody who can work go to work and become a productive member of society."

Bill Clinton, announcement speech, Little Rock, AR 10/3/91

President Clinton's welfare reform plan provides opportunity and supportive services, but it also demands responsibility. People who refuse to participate in the JOBS program or fulfill their WORK obligations will be sanctioned. Expectations-- and consequences--will be clear.

*Reduce #
exemptions
in half*

Conditional AFDC benefits work. A rigorous evaluation of one such program in Illinois and New Jersey found that teenage mothers who received conditional benefits, along with case management and support services, achieved significantly higher rates of school attendance and employment. The 3,000 participants who faced a \$160 reduction in their monthly AFDC grants had success rates nearly 20 percent higher than young mothers who did not face sanctions or receive services.

Safeguards will ensure fairness. If states fail to provide services specified in the employability plan, they must grant extensions past the two-year limit to JOBS participants. States will continue existing notice and hearings protection, and recipients will receive benefits during the hearing/ appeals process. After the second WORK sanction, states will evaluate the family's need for other services. And job search assistance will continue during WORK sanctioning.

Under our proposal, individuals who fail to participate in education, training, or employment as required during the first two years will lose cash benefits, and Food Stamps will not increase to offset that loss. On average, the amount lost will be \$226 a month, and will correspond to the adult's share of the AFDC grant.¹

| ?

Successive violations will result in longer benefit suspensions. As in the 1988 Family Support Act, after the first violation adults will lose benefits until they begin to comply. A second violation results in sanctions for three months or until compliance, whichever is longer. Third and subsequent failures result in sanctions for six months or until compliance, whichever is longer.

Both before and after the two-year time limit, recipients refusing to accept private sector jobs without good cause will lose family cash benefits for six months, or ~~until they accept private sector jobs.~~ After reaching the two-year time limit, WORK

| MAKE UP

¹Estimated national average monthly AFDC payment for an adult, calculated by ASPE 5/3/94.

participants will experience the same sanction faced by ordinary workers: lost wages for hours not worked.

requires job search

Broader sanctions are imposed on WORK participants who fail to ^{do} job search as required or who quit, are dismissed from, or refuse to accept WORK assignments without good cause. After a first violation, families lose half their cash grants for one month or until acceptance of a WORK assignment, whichever is sooner. After a second violation, families lose WORK eligibility and half their cash grants for three months. Third and subsequent sanctions end the family cash grant and WORK eligibility for three months.

/ 6 mos

Some benefits will continue--even during sanctions--in order to protect children. During JOBS sanctions, children will still receive benefits and families will keep Food Stamps, housing assistance, and medical insurance. During WORK sanctions, families will keep Food Stamps, housing assistance, and medical insurance.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT**
May 3, 1994

"If we value responsibility, we can't ignore the \$34 billion in child support absent parents ought to be paying to millions of parents who are taking care of their children... People who bring children into this world cannot and must not walk away from them."

President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

Child support can help end the poverty and insecurity that victimize single-parent families. In 1990, absent fathers paid only \$14 billion in child support. But if child support orders reflecting current ability to pay were established and enforced, single mothers would have received \$48 billion: money for school clothing, food, utilities, and child care. The President's plan will close this \$34 billion gap.¹

Both parents are responsible for supporting their families. Parenthood brings clear obligations and those obligations will be enforced.

Making child support a national priority will help lift single-parent families out of poverty. It will show adolescents that parenthood has clear and unavoidable obligations. And it will slowly reknit fractured families by emphasizing the bonds--financial and emotional--that link parents and their children.

CS system is letting too many off the hook
Our national failure to collect child support has several explanations. Fathers often deny paternity, so that mothers cannot establish their right to child support. Child support awards are usually low and rarely modified; award updating is frequently initiated only at the mother's request and requires extensive litigation. And ineffective collection enforcement allows many absent parents--especially in interstate cases--to avoid payment without penalty.

Building on the best state and federal initiatives, we can solve these problems. We can reduce litigation, automate enforcement, and create the proactive system that our children need. Our approach focuses on three key steps:

1) Establish paternity for all births. Economic incentives will encourage states to establish paternity for all births regardless of welfare status. Hospitals will expand existing paternity programs, while simplified legal procedures and greater use of scientific testing will facilitate later identification. Under the Clinton plan, a welfare applicant must supply the father's name and location in order to receive benefits.

¹Elaine Sorensen, "Noncustodial Fathers: Can They Afford to Pay More Child Support? (Preliminary Findings)," The Urban Institute (1994).

*More on what we do
reg fathers to work*

2) Reassess awards guidelines and automatically update payment sums as parental incomes change. President Clinton's welfare reform plan establishes a commission to evaluate national awards guidelines. States will automatically update awards for all families.

3) Enforce collection. Using federal funds, states will replace the existing fragmented child support structure with centralized registries. States will monitor payments automatically and use new enforcement techniques: wage withholding, data-base matching, withholding of driver's and professional licenses, even property seizure. President Clinton's welfare reform plan will also locate absent parents nationwide through a new federal clearinghouse and simplify interstate collection through the Uniform Interstate Family Support Act (UIFSA).

Additional Issues

Interstate Enforcement

Because one-third of all child support cases involve interstate collection, that process must be dramatically improved. President Clinton's welfare reform plan will set up a national child support enforcement clearinghouse with three different registries. One registry will locate parents who fail to pay. A second registry will contain information on child support orders. And a third will list new hires nationwide so that withholding can begin from the first paycheck. Meanwhile, the Uniform Interstate Family Support Act (UIFSA) will routinize procedures in interstate cases.

License Withholding

As a last resort, states will withhold the driver's and professional licenses of people who refuse to pay support. License suspension reaches self-employed people unaffected by wage-withholding. And officials in Maine and California, which recently instituted demonstration programs, say that often even the threat of suspension spurs absent fathers to face their obligations. (See attached.)

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **LICENSE SUSPENSION/ WITHHOLDING**
May 3, 1994

"We will...say to absent parents who aren't paying their child support: If you're not providing for your children, we'll garnish your wages, suspend your license, track you across state lines, and if necessary make some of you work off what you owe. People who bring children into this world cannot and must not walk away from them."

President Bill Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

The Clinton Proposal

Under President Clinton's welfare reform plan, states will suspend the driver's, professional, and commercial licenses of parents able but unwilling to pay support. Withholding will end after parents arrange payment schedules.

All states will be required to suspend licenses. States that fail to suspend licenses will suffer financial penalties: primarily, losing some federal AFDC matching funds. The Clinton plan requires states to suspend driver's licenses administratively, in order to avoid the tedious court procedures that have impeded current withholding programs.

States will be able to tailor suspension programs to local needs. They can choose to use administrative procedures or the courts to withhold professional and commercial licenses. They can determine due process rights for obligors and set the threshold amount of child support owed before suspension.

License suspension is effective as a last resort. It reaches self-employed people unaffected by wage withholding. And even the threat of suspension often spurs absent parents to face their obligations.

License withholding will be part of a broad, innovative approach to child support enforcement. States will have a wide variety of tools--including data-base matching, wage withholding, and even property seizure--to enforce payment.

Existing State Programs

In 1993, seven states ran suspension programs: Arizona, California, Maine, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Vermont. Eight others--Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Montana, Nevada, Oklahoma, and Oregon--are currently implementing programs.

License matching dramatically increased support collection. California estimates that it has collected \$5-10 million through the license matching program since

1992, while Maine expects to collect \$16.7 million biennially.

Suspension programs have also provided current information about absent parents and targeted difficult-to-reach offenders. In Arizona, professionals cooperated rather than be referred to their licensing boards. In California and Maine, officials located missing parents and updated asset and income information. In Pennsylvania and South Dakota, publicity surrounding the initiative motivated obligors to come forward.

A Shining Example: Maine's "Deadbeat Dads" Bill

Maine withholds licenses simply through an administrative hearing. Because absent parents can stay the process by going to court, due process protection is ensured.

The threat of suspension is the most powerful deterrent. Absent parents usually pay after receiving warning letters. "The Maine plan is designed not to suspend thousands of licenses," says Representative Sean Faircloth, "but rather to create a credible sanction that will motivate deadbeat parents to pay up."

Maine's program is a success. Maine's program should collect an additional \$4.7 million biennially for AFDC families and \$12 million for families not on welfare. Since the program began in July, collection has been ahead of schedule.

Maine has only 1.2 million people. On a national scale, the savings could be immense.

Welfare Reform Working Group

Talking Points: **HEALTH REFORM WILL GET ONE MILLION PEOPLE OFF WELFARE**
May 3, 1994

"It is estimated that one million people are on welfare today because it's the only way they can get health care coverage."

President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/26/94

"It is estimated that one million people are on welfare chiefly to qualify for Medicaid, the government's health care program for the poor. Some welfare recipients have children diagnosed with chronic health problems, or they require frequent health care services themselves."

Secretary Donna Shalala, Christian Science Monitor op/ed 1/28/94

The one million figure is a conservative estimate of the number of adults and children who are on AFDC simply to qualify for Medicaid. It represents approximately 7 percent of the current caseload (14 million adults and children).

It is based on a number of studies that found that between 10 and 25% of AFDC recipients are on AFDC primarily to qualify for health insurance. HHS' best estimate--based on three different research studies--suggests that the provision of health insurance would reduce welfare caseloads by 7 to 12 percent.¹

In addition to eliminating "welfare lock," the President's health care reform plan would encourage families to leave welfare in at least two other ways. First, by providing states with funds to set up home- and community-based long-term care programs, the Health Security Act would allow poor adults with disabled relatives to enter the work force. Second, by providing health insurance to people with pre-existing conditions, the Health Security Act would make it easier for people with disabilities to get jobs.

As President Clinton said in his State of the Union address, health care reform and welfare reform address the common needs of Americans for security, and for a society that enables people to work. Health care reform is a critical ingredient of welfare reform.

839 study
David 8%

¹A 1990 study by David Ellwood and E. Kathleen Adams found the effect to be 10 to 20%. Another 1990 study by Robert Moffitt and Barbara Wolfe put the effect at 10 to 25%. And a 1991 working paper by Michael Keane and Robert Moffitt estimates the effect at 16%. Because these studies did not fully reflect the fact that legislation has extended Medicaid coverage to some low-income women and children not on welfare, the Administration has adjusted these estimates to conservatively project that 1 million individuals remain on welfare because of health coverage.

Welfare Reform Working Group

Talking Points: **WHAT WENT WRONG WITH THE FAMILY SUPPORT ACT?**

May 3, 1994

"This spring I will send you a comprehensive welfare reform bill that builds on the Family Support Act of 1988 and restores the basic values of work and responsibility."

President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

"We never fully implemented [the Family Support Act]. You know it and I know it...There's a lot of evidence that significant progress has been made in the states that have been most aggressive. Why was it never fully implemented? Partly because Congress never fully funded it, partly because...[as Congress] will say, 'Well, but the states never fully used all the money we came up with. States must not have really cared about this because they never provided the state match to use all the funds'...One of the things we need to do is go back and look at that bill, see what's good about it, figure out what will be necessary to change so that the states can take full advantage of that bill, because it had incentives to work, it had supports for families."

President Clinton, remarks to the National Governors' Association 2/1/94

The Family Support Act of 1988 is the cornerstone of President Clinton's welfare reform proposal. It set in place expectations that absent parents must support their children, that welfare should be only a transitional preparation for self-sufficiency, and that training and support services are as vital as cash benefits.

All states implemented their JOBS programs on schedule and continue to meet participation rate and targeting standards. Each month, almost 600,000 people participate in JOBS activities. However, the Family Support Act exempted recipients who were under age 16; were ill, elderly, or incapacitated; had children under three; were at least three months pregnant; or lived where the program was unavailable. These exemptions limited participation rates.

The Family Support Act did not anticipate that states budgets would shrink--or that caseloads would expand so dramatically. State budget shortfalls have meant cuts in public aid staff and fewer state funds available for drawing down JOBS and other federal money. In 1992, states drew down only 62 percent of the \$1 billion available from the federal government. At the same time, both child support and AFDC caseloads have grown rapidly. The number of AFDC recipients, for example, increased 33 percent between July 1989 and July 1993.

Finally, the Family Support Act failed to change the culture of the welfare system. Today, many caseworkers still spend more time processing forms and mailing checks than helping recipients gain the services and skills needed for self-sufficiency. And numerous exemptions diluted the message that welfare should be a transitional system leading to work.

