

## **KAISER/HARVARD PROGRAM ON THE PUBLIC AND HEALTH/SOCIAL POLICY**

**Survey on Welfare Reform: Basic Values and  
Beliefs; Support for Policy Approaches;  
Knowledge About Key Programs**

**January 1995**

**EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE UNTIL:**

**9:00 A.M. EST, THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 1995**

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**TABLE 1**

**DOES THE WELFARE SYSTEM DO MORE GOOD OR MORE HARM?**  
**Views of American Adults By Political Party Affiliation**

|                                                                                                                                                     | <u><b>Total</b></u> | <u><b>Dem.</b></u> | <u><b>Rep.</b></u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>The welfare system does more harm than good,<br/>because it encourages the breakup of the<br/>family and discourages work</b>                    | <b>56%</b>          | <b>50%</b>         | <b>72%</b>         |
| <b>The welfare system does more good than harm,<br/>because it provides assistance and training<br/>for those who are without jobs and are poor</b> | <b>33%</b>          | <b>43%</b>         | <b>22%</b>         |
| <b>Don't know/Refused</b>                                                                                                                           | <b>11%</b>          | <b>7%</b>          | <b>7%</b>          |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 2**

**ARE PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE WELFARE ABLE TO WORK?**  
**Views of American Adults**

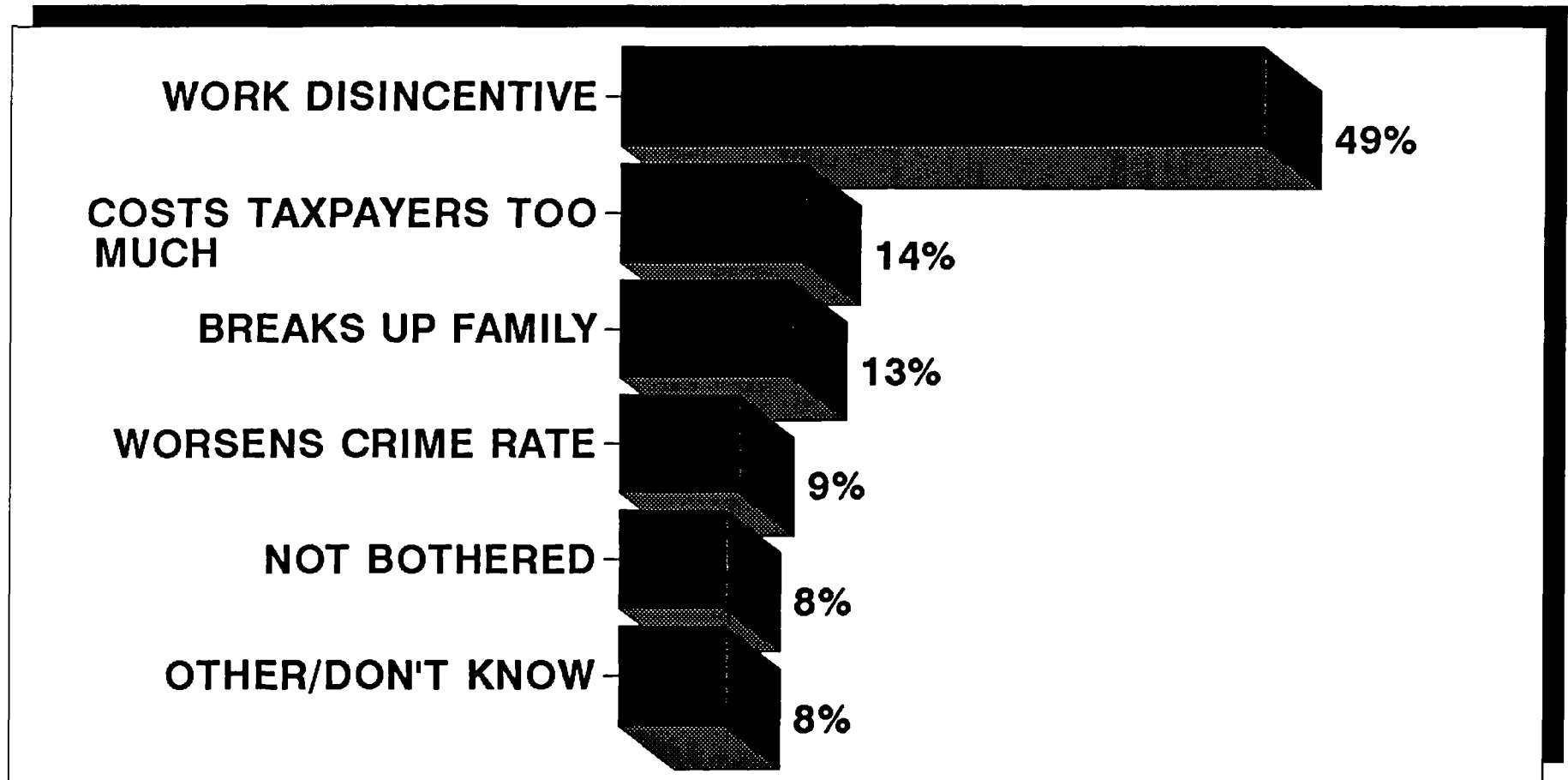
**More people who receive welfare...**

|                                                          |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Are able to work</b>                                  | <b>81%</b> |
| <b>Have disabilities that keep them<br/>from working</b> | <b>9%</b>  |
| <b>Other (vol.)</b>                                      | <b>6%</b>  |
| <b>Don't know</b>                                        | <b>4%</b>  |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 3**

# **WHAT BOTHERS AMERICANS ABOUT THE WELFARE SYSTEM VIEWS OF AMERICAN ADULTS**

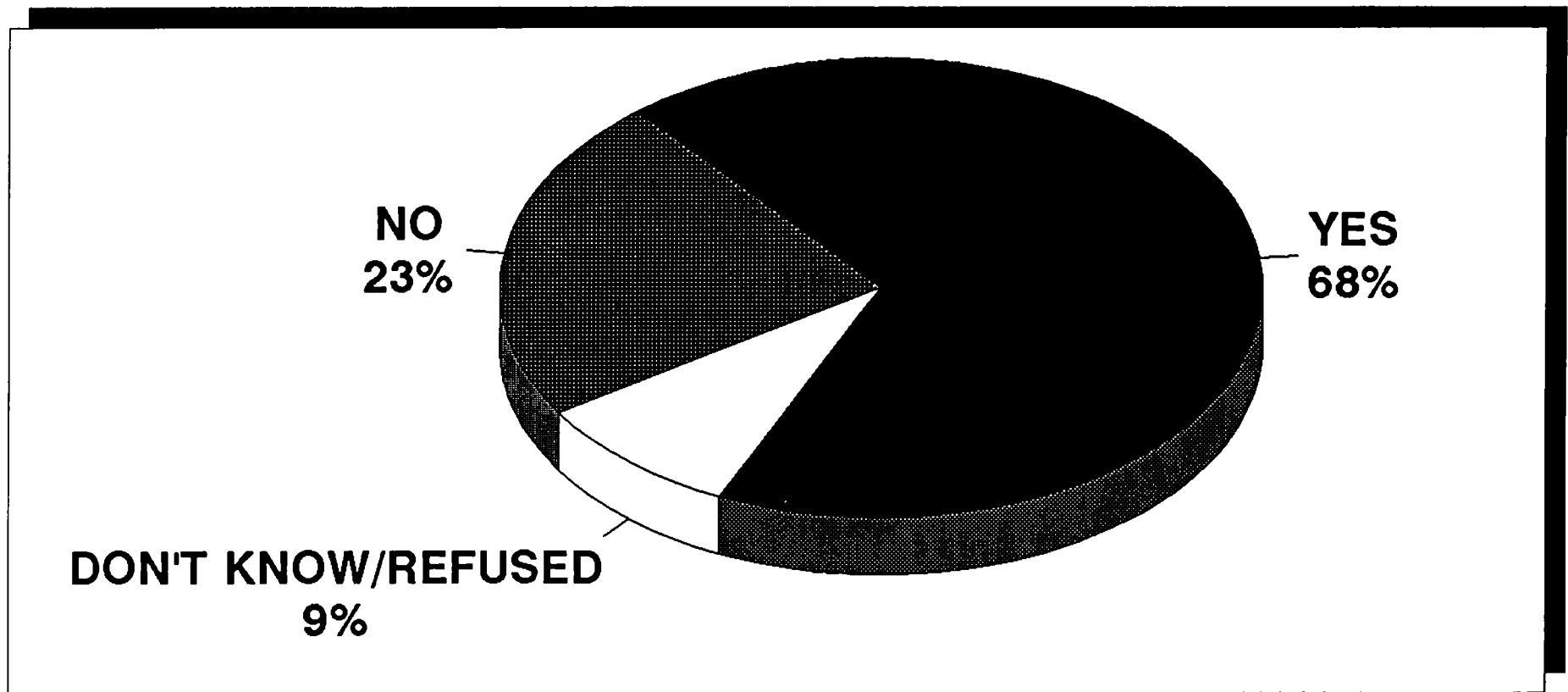


Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy, January 1995

**TABLE 4**

**DOES WELFARE ENCOURAGE WOMEN TO HAVE  
MORE CHILDREN THAN THEY WOULD HAVE IF  
THEY WERE NOT ABLE TO GET WELFARE?**

**VIEWS OF AMERICAN ADULTS**



Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 5**

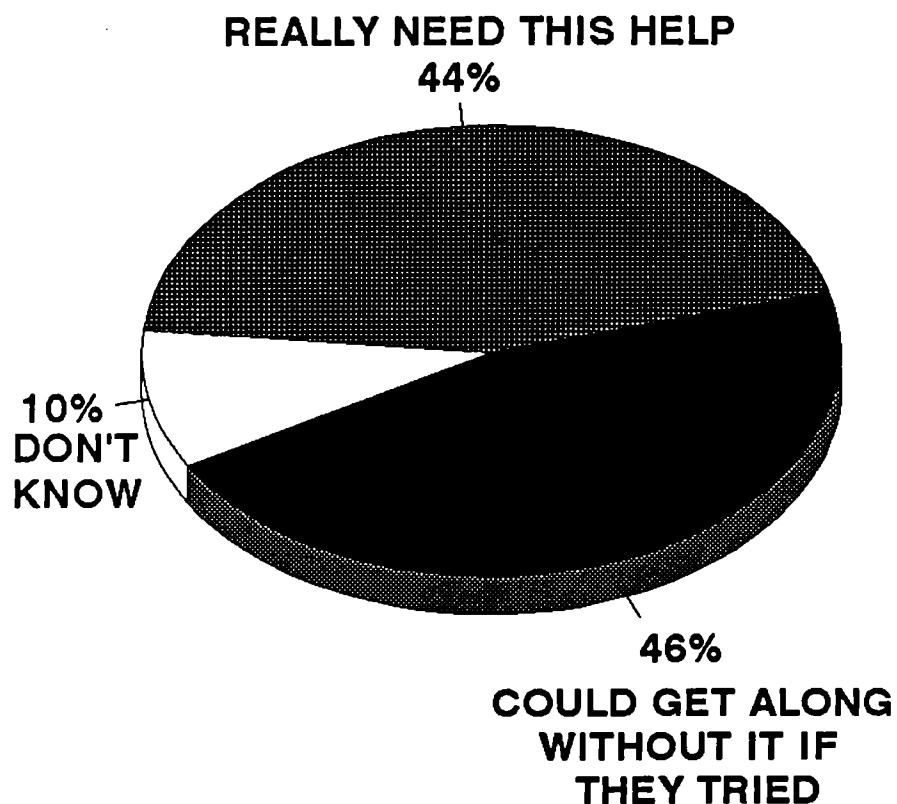
**AMERICANS' VIEWS ABOUT U.S. SPENDING ON WELFARE**  
**Views of American Adults By Political Party Affiliation**

|                                 | <u><b>Total</b></u> | <u><b>Dem.</b></u> | <u><b>Rep.</b></u> |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Spend Too Much</b>           | <b>64%</b>          | <b>57%</b>         | <b>78%</b>         |
| <b>Spend Too Little</b>         | <b>12%</b>          | <b>14%</b>         | <b>5%</b>          |
| <b>Spend About Right Amount</b> | <b>17%</b>          | <b>26%</b>         | <b>9%</b>          |
| <b>Don't Know</b>               | <b>7%</b>           | <b>3%</b>          | <b>8%</b>          |

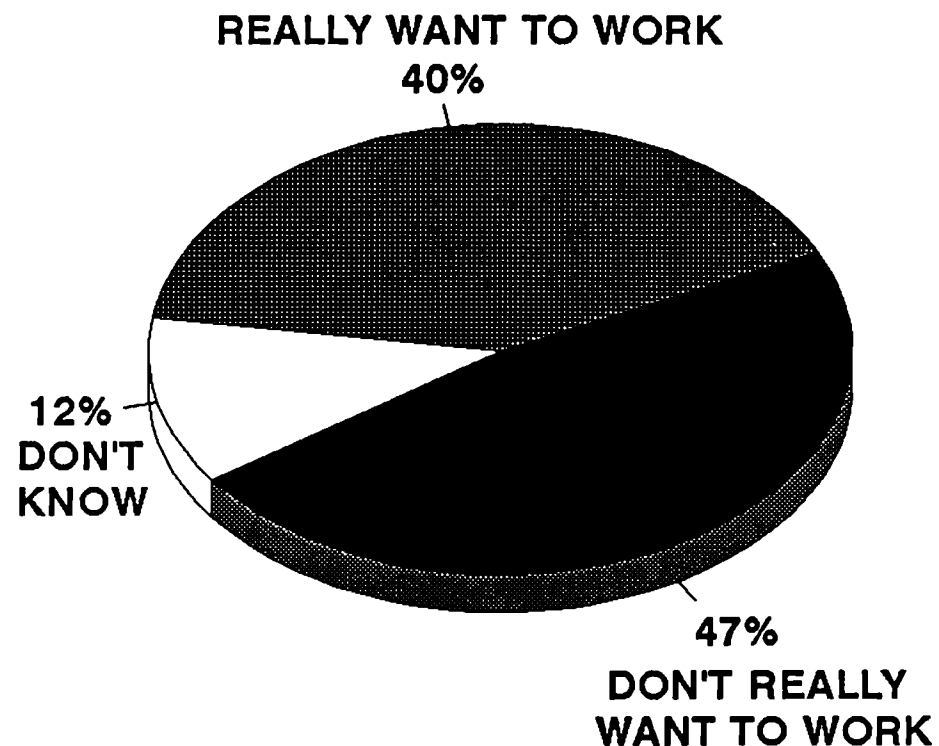
**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 6**  
**AMERICANS' VIEWS OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS**  
**VIEWS OF AMERICAN ADULTS**