73 #

President Clinton's welfare reform plan fixes the weaknesses of the Family Support Act while building on its successes. While welfare reform is targeted at women under 25, the JOBS program will continue to move older women toward self-sufficiency. Our plan provides additional federal funding and higher federal match rates to ease state fiscal constraints and make sure that JOBS, child support, and prevention programs really work. Greater automation, simplified program rules, and streamlined administrative requirements will minimize resources spent on paperwork. Finally, we will change the culture of welfare. Agencies must clearly explain opportunities and obligations to recipients, move them immediately into employability enhancing programs and services, and enforce--rather than undermine--the values of work and responsibility.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **MINOR MOTHERS--requirement to live at home**
May 3, 1994

"Can you believe that a child who has a child gets more money from the government for leaving home than for staying home with a parent or a grandparent? That's not just bad policy, it's wrong and we ought to change it... We will say to teenagers, 'if you have a child out of wedlock, we will no longer give you a check to set up a separate household. We want families to stay together...'"

President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

Currently, AFDC allows minor mothers to set up independent households and gives them more money to do it. That's not just bad policy, it's wrong, and we're going to change it. Young mothers under 18 are still children who need nurturing and supervision themselves. The current policy gives adolescents exactly the wrong incentive: to have babies and move out of their parents' homes.

President Clinton's welfare reform plan removes the incentive by requiring unmarried minor mothers to live with a responsible adult, preferably a parent. States currently have the option of requiring minor mothers to stay in their parents' households, but only six states and two territories have adopted the provision.¹ Our proposal would make that option a requirement for all states.

We will, of course, ensure protection for minor parents who cannot live at home for good reasons, such as danger of abuse. Young mothers with good cause will be allowed to live with another responsible adult.

Obligating minor mothers to live at home is part of our prevention strategy of encouraging teens to delay sexual activity until they can be responsible parents. Approximately 80 percent of the children born to unmarried teenage parents who dropped out of high school are poor; in contrast, just 8 percent of children born to married high school graduates aged 20 or older are poor. The Clinton proposal organizes a national campaign against teenage pregnancy and increases access to family planning services. It requires minor mothers to finish school and enroll in the JOBS program--as well as live at home--and makes teenage fathers responsible for child support.

*Stay in school
get
- no
fine off
for kid.*

The Clinton welfare reform plan tells teenagers that having children is an immense responsibility rather than an easy route to independence. When boys see their brothers committed to pay child support for 18 years, they may reconsider fatherhood. 'Girls who know that young motherhood will not allow them to leave

¹The states are Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Michigan, Vermont, and Wisconsin. The territories are Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

home and school may choose other options.

At the same time, we link responsibility to opportunity, showing children that playing by the rules will lead to a better life. President Clinton's School-to-Work initiative facilitates teenagers' transition into the workforce. His crime bill aids youth in disadvantaged neighborhoods. In addition, we propose community-based demonstration programs to help improve health, education, safety, and economic opportunity for youth and families.

?

ROLLOUT SCHEDULE

WEEK OF JUNE 6-10

- POTUS:** Interviews with TIME, US News, Newsweek
Meeting with Rasco et al to brief him on the plan?
- CONGRESS:** Meetings with key Congressional leadership
Meeting with House GOP WR Task Force
- OTHERS:** Release of Child Support background paper
Briefing for NGA, DGA, NACO, NLC, NCSL, USCM, APWA
Briefing for Labor

WEEK OF JUNE 13-17

- POTUS:** Announcement speech at Georgetown (or outside DC)
-- Meet with mothers who testified at our WR hearings
Possible field trip to LINK program in Kansas City
Interviews with major newspapers
- CONGRESS:** Briefings begin for caucuses, Dem Policy Comm., etc.
Transmittal of bill? (or when cleared)
- OTHERS:** Background briefings for press
Briefings for advocacy groups, others
Editorial boards, morning shows, etc.
Brief Cabinet at DPC June 13
Brief WH staff

WEEK OF JUNE 20-24 AND BEYOND

- POTUS:** Possible NAACP speech in Chicago July 9
- CONGRESS:** Subcommittee hearings begin after July 4 recess
- OTHERS:** Teen pregnancy, child support, and other events with Shalala, other interested Cabinet members

TO: Emily Bromberg
FROM: Margaret Pugh
DATE: June 6, 1994
SUBJECT: IGA Rollout Meetings

Emily -- we have scheduled the following wrap-up briefings; no co chair is necessary but of course all are welcome. All meetings will be in Kathi Way's office or the DPC conference room.

TUESDAY 6/7

10am Democratic Governors (DE, NY, OK, VT, IN, GA)
John, Kathi, Keith, Margaret

4pm NGA -- Barry Van Lare, Julie Strawn, Lis Ryan, LeeAnn Redick
same

WEDNESDAY 6/8

8am NCSL -- Sheri Steisel
same

11am NACo -- Marilina Sanz
John, Kathi, Keith, Dave Garrison

12noon USCM -- Laura Waxman
same

1:30pm NLC -- Doug Peterson, Barri Tabin
same

THURSDAY 6/9

8am APWA -- Sid Johnson, Elaine Ryan, Rick Ferreira
John, Kathi, Keith, Margaret

On the 14th, we would like a co-chair to be available for a rollout briefing at the Hall of the States for NGA, Washington Governors' representatives, NCSL, State Administrators, and other interested state people.

That is what we are looking at right now -- of course, we need to keep in mind that DES and David will be in Portland on Sunday with USCM.

Hope this is helpful.

Draft

May 27, 1994

Bruce
3620493

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL
BRUCE REED

Subject: Welfare Reform Roll-Out

Following is a communications roll-out strategy for welfare reform, which the President will introduce on June 14. This assumes that the legislation will be sent up to the Hill in July.

June 14

- POTUS: The President will give a major address at Georgetown University on welfare reform; this is where he talked about welfare during the campaign.

June 15

- POTUS: The President will outline his welfare reform program in Kansas City, Missouri, where he will address participants and staff of the LINK program, a model welfare-to-work program. Success stories will be highlighted through case study testimonials.

This speech will be politically helpful to Governor Mel Carnahan; Congressman Alan Wheat, who is running for Senate against former Governor John Ashcroft; and Mayor Emanuel Cleaver of Kansas City.

- RENO: Attorney General Reno will travel to Delaware to talk about Deadbeat Dads. Delaware (under Governor Carper) has one of the best programs to track down deadbeat dads. Delaware AG Oberly, who is running against Senator Roth, administers the successful program; Reno's visit will be politically helpful for his campaign.
- SHALALA: Secretary Shalala will give a speech on teen pregnancy at an undetermined site.
- REICH: Secretary Reich will speak about job training and work programs at an undetermined site.



May 23, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Carol Rasco
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

FROM: Avis LaVelle *AL*
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

Melissa Skolfield *MS*
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Welfare Reform Communications

Attached for your consideration is a preliminary communications rollout plan for welfare reform, assuming an introduction date of June 14. We have discussed this rollout strategy with Rahm Emmanuel and Bruce Reed; with David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane; and with the legislative and intergovernmental team working on welfare reform here at the department. However, while this document incorporates many of the legislative activities discussed in a separate memo to Susan Brophy, it has not been formally reviewed by the White House legislative affairs, public liaison, or intergovernmental affairs offices. We look forward to discussing these recommendations in more detail at your convenience.

ATTACHMENTS:
Talking Points
Suggested Rollout Schedule

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **OVERALL PLAN**
May 4, 1994

"It's time to honor and reward people who work hard and play by the rules. That means ending welfare as we know it--not by punishing the poor or preaching to them, but by empowering Americans to take care of their children and improve their lives. No one who works full-time and has children at home should be poor anymore. No one who can work should be able to stay on welfare forever. We can provide opportunity, demand responsibility, and end welfare as we know it." President Clinton, Putting People First, p. 164.

Welfare reform is based on two simple principles: work and responsibility. Unfortunately, the current welfare system undermines these values by making welfare more attractive than work, and allowing parents to avoid responsibility for supporting their children. The President's plan would restore the basic values of work and responsibility, provide opportunity, and promote the family.

Under the President's plan, welfare will be about a paycheck, not a welfare check. To reinforce and reward work, our approach is based on a simple compact. Support, job training, and child care will be provided to help people move from dependence to independence. But after two years, anyone who can work, must work--in the private sector if possible, in a public service job if necessary.

Reform will make welfare a transitional system leading to work: a second chance, not a way of life. From the very first day, the new system will focus on making young mothers self-sufficient. With child care and job search assistance, many people will move into the workforce well before the two-year time limit. And from the very first day, teenage mothers will be required to live with their parents, stay in school, and attend job training or parenting classes. Everyone will be moving toward work.

Our approach also correctly focuses on young parents--those who have the most to gain and the most at risk. By initially focusing our resources on mothers under age 25, we will send a strong signal to teenagers that welfare as we know it has ended. They must get the message that staying in school, postponing pregnancy, preparing to work, and supporting their children are the right things to do. As welfare reform is phased in, a larger percentage of the caseload will be covered; and states which want to move even faster will be able to use federal matching funds to do so.

To support work and responsibility, work must pay. Already, 70 percent of welfare recipients leave the welfare rolls within two years--but most will eventually return. That's why we must use the Earned Income Tax Credit, guaranteed health care at work, and child care to make any job more attractive than welfare. The EITC alone will effectively make a minimum wage job pay \$6.00 an hour, helping

to lift millions of people who work out of poverty.

To reinforce personal responsibility, the plan will take new steps to require full payment of child support. It sets up a new system of paternity establishment to enforce the responsibility of both parents from the moment the child is born. It involves the IRS in tracking delinquent parents from the moment they start a new job to the point that child support is delivered to the family. And it sets up a computer system to be sure that parents don't avoid their responsibilities by crossing state lines.

Responsibility and accountability must also extend to the welfare office itself. Unfortunately, the current system focuses too often on simply sending out welfare checks. We must change the welfare office to a place that is fundamentally about moving people into the workforce. To do that, we must reward performance, not process, and change the culture of the welfare office.

Our approach builds on the successful philosophy of the Family Support Act, championed by then governor Clinton in 1988. More federal funding will help states provide increased job opportunities and basic skills training to mothers over age 25, even before the plan is fully phased in.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY
SUGGESTED WELFARE REFORM ROLLOUT SCHEDULE

Several assumptions underlie the recommendations made in this communications plan, which covers the next eight weeks. First, we assume that the "rollout" of welfare reform should be relatively low-key, especially in the first few weeks, as the Administration keeps the spotlight on health care reform. For that reason, we have relied mainly on surrogates (Cabinet secretaries and the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs) to carry the message during most of the period covered by this rollout document.

Second, the communications plan is designed to reinforce the three central elements of our plan: work, responsibility, and a focus on young parents. These three themes are reflected in the attached talking points; have been discussed with key congressional staff as a thematic focus for the early congressional hearings; and also provide what we believe is the best overall message to head off any attack from the right. Because the plan is likely to face continued and unfounded attacks for being "scaled back" or "not tough enough," it is particularly crucial to aggressively communicate our approach to teen pregnancy and to phasing in the plan early and visibly. We believe this is best accomplished by initially focusing attention on the young teen mothers who have the most at risk in the welfare reform debate.

We are suggesting a three-step process to build up to the announcement of welfare reform: stage-setting interviews by the President; a visible series of events focusing on child support enforcement, the most widely supported yet often overlooked part of the plan; and a series of media briefings by the co-chairs in the days immediately preceding the announcement.

We have also assumed that the announcement itself will be in Washington, D.C., and we are strongly recommending that welfare recipients be a visible part of the announcement event. As you know, the President has expressed interest in visiting one or more local welfare-to-work programs with members of Congress, and we are suggesting that one such event be scheduled for the week the plan is unveiled. But however the public rollout is structured, we believe it is important that the first Presidential activities on this issue convey that the Clinton Administration is "ending welfare as we know it - not by punishing the poor or preaching to them, but by empowering Americans to take care of their children and improve their lives."

Finally, we have suggested a number of events in June and July designed to show continued momentum of the welfare reform legislation. Because this latter part of the rollout schedule is the most difficult to plan in advance, this document shows only a relatively low-profile series of events keyed to a tentative congressional hearing schedule. We want to point out, however, that there are many exciting welfare-to-work, child support enforcement, and teen pregnancy prevention programs across the country which could easily be added to the travel schedules of the President, Vice President, and Cabinet secretaries.

WEEK OF MAY 23

FOCUS

Given the constraints of the President's schedule and the continued focus on health reform, we recognize that any welfare reform activities should be relatively low profile during this first week. However, we believe it is important for the President to accept interview requests from the four news magazines that are now preparing major cover stories on welfare reform. If possible, we are suggesting that he also do interviews with the major dailies.

The White House and HHS intergovernmental affairs team also suggests that the appropriate Administration officials meet with the leadership of the National Governors' Association, which is meeting in Washington, D.C. this week.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

Media interviews with Time, U.S. News, Newsweek, Business Week.
Media interviews with major dailies: Washington Post, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, USA Today, Wall Street Journal.
Private meeting with the NGA, if appropriate.

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

If the NGA meeting is added to the presidential schedule, the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs, Secretary Shalala, and other Cabinet Secretaries should attend. We might also follow the meeting with a press briefing about how welfare reform will build on successful state efforts. If the NGA meeting is not placed on the President's schedule, no media activities of this kind seem necessary.

WEEK OF MAY 30

Congressional Recess - POTUS in Europe

FOCUS

With Congress in recess, we suggest using this week to focus attention on the child support enforcement provisions of the welfare reform plan, which are unlikely to receive media attention the day of the plan's announcement. There is wide agreement on the value of increasing parents' responsibility for their children, and a public event with members of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues could help increase their support for the overall plan. A background paper on child support enforcement has been prepared by HHS, and would be released this week as well.

Subject to the health reform schedule, district town hall meetings with members of Congress might also be arranged for the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs and for Secretary Shalala. Briefings for key staff (including House and Senate Democratic press secretaries) might also be arranged this week as well.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

SHALALA:

Child support event with members of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues. (Although Congress is in recess, a number of local-area members of Congress could be invited to attend.)

CO-CHAIRS:

Release of child support background paper/press release.
Small background briefing on our child support enforcement plan.

NOTE: During the Welfare Reform Working Group's hearings around the country, several divorced and single mothers testified compellingly about the need for improvements in the child support system. Interviews with these single parents would be arranged for television and radio outlets. We may also want to develop features on programs which provide noncustodial fathers with job training to help them meet their child support obligations.

WEEK OF JUNE 6

Congressional recess ends June 7
POTUS in Europe through June 9

FOCUS

In the week immediately preceding the plan's announcement, we suggest taking advantage of the recess lull to hold a series of briefings for key Washington reporters. In addition, Secretary Shalala's previously scheduled speech to the U.S. Conference of Mayors would be used to preview the broad outlines of the plan. (The USCM will be voting on a welfare reform resolution during their conference.) While in Portland, Secretary Shalala and David Ellwood might also do a welfare reform site visit with members of the Oregon delegation and/or some of the mayors in attendance.

Secretary Shalala might also attend a welfare reform event with Rep. Lynn Woolsey (a former welfare recipient) or other members of the California delegation while she is on the west coast. If the schedule permits, she and David Ellwood might also plan to attend a Los Angeles Times editorial board meeting.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

SHALALA:

Welfare reform event with selected members of the California delegation, June 10.

U.S. Conference of Mayors speech in Oregon, June 12.

CO-CHAIRS:

Washington Post editorial board meeting; possible Washington Times editorial board meeting.

Embargoed background briefings for columnists; major dailies; White House press corps; Capitol Hill press corps; minority press.

Features pitched to print and broadcast media on local "programs that work."

Briefings for Hill; intergovernmental groups; relevant interest groups.

NOTE: Ellwood in Portland for the USCM conference.

WEEK OF JUNE 13

INTRODUCTION WEEK

FOCUS

If the schedule permits, we are suggesting several events that focus attention on the basic philosophy of the Administration's plan: work and responsibility. As discussed in the introduction, we believe it is important for welfare recipients to be visibly involved in some way in the suggested events. Subject to their mark-up schedule for health reform, the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee have also expressed interest in holding hearings shortly after the plan's announcement.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

JUNE 13: Announcement speech at Georgetown University, where the President first spoke of welfare reform as part of the "new covenant." The President would be introduced by a former welfare recipient; other young mothers who testified at the working group's hearings should be present and acknowledged in some way. Members of the Working Group invited to attend.

JUNE 14: President tours a local welfare-to-work program with the congressional leadership, the Vice President, and Secretaries Shalala, Reich and Riley. One possible location for this site visit is Jubilee Jobs.*

JUNE 15: In a separate memo, HHS has suggested that the President provide pre-taped remarks for a previously scheduled welfare-to-work teleconference with businesses in eleven cities across the United States. (The conference is jointly sponsored by HHS, the Department of Labor, the Department of Education, and the National Alliance of Business.) This would provide a third day of regional press, and might also be of interest to the television networks.

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

Attend above, plus:

JUNE 13: Shalala/Bane/Ellwood/Reed: morning shows, satellite media tours, radio interviews.
Ellwood on MacNeil/Lehrer (pending request).

JUNE 15: Testify at kickoff House Ways and Means Committee hearing (subject to committee schedule).
Participate in HHS welfare-to-work conference, possibly with Secretary Reich and Secretary Riley.

JUNE 16: Testify at kickoff Senate Finance Committee hearing (subject to committee schedule).

WEEK OF JUNE 13, cont.

JUNE 16: Shalala at National Press Club. (pending request)

JUNE 17: To provide a transition to the next week's focus on young teen mothers, Secretary Shalala is planning a visit to a teen pregnancy prevention program she helped found in New York City while at Hunter College. While there, she could also meet with the New York Times editorial board and do a media roundtable with reporters and editors from women's magazines.

JUNE 19: Shalala on Sunday public affairs shows.

* Founded in 1981, Washington, D.C.'s Jubilee Jobs operates on the premise that the best step for a person ready and able to work is to be placed in a job as quickly as possible. Jubilee Jobs places over 500 applicants in entry-level jobs annually; no fees are charged. As part of its assessment process Jubilee Jobs runs Cana Industries, a bulk mailing service that is its main work-training program for the long-term unemployed. In addition, Jubilee Jobs runs the Barnabus Self-Employment Fund, a micro-enterprise development fund designed to provide training and small loans to prospective business owners.

WEEK OF JUNE 20

FOCUS

This week would be the first of three weeks of activities spotlighting teen pregnancy prevention, work, and responsibility. As discussed in the introduction, we are suggesting a "theme a week" approach to continue the momentum of the President's announcement. Ideally, each week would be anchored by a congressional hearing.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

Visit to a local teen pregnancy prevention program with members of the Maryland or Virginia congressional delegation. One possible location for this site visit is the Paquin School in Baltimore.*

CO-CHAIRS:

One of the co-chairs should testify at a Congressional hearing focusing on our "carrots and sticks" approach to teen pregnancy prevention: case management, pregnancy prevention grants, sanctions for failure to live at home and stay in school, and a phased-in approach to time limits that starts with young women under age 25.

As discussed in the introduction, we are suggesting a strong, early defense of our approach to teen pregnancy prevention and the phase-in to help pre-empt expected attacks from the right.

* The Laurence G. Paquin School, a Baltimore City Public Alternative School, serves expectant and parenting middle and secondary school adolescents. Approximately 300 students between the ages of 12 and 19 are enrolled, and the curriculum is a comprehensive program for grades 7-12. Support services include a health center, career counseling, and an on-site day care program. Special programs include 'Young Sensations,' a vocational entrepreneur program which designs and manufactures clothes for infants and toddlers; 'For Dads Only,' a counseling program for young fathers; and 'Pair and Share,' an inter-generational education program to help the students' mothers return to school and learn marketable skills.

WEEK OF JUNE 27

FOCUS

The second week after the announcement focuses on work, and the fundamental transformation of welfare into a transitional system designed to move young mothers quickly from dependence to independence. While it is extremely difficult to predict the congressional workload four weeks from now, we are again assuming that one of the relevant committees would be interested in a thematic hearing focused on the core of the President's plan.

It might be possible to add other events to the schedule, depending on interest groups' endorsement of the plan. These events might be structured press conferences, or friendly groups might simply testify at congressional hearings.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

CO-CHAIRS:

Reed or Bane testify at Congressional hearing focusing on moving welfare recipients from welfare to work. The hearing would focus on the promise of education and training; the new time limits and work requirements; local flexibility in designing the work program; and the involvement of the private sector.

WEEK OF JULY 4

Congressional recess

FOCUS

By early July, we should be able to make a good assessment of the legislative status of both health reform and welfare reform, and perhaps schedule the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs for a more ambitious set of district town hall meetings with members of Congress. Additional momentum could be generated by a Presidential (or Secretarial) address to the NAACP during their Chicago convention.

If the President's schedule permits a trip to Chicago, we would suggest adding a stop at Chicago's Project Match, one of the most successful and well-known welfare-to-work programs in the country.*

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

Speech to NAACP July 9 in Chicago/site visit to Project Match.

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

District town hall meetings with members of Congress.

* Project Match has worked with more than 740 residents of the Cabrini-Green community in Chicago. After receiving an initial assessment, participants are placed in one or more of a range of activities, including education, training, employment, and volunteer work. The program has been demonstrably successful in increasing labor force participation and wages.

WEEK OF JULY 11

During this week, we would continue our thematic congressional hearings with a hearing focusing on responsibility, particularly child support enforcement. We might also want to arrange a fourth hearing on accountability and responsibility within the welfare system itself; the focus of that hearing would be the anti-fraud provisions, the new performance standards, and other measures to "change the culture" of the welfare office.

As noted in the introduction, more high-profile events or site visits could easily be added to the schedule.



**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR LEGISLATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201**

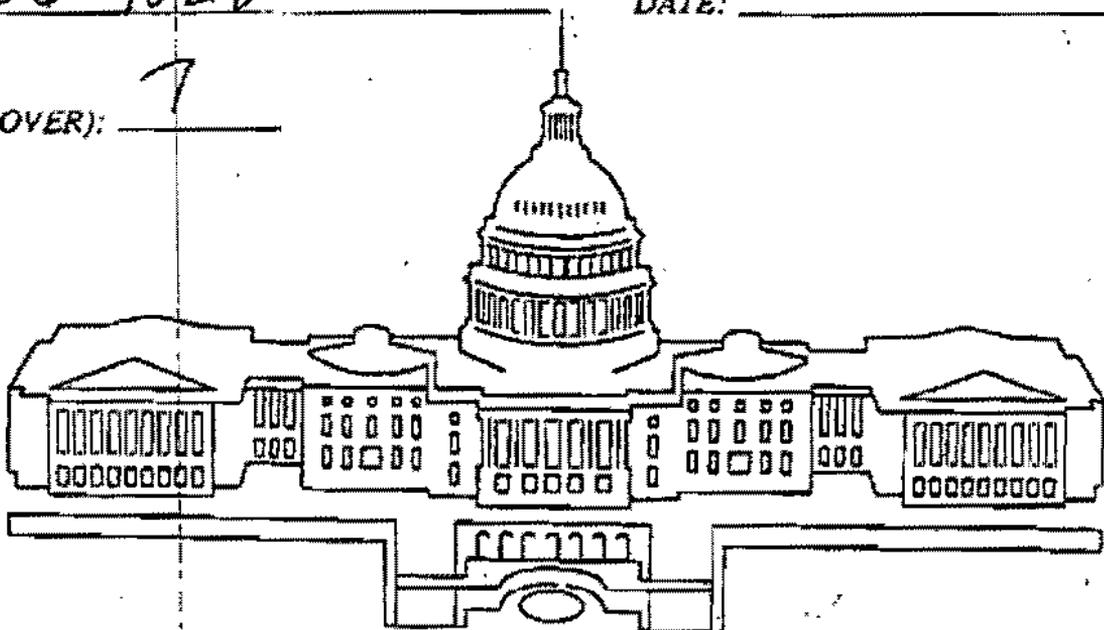
PHONE: (202) 690-7627

FAX: (202) 690-7380

TO:
NAME: Bruce Reed / Kathy Way
OFFICE: _____
ROOM NO.: _____
PHONE NO.: _____
FAX NO.: 456-7028

FROM:
NAME: Rich Tarplin
OFFICE: _____
ROOM NO.: _____
PHONE NO.: _____
DATE: _____

TOTAL PAGES INCLUDING COVER): 7



REMARKS:

*Bruce & Kathy -
Please review.
Thanks,
Rich*

MEMORANDUM

TO: Susan Brophy
FROM: Rich Tarplin
THROUGH: Jerry Klepner
DATE: May 23, 1994
RE: **PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL "ROLLOUT" ACTIVITIES
RELATED TO THE PRESIDENT'S WELFARE REFORM INITIATIVE**

BACKGROUND:

Please find below a description of the key elements of our congressional "rollout" strategy for welfare reform. We have also attached a suggested chronology of activities for the two month period between now and late July. For planning purposes, we assume that the Administration's proposal will be formally submitted to the Congress on June 14.