***MOST PEOPLE WHO RECEIVE  
MONEY FROM WELFARE***



***MOST WELFARE RECIPIENTS***

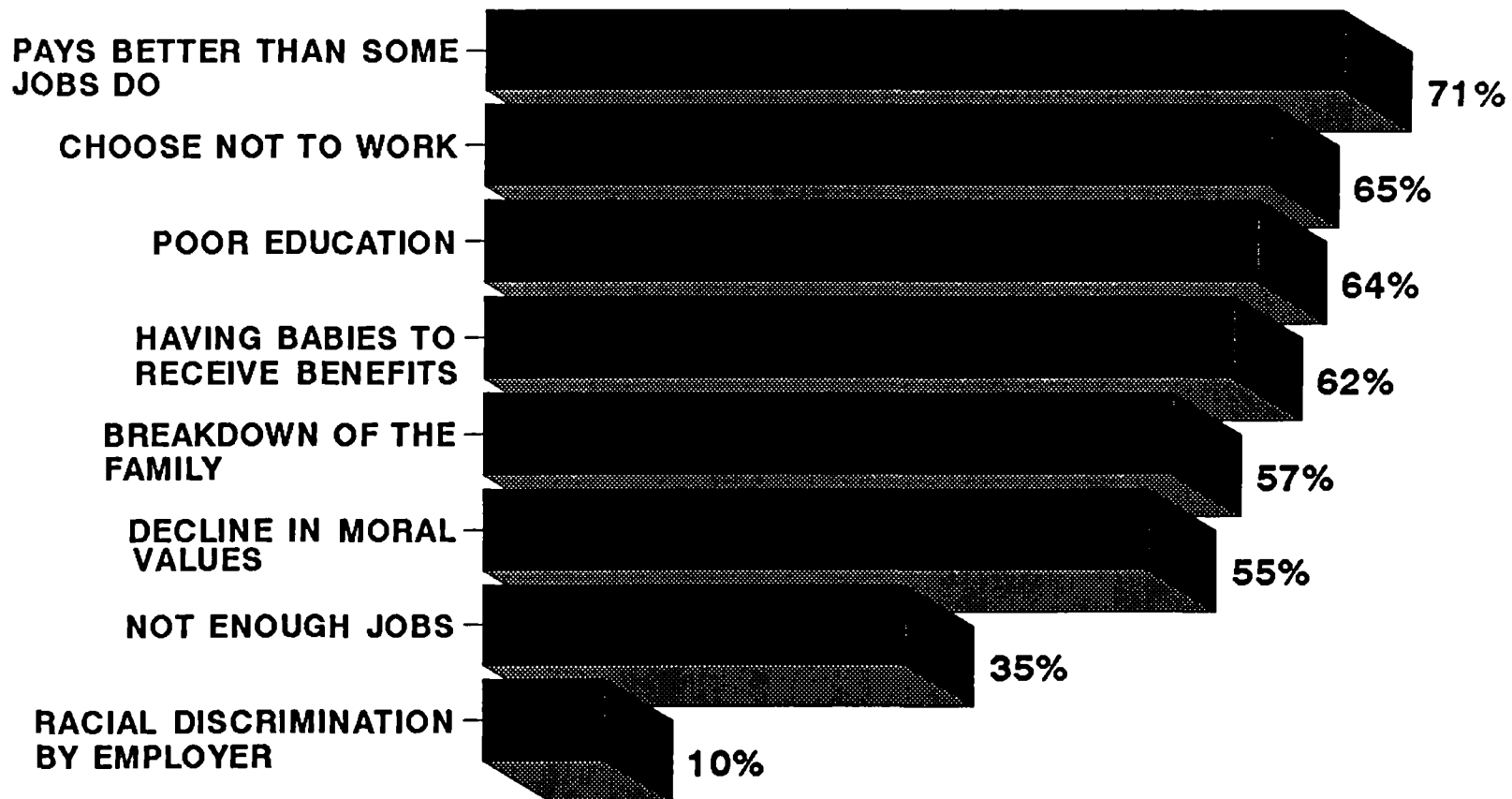


Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 7**

**MAJOR REASONS WHY PEOPLE  
ARE ON WELFARE**

**VIEWS OF AMERICAN ADULTS**



Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 8**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS**  
**Views of American Adults By Political Party Affiliation**

|                                                      | <u><b>Total</b></u> | <u><b>Dem.</b></u> | <u><b>Rep.</b></u> |
|------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Most people who receive money from welfare...</b> |                     |                    |                    |
| <b>Could get along without it if they tried</b>      | <b>46%</b>          | <b>40%</b>         | <b>56%</b>         |
| <b>Really need this help</b>                         | <b>44%</b>          | <b>50%</b>         | <b>34%</b>         |
| <b>Don't know/Refused</b>                            | <b>10%</b>          | <b>10%</b>         | <b>10%</b>         |
| <b>Most welfare recipients...</b>                    |                     |                    |                    |
| <b>Do not really want to work</b>                    | <b>47%</b>          | <b>46%</b>         | <b>58%</b>         |
| <b>Really want to work</b>                           | <b>40%</b>          | <b>44%</b>         | <b>30%</b>         |
| <b>Don't know/Refused</b>                            | <b>12%</b>          | <b>10%</b>         | <b>13%</b>         |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 9**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS ABOUT THE AVAILABILITY  
OF JOBS FOR WELFARE RECIPIENTS**  
**Views of American Adults By Political Party Affiliation**

|                                                                                     | <u><b>Total</b></u> | <u><b>Dem.</b></u> | <u><b>Rep.</b></u> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>There are jobs available for most welfare recipients who really want to work</b> | <b>72%</b>          | <b>62%</b>         | <b>85%</b>         |
| <b>Among all of those who responded to the question:</b>                            |                     |                    |                    |
| <b>And most of these jobs pay enough to support a family</b>                        | <b>22%</b>          | <b>16%</b>         | <b>31%</b>         |
| <b>But most of these jobs do not pay enough to support a family</b>                 | <b>37%</b>          | <b>35%</b>         | <b>40%</b>         |
| <b>But don't know if they pay enough or depends on family size</b>                  | <b>12%</b>          | <b>11%</b>         | <b>14%</b>         |
| <b>Jobs are not available</b>                                                       | <b>24%</b>          | <b>36%</b>         | <b>12%</b>         |
| <b>Don't know if jobs are available</b>                                             | <b>4%</b>           | <b>2%</b>          | <b>3%</b>          |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 10**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS OF WELFARE MOTHERS OF YOUNG CHILDREN**  
**Views of American Adults**

|                                                                                                                            |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>It's important for a mother with young children to stay at home even if it means having to provide her with welfare</b> | <b>42%</b> |
| <b>We should not pay welfare to mothers with young children because it's so important that people work</b>                 | <b>35%</b> |
| <b>Other (vol.)</b>                                                                                                        | <b>14%</b> |
| <b>Don't know/Refused</b>                                                                                                  | <b>10%</b> |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 11**

**AMERICANS' VALUES CONCERNING THE WELFARE SYSTEM**  
**Views of American Adults By Political Affiliation**

|                                                                                                                                            | <u><b>Total</b></u> | <u><b>Dem.</b></u> | <u><b>Rep.</b></u> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>We shouldn't let people who can't get or hold a job go hungry or homeless, and we need to continue welfare payments to these people</b> | <b>44%</b>          | <b>44%</b>         | <b>45%</b>         |
| <b>We should have a firm limit on how long people can stay on welfare, regardless of the consequences, in order to get them to work</b>    | <b>43%</b>          | <b>43%</b>         | <b>44%</b>         |
| <b>Other (vol.)</b>                                                                                                                        | <b>7%</b>           | <b>6%</b>          | <b>6%</b>          |
| <b>Don't know/Refused</b>                                                                                                                  | <b>5%</b>           | <b>7%</b>          | <b>5%</b>          |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 12**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS OF WHO SHOULD BE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE  
FOR MAKING SURE THAT NON-WORKING LOW-INCOME PEOPLE  
HAVE A MINIMUM STANDARD OF LIVING  
Views of American Adults**

|                                                                                               |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Responsibility should be shared</b>                                                        | <b>57%</b> |
| <b>People themselves, friends, and voluntary agencies<br/>should be primarily responsible</b> | <b>26%</b> |
| <b>Government should be primarily responsible</b>                                             | <b>14%</b> |
| <b>Don't know</b>                                                                             | <b>3%</b>  |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 13**

**PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE WELFARE SYSTEM**

- **90% know that more women and children are on welfare than men**
- **A majority (57%) knows that responsibility for running welfare is shared between federal and state governments**
- **A plurality (32%) knows how much public assistance mothers are receiving each month**
- **71% say they know what Medicaid is and 43% know it pays not only for hospital and doctor services for poor adults and children, but also for services for the elderly in nursing homes and for the blind and disabled**
- **A majority (57%) know that most people on welfare are minorities**

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 14**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS ABOUT WHICH GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS ARE  
WELFARE PROGRAMS  
Views of American Adults  
(from a list of 9 programs)**

**% saying each of the following  
is a welfare program**

|                                                         |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Food stamps</b>                                      | <b>93%</b> |
| <b>AFDC, or Aid to Families With Dependent Children</b> | <b>85%</b> |
| <b>Public housing</b>                                   | <b>85%</b> |
| <b>WIC, or the Women, Infants, and Children program</b> | <b>72%</b> |
| <b>The school lunch program</b>                         | <b>62%</b> |
| <b>Medicaid</b>                                         | <b>60%</b> |
| <b>SSI, or Supplemental Security Income</b>             | <b>43%</b> |
| <b>Medicare</b>                                         | <b>30%</b> |
| <b>Social Security</b>                                  | <b>15%</b> |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 15**

**WHAT PUBLIC VIEWS AS WELFARE\***  
**(from a list of 9 programs)**

| <u>Programs</u>                                                                 | <u>Billions of dollars<br/>as of FY 1993</u> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| Medicaid                                                                        | \$76                                         |
| Food Stamps                                                                     | \$25                                         |
| AFDC (Family Support)                                                           | \$16                                         |
| Child Nutrition Programs/WIC                                                    | \$ 7                                         |
| Public Housing Assistance                                                       | <u>\$20</u>                                  |
| <br>Total Federal Spending<br>on These Programs                                 | <br>\$144                                    |
| <br>Total Federal Outlays                                                       | <br>\$1,408                                  |
| <br>Public's Definition of<br>Welfare as Percentage of<br>Total Federal Outlays | <br>10.2%                                    |

Source: Congressional Budget Office, 1994 and House Committee on Ways and Means, 1993

\*Based on the majority of responses provided in the Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995 and correlated to the federal budget FY1993

**TABLE 16**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS OF THE TWO LARGEST  
AREAS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING**  
**Views of American Adults**  
**(from a list of six programs)**

|       |                                 |     |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----|
| 1.    | Foreign aid                     | 41% |
| 2(t). | Welfare                         | 40% |
| 2(t). | Interest on the<br>federal debt | 40% |
| 4.    | Defense                         | 37% |
| 5.    | Social Security                 | 14% |
| 6.    | Health                          | 8%  |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 17**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS OF ENDING WELFARE PAYMENTS  
TO ABLE-BODIED RECIPIENTS AFTER TWO YEARS**

**Views of American Adults**

|                                                                                                                                                                     |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Favor ending welfare payments to able-bodied welfare recipients, including women with pre-school children, after two years, and requiring them to take a job</b> | <b>68%</b> |
| <b>Would continue to favor even if the job the person takes pays a low wage that would make it difficult to support a family</b>                                    | <b>26%</b> |
| <b>Would continue to favor even if the person is unable to get a job</b>                                                                                            | <b>16%</b> |

Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 18**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS ON WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN IF WELFARE RECIPIENTS  
ARE CUT OFF AFTER A SPECIFIED PERIOD OF TIME AND AFTER EDUCATION,  
TRAINING, AND HEALTH AND CHILD BENEFITS HAVE BEEN PROVIDED**

**Views of American Adults**

|                                                                                                           |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>Favor requiring welfare recipients to do community service work in exchange for continued benefits</b> | <b>56%</b> |
| <b>Favor cutting off benefits and guaranteeing jobs to recipients</b>                                     | <b>25%</b> |
| <b>Favor cutting off benefits</b>                                                                         | <b>10%</b> |
| <b>Don't know/Refused</b>                                                                                 | <b>10%</b> |

Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 19**

**THE PRINCIPAL GOAL OF WELFARE REFORM**  
**Views of American Adults By Political Affiliation**

|                                                                                                                | <u><b>Total</b></u> | <u><b>Dem.</b></u> | <u><b>Rep.</b></u> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Get people off welfare, but only if we can get them decent jobs by providing job training and education</b> | <b>63%</b>          | <b>66%</b>         | <b>60%</b>         |
| <b>Get people off welfare even if it means they have to take a low-paying job</b>                              | <b>27%</b>          | <b>22%</b>         | <b>33%</b>         |
| <b>Get people off welfare regardless of the consequences</b>                                                   | <b>6%</b>           | <b>7%</b>          | <b>5%</b>          |
| <b>Provide people on welfare with more money so that they have a higher standard of living</b>                 | <b>2%</b>           | <b>5%</b>          | <b>2%</b>          |
| <b>Other (vol.)</b>                                                                                            | <b>2%</b>           | <b>1%</b>          | <b>1%</b>          |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 20**

**PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR PROPOSALS TO CHANGE THE WELFARE SYSTEM**  
**Views of American Adults**

|                                                                                                                                         | <u><b>Favor</b></u> | <u><b>Oppose</b></u> | <u><b>Don't<br/>Know/<br/>Refused</b></u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| <b><u>I. Government Should Provide Training &amp; Support</u></b>                                                                       |                     |                      |                                           |
| Government should provide job training for people on welfare                                                                            | 87%                 | 10%                  | 3%                                        |
| Government should provide child care to low-income mothers who are on welfare who take jobs or are in job training                      | 85%                 | 13%                  | 2%                                        |
| Government should provide public sector jobs for people on welfare                                                                      | 74%                 | 21%                  | 5%                                        |
| <b><u>II. Government Should Get Tough</u></b>                                                                                           |                     |                      |                                           |
| Government should require each mother to report the name of a child's father before she can receive welfare                             | 81%                 | 16%                  | 3%                                        |
| Government should limit or deny welfare aid to non-citizens. This would include most legal immigrants as well as all illegal immigrants | 64%                 | 27%                  | 9%                                        |
| Women who have additional children while on welfare should not receive additional benefits for those children                           | 59%                 | 34%                  | 8%                                        |
| Government should set a limit on how fast the cost of welfare programs can grow, regardless of how many people may need them            | 57%                 | 31%                  | 13%                                       |

Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 21**

**AMERICANS' WILLINGNESS TO PAY MORE IN TAXES  
OR SEE OTHER PROGRAMS CUT TO PROVIDE JOB TRAINING  
AND PUBLIC SECTOR JOBS SO PEOPLE CAN GET OFF WELFARE**  
Views of American Adults

|                     | <u>Willing</u> | <u>Unwilling</u> | <u>Don't<br/>Know/<br/>Refused</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Job training        | 53%            | 40%              | 7%                                 |
| Public service jobs | 47%            | 45%              | 8%                                 |

Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 22**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS ABOUT ENDING WELFARE BENEFITS TO  
UNMARRIED MOTHERS AND THEIR CHILDREN  
AND ABOUT CARE IN GROUP HOMES AND ORPHANAGES  
Views of American Adults**

|                                                                                                                                                                                             | <u>Favor</u> | <u>Oppose</u> | <u>Don't<br/>Know/<br/>Refused</u> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| A proposal that would end all welfare benefits for unmarried mothers and their children, even if it means that some of the children would have to be cared for in group homes or orphanages | 25%          | 66%           | 9%                                 |

**If such a proposal were enacted, which one of the following three things would you prefer that government do for unmarried mothers with children who cannot support themselves?**

|                                                                                    |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The government pays for group homes where mothers and their children live together | 56% |
| The government provides orphanages for the children                                | 8%  |
| The government does nothing                                                        | 8%  |
| None of the above                                                                  | 23% |
| Don't know                                                                         | 5%  |

**Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995**

**TABLE 23**

**AMERICANS' VIEWS OF WHO SHOULD BE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE  
FOR MAKING SURE THAT NON-WORKING LOW-INCOME PEOPLE  
HAVE A MINIMUM STANDARD OF LIVING**  
Views of American Adults

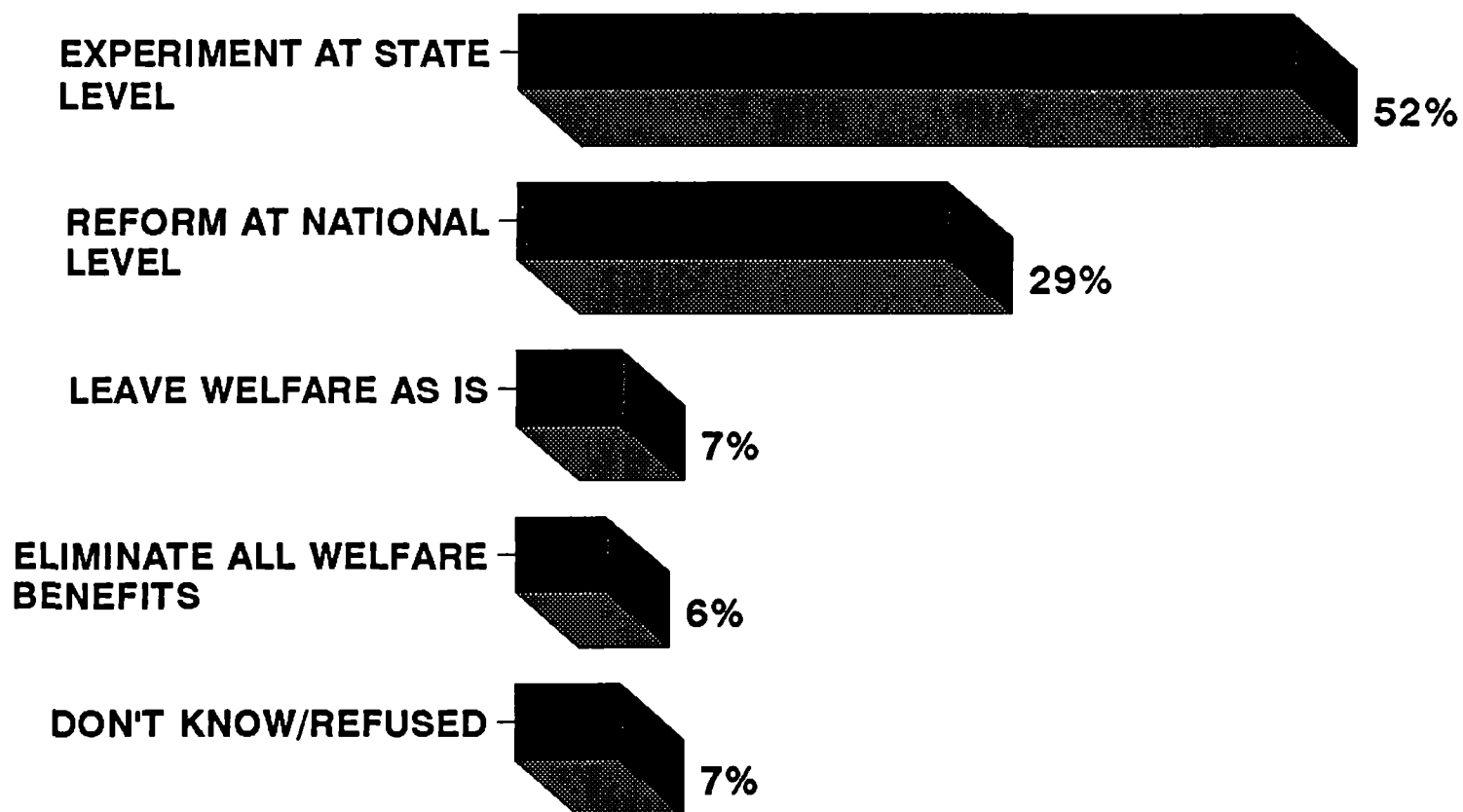
|                                                                                    | <u>Total</u> | <u>Dem.</u> | <u>Rep.</u> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Government should be primarily responsible                                         | 14%          | 20%         | 7%          |
| People themselves, friends, and voluntary agencies should be primarily responsible | 26%          | 22%         | 27%         |
| Responsibility should be shared —                                                  | 57%          | 54%         | 62%         |
| Among those who believe the responsibility should be shared:                       |              |             |             |
| With government role lasting only for a limited time                               | 71%          | 63%         | 77%         |
| With government role lasting as long as it takes for the individual to get a job   | 25%          | 33%         | 17%         |
| But don't know how long government role should last                                | 4%           | 2%          | 5%          |
| Don't know who should be primarily responsible                                     | 3%           | 4%          | 4%          |

Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

**TABLE 24**

**STATES VS. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT**

**QUESTION: REGARDING WELFARE REFORM, DO YOU  
THINK THAT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SHOULD...**



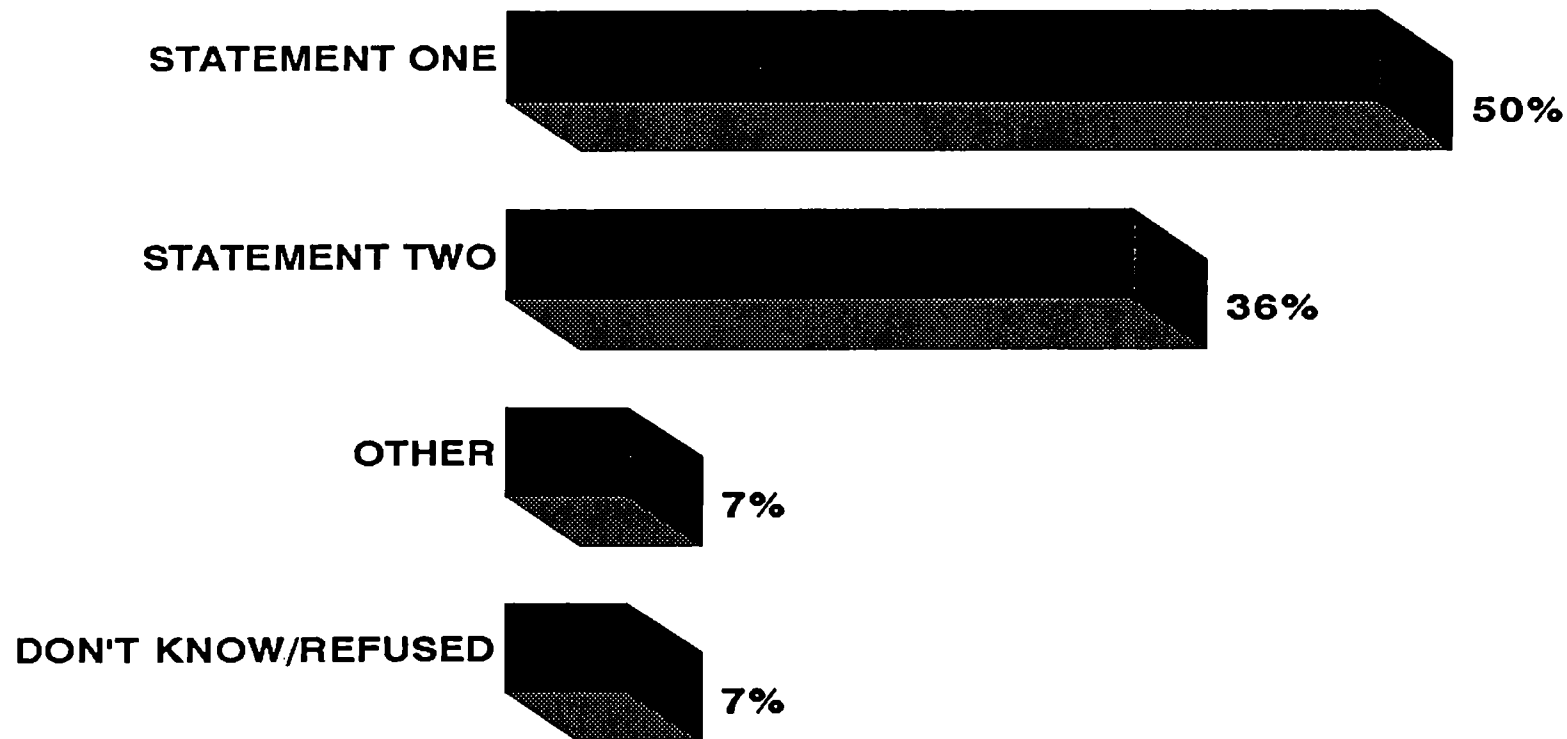
Source: Kaiser/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

## TABLE 25

### HOW MUCH STATE FLEXIBILITY?

**QUESTION: WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS COMES CLOSER TO YOUR POINT OF VIEW:**

- (1) The federal government has to set guidelines when it gives money to states for welfare in order to assure that the states will treat everyone fairly and do the right thing for poor people.
- (2) Each state should be able to determine on its own the best way to aid poor people and the federal government should just give them the money without telling them what to do.

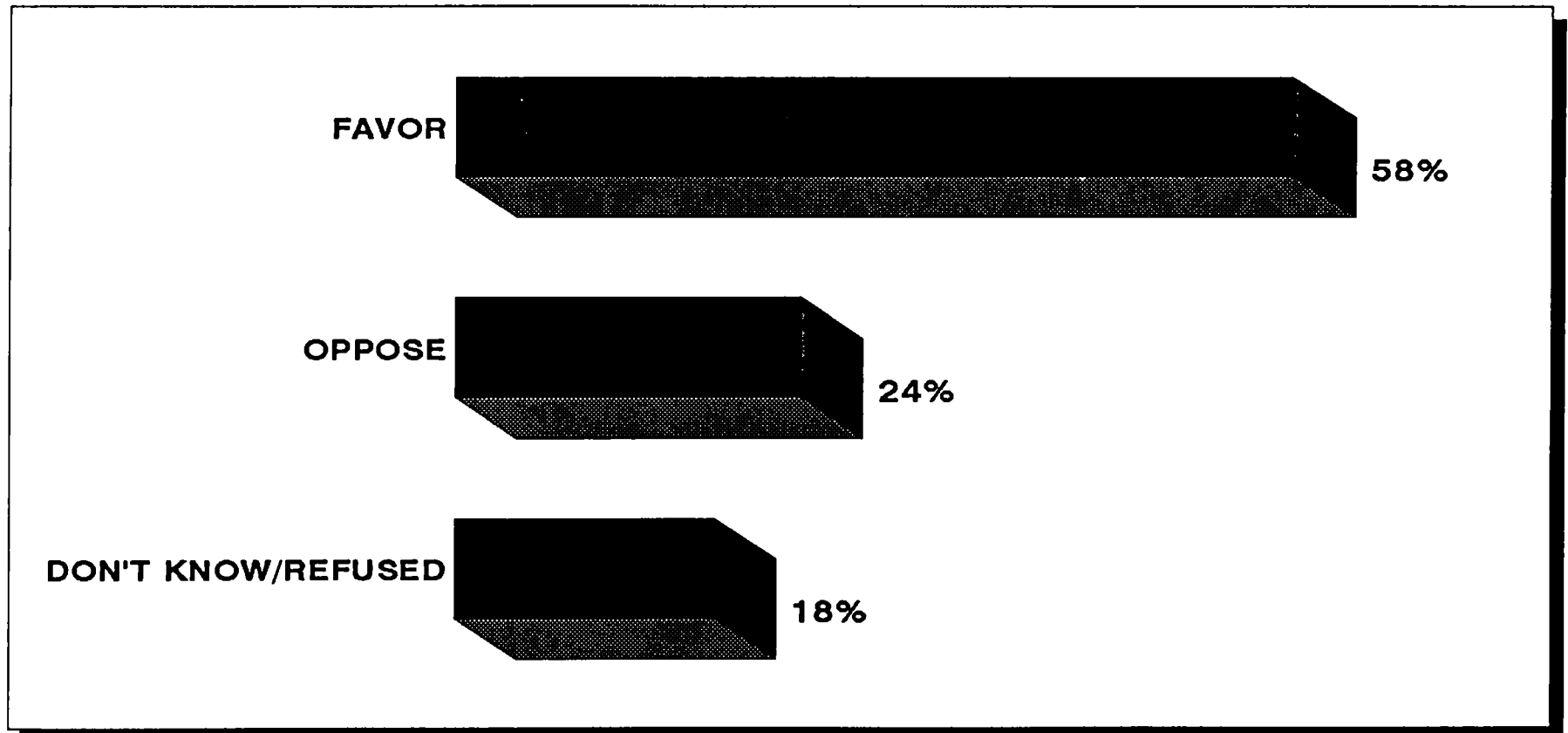


Source: Kaseer/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995

## TABLE 26

### THE WELFARE/MEDICAID "SWAP"

**QUESTION:** TODAY, THE COSTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR WELFARE AND THE MEDICAID PROGRAM ARE SHARED BY THE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS. RECENTLY SOME PEOPLE HAVE SUGGESTED DIVIDING THESE RESPONSIBILITIES DIFFERENTLY, WITH THE STATES BEING IN CHARGE OF WELFARE AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TAKING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PAYING FOR THE HEALTH CARE OF POOR PEOPLE. DO YOU *FAVOR* OR *OPPOSE* THIS "SWAP" PROPOSAL?



Source: Kaseer/Harvard Program on the Public and Health/Social Policy Survey, January 1995



*file  
Welfare  
Reform*

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES  
WASHINGTON D.C. 20201

FEB 13 1995

The Honorable E. Clay Shaw  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Human Resources  
Committee on Ways and Means  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington D.C. 20515



Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter expresses the Administration's views on the Chairman's mark for welfare reform legislation under consideration by the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources.

The Administration shares the commitment of the Congress and the American people to real welfare reform that emphasizes work, parental responsibility, state flexibility, and the protection of children. Last year, the President submitted a bold welfare reform bill, the Work and Responsibility Act of 1994, which embodied these values. It imposed tough work requirements while providing opportunities for education, training, child care and supports to working people. It included a stringent set of child support enforcement provisions. It required each teen mother to live at home, stay in school and identify her baby's father. It increased state flexibility without sacrificing accountability. And it maintained a basic structure of protections for children.

The Administration looks forward to working cooperatively with the Congress in a bipartisan way to pass bold welfare reform legislation this year. The Administration has, however, serious concerns about a number of features of the Chairman's mark that appear to undermine the values to which we are all committed. The Administration seeks to end welfare as we know it by promoting work, family and responsibility, not by punishing poor children for their parents' mistakes. Welfare reform will succeed only if it successfully moves people from welfare to work.

### **Work**

For years, Republicans and Democrats alike have agreed that the central goal of welfare reform must be work. That is still our goal: People who can work ought to go to work and earn a paycheck not a welfare check. The Administration believes that no adult who is able to work should receive welfare for an unlimited time without working. The Administration believes that from the first day someone comes onto welfare, he or she should be required to participate in job search, job placement, education, or training needed to move off welfare and into a job quickly. It is government's responsibility to help ensure that the critical job placement, training, and child care services are provided. Individuals who are willing to work should have the opportunity to work and not be arbitrarily cut off assistance.

The Administration therefore has serious concerns about the Chairman's mark before you:

- o It eliminates requirements that recipients participate in job search, education, work or training as a condition of receiving welfare, and ends any responsibility of state welfare systems to provide education, training and placement services to move recipients from welfare to work. The proposed legislation effectively repeals the bipartisan Family Support Act signed by President Ronald Reagan in 1988.
- o The proposed legislation includes only minimal and unenforceable requirements that recipients work. The bill requires only that persons on the rolls for more than 2 years engage in "work activities" loosely defined by the state welfare bureaucracy, rather than a real work requirement. The proposed participation standards are very low. In many ways, the work requirements are even weaker than those in current law.
- o The proposed legislation provides no assurance of child care to recipients who work or are preparing to work--even if a state requires them to participate. It offers no promise of child care for those who leave welfare for work or for those who could avoid falling onto welfare if they had some help with child care. While it repeals provisions of existing law that provide funding for child care, this bill is silent on whether any additional funds will be available for subsidized child care for low income working families.
- o The proposed legislation repeals the current rule that anyone who leaves welfare for work can receive Medicaid for an additional year to ease the transition. This would further reduce health care coverage and make it harder for people to move from welfare to work.
- o The proposed legislation would deny all cash assistance to families that have received assistance for more than five years, even if the adult in the family is unable to find a job or prevented from holding a job because of illness or the need to care for a disabled family member. Children would be seriously jeopardized even if their parents cannot find any work.

The Administration supports an alternative approach that would genuinely transform the welfare system into a transitional system focused on work. It would have strict requirements for recipients to participate in and clear responsibilities for states to provide education, training and placement assistance; it would have serious time limits after which work would be required; it would ensure that children would not be left alone when parents were working by providing assistance for child care; it would put parents to work, not just cut them off; and it would ensure that children can expect support from two parents.

## Parental Responsibility

The Administration believes that welfare reform should recognize the responsibility and encourage the involvement of both parents in their children's lives. The Administration considers child support enforcement to be an integral part of welfare reform, particularly because it sends a strong message to young people about the responsibility of both parents to support their children. The Administration was pleased that you had agreed to add child support enforcement to your welfare reform bill, and sorry that your proposals are not yet part of the bill now under consideration. The Administration looks forward to working closely with you on this issue in the coming weeks.

- o The only child support provision included in the Chairman's mark is one that allows states to reduce payments to children for the first 6 months if paternity has not been legally established. This provision seems ineffectual and unfair. Even if a mother fully cooperates by giving detailed information identifying the father and his possible location, and even if the state is diligent in pursuing the father, it can easily take 6 months to get paternity legally established. There is no reason why the child should be punished during this period.

The Administration believes that it makes far more sense to deny benefits entirely to any parent who refuses to identify the father or to cooperate in locating him. However, once the mother has done all she can, the family should qualify for aid, and then the state should establish paternity within one year.

The Administration believes that the welfare system should encourage the formation and support of two-parent families. The Administration is therefore concerned about an important omission in the proposed legislation:

- o The proposed legislation would encourage the break-up of families by repealing the requirement that states provide cash assistance to two-parent families in which a parent is unemployed or unable to work. It allows states to discriminate against married, two-parent families by treating single-parent families better than two-parent families.

The Administration supports an approach that both encourages the formation of two-parent families and makes sure that both parents take responsibility for children in all cases.

## Teen Pregnancy

The Administration and the American people agree that the best reform of welfare would be to ensure that people do not need it in the first place. Welfare reform must send a very strong message to young people that they should not get pregnant or father a child until they are ready and able to care for that child, and that if they do have children, they will not be

able to escape the obligations and responsibilities of parenthood. We must be especially concerned about the well-being of the children who are born to young mothers, since they are very likely to grow up poor.

The Administration therefore has serious concerns about the bill before you:

- o The proposed legislation would deny all federal cash benefits for eighteen years to any child born to an unmarried mother under 18, as well as to the parent. This provision appears to punish children for their entire childhood--18 years--for the mistakes of their parents.
- o The proposed legislation does not require that teen mothers live at home, stay in school, and identify the child's father. It weakens requirements in current law, and may make the prospects for mother and child even worse.
- o The proposed legislation establishes only minimal expectations for states to provide services to unmarried parents, and provides no additional funds to support them.

The Administration supports an alternative approach that would require minor mothers to live at home, stay in school, make progress toward self-sufficiency, and identify the father of the child. The Administration also supports a national campaign to prevent teen pregnancy. It is time to enlist parents and civic, religious, and business leaders in a community based strategy to send a clear message about abstinence and responsible parenting. The Administration also supports a state option not to increase benefits for children born to mothers on welfare. This decision should be made by the state, not the federal government.

### **State Flexibility with Accountability**

The Administration embraces the creativity and responsiveness of states, and the opportunities for real reform when states have the flexibility to design and administer welfare programs tailored to their unique circumstances and needs. Already this Administration has granted waivers to nearly half the states for welfare reform demonstrations. National welfare reform should embody the values of work and responsibility in a way that assures taxpayers that federal money is being spent prudently and appropriately. For reform to succeed, the funding mechanisms for welfare should not put children or states at risk in times of recession, population increase or unpredictable growth in demand.

In this context, the Administration has serious concerns about the proposed legislation:

- o The spending cap in the proposed legislation makes no allowances for potential growth in the need for cash assistance because of economic downturn, population growth, or unpredictable emergencies. It could result in states

running out of money before the end of the year, and thus having to turn away working families who hit a "bump in the road" and apply for short-term assistance. It could preclude states from investing in job placement, in work programs, in education and training, and in supports for working families.

- o The proposed legislation removes the requirement that states match federal funds with their own state funds. With none of their own money at risk, states will have many fewer incentives to spend the funds efficiently and effectively to improve performance and increase self-sufficiency.
- o The proposed legislation provides virtually no accountability. There are no incentives for good performance and virtually no penalties for failure. There is no provision for the recovery of monies paid out fraudulently or in error. There are no mechanisms for ensuring that states are actually spending the money on needy children rather than on state bureaucracies, or for monitoring whether federal money is being used to help parents gain self-sufficiency, require work, and enforce parental responsibility. Indeed, the federal government is forbidden from taking any meaningful steps to ensure program performance and accountability.

The Administration supports proposals that significantly increase state flexibility but also ensure accountability for achieving national goals. The Administration supports a funding mechanism that will not put children and states at risk down the road, and that enables states to succeed in moving people from welfare to work and in supporting working families. The Administration has significant doubts about the ability of a pure block grant funding mechanism to adequately protect both children and states.

### **Protection of Children**

The Administration recognizes that the protection of children is the primary goal both of cash assistance programs and of child welfare and child protective services. Cash assistance programs assist families to care for children in their own homes. Child protection services help those children who are abused or neglected or at risk of abuse by their parents and who need special in-home services or out of home placements to assure their safety. Strengthening families, and where appropriate, preventing removal of children from their homes also are, key goals of child protection services. There are problems in a number of areas.

#### **Denial of Benefits to Children on AFDC**

The legislative proposals that would reform cash assistance have a number of provisions that would put vulnerable children at greater risk.

- o As noted above, the legislation would deny cash assistance to children of unmarried minor mothers for their entire childhood, to children born while the parent was on welfare, and to children whose parent had received welfare for more than five years, whether or not a job was available or the parent was unable to work. The funding caps could have the effect of denying cash assistance to children when states used up their allocated funds, for whatever reasons. Children in low income working families, who may be forced onto cash assistance in times of economic downturn, could be most affected.

#### Child Protection Services

Some of these children could well come into a system of child protection services that is already seriously overburdened and that is failing to provide the most essential services. Reported child maltreatment and out-of-home placements have both been increasing sharply. Many state systems are in such distress that they have been placed under judicial oversight. The proposed legislation responds to these increasingly serious problems by consolidating existing programs that protect children into a block grant with nominal federal oversight. The Administration has serious concerns about this approach.

- o The proposed legislation caps spending for child protection programs at a level considerably lower than baseline projections. This could lead to uninvestigated maltreatment reports, and to children being left in unsafe homes with minimal services. It could also seriously hamper states' efforts to improve their child abuse prevention and child protection systems.
- o The proposed legislation eliminates the adoption assistance programs, and leaves it up to states whether they will significantly sustain the subsidies that enable many special needs children to find permanent homes, and whether they will honor commitments to those adoptive families that now receive subsidies.
- o The proposed legislation virtually eliminates federal monitoring and accountability mechanisms. It makes it impossible for the federal government to ensure the protection of children.
- o The proposed legislation is silent on the formula for allocating funds to the states. Because of serious imbalances among the states in spending on child protection, it is hard to imagine a formula that would not disadvantage either states that have been heavy spenders, or states that are only beginning to improve their systems.

Substantial improvements need to be made in the child protection system and in the federal role in overseeing that system. The Administration supports a careful and thoughtful review of the programs before actions are taken that might seriously harm millions of vulnerable children.

### Denial of Benefits to Disabled Children on SSI

The Administration is deeply troubled by the changes proposed in the program designed to help disabled children--SSI.

- o The proposed legislation essentially eliminates SSI benefits for children, with the exception of a small group of children currently receiving benefits. Within 6 months, over one hundred thousand disabled children would lose eligibility for SSI benefits--some would lose medical protection as well. And in the future, no child, no matter how disabled, will be eligible for any cash benefits for SSI, except if cash benefits prevent them from having to be institutionalized. These proposals appear to penalize parents who are determined to care for their child no matter what the economic consequences for the family. SSI recipients are among the neediest and most vulnerable children, in the poorest families.
- o Some of the money saved is put into a new block grant for services to disabled children, which would require the creation of a new state bureaucracy to decide on appropriate services. This idea is untested, and no one knows what impact it will have on the most vulnerable of children and the parents who care for them. The 5-year cut off in AFDC for all persons along with the elimination of SSI cash for disabled children may leave these children extremely vulnerable.

The Administration sees the need for careful reform in this area, with its potential for serious harm to extremely vulnerable children. Last year the Congress established a Commission on Childhood Disability to look into these issues in consultation with experts from the National Academy of Sciences. The Commission will provide its report to the Congress later this year. The Administration believes prudence dictates waiting for this short time until this bipartisan commission, following a thorough review of all aspects of this important program, has an opportunity to make recommendations.

### **Benefits to Legal Immigrants**

The Administration strongly believes that illegal aliens should not be eligible for government welfare support. But the blanket prohibition of all benefits to legal immigrants who are not yet citizens is too broad, and would shift substantial burdens to state and local taxpayers. These legal immigrants are required to pay taxes. Many serve in the armed forces, and contribute to their communities. The Administration strongly favors a more focused approach of holding sponsors accountable for those they bring into this country and making the sponsors' commitment of support a legally binding contract.

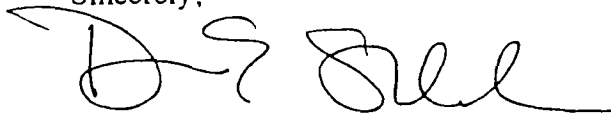
In summary, the Chairman's mark espouses goals for the reform of welfare--work, parental responsibility, prevention of teen pregnancy and state flexibility--that the Administration and the American people share. But the translation of general goals into specific legislation misses the mark in fundamental ways. The proposed legislation does not represent serious work-based reform. It does nothing to move people from welfare to work, and it does not require everyone who can work go to work. It neither holds state bureaucracies accountable nor cushions state taxpayers against recession. It puts millions of children at risk of serious harm. There are alternative approaches to reform that achieve our mutual goals in far more constructive and accountable ways.

The Administration reiterates its commitment to real welfare reform and its desire to work cooperatively with Congress to achieve it.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that there is no objection to the transmittal of this report to Congress.

A similar letter was sent to Representative Harold E. Ford.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "DS Shalala", with a large, stylized initial "D" and "S" followed by the name "Shalala".