Several decisions need to be made as soon as possible. First, we need to determine what level of welfare reform activity is appropriate for the Memorial Day recess (i.e. site visits or public forums in targeted states and districts), based on White House plans for recess events related to health care reform. We also need to finalize the schedule and timing for a broad range of "rollout" activities on Capitol Hill (meetings, briefings, and hearings) in order to begin the complicated process of scheduling the President, Secretary Shalala, and the Working Group Co-Chairs for these events.

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES:

1) Recess Events in Targeted States and Districts: Subject to White House plans for recess activities on health care reform, we would like to organize welfare reform events in targeted states and congressional districts during the Memorial Day and July 4th recesses. Scheduling for the Memorial Day recess specifically would have to begin no later than Tuesday, May 24. Possible events include the following:

- a) Working Group Co-Chairs and/or Secretary Shalala to make site visits to welfare offices, education and training programs, etc. in key media markets and/or targeted states and congressional districts.
- b) Working Group Co-Chairs and/or Secretary Shalala to participate in town hall meetings or public forums sponsored by members on key congressional committees.
- c) Working Group Co-Chairs to participate in roundtable discussions organized by key

members of Congress with local welfare recipients, service providers, etc.
 d) Working Group Co-Chairs and/or Secretary Shalala to speak to organizations of state and local officials or service providers.

2) Congressional Cosponsorships: As we have discussed, our goal is to have the Administration's welfare reform legislation introduced and cosponsored by the House and Senate Majority Leaders, and by the appropriate committee and subcommittee chairs. Preliminary indications are that those listed below will agree to cosponsor the legislation subject to review of the final statutory language. In addition, Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee Chairman Kennedy, Education and Labor Committee Chairman Bill Ford, and subcommittee chairmen Dodd and Martinez will be offered the opportunity to cosponsor the legislation. Kennedy and Dodd are expected to decline.

Senate

Majority Leader Mitchell
 Chairman Moynihan
 Senator Breaux

House

Majority Leader Gephardt
 Chairman Rostenkowski
 Rep. Harold Ford

3) Presidential Event(s): Subject to White House approval, we would like to schedule one or more events timed to coincide with the formal "rollout" involving President Clinton, Secretary Shalala, and congressional supporters of welfare reform. Possible events include the following:

- a) White House meeting with Democratic leaders, committee and subcommittee chairs (cosponsors of legislation).
- b) White House meeting with Democratic members of committees with jurisdiction over welfare reform.
- c) White House meeting with a bipartisan cross-section of members of Congress interested in welfare reform.
- d) Presidential meeting or luncheon with House and Senate Democratic party organizations on Capitol Hill.
- e) Local presidential site visit with members of Congress from the Washington area and/or committee and subcommittee chairs.

4) Committee Hearings: As you know, we have been planning a series of hearings designed to showcase the President's leadership and highlight favorable themes in the Administration's welfare reform plan. However, due to the health care mark-ups scheduled to take place in June in all the major committees with jurisdiction over welfare reform, we will have to revisit our proposed hearing schedule with committee staff this week.

Scheduling changes notwithstanding, our plan has been for the Finance and Ways and

Means Committees to each hold a hearing during the "rollout week" focusing generally on the Administration's plan. Secretary Shalala and the Working Group Co-Chairs would be the only witnesses. Beginning the following week, the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources (Rep. Ford) and the Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy (Senator Breaux) would begin a series of four "theme" hearings designed to highlight key initiatives contained in the Administration's plan. These "theme" hearings would last until mid-July:

- a) Preventing Teen Pregnancy.
- b) The Transition from Welfare to Work.
- c) Promoting Parental Responsibility.
- d) Changing the Culture of the Welfare System.

5) Congressional Surrogates: For the "rollout week" and beyond, we hope to enlist key Democratic members of Congress to act as "surrogates" with the press and in congressional hearings. These surrogates would be members who are willing to endorse key components of the plan, support the general direction of the plan, or speak favorably about the President's leadership and consultation with the Congress.

6) Congressional Meetings and Briefings: By May 27, we will have completed our ongoing series of meetings involving the Working Group Co-Chairs and key members of Congress and committee staff on our House and Senate target lists. Between May 31 and the beginning of the "rollout week", we would like to conduct a series of intensive meetings and briefings with key Democratic leaders, committee members, and members and staff at large to provide information on and build support for the Administration's plan. These discussions would take place as follows:

May 31-June 3: (Congressional Recess) HHS staff to conduct intensive briefings for Democratic leadership and committee staff on "final" details of the Administration's proposal.

HHS/ASPA and White House communications staff to brief House and Senate Democratic press secretaries.

June 6-10: Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to meet individually with Majority Leader Mitchell, Majority Leader Gephardt, and House and Senate committee and subcommittee chairs.

Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to conduct briefings for the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, House Democratic Party Effectiveness Group, House Democratic Study Group, and Republican Senators "Wednesday Group".

Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to conduct briefings for the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, the Congressional Black Caucus, the Congressional

Caucus on Women's Issues, the Mainstream Forum, and the Progressive Caucus.

Working Group Co-Chairs to conduct bipartisan staff briefings for Ways and Means, Finance, Education and Labor, Labor and Human Resources, and Appropriations committee staff. The Co-Chairs also would conduct large-group briefings for House and Senate Legislative Assistants.

7) Preparation of Briefing Materials: As you know, HHS staff are preparing summaries, talking points, and speech materials on various substantive and political aspects of welfare reform and the Administration's plan. We have had preliminary discussions with congressional Democratic party organization and committee staff about coordinated use of these materials. Possible uses include the following:

- a) Information packets, including summaries and talking points, to be supplied next week to Democratic members of the House and Senate for use during the Memorial Day recess.
- b) Packets to be handed out during final briefings for members and staff prior to "rollout" of the Administration's plan.
- c) "One Minute" and "Morning Business" speeches on the House and Senate floors timed to coincide with the submission of the Administration's plan.
- d) "Surrogate" packets for members of Congress to use when dealing with the press, making speeches, etc.

PROPOSED CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS**May 23-27**

Working Group Co-Chairs to complete meetings and briefings previously planned with members, committees, caucuses and staff on House and Senate target lists.

May 30-June 3

Congressional Recess

Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to participate in site visits and/or public forums in target states and congressional districts (subject to change based on plans for health care activities).

Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to participate in a Washington-area event related to child support enforcement with members of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues.

HHS staff to conduct intensive briefings for Democratic leadership and committee staff on "final" details of the Administration's proposal.

HHS/ASPA and White House communications staff to brief House and Senate Democratic press secretaries.

June 6-10

Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to meet individually with Majority Leader Mitchell, Majority Leader Gephardt, and House and Senate committee and subcommittee chairs.

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June 13 17

Rollout Week

President Clinton and Secretary Shalala to participate in a welfare reform event involving members of Congress (Type of event and participating members to be determined).

Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to testify at Finance and Ways and Means Committee hearings on the Administration's proposal (Pending staff discussions on Committee schedules).

Supportive members of Congress to make "One Minute" and "Morning Business" speeches on the House and Senate floors timed to coincide with the submission of legislation to the Congress (Subject to a sufficient number of members being interested and available).

June 20-24

First "theme" hearing(s) in Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources and/or Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy on "Preventing Teen Pregnancy" (Subject to Committee schedules).

June 27-July 1

Second "theme" hearing(s) in Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources and/or Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy on "The Transition from Welfare to Work" (Subject to Committee schedules).

July 4-8

Congressional Recess

Secretary Shalala and Working Group Co-Chairs to participate in site visits, public forums, roundtable discussions, etc. in targeted states and congressional districts (subject to change based on plans for health care activities).

July 11-15

Third "theme" hearing(s) in Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources and/or Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy on "Promoting Parental Responsibility" (subject to Committee schedules).

July 18-22

Fourth "theme" hearing(s) in Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources and/or Finance Subcommittee on Social Security and Family Policy on "Changing the Culture of the Welfare System" (Subject to Committee schedules).

Welfare Reform Documents to Produce by Roll-Out

Five page summary of the plan (external)
Talking points--general and issue specific (internal)
Questions and Answers (internal)
One page issue specific summaries/fact sheets (external)
Op Eds (external)
Summary of Recipient Focus Groups (external?)
State profiles (internal)
Complete set of specifications (external)
Legislative language (external)
Section-by-section explanation (external)
Cost tables with short paper on impacts and how estimates developed (external)
Long description of the plan (with a rationale, costs, and financing) (external)
Working Papers (external)
-child support enforcement
-need for reform
-AFDC
-education and training programs
-child care
-dynamics
Comparison of welfare reform bills (internal)
Chartbook (statistics/facts) (external)

Paper Currently Available

-Program fact sheets
-Model program profiles
-Information on the Working Group
-Profiles of recipients
-Summary of outreach activities
-Talking points

TALKING POINTS IN PREPARATION
4/20/94

* Overall Plan (includes defining success)

Caseload Effects (includes defining success)

Child Care

* Child Support Enforcement (plus addendums on licenses, etc.)

Cost

Effect on Children

* Financing (plus addendum on deeming rationale)

Interplay With the Family Support Act

Interplay with other initiatives (re-employment, enterprise zones)

* Minor mothers - Requirement to Live at Home

Phase-in

Preventing Fraud

* Response to Charles Murray

Republican Plan

Sanctions

State Issues

Teen Pregnancy

Two-Parent Families

* Waivers (abridged version of current fact sheet)

Where Are the Jobs?

Why Reform/Status Quo

The WORK Program

WELFARE REFORM STRATEGY MEETING 4/20/94

AGENDA

- Intergovernmental
 - strategy with Governors
 - strategy with Mayors

- Legislative Update

- Roll-Out
 - paper to be developed

TALKING POINTS IN PREPARATION
4/13/94

AMCAU MOUSSA

CAUF. IMPACT

Overall Plan
Caseload Effects
Child Care
Child Support Enforcement
Cost
Financing
Interplay With the Family Support Act
Minor mothers - Requirement to Live at Home
Phase-in
Preventing Fraud
Response to Charles Murray
Republican Plan
Sanctions
State Issues
Teen Pregnancy
Two-Parent Families
Where Are the Jobs?
The WORK Program

Advocacy - How to TAKE ABOUT
- where it fits in - spectrum

Homeless
2-yr entitlement
How does this end welfare?
Children
Business, Private sector
Waivers

Bruce:

Here's a rough schedule for discussion on 6:15 p.m. conference call with Avis and Rahm.

Melissa

WEEK OF MAY 25TH**POTUS:**

Interviews with Time, U.S. News, Newsweek
Private (closed? photo op?) meeting with the NGA (Shalala, Reich,
co-chairs attend?)
Possible interviews with major dailies?

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

Small press briefing after NGA meeting about how welfare reform
builds on successful state efforts

WEEK OF MAY 30

Recess - POTUS in Europe

SHALALA:

Child support event w/ available members of Caucus on Women's
Issues (mostly locals like Mikulski)

CO-CHAIRS:

Release of child support background paper/press release
Small background briefing on our child support enforcement plan
Stories featuring divorced women w/ child support problems pitched
to TV networks

WEEK OF JUNE 6

Congressional recess ends June 7
POTUS in Europe through June 9

SHALALA:

Welfare event with Lynn Woolsey in California June 10
U.S. Conference of Mayors speech in Oregon June 12

CO-CHAIRS:

Washington Post editorial board
Embargoed background briefings for columnists; major dailies
Embargoed background briefings for White House press corps; Hill
press corps; minority press??

Briefings for Hill; intergovernmental groups; relevant interest
groups

WEEK OF JUNE 13

INTRODUCTION WEEK

MESSAGE: WELFARE TO WORK/WORK AND RESPONSIBILITY

*Recipient to introduce
BC at G'town
When is VP's father's conference?*

POTUS:

JUNE 13: Announcement event with hand-picked welfare recipients at a local welfare-to-work program.

JUNE 14: Official bill introduction event on the Hill with House and Senate leadership.

JUNE 15: Taped remarks for HHS welfare-to-work conference with business.

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

→ MISSOURI TRIP?

Attend above, plus:

JUNE 13: Morning shows, satellite media tours

JUNE 15: Testify at kickoff House hearing
Participate in HHS welfare-to-work conference (Reich added?)

JUNE 16: Testify at kickoff Senate hearing

JUNE 17: Travel - NYC
Visit to teen pregnancy prevention program
NYT editorial board
Roundtable with reporters/editors from women's magazines

NOTE: Shalala National Press Club speech this week

WEEK OF JUNE 20

MESSAGE: TEEN PARENTS/PREGNANCY PREVENTION

POTUS:

Visit to teen parent center, Baltimore.

CO-CHAIRS:

Congressional hearing focusing on teens/case management/pregnancy prevention grants/phase-in

WEEK OF JUNE 27

MESSAGE: WORK

SHALALA:

AFSCME speech 6/27 in San Diego?

Possible visit to Oregon teen pregnancy prevention forum w/ Gov. Roberts 6/28?

CO-CHAIRS:

Congressional hearing focusing on work requirements/education and training/WORK slots/private sector involvement

WEEK OF JULY 4

Congressional recess

POTUS:

Speech to NAACP July 9 in Chicago?

WEEK OF JULY 11

CO-CHAIRS:

Congressional hearing focusing on child support enforcement/performance standards

TO: BRUCE REED

FROM: KATHI WAY

SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM ROLL-OUT

Before you get to the meeting at 10:30 tomorrow morning let me fill you in on the mood you are likely to encounter with Avis and Melissa. Evidently, after the meeting yesterday in the Oval office, David, Mary Jo and the Secretary blasted Avis and Melissa for not having a roll-out plan in place. This occurred in response to Carol's reaction to Shalala's rambling about the need for a plan. My read from Emily is that tomorrow will be absorbed by discussion of the roll-out plan.

The conversation we had yesterday is a good start but we need to talk tomorrow about the BIGGER roll-out. I continue to believe we need to add four items to the list of projects.

0 We need to schedule a meeting for Congressional leadership with the President to talk vision and substance. I think the meeting could take place either next week or right after the announcement the week of the 13th of June.

0 We need a meeting with leadership Governors from NGA. Next Wednesday was proposed by Governor Carper and the only date the leadership Governors are expected in D.C. in the near future. A bi-partisan meeting with the Governors where he looks them straight in the eye and asks for their support will be really helpful in getting the NGA letter of support we would like to have.

0 After the announcement and show at Georgetown, I think we need to go out of town for an event. You know I favor Missouri but would be willing to use Colorado. This event should focus on welfare recipients giving the straight story to the President. I assume it could be done as a roundtable or town meeting for that matter.

0 I also suggest a second out of town meeting. Maybe Georgia or Florida. Use the teen pregnancy prevention/parental responsibility theme. Use more of a rally theme with the President at a church or community center talking with teens (Unfortunately school will be out in most parts of the country by the time we announce the plan).

I think we need to focus Avis and Melissa on roll-out events for the Secretary, the co-chairs and the working group. There will be a number of events around the country we could take advantage of by talking about the plan. Also, I think we need to more fully develop the plan to use the print and other media to sell the message.

WR - Rollout

MEMORANDUM

To: Bruce Reed
Mary Jo Bane
David Elwood

From: Elaine Kamarck

Date: April 26, 1994

Re: Reinventing Welfare Bureaucracy

Attached is a recent article from the New York Times about the "Georgia Common Access Application" which allows people to apply for a variety of low income programs at once. I believe that this effort, which was a creation of President Carter's along with the Atlanta FEB (Federal Executive Board), should be highlighted and championed in the reinventing government portion of the welfare reform proposals.

Other FEB's can easily be asked to accomplish the same thing.

An Experiment in Easing Paperwork: 64 Pages Reduced to 8

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 18 — Seven complex forms comprising 64 pages with which poor people request various kinds of Federal help could be reduced to eight pages or fewer under a plan announced today by former President Jimmy Carter.

At Mr. Carter's Presidential center here, officials from five Federal agencies and the state of Georgia signed an agreement to test the "Georgia Common Access Application," — a one-time document under which people can apply for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, food stamps, Medicaid, Social Security disability benefits, housing assistance and aid under the Women, Infants and Children program.

Federal officials said the experiment could lead to a reduction of the vast bureaucracy of poverty-data collection to a single computerized data system. Moreover, poor people could receive Government aid even if they were not aware of the programs.

Carter's all-purpose form to help the poor seek U.S. aid.

A six-month test of the form began in mid-March in a small area of suburban Atlanta. Federal officials said they expect to see the system adopted nationwide eventually.

"This has been like a miracle," Mr. Carter said. "When I was President I tried very hard to simplify the paperwork, but it's almost impossible to get Federal agencies to cooperate with each other — not because there is antagonism, but because each one has its own responsibility and its own narrowly focused goal."

Mr. Carter noted that the South Carolina Medicaid application is 41 pages long, and it is not the longest. He termed such paperwork "grievous" if the applicant is "a mother who might be semilliterate and where

Medicaid can literally be life or death for her or her children."

Before undertaking the test, Mr. Carter conferred with President Clinton and eight Cabinet officers who have overlapping responsibility for various assistance programs.

Already, Federal officials say at least one family has benefited. A 14-year-old Atlanta boy with multiple health problems was found eligible for supplemental Social Security benefits on the eight-page form his mother filled out.

"The doctor told me he was probably qualified for Social Security when he was 10," Juanita Murphy said. "But there were so many doctor visits every week that I never had a chance to go to Social Security and find out about it."

Mrs. Murphy, who said she has been unable to work while caring for her son, said the family's monthly income jumped from \$280, supplied solely by Aid to Families with Dependent Children, to \$726.

Technical Problems Remain

The test program is being administered by the Atlanta Project, Mr. Carter's privately financed antipoverty program that seeks solutions to urban problems.

But officials acknowledged that the program would face difficulties if it was adopted nationwide. No computerized information-sharing system exists among the Federal assistance agencies, although Georgia officials said they share some information in an effort to simplify their own paperwork.

Moreover, many of the people who could benefit from the new form still need assistance in filling it out. The Atlanta test uses staff members of a privately financed charitable agency to help applicants fill out the forms.



The Association for Children for Enforcement of Support, Inc.

WR-Pollat

March 28, 1994

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The Whitehouse
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

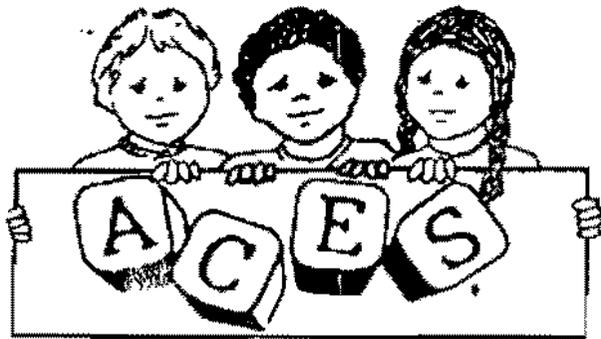
ACES would be honored if you would speak at ACES' National Candlelight Vigil, "Light a Spark of Hope for Forgotten Children", on May 20, 1994, at Trinity Episcopal Church, Downtown Toledo, at 7:30 pm. ACES is the largest child support advocacy organization in the United States. The purpose of the vigil is to enlighten the public about the plight of children affected by nonsupport. Fifty percent of all White children, 60% of all Hispanic children, and 70% of all African American children, growing up in single parent households, who do not receive child support payments, live at or below the poverty level.

ACES National Candlelight Vigil will be held in small farming communities, Middle-American cities, and large metropolitan areas on May 20, 1994. ACES hopes the light we shine will bring justice to the children and enlighten the public, so that the suffering of children affected by the only socially acceptable form of child abuse, non-support, will end.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Geraldine Jensen
Geraldine Jensen
National President



Phone : 419-476-4102

Fax : 419-478-1817

The Association for Children for Enforcement of Support, Inc.

FAX FOR:

Bruce Reed

IMPORTANT!

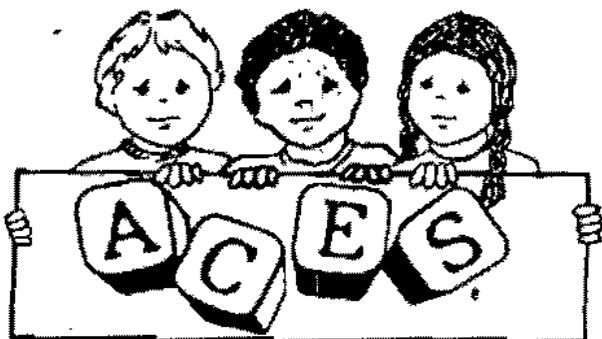
From: Gerri Jensen

Date: 4/18/94

Of Pages: 2

(INCLUDING THIS TRANSMITTAL)

PLEASE CALL 419/476-2511 IF YOUR DO NOT RECEIVE THE ENTIRE TRANSMISSION OR IF THERE IS ANY PROBLEMS. THANK YOU!



The Association for Children for Enforcement of Support, Inc.

March 28, 1994

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The Whitehouse
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

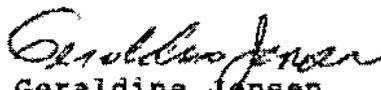
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I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,


Geraldine Jensen
National President

WR-Palout

DRAFT

ROLLOUT PLANNING

- I. Legislative
- II. Communications
- III. Scheduling
- IV. Paper
- V. Intergovernmental
- VI. Public Liaison
- VII. Release Week/Month

(3/1/94)

LEGISLATIVE

A. Outreach

A legislative outreach strategy is being developed by HHS/ASL and is outlined in the summary chart. It calls for consultation and discussion with numerous actors on the Hill. Among the key points of contact are:

- Moynihan
 - regular briefings starting _____
 - W&M/HRSubcomm
 - breakfasts every Th a.m. starting _____
 - Mainstream Dems
 - members meeting Wed 3/2
 - MB meeting with McCurdy, Slattery staff 3/2 a.m.
 - Hispanic Caucus
 - 2/24 letter
 - poss mtg with members 3/9
 - Black Caucus
 - Womens Caucus
 - Group of 89
 - WP and MB to brief members generally 3/7
- ETC, ETC, ETC, ETC

[The above is not the actual list but a representative sample. The actual list is being prepared by HHS/ASL and will be available soon.]

B. Research

With WH Communications and Legislation, HHS Legislative Affairs and ACF/OPE, we will be collecting:

- all on the record statements from the last year
- reviewing all legislation introduced, charting sponsorship, and analyzing content
- working to coordinate a single database on members .

C. Other Interactions

- Site visits - WRWG staff will continue to organize visits for interested staff to see model programs in the DC area as part of an effort to inform them about the issue and the people affected by reform
- Briefings - As part of the roll-out, we will discuss ways of providing staff and members with as much information as possible about welfare reform and the plan - including large scale briefings and sharing paper.

COMMUNICATIONS

A. General Press

1. Press Kit

- Prepare, update and distribute a general press kit on welfare reform that contains basic information on the plan and our general case for welfare reform
- Currently available through HHS-ASPA (Angie Amores 690-6889)
- To be ready for release, need descriptive materials about the plan

2. List of Key Reporters

- A list of key reporters is being maintained by Melissa Skolfield
- This list of people needs to be called as key issues break, provided with current materials immediately, and their writing needs to be closely monitored
- Current list attached.

3. General Press Mailing List

- Mailing list of all reporters nationwide working the welfare issue -- maintained by WRWG staff. Broader than "Key List" above. Database contains nearly 600 names and addresses.
- This list needs to get the general press kit when the plan is released and should receive any further mailings/information given broad distribution

4. Press Briefings

- The Chairs will hold a background briefing for the press on the specifics of the plan when it is announced. There will be other briefings on aspects of the plan as needed.

WELFARE REFORM WORKING GROUP

List of welfare media contacts ALIST.

22 February 1994 TOTAL: 18

A.S. Amores

Ann Blackman
Time

P: (202) 861-4000

F: (202) 833-5911

1050 Connecticut Avenue #850

Washington, DC 20036-5334

Rebecca Chase

ABC News

P: (606) 241-9967

F: (404) 431-7800

Jason DeParle

New York Times

P: (202) 862-0300

F: (202) 862-0340

1627 Eye Street, NW

Washington, DC 20006

Sheilah Kast

ABC News

P: (202) 887-7296/807-7700 (ABC TV

Desk)

F: (202) 887-7251

1717 DeSales NW

Washington, DC 20036

Julia Kosterlitz

National Journal

P: (202) 857-1400

F: (202) 833-8069

1730 M Street, NW #1100

Washington, DC 20036

Mara Liason

National Public Radio

P: 822-2200

F: 822-2329

2025 M Street, NW

Washington, DC 20036

Melissa asked
me to give you

this.