Donna E. Shalala

cc: Members of the Subcommittee on Human Resources

# DRAFT

## Summary of the Shaw Welfare Proposal (February 10)

### TITLE I: BLOCK GRANT TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR NEEDY FAMILIES

- **Block Granting of AFDC:** Eliminates all existing statutory language on the purposes, administration and requirements of the AFDC, JOBS and EA programs and replaces them with a block grant to states. Eliminated, for example, are provisions on individual entitlements, fair hearings, state financial participation, consistent standards of need, who in the family is eligible, and statewide program availability. Separately, states would be required to operate, child support, child protection, and foster care and adoption programs.
- **Funding:** The block grant would be \$15.355 billion for each year from 1996 through 2000. Administration estimates show that this would save approximately \$13 billion over 5 years.
- **State Allotment:** The block grant money would be a capped entitlement to states. Each state would be allotted an amount equal to their average proportion of AFDC spending for 1991 through 1993.
- **Rainy Day Funds:** States may put unspent amounts of block grant funds into a rainy day account for years when more money is needed. Amounts above 120% of their annual allocation may be transferred into the state's general revenue fund. There would also be a national rainy day account of \$1 billion that states may borrow from and must pay back within 3 years.
- **Work requirements:** All recipients on the rolls for 24 months (including recipients currently on AFDC) would be required to be in a work activity, unless under age 20 and enrolled in school. For most states, this implies a participation rate of 40% or more. By statute a state's total work participation rate would be set at 2% in 1996 and would rise to 20% by 2003. Educational and training services would be allowed but not required. No definitions for standards for work activity are provided. Child care would not be guaranteed.
- **State Flexibility:** States would determine all rules relating to benefit levels and eligibility criteria. States may pay benefits to interstate immigrants at the level of their original state for up to 12 months. States would be allowed to transfer up to 20% -- or 30% -- of the funds to other block grants.
- **State Requirements:** Benefits must be used to serve families with a minor child. States are required to submit annual data on several measures and must submit to a bi-annual audit. Additionally, under provisions from title III of this act, state social service agencies would be required to provide the name and address of illegal aliens with children to the INS.
- **Prohibitions on States:** States cannot use federal block grant funds to provide benefits to:
  - (1) families who have been on the rolls for 5 cumulative years;
  - (2) individuals that are receiving SSI or OAA (current law);
  - (3) non-citizens (except refugees and/or aged non-citizens who have resided in the U.S. more than 5 years);
  - (4) minor mothers with children born out-of-wedlock;
  - (5) children born while on AFDC (i.e., *family cap*); and
  - (6) families not cooperating with the state child enforcement agency or who have not assigned to the state the child's claim rights against non-custodial parents (current law).(7) Additionally, beginning 1 year following the enactment of the bill, states must pay a

**Welfare Reform Mark-up Summary -- continued**

- **Penalties:** If an audit determines that funds were spent inappropriate to the legislation, the misspent amounts can be withheld from future payments to the state. Failure to provide required performance data would be a 3% reduction state annual grant. Failure to participate in Income Eligibility Verification System results in a penalty of 1% of state annual grant.
- **Time Limits:** AFDC would no longer be an entitlement to individuals. States would be prohibited from using federal block grant dollars to provide benefits to a family that has been on the rolls 5 years. Since states determine all rules relating to benefit levels and eligibility, they could establish any time limit.
- **Medicaid:** Transitional Medicaid for recipients who leave due to employment would be eliminated. Recipients of assistance would be eligible for Medicaid. Current recipients that become ineligible for aid would retain Medicaid eligibility.

**TITLE II: CHILD PROTECTION BLOCK GRANT**

- **Block Grant for Child Protection Services:** The current open-ended entitlement program for IV-E Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Program and the IV-B Child Welfare Services program and Family Preservation and Support program, along with a number of discretionary programs related to child abuse and neglect, would be consolidated into a block grant to states.
- **Funding:** The funding would be \$4.145 billion in FY 1996, \$4.308 billion in FY 1997, \$4.471 billion in FY 1998, \$4.631 billion in FY 1999, and \$4.789 billion in FY 2000. Administration estimates show that resulting savings would be \$5.7 billion over 5 years.
- **State Allotment:** The block grant would be a five year capped entitlement to the states using (not yet specified in bill).
- **State Eligibility for Funds:** States must provide HHS with information on how they intend to use the funds and provide a series of certifications ensuring that procedures are in place on reporting of abuse and neglect and acting on those reports, removal of children and their placement in safe and nurturing settings, and for achieving permanent placement. A declaration of a state's quantifiable goals and their progress is also required.
- **Purpose and Use of Funds:** States may use funds in any manner they so choose to accomplish the purposes specified in the law. The purposes are identifying and assisting families at risk of abusing or neglecting their children; operating a system of receiving reports on abuse or neglect; investigating families reported; assisting troubled families in providing proper protection and nurturing their children; providing foster care; making timely decisions about permanent living arrangements; and continuing evaluation and improvement of child protection laws, regulations and services. Twenty percent of the funds can be transferred to the block grant under Title 1, the Social Services Block Grant, the food and nutrition block grant, and the Child Care and Development Block Grant.
- **Penalties:** If a required audit finds that states have used funds not consistent with the law, funds are to be withheld the following year. However, not more than 25 percent of a quarterly payment can be withheld. Also, the annual grant will be reduced by 3 percent if states fail to submit within 6 months the required data report.

- **Child Protection Goals:** States are required to protect children, investigate reports of abuse and neglect promptly, have permanency planning in place for children removed from their homes and dispositional hearings within 3 months of a fact-finding hearing, and out-of-home placements reviewed every 6 months unless the child is already in a long term placement.
- **Citizen Review Panels:** States are required to establish citizen review panels for each metropolitan region that is broadly representative of the community and meets at least quarterly. The panel is to review specific cases to determine state compliance and make a report available to the public.
- **Data Collection and Reporting:** Annual state data reports are required to be submitted to HHS that includes basic aggregate data on the numbers of children abused and neglected, in foster care, that received services, and other similar information. States must also provide data measuring their progress towards the goals in the law and a summary response to the citizen review panels findings and recommendations. The Secretary of HHS issues an annual report of this data and provides it to the public.
- **Limitation on Federal Authority:** Other than what's specified in the law, the Secretary cannot regulate the conduct of states or enforce any provision of the law.

### TITLE III: RESTRICTING WELFARE FOR ALIENS

- **NonCitizens Ineligible for Assistance:** Under these provisions, except for the exceptions noted below, noncitizens would be ineligible for most federal assistance programs. However, adults and children would remain eligible for emergency medical services and immunizations, and several educational and training programs. States would be allowed to use state resources to provide other benefits to noncitizens at state option.
- **Exceptions:** Noncitizens over 75 (who have resided in the U.S. at least 5 years) are eligible for benefits. Refugees are eligible for benefits for up to five years after the date of their arrival. Other noncitizens currently living in the U.S. would become ineligible 1 year after the enactment of the provisions and would receive notification of their ineligibility.
- **Sponsorship:** Sponsorship documents would become legally binding until the noncitizen attained citizenship.

### TITLE IV: SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME REFORMS

- **Denial of Benefits to Addicts:** Individuals diagnosed with drug or alcohol addiction would no longer be eligible for SSI or Medicaid.
- **SSI Restrictions to Disabled Children and Medical Services Block Grant:** Cash benefits would be restricted. Children would only receive cash benefits or new medical services based only on the medical listing criteria, not the individual functional assessment. Current SSI children receiving cash benefits because of a disability under the medical listing would continue to be eligible for cash, but children not already under SSI will only receive cash payments if they are institutionalized or would be in an institution if the cash payment did not exist. Children considered disabled but not eligible for cash benefits will be eligible for additional medical services under a block grant. This block grant would be an entitlement to

Welfare Reform Mark-up Summary - *continued*

states for authorized medical and non-medical services to those children who qualify (those children eligible for SSI cash benefit or who are not eligible for cash but are disabled due to a condition in the medical listing).

**Welfare Reform Daily Talking Points  
Monday, February 13, 1995**

**WELFARE REFORM MUST BE STRONG ON WORK,  
NOT CRUEL TO CHILDREN**

Today, Clay Shaw's House Subcommittee on Human Resources begins marking up the Personal Responsibility Act, the welfare reform plan contained in the *Contract with America*. Over the past week, Democrats have united against the Republican proposal, which is tough on children and low-income families, but weak on requiring work. As House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt said on Friday, "for the Republicans, welfare reform is just a way of passing the buck, kicking people off the welfare rolls, and leaving innocent children out in the street."

- o In fact, the work requirements in the Personal Responsibility Act would be weaker than those under current law. In 1996, under current law, 11.5 percent of welfare recipients (595,000 people) would be working -- either in part-time private sector jobs or in mandatory work programs. In contrast, under the Republican plan, only two percent of welfare recipients (105,000 people) would be required to participate in "work activities" in 1996.
- o President Clinton's principles for welfare reform will not change. As he said in his State of the Union address: "We have to help those on welfare move to work as quickly as possible, to provide child care and teach them skills if that's what they need for up to two years. And after that, there ought to be a simple hard rule: anyone who can work must go to work."

**This Administration believes that:**

- o Welfare reform must be about a paycheck, not a welfare check. We won't have ended welfare as we know it until the central focus of the program is to move people off welfare and into a private sector job so that they can support themselves and their families.
- o Our goal must be to lift people up from dependence to independence, not to punish them because they happen to be poor, young, or unmarried. We intend to work with Congress on a bipartisan basis, but we continue to oppose any plan to deny assistance to young mothers, break up families, punish children for their parents' past mistakes, or put children in orphanages.
- o Tough child support enforcement must be a centerpiece of welfare reform. We're pleased that House Republicans intend to adopt our proposals for child support enforcement, which was a key agreement reached at the Working Session on Welfare Reform. If we're going to end welfare as we know it, we must make sure that all parents -- fathers and mothers alike -- take responsibility for the children they bring into this world.

# Clinton's Welfare Stance Comes Under GOP Fire

*'Republicans Attack President's Credibility'*

By Judith Havemann  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Republicans attempted to regain the offensive on one of their most critical campaign issues yesterday, attacking President Clinton's credibility on welfare. GOP leaders criticized Clinton for supporting a revolutionary Wisconsin welfare abolition plan while sending weaker federal legislation to Capitol Hill.

In his Saturday radio address, the president embraced Wisconsin's proposal to eliminate welfare and require all recipients to work.

But House Republican leaders, in a letter to the president, said "an analysis of your current national welfare proposal shows that what's good enough for Wisconsin is not good enough for the nation. Your national proposal runs in the opposite direction of Wisconsin's."

The letter, signed by House Speaker Newt Gingrich (Ga.), Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (Tex.), Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer (Tex.) and human resources subcommittee Chairman E. Clay Shaw Jr. (Fla.), was sent as Republicans expressed outrage over Clinton's radio speech.

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) called the Clinton reelection campaign "shameless" in the way it has usurped Republican ideas the president had not previously endorsed.

"The American people expect the president to be a person of principle, and his whole campaign is based on a belief somehow that the American people are suckers and will suffer from some kind of amnesia," McCain said on CBS's "Face the Nation."

Clinton's likely opponent, Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), marveled at the president's rapid reaction to campaign issues; Clinton's radio speech came three days before Dole is to campaign in Wisconsin.

"We go to the states, like we go up to Wisconsin, to talk about welfare and then Clinton announces he may give Wisconsin a waiver," Dole told reporters Saturday night en route to Florida, where he campaigned and relaxed yesterday. "If we go to enough states, we may straighten out the country."

Dole plans to propose mandatory drug testing for welfare recipients in a speech this week, Newsweek reported.

Senate Majority Whip Trent Lott (R-Miss.) said on NBC's "Meet the Press" that Congress will send Clinton another welfare and Medicaid reform bill within two months "and he will say nice things and then he'll veto it."

Senate Democratic Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) just laughed and said, "Well, if it is extreme, you bet you he'll veto it."

"The president has been very consistent in making sure welfare reform one way or another is a reality," said Rahm Emanuel, a Clinton aide who coordinates welfare policy at the White House.

Within four months of becoming president, Clinton began approving waivers of federal rules to allow states to experiment with changes in welfare, Emanuel said. The presi-

dent has approved 60 experiments in 38 states.

"There is a quiet revolution going on out there," Emanuel said.

Republican governors have attacked Clinton's waiver-by-waiver reform policies as costly and demeaning because they require governors to negotiate with Health and Human Services officials over the terms of state initiatives.

States have considerable flexibility in determining eligibility and benefits but must adhere to national rules to obtain their share of \$23 billion in federal funds for the poor.

Clinton has approved every state's request for a waiver since he took office, Emanuel said. But Republicans complain that Clinton has

*"The American people expect the president to be a person of principle, and his whole campaign is based on a belief somehow that the American people are suckers."*

— Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.)

forced states to abandon key elements of their proposals in order to win waivers.

While Clinton praised Wisconsin's proposal, he stopped short of saying he would approve a waiver.

Liberal groups have been critical of the plan proposed by Wisconsin Gov. Tommy G. Thompson (R), who is frequently mentioned as a possible vice presidential candidate.

"The Wisconsin welfare plan relies heavily upon today's unusually strong Wisconsin economy to justify the permanent elimination of a safety net for the state's children," said Cliff Johnson, director of programs and policy for the Children's Defense Fund. "It also threatens to push thousands of young children into under-funded, unsafe child care," putting children "in great jeopardy over the long haul."

In their letter to Clinton, the House leaders called for "national welfare reform this year."

They said Clinton's legislative proposal was riddled with exemptions, sham requirements and inflexible federal requirements.

"Your welfare reform proposal does little to encourage families to support themselves, it encourages continued welfare instead of work and it perpetuates the misguided practice of providing welfare to non-citizens," they wrote.

Clinton's proposed replacement of the nation's main welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, with temporary assistance is "largely a semantic exercise," the letter said.

File Welfare

# Stark Prayer Sparks an Absolute Political Furor

Evangelical Minister's Unyielding Views of Good, Evil Roil Kansas Capitol and the Nation

By Marc Fisher  
Washington Post Staff Writer

AT

A member of the Rev. Joe Wright's flock who happens to be a Kansas state legislator called the minister at home in Wichita with a proposal: If you're going to be at the state capitol tomorrow, why don't you honor us by delivering the opening prayer?

Normally, Wright doesn't put his prayers on paper, but since the legislature required a written copy, the minister sat down that evening to jot a few lines.