Ange

David Bowman

Congress Daily

P: (202) 225-3945

F: (202) 225-1990

Bill Claiborne

Washington Post

P: (202) 334-7333

F: (202) 334-5547

Carol Jouraite

Chicago Tribune

P: (202) 973-3609

F: (202) 833-8348

Jeffery Katz

Congressional Quarterly

P: (202) 822-1441

F: (202) 728-1863

1414 22nd Street, NW

Washington, DC 20037

Mike Kranish

Boston Globe

P: (202) 857-5119/main 857-5050

F: (202) 857-5076

1130 Connecticut Avenue, NW

Suite 5120

Washington, DC 20036

Joan Lowy

Scripps Howard News Service

P: (202) 408-2725

F: (202) 408-5624

1090 Vermont Avenue, NW #1000

Washington, DC 20005

Lisa Myers

P:
F: (202) 885-4442

Don Rush
Pacific Radio
P: 783-1680
F:
Washington, DC

Ron Suskind
Wall Street Journal
P: (202) 862-9200 x 607
F: (202) 862-9266

****Marcia** Rickun**
NBC News

P: (202) 885-4200
F: (202) 362-2009
4001 Nebraska Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Elisabeth Shogren
Los Angeles Times
P: (202) 861-9298
F: (202) 887-1050
1875 I Street, NW
Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20006

Bill Walsh
USA Today
P: (703) 558-5690
F: (703) 247-3290

B. Columnists

- We are developing a list of 20-30 key columnists/ opinion leaders whose writing or appearances are widely seen. Each person will be assigned an administration contact who will keep them informed and briefed on the plan.
- Jim Hickman is working with Melissa Skolfield to develop this list, to assign contacts, and to monitor their writings. He will alert WG members of the need to follow up with phone calls after articles appear to correct inaccuracies, respond to arguments etc.
- Current List Attached

Welfare Reform Columnists and Editorial Writers

<u>Columnist/Writer</u>	<u>Contact</u>
Ken Adelman Syndicated Columnist	
Gloria Borger <u>US News and World Report</u>	Bruce Reed
Mona Charen Syndicated Columnist	Bruce Reed
Richard Cohen Syndicated Columnist	Bruce Reed
E.J. Dionne Syndicated Columnist	Bruce Reed
Richard Dunham <u>Business Week</u>	
Susan Engram <u>The Evening Sun</u>	
Jack Germond Syndicated Columnist	
Ellen Goodman Syndicated Columnist	David T. Ellwood
Charles Krauthammer Syndicated Columnist	Bruce Reed
Susan Leviton	
Judy Mann	
Colman McCarthy Washington Post Writers Group	
Peter Milius <u>Washington Post</u>	David T. Ellwood
Clarence Page Syndicated Columnist	
William Raspberry Syndicated Columnist	Bruce Reed
Carl Rowan Syndicated Columnist	

Welfare Reform Columnists and Editorial Writers...page two

Columnist/Writer

Contact

Robert J. Samuelson
Syndicated Columnist

David T. Ellwood

Ben Wattenberg
Syndicated Columnist

Bruce Reed

Mike Weinstein
New York Times

David T. Ellwood

George Will
Syndicated Columnist

Bruce Reed

C. Editorial Writers

- We will be targeting editorial boards and writers at key local and national newspapers around the country. Our goal is to brief all of these writers and boards on the plan, maintain contact with them during the legislative debate, and monitor their writing on the issue.
- We will arrange for administration representatives to speak with key ed boards whenever visits are scheduled to their cities.
- Jim Hickman will develop the list of editorial writers and will ensure that each board is assigned an administration contact. He will monitor editorials and alert the contact if editorials run which require response.
- Initial analysis is being done of all editorial coverage by the top 30 papers of the issue in the past couple of years.
- List in development is attached

KEY EDITORIAL WRITERS -- TOP 30 NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper	Contact/Telephone	Welfare Reform Editorials
Los Angeles Times	213/237-5000 Contact: Thomas Plate, Editorials Page Editor	
Wall Street Journal		
New York Times		
Long Island Newsday		
New York Daily News		
Chicago Tribune	312/222-3232 Contact: Don Wycliff, Editorials Page Editor	
Detroit Free Press		
San Francisco Chronicle	415/777-1111 Contact: Michael Harris	
Chicago Sun Times	312/321-2153 (direct#) Contact: Michelle Stevens	
Philadelphia Inquirer	215/854-2000 Contact: Jane Eisner, Deputy Editorials Editor	
New York Post		
Newark Star Ledger	201/877-4141 Contact: Neal Cocchia Editorials Page Editor	
Detroit News		

Minneapolis Star Tribune	612/673-4000 Contact: Kate Stanley	
Houston Chronicle		
Dallas Morning News		
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	314/340-8000 Contact: Bob Joiner	
Orange County Register	714/835-1234 Contact: Alan Bock	
Portland Oregonian	503/221-8327 Contact: Nanine Alexander	
Buffalo News		
USA Today		
Washington Post		
Atlanta Constitution		
Miami Herald		
Boston Globe		
Cleveland Plain Dealer		
St. Petersburg Times		
Denver Rocky Mountain News		
Boston Herald		
Phoenix Arizona Republic		

D. Surrogates

We will be establishing a roster of surrogates who will be willing to do a variety of things in support of the administration's welfare reform efforts. Surrogates will be activists, academics, and potentially elected officials from around the country. They will be asked to do all or some of the following:

- speak on behalf of the administration's plan at local events
- write op-eds in local papers
- speak on specific issues to local journalists

Jim Hickman is coordinating this project. His first draft list of papers and contacts is attached. The White House Communications Office will be analyzing the content of the editorials and this will be included in the next version of the chart.

E. Academics

We have held one briefing for key academic leaders from around the country. We will be following that meeting up with a mailing of the final plan and an offer to discuss further and answer questions.

Recommended Surrogates By Region

Region I (MA, RI, VT, NH, ME, CT)

Phil Johnston, HHS Regional Director (MA)

Region II (NY, NJ, PR, Virgin Islands)

Michael Dowling, NY Department of Social Services

NJ State Asssemblyman Wayne Bryant

Region III (MD, PA, WV, VA, DE, DC)

Region IV (KY, TN, NC, SC, GA, AL, MS, FL)

TN State Rep. Bill Purcell

Region V (IL, MI, IN, OH, WI, MN)

Elaine Weiss, HHS Regional Director (IL)

Ohio State Rep. Jane Campbell

Mayor John Norquist, Milwaukee, WI

Region VI (TX, AR, LA, OK, NM)

Congressman Dave McCurdy (D-OK)

Darryl Grubbs, Child Support Enforcement Advocate (TX)

Region VII (MO, KS, IA, NE)

Katie Steele, HHS Regional Director (MO)

Region VIII (ND, SD, CO, UT, MT, WY)

Region IX (CA, NV, AZ, HI)

Grantland Johnson, HHS Regional Director

CA Assemblyman Tom Bates

Region X (WA, OR, ID, AK)

Kevin Concannon, OR Department of Human Services

SCHEDULING

A. Events

1. High Visibility Events We will be working with the White House to coordinate scheduling of high visibility events both in Washington and around the country involving the President and other key administration officials around and following the announcement of a plan.
 - These events will be geared at national news media and setting broad themes for the welfare debate. They should involve the most important figures in Congress and/or key Governors. There may be other groups such as business and/or labor leaders with whom White House events should be scheduled.

2. Lower Visibility Administration Officials In the month that follows release of the plan, we need to send administration/ Working Group officials to critical states where they will:
 - do local media events
 - meet with key state, local and advocacy figures
 - brief editorial boards and
 - involve critical Congressional and state leaders in their visits

These events would be targeted toward states that have key elected officials at the state and/or national level. A tentative list of target states follows.

Events might also be scheduled to pursue specific themes in particular weeks: child support, work, business, etc. might each be themes for a few days.

3. Surrogate Speakers/Conference Bureau We will be responding to requests for speakers and for administration representation at panels, conferences etc. around the country and we will want to ensure that we are represented at meetings of the major national organizations.
- Where possible, we will send a member of the Working Group, or if appropriate a higher ranking official
 - If that is not appropriate, staff representatives may be assigned.
 - We will also be developing a list of surrogates to represent the administration throughout the country. Jim Hickman is coordinating this list (discussed above). Feedback and additional suggestions are being sought.
 - As a last resort, we will send the welfare reform video where it is not possible to arrange a surrogate speaker.

B. Targeting

We have developed a suggested list of target states for welfare reform events during the rollout and beyond. The list is based on the attached chart showing key elected officials and newspapers in the state. The list is tentative and for discussion purposes. [Note: these are the states for which we have developed state profiles.]

New York	California
Illinois	Tennessee
Louisiana	Michigan
Oregon	Pennsylvania
Kansas	Rhode Island
Oklahoma	Missouri
Iowa	Washington
New Jersey	Texas
Maryland	Colorado
Ohio	

Priority States for WRWG Outreach Effort

STATE	KEY LEGISLATORS and STATE OFFICIALS	KEY MEDIA OUTLETS
Oklahoma	Sen. Boren, Finance Committee	Oklahoma City <u>Daily Oklahoman</u> Tulsa <u>World</u>
Michigan	Sen. Riegler, Finance Committee Rep. Levin, W&MSHR Rep. Camp, W&MSHR State and Local Task Force on WR: Gov. Engler Kay Beard, Wayne Co. Comm. Gerald Miller, Dir. DSS	Detroit <u>Free Press</u> Detroit <u>News</u> Grand Rapids <u>Press</u> .
Louisiana	Sen. Breaux, Finance Committee	New Orleans <u>Times-Picayune</u>
Oregon	Sen. Packwood, Finance Committee Rep. Kopetski, W&MSHR Kevin Concannon, Dir. Dept Hum Resources, on State and Local Task Force on WR	Portland <u>Oregonian</u>
Kansas	Sen. Dole, Finance Committee Sen. Kassebaum, Labor & Hum Res.	Wichita <u>Eagle</u>
Missouri	Sen. Danforth, Finance Committee	Kansas City <u>Star</u> St. Louis <u>Post-Dispatch</u>
Rhode Island	Sen. Chafee, Finance Committee Sen. Pell, Labor & Hum Res.	Providence <u>Journal</u>
Minnesota	Sen. Durenberger, Finance Committee and Labor and Hum Res Sen. Wellstone, Labor & Hum Res Mayor Fraser, Minneapolis, State and Local Task Force on WR	Minneapolis <u>Star Tribune</u> St. Paul <u>Pioneer Press</u>

Iowa	Sen. Grassley, Finance Committee Sen. Harkin, Labor & Hum Res. Rep. Grandy, W&MSHR	Des Moines <u>Register</u>
Texas		Houston <u>Chronicle</u> Dallas <u>Morning News</u> Houston <u>Post</u> Forth Worth <u>Star-Telegram</u> San Antonio <u>Express-News</u> Austin <u>American-Statesman</u> San Antonio <u>Light</u>
Washington	Rep. McDermott, W&MSHR	Seattle <u>Times</u> Seattle <u>Post-Intelligencer</u> Tacoma <u>Morning News Tribune</u>
Pennsylvania	Sen. Wofford, Labor & Hum Res. Rep. Santorum, W&MSHR	Philadelphia <u>Inquirer</u> Pittsburgh <u>Press</u> Philadelphia <u>Daily News</u> Pittsburgh <u>Post-Gazette</u> Allentown <u>Morning Call</u>
New York	Sen. Moynihan, Chairman, Finance Committee St. Sen. James Lack, State and Local Task Force on WR	NY <u>Wall Street Journal</u> NY <u>Times</u> Long Island <u>Newsday</u> NY <u>Daily News</u> NY <u>Post</u> Buffalo <u>News</u> Rochester <u>Democrat & Chronicle</u>
Tennessee -- hearing state	Rep. Ford, Chairman, W&MSHR	Memphis <u>Commercial Appeal</u> Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>
New Jersey -- hearing state	Sen. Bradley, Finance Comm. State and Local Task Force on WR: Gov. Florio, Chairman Brenda Bacon, Office of Gov. Michael Pappas, Freeholder, Somerset County	Newark <u>Star-Ledger</u> Asbury Park <u>Press</u> Hackensack <u>Record</u>

<p>California -- hearing state</p>	<p>Rep. Matsui, W&MSHR Russell Gould, Sec. Health and Welfare Agency, on State and Local Task Force on WR</p>	<p>LA Times San Francisco Chronicle Orange County Register San Diego Union-Tribune San Jose Mercury News Sacramento Bee LA Daily News Riverside Press-Enterprise Fresno Bee San Francisco Examiner Long Beach Press-Telegram</p>
<p>Illinois -- Hearing State</p>	<p>Rep. Rostenkowski, Chairman, Ways and Means Committee Rep. Reynolds, W&MSHR Sen. Paul Simon, Labor & Hum Res Rep. Bobby Rush</p>	<p>Chicago Tribune Chicago Sun-Times</p>

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

FEBRUARY

Empowerment Network
Annual Legislative Meeting
Washington, D.C.
Attended: Jeremy Ben-Ami

COSSMHO
Annual Meeting
February 2-6
Washington, D.C.
Attending: David Ellwood

National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies
6th Annual Policy Symposium
February 24-26
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Mary Jo Bane, Joan Lombardi

U.S. Catholic Conference/Catholic Charities USA
Annual Meeting
February 27-March 2
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Wendell Primus

American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers
February 28
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Paul Legler

Academy of Pediatrics
Council on Child & Adolescent Health Conference
Alexandria, VA
Attending: Wendell Primus

MARCH

National Association of Private Industry Councils
Annual Conference
February 27 - March 1
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Wendell Primus
National Alliance of Business Session - Jeremy Ben-Ami

California Department of Education
12th Annual Equity Institute
March 4
San Diego, CA
Attending: Walter Broadnax

Council on Social Work Education
Council on Social Work Educator's Annual Programmatic Meeting,
with a special focus on welfare.
March 5-8
Atlanta, GA
Attending: David Ellwood

American Academy of Pediatrics
Legislative Conference
March 6-8
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Wendell Primus

National Association of Counties
1994 Legislative Conference
March 4-6
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Welfare Reform Task Force - David Ellwood
Human Services and Education Steering Committee - Wendell Primus

APWA National Council of State Human Service Administrators
Meeting
March 7-9
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Mary Jo Bane, David Ellwood (2 separate sessions)

APWA IV-D Directors
March 7
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Paul Legler

Association of Maternal and Child Health Programs
Annual Conference
March 6-9
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Walter Broadnax

National Adult Education Policy Development Consortium

Teleconference

March 9

Washington, D.C.

Attending: Jeremy Ben-Ami

Church Women United/Interfaith Impact

Interfaith Impact Briefing(dealing specifically on welfare reform)

March 13-16

Washington, D.C.

Invited: Mary Jo Bane

Tennessee JOBS Conference

Annual Conference

March 15

Nashville, TN

Attending:

United Way of America

National Conference

March 19

Dallas, TX

Capital Area Political Science Association

Annual Conference

March 19

Washington, D.C.

UFSA Conference

March 21

Little Rock, AR

Attending: Paul Legler

Joint Center for Economic and Political Studies

Annual Dinner

March 24

Washington, D.C.

APRIL

International Latinas' Action Summit

April 1994
Los Angeles, CA

Food Research and Action Center

Policy Meeting (200 people)
April 6-8
Washington, D.C.

National Association of Social Work

Annual Leadership Conference
April 6-8
Washington, D.C.

National Association of Black Social Workers

Annual Conference
April 6-10
Philadelphia, PA

The University of Michigan Institute of Public Policy Studies Student Association *

Annual Spring Symposium

April 8

Ann Arbor, MI

Invited: Mary Jo Bane

NOTE: This may be a good event as part of rollout i.e. in a targeted state, key people invited and roughly 200 professionals, academics, & students in attendance

American Jewish Congress

April 8-11
Washington, D.C.

Partnership for Training and Employment Careers *

Annual Conference

April 11-12

San Francisco, CA

Invited: Mary Jo Bane (note from EB-decide later, but definitely send someone)

Child Welfare League of America

National Conference

April 12-14

Washington, D.C.

Attending: Mary Jo Bane

The Urban Institute

Conference on Welfare Reform

April 12-14

Crystal City, VA

Attending: Mary Jo Bane, David Ellwood, Bruce Reed

Note: Big Event, sponsored by several foundations, large attendance

National Head Start Association

Annual Conference

April 13-17

Louisville, KY

National Council for Children's Rights

April 13-17

Bethesda, MD

American Bar Association - Center for Children and the Law

National Conference

April 21-23

National Coalition for the Homeless

National Conference, Follow-up Workshop on Welfare Reform

April 21-22, April 23

Minneapolis, MN

National Alliance of Business

Annual Business Education Forum

April 27-29

Washington, D.C.

MAY

SEIU

Legislative Board Meeting

Spring, 1994

Washington, D.C.

National Urban Coalition

Annual Convocation

May 4-7

Los Angeles, CA

National Rainbow Coalition

Annual Conference

May 12-15

Washington, D.C.

JUNE

Institute for Women's Policy Research

Innovations in State and Local Government: New Directions for Women

June 3-4

Washington, D.C. (American University)

Eastern Regional Interstate Child Support Association

Annual Training Conference

June 5-9

New Orleans, LA

Attending: Paul Legler

Food Research and Action Center

Annual Dinner

June 7

Washington, D.C.

League of Women Voters

Convention

June 10-15

Washington, D.C.

National Congress of American Indians

Annual Conference

June 14-16

Buffalo, NY

Nine to Five

"Summer School for Working Women" Conference

June 17-20

Washington, D.C.

Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America

Annual Conference

June 19-23

New Orleans, LA

AFSCME

Annual Conference

June 27-July 1

San Diego, CA

JULY

National Organization for Women (NOW)
Annual Conference
July 1-3
San Antonio, TX

NAACP
Annual Conference
July 9-14
Chicago, IL

National Council of La Raza
Annual Conference
July 17
Miami Beach, FL

National Urban League
Annual Conference
July 24
Indianapolis, IN

AUGUST

National Congress of American Indians
Annual Conference
August 4-11
New Orleans, LA

Southern Christian Leadership Council
Annual Conference
Second Week in August
Dallas, TX

National Child Support Enforcement Association
National Conference
August 21-25
Boston, MA

SEPTEMBER

National Alliance of Business
Annual Conference
September 25-28
Dallas, TX

OCTOBER

National Black Child Development Institute
Annual Conference
October 6-8
Seattle, WA

Food Research and Action Center
Hunger Meeting
Fall, 1994 (no set date yet)
Washington, D.C.

National Association of Social Workers
Annual Conference
October 19-22
Nashville, TN

National Council of Churches
General Board Meeting
November 9-12
New Orleans, LA

UNSPECIFIED DATE

NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
Board Meeting

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

National Puerto Rican Coalition

1995

National Council of Negro Women
Biennial Conference
October or November 1995

PAPER

In advance of the rollout, we will be preparing a range of materials for both public and internal purposes. The following is an initial list of some of the possible materials in three categories:

Public/Substantive -- These materials will be the most substantive descriptions of the administration plan. They will be prepared by HHS/ASPE and will be reviewed and approved by the co-chairs.

Public/Descriptive -- These materials will be used with most public audiences to summarize the plan and various aspects of it. They will be prepared by Communications staff in coordination with ASPE and approved by the co-chairs.

Internal -- These materials will be prepared for the use of administration staff and representatives to assist them in speaking about welfare reform and planning external events. These will also be prepared by Communications staff and be approved by the co-chairs.

A. Public Materials/Substantive

1. Plan Summary Intermediate level of detail on the plan -- essentially an update of the Nov/Dec 31-page draft. This will be the primary document circulated for discussion purposes prior to announcement.
2. Plan Specifications Detailed description of particulars of the plan. Note: this document would not be circulated publicly although pieces of it might be used for discussion with parties with a detailed interest in an area.
3. Rationale for Reform The case for our plan. Separate and apart from the plan summary, this piece would be more a statement of the arguments for our plan than a description of its contents. This document would be useful for arming our surrogates to defend the plan as well as providing a basis for speechwriting and op-eds.
4. Working Papers A series of detailed background papers discussing problems, data, and research related to specific parts of welfare reform:
 - child support
 - education and training
 - child care
 - characteristics/dynamics of welfare

B. Public Materials/Descriptive

1. Handout 3 page bulleted hand-out summarizing the key elements of the plan
2. Issue Specific Pieces A series of short pieces geared at specific audiences. Very useful for targeted mailings, meetings, etc. No more than 4-5 pages each. Suggested topics:
 - welfare reform and child support
 - welfare reform and child care
 - welfare reform and the business community
 - assets and economic development
 - where are the jobs?
 - reducing teen pregnancy
 - welfare reform and education and training
 - reinventing government assistance
 - welfare reform and health care
 - financing the plan
3. Video We are in the final stages of contracting a production crew to produce a short (10-15 minute) video on welfare reform that will describe the issues and contents of the plan. The video will be mailed to organizations around the country interested in welfare reform and in response to requests for speakers when we are unable to attend. The footage will also provide the basis for several video news releases about various components of the plan.
4. Currently Available - Basic Materials
 - Program Fact Sheets
 - Model program profiles
 - Working Group information: description, list, etc.

C. Materials for Internal Use

1. General Talking Points We will maintain up-to-date general talking points for administration representatives who will be speaking about the welfare reform plan. These will provide the basic message and packaging for our program.
2. Issue Specific Talking Points and Background A series of 2-3 page packages on the most controversial issues within the plan which would include talking points, model questions and answers, pertinent facts, and lists of who is with us and against us on the issue – on the Hill, in the advocacy community, pundits, etc. A sample of possible topics:
 - Making AFDC equally available to two parent families
 - Making minor moms live at home
 - Creating a massive public works bureaucracy
 - Financing/Cost/Phase In
 - Waivers/Flexibility within welfare reform
 - Mandatory paternity establishment
 - Immigration
 - Family Cap
3. General Questions and Answers We will maintain an up-to-date set of general questions and answers on common topics of concern for people who will be representing the administration and speaking on behalf of the plan.
4. State Profiles Profiles of the welfare policies in key states, of model programs, of individual stories, as well as summaries of press coverage in local media and key people in the state on the welfare issue will be available to aid in work on the Hill, as well as scheduling and speechwriting. Profiles have been completed for 16 states. An additional three states are being considered. These are the targeted states listed on page 7.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL

A. Associations

The HHS Office of Intergovernmental Affairs will set up thorough briefings for staff and key members of the leading associations of state and local government officials. These include:

- National Governors Association
- National Conference of State Legislators
- National Association of Counties
- US Conference of Mayors
- National League of Cities
- American Public Welfare Association

B. Individuals

They will also be developing a list of key governors, mayors and state and county officials who will be briefed during the pre-rollout phase in hopes of getting some individual endorsements at the time of the plans release. These include:

Govs. Dean; Carper; Cuomo; Engler

Mayors Rice, Seattle
 Webb, Denver
 Schmoke, Baltimore
 Cleaver, Kansas City
 Archer, Detroit
 White, Cleveland

State Legislators
 County Officials
 Welfare Directors

[This list is in development.]

PUBLIC LIAISON

The Working Group's Office of Public Liaison in conjunction with the White House Office of Public Liaison will be coordinating outreach to a variety of key groups prior to release of the plan. These include:

- Organized labor - ongoing discussions with key labor leaders to discuss specific elements of the plan

- Business - There have been numerous meetings with representatives of the business community as well as a series of focus groups with individual business owners. Once the plan is closer to its final form, we will proceed in several directions:

- Mailing to the businesses around the country that are currently involved in welfare to work efforts to solicit their input and support
- Invitations to business owners to attend further briefings with the administration
- Follow up meetings with all of the associations and trade groups with whom contact has been established

We are aiming to have several business related events during the roll-out and to have a large base of businesses expressing support for the plan.

- Interest Groups - There are a large number of key interest groups with which we have been working including CDF, CLASP and CBPP. We will also be devoting a significant amount of time to groups representing key religious denominations, ethnic groups, and women.

- Issue Groups - We have established working relationships with groups interested in particular issues within welfare reform including child support, child care, prevention, and education/training. We will meet with these groups to discuss the specific areas of the plan in which they are most interested.