That was in January. Since then, the prayer

Wright wrote in 30 minutes has sparked angry walkouts in two state legislatures, an unprecedented two readings on Paul Harvey's ABC Radio newscast, more than 6,500 phone calls to Wright's church and so many boxes of mail that the church staff doesn't know where to put them anymore. Wright says the prayer has been reprinted in hundreds of church newsletters and other publications, read from pulpits in every state of the nation and broadcast on more radio shows than he can count.

This was no innocuous ecumenical invocation.

This was a statement of absolutes:

"Heavenly Father, we come before You today to ask your forgiveness and seek your direction and guidance. We know your word says, 'Woe to those who call evil good,' but that's exactly what we've done. We have lost our spiritual equilibrium and inverted our values.

"We confess that we have ridiculed the absolute truth of your word and called it moral pluralism. We have worshiped other gods and called it multiculturalism. We have endorsed perversion and called it an alternative lifestyle."

Even at that first reading in Topeka, legisla-

See PRAYER, A12, Col. 4

## PRAYER, From A1

tors were stirring, gasping, stalking out of the chamber.

"He didn't miss anyone," state Rep. Jim Long told the Kansas City Star. "He made everyone mad."

Exactly right, the pastor says.

"I'm a preacher at an evangelical church," says Wright. "What else would they expect from me? I don't know if they were just looking for platitudes or a 'To whom it may concern' kind of prayer. But there are absolutes, and God has called me to preach the truth. Naturally, any time you preach absolutes, you're going to offend some people."

The prayer continues:

"We have exploited the poor and called it the lottery. We have neglected the needy and called it self-preservation. We have rewarded laziness and called it welfare."

In Colorado last week, when state Rep. Mark Paschall read Wright's prayer to his colleagues, liberal Democrats called the text "racist" and "divisive," and some conservative Republicans joined the walkout. Republican Rep. Marcy Morrison called the prayer "offensive. We give a letter to all ministers reminding them before they give prayers in the House chamber that this is an ecumenical group," she said last week. "For Paschall to do this flies in the face of tradition."

In both Kansas and Colorado, Wright's prayer has prompted moves to halt the practice of opening legislative sessions with a call to higher powers.

The prayer continues:

"We have killed our unborn and called it choice. We have shot abortionists and called it justifiable."

His opponents have called Wright all the usual names one calls the religious right in American politics these days—extremist, intolerant, hate-filled. But Wright's history in Wichita doesn't quite fit those labels.

"I'm known as a loving fellow," Wright says. "I don't like conflicts."

He has recruited members of his nearly all-white Central Christian Church to join with members of black churches in prayer patrols on the streets of gang-infested neighborhoods.

In 1991, when more than 2,000 people were arrested in Wichita during 46 days of confrontational anti-abortion protests by Operation Rescue, Wright supported the block-

ade of clinics, but after the demonstrations ended he led a group of clergy who sought to lower the pitch of the public discourse. "We want to see abortion stopped, but we don't want to polarize the community," Wright said then.

It turned out some months later, however, that Wright's church had helped extend the Operation Rescue protest by acting as the radical group's banker and bookkeeper, processing \$70,000 in contributions to help organizers pay the costs of their demonstrations.

Wright believes strongly that ministers should not shy away from political involvement. Pastors should "be involved in the political process and speak out on the moral issues that affect the community," he says.

The prayer continues:

"We have neglected to discipline our children and called it building esteem. We have abused power and called it political savvy. We have coveted our neighbors' possessions and called it ambition. We have polluted the air with profanity and pornography and called it freedom of expression."

On the first Sunday after the hoopla in the Kansas legislature, Wright stepped up to his pulpit and found himself staring into a standing ovation. Attendance at the 3,000-member Central Christian Church

has jumped by 250 since Wright first read the prayer.

And while the walkouts in Kansas and Colorado grabbed headlines, the pastor quickly points out that when the prayer was delivered in the Utah and Nebraska legislatures, no one raised a stink.

"There's a great hunger now for absolutes," says Wright, 53, who has been at the Wichita church for nine years. "The mainline denominations are dying because they have accepted the idea that everything is gray. The churches that are growing are the ones that are taking a position, that see the world in black-and-white."

If the firestorm over the prayer dies down, Wright and his congregation will move on to their next big topic—presidential politics. The pastor says he doesn't tell his flock which candidate to support, but he's happy to reveal his own views.

"There's no enthusiasm for Dole, that's for sure," Wright says. "But without trying to be vicious, I think those Christians who vote will vote for anybody who's running against Clinton. They see Clinton as the standard-bearer for everything they don't believe in."

"The sad thing is you don't hear absolutes from either of them. They dance around and try to please everyone. I don't do that."

THE WASHINGTON POST

MONDAY, MAY 20, 1996



# CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES

May 24, 1996

*Del*  
*Full Welfare Reform*

## THE NEW WELFARE BILL

By Sharon Parrott, David Super, and Susan Steinmetz

With some exceptions, the new welfare bill unveiled by the Congressional Republican Leadership is strikingly similar to the vetoed welfare conference agreement. Despite claims of moderation by its sponsors, the legislation would likely lead to a sharp increase in poverty. The reductions in basic programs for low-income children, families, and elderly and disabled people total \$53 billion over seven years, an amount identical to that saved by the vetoed welfare conference agreement. These savings are higher than those included in the governors' welfare proposal and include \$23 billion in cuts to benefits for legal immigrants on which the governors did not reach agreement.

While the structural changes in the AFDC program are the most radical in the bill, nearly all of the spending cuts come from other programs, including the Supplemental Security Income program for the elderly and disabled poor and the food stamp program. Low-income disabled children, working poor families, the elderly poor, and poor legal immigrants would be among those the legislation affects with some severity.

### I. Income Support, Work, And Child Care

The new Republican bill would permit states to withdraw, or divert to other uses, up to \$60 billion from income support and work programs. Like the vetoed welfare conference agreement, states would receive their full block grant allocation if they maintained just 75 percent of their 1994 spending level for cash assistance, work programs, and child care. In addition, states would be permitted to divert up to 30 percent of their federal block grant dollars to other uses, including services funded under the Social Services Block Grant (SSBG). SSBG funds can be used to fund a broad array of social services and typically account for only a modest portion of the total social service spending in states. Thus, a state could transfer welfare block grant dollars to the SSBG and use those funds to supplant state dollars currently spent on social services. Services under the Social Services Block Grant are not necessarily directed at families with children. Moreover, the income limits for services supported under Title XX are typically well above the poverty line.

The new Republican bill has an insufficient contingency fund that leaves states and poor families without real protection during recessions. While increasing the funding for the contingency fund from \$1 billion under the vetoed welfare bill to \$2 billion, the contingency fund remains inadequate. Between 1989 and 1992, the cost of the AFDC

program increased by \$6 billion in three years — *three times the amount available under the contingency fund for five years*. The House bipartisan bill (H.R. 3266, known as the "Castle/Tanner" bill), by contrast, provides for open-ended funding during severe national recessions and in cases in which particular states face deep economic downturns.

**In contrast to the vetoed welfare bill, the Governors' welfare proposal, and the House and Senate bipartisan bills, the new Republican bill prohibits states from using federal block grant dollars to provide noncash assistance, including vouchers, to families that reach the time limit and cannot find a job.** Under the vetoed welfare bill, states would have the option of providing noncash aid such as housing vouchers to families that hit the time limit. But states would *not* have this option under the new Republican welfare bill. The Administration has called for mandatory vouchers to provide a safety net for children when their families reach a state or federally imposed time limit. In addition, the House and Senate bipartisan bills would require those states that institute a time limit shorter than five years to provide vouchers for families affected by the time limit and would provide states this option after the five-year time limit.

**Under the new Republican welfare bill, no poor child would have an assurance of receiving basic income support even if his or her family met all of the state's eligibility requirements and the parents were willing to participate in a work program.** While the new Republican bill includes a vague provision requiring that state plans contain criteria for "fair and equitable" treatment for the delivery of benefits, this language is drafted to be essentially unenforceable. The bill prohibits the Secretary of HHS from taking any action if a state fails to set objective rules or fails to follow rules it does set. In contrast, the Castle/Tanner bill would authorize the federal government to ensure that states follow rules established by the state as well as federal law.

**Many poor children and parents could lose Medicaid coverage under the new Republican welfare bill.** Under current law, families that receive AFDC are assured of receiving Medicaid coverage. Like the vetoed bill, the new bill allows states to terminate Medicaid coverage for women and children who no longer receive income support, including those who reach the state's time limit but cannot find unsubsidized employment. The new bill would also repeal the transitional Medicaid program that assures families leaving welfare for work of a year of extended health coverage.

**The new Republican bill includes additional child care funding as proposed in the governors' welfare proposal, but at the same time the bill includes a new cut in the Social Services Block Grant (SSBG), a program that many states use for child care funding.** The cut in SSBG is twice as deep as in the vetoed welfare bill and totals 40 percent of the additional child care funding added to the bill.

## **II. Food Assistance**

**The new Republican bill would make deeper cuts in food stamps than the vetoed welfare bill.** Over half of the reductions in the proposed bill come in the food stamp program. The total food stamp reductions, including reductions in food stamp benefits for legal immigrants, equal nearly \$28.4 billion over six years. This is more than \$9 billion, or 48 percent, above the level of cuts proposed in the President's welfare bill and about \$7 billion (34 percent) above the level in the House bipartisan welfare bill. It is also almost \$2 billion higher than the level saved by the governors' welfare bill when the cuts to legal immigrants in the vetoed welfare bill are added to it.

When fully implemented, these reductions would cut food stamp benefits by 17 percent, the equivalent of reducing the average food stamp benefit from its current level of 78 cents per person per meal to about 64 cents per person per meal. Less than two percent of the savings would come from provisions to reduce fraud and abuse, impose tougher penalties on recipients who violate program requirements, or cut administrative costs.

**The new Republican bill rejects the one major change the governors recommended in the vetoed welfare bill's provisions on calculating food stamp benefits.** The vetoed welfare bill would repeal a provision of current law scheduled to take effect shortly under which families with children that pay more than half of their income for housing will receive a larger food stamp allotment in recognition of the fact that they have little money left to purchase food after paying rent and utilities. The governors, the Senate welfare bill, the House bipartisan bill, and the Chafee-Breaux proposal would retain this provision of law, but the new welfare bill does not.

**The new Republican welfare bill would deny food stamps to 700,000 unemployed adults who are willing to work but unable to find jobs.** Unless they were disabled or caring for a minor child, individuals between the ages of 18 and 50 would be cut off the program after only four months if they were unemployed and not enrolled in a work or training program, regardless of whether a work or training slot was available. CBO estimates the work and training slots that the bill funds would be sufficient to cover only a small fraction of these individuals and that 700,000 people a month who are willing to work but cannot find jobs or workfare slots would be denied food stamp benefits as a result. This proposal contrasts sharply with that in the bipartisan welfare bill recently introduced in the House. Under that bill, food stamp recipients between 18 and 50 would be required to work after six months of receiving benefits. But recipients who were willing to work but unable to find jobs in the private sector would be given the opportunity to work off their food stamps. The House bipartisan bill, unlike this proposal, would not deny food stamps to anyone willing to work.

**The new Republican welfare bill would allow states to convert the food stamp program to a block grant.** Under this optional block grant, food stamp funding would be frozen at the state's 1994 food stamp expenditure level (or the 1992-1994 average level if that is higher). No funding increment would be provided during recessions, if a

state's population increased, or if the number of poor people in a state climbed for other reasons. Nor would any adjustment be provided as food prices rose from one year to the next. Block grant funding consequently would fall steadily further behind need, with poor households having to get by with less food each year. The funding crunches would be most acute during recessions, when poverty and unemployment climb. When the economy soured and more people applied for aid, block-grant states would generally have to choose between cutting benefit levels, instituting waiting lists, or making various categories of the poor ineligible for aid when times were hardest. There would be no federal standards under the block grant. There would be no assurance that a family poor enough to meet a state's eligibility rules would receive benefits; a state could run low on block grant funds and turn eligible families away. Neither the House bipartisan bill nor the Chafee-Breaux proposal contain the food stamp block grant provision.

### **III. Supplemental Security Income for the Elderly**

**The new Republican welfare bill would ultimately raise from 65 to 67 the age at which poor elderly people can qualify for SSI.** This provision, which was omitted from the bipartisan welfare bill recently introduced in the House, would eliminate the core of the safety net for impoverished elderly individuals age 65 and 66 who cannot find employment. Most of those affected would be poor elderly women; three of four SSI recipients aged 65 to 69 are female.

### **IV. Denying Assistance to Legal Immigrants**

**The new Republican welfare bill would treat poor legal immigrants even more harshly than the vetoed welfare bill.** Although many governors agreed that the vetoed welfare bill went too far in denying benefits to *legal* immigrants, the NGA was unable to reach agreement on how to moderate its approach. (Illegal immigrants already are ineligible for most major federal benefit programs.) Not only does the new bill fail to moderate the vetoed welfare bill's restrictions on legal immigrants, it actually increases the severity of the cuts. The vetoed welfare bill would have saved \$22 billion over six years by denying subsistence benefits to the large majority of poor immigrants; the new bill would cut benefits to these immigrants by \$23 billion. *Only one percent* of these savings would come from denying benefits to illegal immigrants.

Low-income legal immigrants would be denied aid provided under major programs such as SSI, Medicaid, and food stamps, as well as assistance provided under smaller programs such as meals-on-wheels to the homebound elderly and prenatal care for pregnant women. Half a million elderly and disabled beneficiaries who are legal immigrants would be denied SSI. These restrictions would affect many legal immigrants with no other sources of support. Under the conference agreement, most indigent elderly and disabled immigrants who are here legally but have no sponsor would be denied both food stamps and SSI. So would poor elderly and disabled immigrants whose sponsor has died or become impoverished.

## Civil rights a part of real welfare reform

This is just the kind of news opponents of the new welfare-reform law feared. Over the past 20 years, the federal government has done little to ensure federally assisted programs don't discriminate, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights says in a report it will release later this week.

The report, which covers five administrations — three Republicans and two Democrats — is a scathing indictment of the federal government's failure to ensure civil rights laws aren't violated in programs that receive federal money.

Expect a chorus of "I told you so's" among those who've long feared the new block-grant program that replaces Aid to Families With Dependent Children will make life harder — not better — for many of the nation's neediest people.

The commission concludes there's been "an almost complete cessation" of efforts to enforce Title VI, the section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that prohibits discrimination based on race, color or national origin in programs that get federal assistance.

Left unchecked, the problems cited by the commission are likely to get worse under the new welfare-reform law that allows states to fashion their own policies.

I've long supported the need to reform welfare. Federal aid to the poor should be a helping hand, not a way of life. But those who are charged with devising the new programs that will replace AFDC must be watched closely.

This shift from a federal to a state-run welfare program is risky business. Historically, states have not done a good job of protecting the rights of minorities. Far too many were once accomplices in efforts to prevent blacks and others from gaining equal access to opportunities. And now some states that have fallen under the control of right-wing zealots can be expected to test the limits of the law. Title VI is among the few protections against conservative government run amok.

But not if it goes unenforced.

In recent years, spending on Title VI enforcement has declined, the commission says, leaving federal watchdogs with little real means of doing their job. That fact is just one more cause for concern among those who've argued this welfare reform is mean-spirited and gives states too much leeway.

President Clinton should act to fix this problem before he arrives in Chicago next week. A commitment to increased funding for Title VI enforcement would be a good first step. If Clinton wants strong civil rights enforcement of federally funded programs — like the new welfare-reform law that will have a disproportionate impact on minorities — he must also order his Justice Department to do a better job of enforcing Title VI.

Anything less sends the wrong message at the worst possible time.



By DeWayne Wickham

## Presidential debate sham has to end

WASHINGTON — Republicans got the proverbial "bounce" out of last week's convention. Democrats expect the same next week. Now leadership of the free world could hinge on Bob Dole's performance in the upcoming debates.

But today's presidential debates are embarrassing, unworthy of the battles waged by the likes of Lincoln and Douglas. The 1960s format is a glorified press conference — reporters ask obvious questions; candidates spew rehearsed replies.

These sessions betray voters who want to figure out what's going on. Anybody who's watched a press conference knows a modestly talented office-seeker can outwit a reporter, especially if journalists can't force truth out with follow-up questions, subpoena threats or thumbscrews.

It takes a very special kind of ineloquence to fail in such contests: Gerald Ford by declaring occupied Poland a free land and Michael Dukakis by talking about public education when asked what he would do if somebody raped and murdered his wife. Nobody will forget George Bush's longing look at a wristwatch during one 1992 colloquy.

Voters this year deserve something lovelier than a pageant of poses.

### Counterpoints

By Tony Snow

Consider a modest proposal: Revive a modified version of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, not just for the presidential candidates but for everyone seeking election to federal office. Hold a series of discussions about specific issues — one on taxes, one on social policy, one on foreign policy and one on some other matter of urgent concern.

Then, fire all the journalists and moderators and organize combat in the following manner. Give each candidate a 10-minute opening speech, followed by a five-minute cross-examination by his opponent. Next, five-minute rebuttals separated by short cross-examinations — say, three minutes. Close with five-minute summaries and get out in less than an hour.

This approach offers several advantages. It limits the mechanical recitations to 10 minutes per person. It tests candidates' knowledge and resourcefulness by forcing them to fire off at least two extemporaneous speeches. It creates the possibility of high drama during cross-examination. And it accepts reality, which is that Democrats and Republicans still dominate the action despite Ross Perot's high national profile.

Americans have a long, proud history of public debate. With all the complaints about sound bites and schlocky convention coverage, why not make the big boys jump on the high wire alone, where one-liners can't save them? Put together a real debate and, for once, make them sweat — and think.

**COUNTERPOINTS'** four columnists provide views from diverse perspectives on today's issues. **Tuesday:** Michael Gartner on capital gains games; **Wednesdays:** Linda Chavez; **Thursdays:** Susan Estrich; **Mondays:** Tony Snow.



## LETTERS

### Arrogant Earthlings

Your report that Europa, one of the moons of Jupiter, might be warm enough and wet enough to support life" is certainly consistent with other scientific reports on the possibility of life on other planets with similar atmospheres and temperatures ("Jupiter moon may support life," News, Wednesday).

However, this raises scientific if not moral questions.

It seems that we, as human life on the planet Earth, are too egocentric. Who are we to think we are the life center of the entire universe?

In only a few hundred years of truly scientific study, we have come to the ludicrous conclusion that life can exist only in environments that are roughly similar to our own, and only if there are organic compounds present that we on Earth have deemed absolutely necessary for life.

If we can only ponder beyond our own narcissism, we may realize it is quite possible to have significant life forms — even far more advanced than we that not only survive, but thrive, in what only we call extreme temperatures and with only the presence of organic compounds not yet discovered by our scientists.

Bryan J. Gros, Ph.D.  
State of Louisiana  
Dept. of Health & Hospitals  
Baton Rouge, La.

### Proud to serve country

This is in response to reader Margaret Irvine's letter ("No shame in avoiding Vietnam," Tuesday).

I have admired Muhammad Ali for 33 years, both in the ring and out. He publicly asked for a military deferment from the draft and went to court to obtain it. He was upfront, whether I agree or not with his reasons. He suffered ridicule and financial loss.

The people Irvine refers to were not "smart." They were cowards. They were not "lucky." They were cheaters. She writes there was no shame in this. That is understandable because anyone who dodged the draft had no shame.

Irvine's "boyfriends and brothers" who successfully dodged the draft were replaced by someone else. When the Selective Service called up American citizens to be drafted, it sent draft notices every month until it reached the number of men needed. I wonder how many of those "stu-

## Let Dole, Kemp be 'real' Republicans

On Nov. 5 I will cast my ballot for Bob Dole and Jack Kemp, my first vote for a Republican presidential ticket since 1976. Why? I don't trust the present occupant of the White House. He's too slick for me! I'll also be coming home to the Republican Party, the party of my family roots in Virginia. In my middle age I feel a need to reconnect with the GOP's fiscal conservatism.

But lest anyone misunderstand my vote, it will not be a vote for Newt Gingrich, Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson, Rush Limbaugh, Jesse Helms or Ollie North and their ilk.

As a young person in Virginia, I learned that the Republican Party was the only thing standing between the people of my state and the ultraconservative, good ol' boy network called the "Byrd machine." The Gingrich crowd in Virginia today pretty much looks and sounds like the Democratic "Byrd machine" in Republican clothes. Pat Robertson's so-called Christian Coalition doesn't represent many conservative Christians like me, who seek to practice our faith and politics with grace, compassion and dignity.

My vote will not be a vote for them. It will be a vote for a man whose pragmatism and political skills have served him well in the U.S. Senate, a vote cast in hope that Bob Dole's basic sense of honor will not cave in to the self-righteous and noncompassionate demands of Gingrich and company. It will be a vote for Jack Kemp's ability to be compassionate toward people in need even as he stands against policies and practices he considers destructive to America and Americans, a vote for someone whose conservatism is more a force for building up than tearing down.

pid" and "unlucky" boys died in place of her heroes.

Now, to answer her question about complaints concerning our commander in chief. It is cowardly draft evasion. I am a 48-year-old man who, when drafted (though married), served in the infantry and later as a tank commander sergeant from September 1967 to September 1969. At the conclusion of my military service to my



By Joe Mahoney, AP

Campaigning: GOP candidates Dole and Kemp in Denver.

Bob and Jack, be Republicans — *real* Republicans!

David Bower  
Beverly, W.Va.

### No. Ireland policy

Former secretary of State Jim Baker's GOP convention speech bodes ill for peace in Northern Ireland. A return to the Reagan/Thatcher/Bush era of "Brit Firstism" will be a disaster.

Baker has shown himself to be an Anglophile with his statement that President Clinton, by inviting Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams to the White House, made the relationship with "our closest ally" the worst since the Boston Tea Party. The poor fool seems to have forgotten the Brits burned the White House during the 1812 war and supported the Confederacy in our Civil War.

Rather than our closest ally, Britain should be called our oldest enemy.

Joe Joyce  
Hanover, Va.

### Mrs. Dole's courage

Of the many speeches that I've seen at political conventions, I have not seen anything like what Elizabeth

Dole did Wednesday night ("Elizabeth Dole takes the floor," News, Thursday).

She showed a lot of courage to walk into the middle of the convention floor to talk about her husband.

This presentation shows what a wonderful first lady Elizabeth Dole would be. I'm not a member of either party, but because of her awesome presentation, I will proudly vote for Dole.

Joe Morris  
Memphis, Tenn.

### Presidential golf

Your story about President Clinton's Wyoming vacation during the GOP convention may have contained some Republican spawned-disinformation ("Clinton: What GOP convention?" News, Thursday).

While vacationing in Jackson, Wyo., Tuesday I played golf in a group two holes behind the president. Not only did Clinton graciously spend a minute chatting with me on the driving range before he teed off, my group played our round in 4½ hours, not the "six to seven" snarling hours you reported.

John P. Newman  
Los Angeles, Calif.

### To comment...

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country, I went home and took up my civilian life with the pride of fulfilling my patriotic duty.

I am certain that pride, patriotism and duty are also words whose meaning Irvine will never understand. I found her efforts to justify her and her family's lack of honor disgusting.

Horace E. Hembree III  
Temple, Ga.

File Welfare Reform

David S. Broder

## A Party Split

The focus on the Republican battle over the abortion plank in the 1996 platform has obscured the fact that President Clinton's decision to sign the Republican welfare reform bill has set the stage for what is likely to be an even more divisive struggle inside the Democratic Party during the next four years.

If the plan works as its designers hope in moving people from welfare to work, Clinton will be hailed along with such Republican sponsors as Pete Domenici (N.M.), and Reps. Clay Shaw (Fla.) and Mike Castle (Del.). These are decent people who have no wish to inflict hardship on welfare mothers or their children, let

*On welfare, exactly half of congressional Democrats could not stomach what the president swallowed.*

alone exploit the ill-disguised racism that lurks behind much of the welfare demagoguery. Appalled as virtually all Americans are by the human and financial cost of welfare dependency, they are looking for that elusive fix.

But the step they have taken in ending the 60-year-old federal guarantee of minimal financial support for needy parents and children is fraught with peril. There is enormous uncertainty whether state-run programs, partially funded by limited federal block grants, in fact will induce people to leave welfare and find jobs or whether they will collapse when the first downturn in the economy swells the unemployment rolls.

The best evidence from the evaluations of experimental welfare-to-work programs—as Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), a lifelong student of poverty problems, repeatedly has pointed out—is that they reduce the numbers needing assistance only marginally and only if more money is invested in job-training, counseling, child care and transportation subsidies at the start.

The bill the Republicans wrote and Clinton agreed to sign calls for less federal spending and demands greater results—something that is possible in the real world only if states and localities vastly increase the human and dollar resources they commit to the effort. And that is both a fiscal and a political improbability.

Whether the effort succeeds or fails, Clinton will go down in history as the man who made a historic break with the tradition and the core of his Democratic Party. Already, it is clear that he has driven a wedge down the center of the party and caused a split that is likely to echo in the primaries of the year 2000—and beyond.

Even knowing that Republican votes would send the bill to Clinton's desk and that he had decided to sign it, exactly half the Democrats in the House and 21 of the 46 voting on it in the Senate voted no, because they could not stomach what the president swallowed.

Almost all the members of the Congressional Black Caucus, representing the Democrats' most loyal constituency, voted no. So did prominent advocates of women's issues and those with Latino constituencies. House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt (Mo.) and Sen. Bob Kerrey (Nebr.), both of whom have sought the presidential nomination already and may well challenge again, voted no. So did Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (S.D.); the general chairman of the Democratic Party, Sen. Christopher Dodd (Conn.); Sen. Ted Kennedy (Mass.); and both the Democratic senators from California, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer.

That Clinton went one way and all of them the other will be remembered in the year 2000, when someone—maybe Gephardt, maybe Kerrey, maybe Dodd or Daschle—challenges Vice President Al Gore, who will have Clinton's backing (assuming they're both still in office), for the presidential nomination.

But that is just the beginning of it. Democratic governors, unlike their Republican counterparts, are mainly very skeptical of taking on the welfare problem under the terms of the bill President Clinton will sign. They think it is underfunded and offers too little in the way of protection for their budgets when, as is likely, the economy again runs out of gas and another recession develops.

Democratic mayors and county officials are even more vehemently opposed. They object particularly to the provision ending welfare benefits for legal aliens, who live by the hundreds of thousands in their jurisdictions and whose needs now will have to be met from strained local budgets.

Add in the fact that most of the major interest groups with influence in the Democratic Party—the unions, civil rights groups, children's advocates and feminist organizations—also condemned Clinton's decision to sign the bill, and the political stakes are obvious. More than anything he has done until now, Clinton's welfare decision puts his party's future at risk. If Ronald Reagan's 1981 tax cuts were "a riverboat gamble," as Howard Baker said, then this is like betting the ranch.

George F. Will

## Bob Dole: Man of Distinction

SAN DIEGO—Dispirited Republicans, their fates linked with Bob Dole's, have of late experienced life as all Lent and no Easter. Resurrection, they hope, began Monday with Dole's deployment of his economic plan, built around a 15 percent across-the-board tax cut, which, he hopes will, at last, draw a sharp distinction between himself and his rivals.

Will flaming hope replace dull despair in Republican ranks? Time will tell, but recent events already have told Republicans that trying to draw sharp distinctions between conservatism and Clintonism these days is like

*The born-again supply-sider takes on the big spenders.*

trying to carve fog with a trowel. Clinton, too, favors a tax cut, but one smaller and more targeted. This reflects the reversal of roles in contemporary American politics.

During the liberal era, from the New Deal to the Great Society, the Republican Party's doctrine often seemed to be an unenthusiastic echo of the Democratic Party's. Republicans were for approximately what Democrats were for, only less of it and slower. Echo politics worked well enough for Eisenhower and Nixon. In this conservative era, it may work as well for Clinton.

For months the Dole campaign has resembled the description of a committee as an alley down which ideas are led and then strangled. However, last summer, addressing a Republican audience, Dole, with an almost charming guilelessness, blurted out the thought that if they wanted him to be Reagan, he would be. Now this summer he is trying to capture some of Reagan's lightning in a bottle by means of a Reaganesque tax proposal designed to give the Republican Party the ideological clarity the Bush presidency blurred.

It is axiomatic that just as birds are called by sounds like their own, voters are summoned by thoughts like their own, and today they think the government gets more of their money than is good for it or them. However, they also are afflicted by cognitive dissonance—holding contradictory views with equal intensity. They want tax reduction and a balanced budget and most of the current menu of government benefits.

When Reagan proposed his reductions, the nation was reeling from years of oil shocks and stagflation. The "misery index"—the sum of unemployment and inflation rates—had recently topped 20. Hence, the potency of the question he posed the country in his debate with President Carter: Are you better off today than you were four years ago?