RELEASE WEEK/MONTH

A. RELEASE WEEK

Series of High Visibility Events

- Presidential kick-off and major press event
- second day: Cabinet level events in key markets
- follow with series of visible meetings at White House:
 - business leaders
 - organized labor
 - key congressional leaders
 - governors/other local officials

Press Briefing

Chairs to give full background briefing on the plan to reporters

Congressional Briefings

- members a la health care???
- at a minimum, large staff briefings

State/Local staff Briefings

- General briefing at Hall of the States

Mail Press kits to entire press mailing list around the country

1. current press list should be reviewed and edited
2. press kit needs to be updated with plan description

Mailing of plan plus followup to:

- academics
- columnists
- ed boards
- key leaders in key states

B. RELEASE MONTH

Working Group members targeted visits to key states

- site visits with press
- outreach to key congressional leaders in home states
- editorial boards
- briefings for key state and local leaders

DRAFT

ROLLOUT PLANNING				
	PHASE I: Pre Decision	PHASE II: Tentative Decisions Made; Shopping for Feedback	PHASE III: Putting the Final Package Together; Lining up Support	PHASE IV: Rollout
Process	Continue meetings based on Nov/Dec options paper; getting reactions, feedback	New document or some handout from which to discuss tentative decisions		
Timing	Current	Two-three weeks	Two-three weeks	Two - four weeks
Legislative	Continue briefings on options paper for members and staff	Key lists of H/S members, staff, groups for in depth discussions of issues and decisions Lists to be developed by HHS/OLA Co-chairs and staff to split up meetings Communication/feedback process	Focused work with leaders and key committees Line up spons	GOALS: Max. spons. No lg. neg. from gpa No process attacks Perhaps some SRs

DRAFT

ROLLOUT PLANNING				
	PHASE I: Pre Decision	PHASE II: Tentative Decisions Made; Shopping for Feedback	PHASE III: Putting the Final Package Together; Lining up Support	PHASE IV: Rollout
Intergovernmental		<p>2-3 weeks of detailed consultations. (1) One Lead negotiator; (2) Discussion outline of key decisions; (3) Support help to set up/track/report on meetings.</p> <p>Meetings: (1) NGA; (2) Individual gov; (3) Other groups, particularly APWA; (4) Key individuals – Mayors like Schmoke, Rice, Webb, Cleaver, etc. and perhaps Giuliani, Riordan – as well as State legislators or county execs;</p>		<p>GOALS: NGA: generally pos sbt process, goals, not neg sbt financing.</p> <p>Endorsements from individuals. Two events - Pres with Mayors and local electeds and Pres with Govs</p>
Advocacy	<p>Ongoing discussions of general options/principles: ●3/7-A/A leaders</p> <p>Continued meetings with OL</p>	<p>Detailed briefings/reviews of plan as a whole with: OL Trad Gps A/H/W Relig</p> <p>Reconvene with groups with partic interest in: child support child care prevention business</p>	<p>Lining up where possible: - endorsements of plan - statements of support - surrogate speakers - op ed writers - events during rollout</p> <p>Feeding reactions into final draft of the plan</p>	<p>GOALS: 1) OL event 2) Fav receipt from trad gps 3) Bus leaders event 4) shows of support from leaders in communities including:</p>

DRAFT

ROLLOUT PLANNING				
	PHASE I: Pre Decision	PHASE II: Tentative Decisions Made; Shopping for Feedback	PHASE III: Putting the Final Package Together; Lining up Support	PHASE IV: Rollout
Press		Focus on columnist briefings -- Assignments to co-chairs for phone calls, lunches, follow up	Some groundwork to be laid with briefings for reporters, key editorial writers Lining up of surrogate speakers, op ed writers	Scheduling: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high vis events - Pres • med vis events - Cab members during week that follows • 2-4 wks of WG chairs and members around the country doing local media, key target states with members, govts, other locals Ed Bds Columnists Op Eds Video/VNRs



WR- Rollout

JIM FLORIO
GOVERNOR

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
TRENTON
08625

November 16, 1993

Mr. Bruce Reed
Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
Old Executive Office Building
Room 216
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Bruce:

I am writing to volunteer my services to the Clinton Administration. I will retire from service to the State of New Jersey on December 31 and would welcome the opportunity to help the Clinton Administration on welfare reform or other domestic issues. I am a skilled researcher and writer, an experienced and effective public speaker and a successful organizer and mobilizer of people.

My public service background includes elected and appointed positions. I was elected to local government and the state legislature and was appointed to top management positions in the New Jersey Departments of Human Services, Environmental Protection and Labor and Industry. I served in the U. S. Department of the Interior near the end of the Carter Administration. In the private sector I was the founding president of the Center for Non-Profit Corporations, the first statewide advocacy organization of non-profit groups.

I will be relocating to New Jersey in December. You can reach me at 337 E. Union Street, Burlington, N. J. 08016, phone (609) 386-8657.

I want to help President Clinton move his agenda forward. Please call on me.

Sincerely,


Betty Wilson

WIR-Rollout

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

25-May-1994 03:43pm

TO: Bruce NT Reed
FROM: Carol H. Rasco
Economic and Domestic Policy
SUBJECT: RE: Welfare Reform rollout

Mack tells me he has notes at home that are quite complete but apparently Stan Greenberg and/or Maggie had a conversation with him following a talk with Hillary regarding this whole issue of roll out and exactly what should be rolled out when....I urge you to call Stan prior to the meeting since I still haven't seen Mack's notes....thanks.

Mack also then had a conversation with someone in Moynihan's office and was trying to press on them to see if we could get by with rolling out only the program but not a bill in mid June and wait until July or completion of health care mark ups to put actual bill forward. Mack feels to the extent one can get something from Moynihan he got a commitment this would probably be okay.

→ Rollout to OMB
Does

Tone of BC
Letter to M'Name
MAYORS STRATEGY

WR -
Rollout

June 10, 1994

- Shalala briefing

POTUS can ENBLER, CAMPBELL
→ Invite Campbell and other 3
→ what Afr-Amers to invite?

MEMORANDUM FOR MACK MCLARTY

FROM: BRUCE REED

- Call Ciccaman, McLarty, from

SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM ROLLOUT

→ KENN GREEN re JOBS

Speech: Economy → JOBS
→ m. meeting w/ McLarty

Here is a preliminary summary of next week's anticipated announcement of the President's welfare reform plan. We still need firm confirmation of the date (Tuesday) and the site (Delaware).

I. ANNOUNCEMENT

The President is scheduled to announce his welfare reform plan on Tuesday, June 14, at a successful welfare-to-work program in Delaware. The actual legislation is in clearance at OMB, and should be ready to introduce by the end of next week. Beyond Tuesday, the rollout will primarily involve Secretary Shalala, Director Panetta, Carol Rasco, and the rest of us involved in welfare reform.

The Presidential announcement will take place at one of two sites in Delaware -- either the lobby of a bank in Wilmington that has hired a number of workers through the state's welfare-to-work program, or a nearby technical college that runs that training program. The event will showcase people who have been through the program and been hired; if there is time, the President could lead a roundtable discussion with them before giving his speech.

We explored several other possible sites, including a speech at Georgetown (where the President made the initial campaign promise to end welfare) or a trip to Kansas City (which has an excellent welfare-to-work program). Delaware was chosen because it has the best welfare-to-work program within close range of Washington. Moreover, its current Governor, Tom Carper, is head of the Democratic Governors' welfare reform task force and our most outspoken ally among Democratic governors on this issue -- while the previous Governor, Congressman Mike Castle, was the President's Republican counterpart and ally in passing the Family Support Act of 1988. Wilmington's mayor is African-American, as is the CEO of the bank we're considering as a site, and the state's program has a broad racial mix.

In preparation for the announcement, Carol has asked for time on the President's schedule Monday to review the details of the plan. Don Baer assigned the speech to me and

Bill Galston. Legislative Affairs will invite key members to the event, including Moynihan; we do not expect many from outside the Delaware delegation to come.

II. LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL OVERVIEW

Under the direction of Pat Griffin and Susan Brophy here at the White House and Jerry Klepner at HHS, we have consulted extensively with members in both houses and both parties. Our bill is positioned in the center of the debate, with two or more liberal bills to our left and the Republican and Mainstream Forum bills to our right. There is overwhelming popular support for virtually every element of our plan. The major flashpoints in Congress will be over financing (the Hispanic Caucus will complain about our \$4 billion immigrant provision, although they much prefer it to the \$21 billion provision in the Republican and Mainstream Forum bills), time limits (the liberal bills have none), and the state option to limit additional benefits for additional children conceived on welfare (a sore point for the left).

We are relying on leadership and committee chairs to sponsor the President's bill. In the House, Sam Gibbons and Bill Ford have agreed to be sponsors; Gephardt is considering it. We had hoped to get Harold Ford as well, but after months of consultation, he has developed serious problems with our bill, which will have to move through his subcommittee of Ways and Means. We also anticipate a chilly reception from the CBC. Moderate members like McCurdy and Alan Wheat will say nice things about the President's plan, while continuing to sponsor their own. House Republicans like many elements of our bill, and so far have been willing to say so publicly.

In the Senate, Moynihan seems delighted with the arrival of our bill, and raved about it at the Senate Democratic Policy luncheon on Thursday. We hope that he and Breaux and possibly Mitchell will sponsor it in the Senate. Most Senate Democrats should speak out in favor of our bill. We do not expect much activity in either house until after the 4th of July recess, when subcommittees may begin hearings.

The other major source of support for our plan will be from governors. The NGA is preparing a strong letter of support. We hope that most Democrats and some Republicans will react positively, including Engler (but probably not Thompson). The only thing that stands in the way of unqualified support from the states is concern that certain financing provisions (cuts in immigrant benefits and emergency assistance) may shift some costs their way, but on balance our plan should be a good deal for them. They strongly oppose the Republican proposal on immigrants as a substantial cost shift.

Many groups on the left will oppose or withhold support from our plan. Alexis Herman has held meetings here at the White House with African-American leaders, who expressed some reservations about the plan but whose main concern was that the President strike a positive tone with this issue. We need to continue that outreach effort. Organized labor is reasonably happy, and may even consider endorsing.

III. COMMUNICATIONS

In Rahm's absence, I have been working with Avis LaVelle at HHS and Mark Gearan and others here at the White House to prepare a well-targeted communications plan for the rollout. We want to ensure favorable coverage for the President's plan, while recognizing that most of his time in coming weeks will be taken up with other issues.

When Rahm returns, he will run the communications effort, in collaboration with DPC and HHS. Here is a tentative schedule for the first two weeks:

Friday, June 10, 1994

Possible short telephone interview of POTUS by US News and World Report (requested; Ricki is doubtful). US News to run cover story on welfare reform in next week's issue. Time is also running a cover on welfare and has asked for an interview Friday or Saturday.

Welfare reform team will hold press briefing at HHS to release study identifying a \$34 billion child support enforcement gap.

Sunday, June 11, 1994

White House officials appearing on Sunday talk shows will preview upcoming announcement.

Monday, June 12, 1994

Short preview interview with USA Today on announcement.

US News and Time cover stories appear.

Tuesday, June 13, 1994

Presidential announcement in Delaware.

Secretary Shalala, Director Panetta, and welfare team available for morning shows to preview announcement, as well as evening talk shows (Crossfire, Larry King).

Background briefing for White House press corps on plan after speech with Secretary Shalala and welfare team.

"Nightline" segment on teen pregnancy and welfare reform.

Wednesday, June 14, 1994

Shalala and Panetta host background interview at White House with columnists on plan. POTUS drops by.

Shalala will do satellite feeds to selected markets.

Target state and regional press for follow-up stories on how welfare reform will affect existing state plans.

June 15 and beyond

Shalala and welfare reform team will concentrate on:

- * Extensive outreach to radio talk shows outside the Beltway
- * Targeted editorial boards
- * Media with interested members of Congress

Shalala has pending requests to appear on "Evans and Noyak" and weekend shows to explain plan.

National Press Club has requested Shalala speech on plan for June 24.

IV. FOLLOW UP

1. We need to decide today whether to go forward on Tuesday in Delaware.
2. We've asked Ricki to see that there is time on the schedule Monday to discuss the plan with the President and make sure that he is fully briefed.
3. David Gergen, Mark Gearan, and I will pull together a meeting today to go over the communications and message aspects of the rollout.
4. We need to talk with Pat Griffin and Susan Brophy to make sure that we've done all we can to smooth the way for this on the Hill.
5. OMB has called a meeting for this afternoon to nail down any remaining policy questions. If there are any last-minute financing details, Leon will let you know.