Today no one bothers to compute the misery index. The San Diego Union-Tribune reports a poll of the Republican delegates who are about to convene here—a cross section of the country's hard-core anti-Clintonites—showing that 64 percent say they are as well off or better off than they were four years ago. And the Los Angeles Times reports that the economy of this state, where one-eighth of the electorate lives, is colating briskly enough to have generated \$2.6 billion in unanticipated revenues. The revenues result partly from hefty bonuses paid to executives of profitable corporations. Also, wages are rising faster than inflation, partly because of rapid job-creation in high-wage fields like computers and entertainment.

Because the economy is not obviously broken, Dole must make an argument that Reagan did not concerning what new tax cuts are supposed to fix. The argument is that the task of funding the existing welfare state requires a bold dash for a higher rate of economic growth. Demography is destiny for a welfare state, and the great demographic fact of our time is the aging of the population, with the elderly being the principal recipients of welfare state transfer payments for pensions and medical care.

In asserting the "supply side" faith that the tax measures he proposes will be sufficiently stimulative to be partially self-financing, Dole is committing the unspeakable faux pas of partially changing his mind. It was said that when Czar Nicholas II uttered the word "intelligentsia" he did so with the same facial expression he wore when uttering the word "syphilis." A dozen years ago Dole seemed to feel that way about the most brazenly optimistic "supply-siders."

However, just as hunger is the best sauce for unappetizing food, political peril is the best argument for Dole to swallow his skepticism and embrace the argument President Kennedy correctly made for his tax cut: "It is a paradoxical truth that tax rates are too high today and tax revenues are too low and the soundest way to raise the revenues in the long run is to cut the rates now."

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## 'No Harm to Dolphins' (Cont'd)

Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.) [letters, July 29] asserts that advocates of S. 1420 and H.R. 2823 fail to mention certain key aspects of dolphin protection. Unfortunately, it is Rep. Miller who ignores issues of marine safety by endorsing a bill that does more harm than good.

The current definition of "dolphin-safe" has been the downfall of the ocean environment. Mr. Miller's bill would maintain this definition, which withholds the "safety" label from any tuna caught by encircling the schools of dolphins that are found commonly near schools of large yellowfin tuna. Mr. Miller does not merely want to halt unnecessary mortality of dolphins but also to cease "harm" to dolphins.

Unfortunately, while the dolphin protectors are aiming to stop certain types of emotional trauma among dolphins, the rest of marine animals are suffering. Tuna fishermen have to rely on other fishing techniques that do not encircle dolphins in order to obtain a "dolphin-safe" label. "Dolphin-safe" fishing involves setting nets near logs or small schools of fish. These areas do not contain schools of dolphins, but they are populated by many other types of marine animals, from juvenile fish to sea turtles.

The overzealous protection of dolphins is destroying these other forms of less popular marine life, which are killed unavoidably by fishing nets and disruptions in the ocean environment in order to harvest "dolphin-safe" tuna. Mr. Miller's bill singles out the dolphin as morally more worthy of our protection than the animals that his legislation would kill.

Those who wish to help the environment should join the ranks of Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund in opposing Mr. Miller's bill and supporting S. 1420 and H.R. 2823. This law would provide safety not only for dolphins but for less charismatic marine life that are crucial to a stable oceanic environment. Mr. Miller ignores this in the attempt to protect every single dolphin from emotional stress. A law that would help the entire marine ecosystem definitely is a better idea.

MATTHEW PARROTT  
Washington

*The writer is a research fellow at the Capital Research Center, a nonprofit research organization.*

Colman McCarthy's July 23 column "Dolphin-Safe Claim Is in Danger" was an injustice to truth and U.S. tuna fishermen.

Marine mammals are present in every ocean and therefore virtually in every fishery. To put the eastern Pacific yellowfin tuna fishery in perspective, the present U.S. Marine Mammal Protection Act would consider a take of approximately 55,000 dolphins annually to be biologically insignificant for the eastern Pacific dolphin populations. This is because of the huge size of this fishery (8 million square miles, almost three times the size of the United States) and the abundance of dolphins (9.7 million).

The international fishermen of the eastern Pacific, however, committed to a higher standard of dolphin protection by participating in a multifaceted program, including 100 percent observer coverage and quotas for dolphins killed that are reduced each year to fewer than 5,000 animals by 1999. They reached and surpassed that target three years ago. The number in 1995 was 3,300 animals out of 9.7 million dolphins. The "dolphin-safe" policy of U.S. canners had nothing to do with this achievement, because none of this tuna was considered "dolphin safe" under current law.

Greenpeace, Center for Marine Conservation, World Wildlife and many other groups are supporting Sen. John Breaux's bill because it would remove U.S. embargoes from this fishery in the light of the tremendous progress made.

The bill also expands the definition of "dolphin safe" to include fish produced by these tuna fishermen when absolutely no dolphins are killed during their fishing operations as verified by on-board observers. "Dolphin safe" would thus become a well-earned "gold star" for perfect performance.

We need to support the efforts of responsible fishermen, not blacklist their products.

TERESA PLATT  
Co-director  
The Fishermen's Coalition  
Coronado, Calif.

## Breath of Fresh Air

There it was. I couldn't believe my eyes: "Gas Company Accepts Blame for Explosion; Errors in Installing Line Led to Alexandria Town House Blast." Yes, an admission of fault! No wishy-washy, vacillation. A straightforward acceptance of blame.

No reference to a bad childhood with divorced parents, no domestic abuse, no nightmares arising from drug use, no abandonment by society, no accusation of faulty work by another party, just a simple: It was our fault.

How refreshing in this day and age to find an honest, no-nonsense, no excuses, no others-to-blame willingness to say: "Yes, I did it. It was my fault, and I'm going to try hard not to let it happen again." Congratulations to the gas company for its ethical and courageous statement.

DONALD Y. MCCOY  
Great Falls

## How Unwanted Pregnancies Begin

Though I am pro-choice, I enthusiastically applaud my pro-life friend Frederica Mathewes-Green for "Seeking Abortion's Middle Ground" [Outlook, July 28]. She correctly has seen beyond the rancor of the present debate to realize that all concerned want an end to demand for abortion. I simply maintain, contrary to Ms. Mathewes-Green, that abortion should remain legal until that day comes.

I also agree emphatically with Ms. Mathewes-Green that we must stop pressuring women in a jam to abort their unwanted fetuses, even if the pressure results only from our withholding emotional support from them.

Where I find too little emphasis in Ms. Mathewes-Green's words is in

the area of why the ill-fated pregnancies began. Beyond ending sexual abuse as a cause of unwanted pregnancy and the wider availability of condoms, Ms. Mathewes-Green's only other recommendation is a sweeping generality: "righting the balance of power in male-female sexual relationships."

We need much, much more discussion of why American women and men are behaving so irresponsibly together 4,100 times a day to produce that number of abortions. If, as Ms. Mathewes-Green says, "the abortion debate is essentially an argument among women," then its scope ought to be widened to include the men who, after all, are responsible for at least 50 percent of the irresponsibility. I hope the men then would prove themselves responsible enough to take part.

ERIC P. STEWART  
Catonsville

## For a 'Zero-Tolerance' Drug Policy

I have been reading with much interest the war of words between County Executive Douglas Duncan and State's Attorney Andrew Sonner about Montgomery County's drug-enforcement policy. In the July 20 Metro section, The Post reported that the two had declared "a truce" in this war.

From 1988 until 1992, I worked as an assistant-state's attorney on the felony drug-prosecution teams in Mr. Sonner's office. From 1988 through 1991, the state's attorney's office took a zero-tolerance approach (i.e., prosecute all drug arrests) to drug crimes at all levels. But late in 1991, the office declared victory in the "drug war" and informally began to implement a policy that substantially weakened the previous zero-tolerance approach.

Mr. Sonner's policy since 1991 has been less than one of zero tolerance. Specifically, this policy encompasses prosecuting only certain levels of violent drug crimes and large multi-kilo drug dealers.

Mr. Sonner's stated policy is wrong for the following reasons. Drug crime must be attacked at all levels, from the to the multi-kilo dealer, in

order to combat it effectively. The penalties for the use and distribution of illegal drugs must be swift and consistent. The time to stop a drug user is when he begins to use drugs or, preferably, before drug use becomes a habit. Drug use by our children must be stopped before it starts through educational efforts in our schools and community-oriented activities after school and in the summer.

The low-, middle- and upper-level drug dealers must be targeted by all the law enforcement tools available at the federal, state and county levels. As a resident of Montgomery County, I want to know that the police and the criminal justice system are doing all they can to stop drug dealing and the violence associated with it in all the neighborhoods in our county. The state's attorney's office had it right in 1988 through 1991, when zero tolerance for drug use and distribution was both its policy and its practice. Our jail is not overcrowded today, and all of our elected officials should support a message of zero tolerance for drug users and dealers.

DREW GRIGG  
Bethesda

## The Washington Post

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KIMBALL LADIEN, M.D.

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353 N. Illinois  
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815/932-5378

David Gergen  
Council to the President  
West Wing, 1st Floor  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20500

February 16, 1994

Dear Mr. Gergen,

As a psychiatrist with a strong focus on prevention-oriented community-based programs, I have long been developing my enclosed Safe Haven programs aimed at breaking the cycles of gangs, drugs, abuse and welfare while actually saving tax dollars in the process. Much as with the original CCC and WPA, a Community Service Corps (CSC) would help to ensure that we offered people JOBS NOT SUBSIDIES and that everyone was literally "part of the solution" in deeds as well as words. CSC programs would range from resident patrols, day care and teacher's aides to after-school programs, Big Brothers and Big Sisters to meals-on-wheels, home health care aides and community clean-up/recycling crews to name but a few. You hardly need to be a psychiatrist to understand that rebuilding a strong sense of families and communities would be a fundamental first step to building true Safe Havens throughout our country. Thus, rather than simply "breaking the cycles" after two years or more, Safe Haven would help ensure that such cycles never even begin in the first place. It is to move these programs from talk to action that I write to you now.

As a Republican in a Democratic administration, I feel that you are in an excellent position to advocate for win-win resolutions to our long-standing social problems that go beyond rhetoric and focus on bottom-line results. A motto of Safe Haven is that A PENNY OF PREVENTION IS WORTH A DOLLAR OF CURE. If we could reduce gangs, drugs and teen pregnancy in Illinois by even 10%, we would be saving over \$400M annually (Table 1). By reinvesting at least some of these savings into significantly expanding prevention-oriented, community-based programs such as high-quality, affordable day care and after-school programs, we could achieve a multiplier effect with even greater savings (both financial and human) in future years. Thus, far from costing additional tax dollars, Safe Haven programs by integrating fundamental reforms in health, education, job training, criminal justice and welfare could save billions of dollars on the National level while getting the job done and getting it done right (Table 2). Here is where you and Hillary's help could be of particular benefit.

I often say that just as Penicillin isn't a Republican or Democratic "issue," so too Safe Haven is just a matter of good medicine and, above all else, GOOD GOVERNMENT. As noted in my enclosed letter to David Ellwood, Illinois' first step towards a CSC-type system, Earnfare-I, passed in our House on a vote of 114-0! Thus, finding "middle ground" solutions that get the job done can be of benefit to all. I would urge your support for the implementing of Safe Haven demonstrations and for working with me to adopt Earnfare-II/Safe Haven-type legislation on the National level as well. By all of us working together, there is much good that can be done. The Country we save may be our own.

Best wishes,



Kimball Ladien, MD

cc: Hillary Clinton

klsh395.294



KIMBALL LADIEN, M.D.



353 N. Illinois  
Kankakee, IL 60901  
815/932-5378

Earnfare-II/Safe Haven  
Summary of proposed bill

1. Community Service Corps

Consistent with the Family Support Act of 1988 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1992, all but the most medically handicapped of adult Public Aid (GA and AFDC) and SSI (eg, drug addicts) recipients under 65 would participate in some form of appropriate Community Service (resident patrols, day-care and after-school programs, teacher's aides, community clean-up crews, recycling programs, meals-on-wheels, church and CBO volunteers, etc) or other work program in the Public and/or Private sector. As such we would offer JOBS NOT SUBSIDIES and eliminate "welfare as we know it" while strengthening our communities and saving money in the process.

2. Safe Haven-Parental Child Support Responsibility Act (PCSRA)

PCSRA would require all parents not presently paying any or sufficient child support to participate in a certain number of hours of CSC activities per week. Getting the message out, particularly to the young and least responsible elements of society (eg, gang members and school dropouts), that having a child will obligate them to a long-term (minimum 18 years) financial and time commitment could have a major impact on the rate of especially teen pregnancies. Obligating fathers as well as mothers to such long-term commitments would also appeal to most voters and have broad bipartisan support.

3. Prevention-Oriented County/Community Incentive Plans (POCCIPs)

POCCIPS would allow each County and/or Community around Illinois to get a block grant for the amount of social service money presently spent within their local area. By allowing communities to keep at least a substantial percentage of the money that they save by implementing multi-agency, prevention-oriented programs within their particular legislative district, each County would now have a direct incentive to implement such reforms. Counties could thus reduce local taxes and enhance governmental accountability while improving both services and the quality of life within their own communities.

### Advantages of Safe Haven over present welfare reform proposals

1. Immediate Community Service Corps (CSC) work requirement instead of waiting two years (ie, JOBS NOT SUBSIDIES).
2. Involves both parents from the begining in providing support. (PCSRA fights teen pregnancy by providing strong disincentives for "unplanned" teen pregnancies for fathers as well as mothers).
3. Provides for high-quality, affordable day care and after-school programs for all children. CSC participants providing some of the care learn both parenting and job skills as well as defraying some of the overall program costs.
4. CSC Community Policing/Resident Patrols programs help immediately to produce increasingly expanding Safe Havens of benefit to all community members both young and old. Who better than community members to be in resident patrols?
5. Provides on-going support groups for both parents and children to help rebuild families as well as entire communities.
6. Merging CSC with the National Service Corps (NSC) gives teens an incentive for staying in school and not having children. Students can get support for college and/or apprenticeship programs and be significantly better off (more money, less work) than if they are having to also raise a family early on in life.
7. Safe Haven is therapeutic rather than punative in that individuals can remain in CSC positions indefinitely if they chose or if this is all that they are capable of doing.
8. Through its emphasis on prevention and community service, Safe Haven saves money rather than costing additional tax dollars. Reducing gangs, drugs and teen pregnancies by even 10% would save Illinois approximately \$400M annually. On a national level the savings would be a minimum of approximately \$20B annually while strengthening our communities in the process. Again, A PENNY OF PREVENTION IS WORTH A DOLLAR OF CURE.
9. Fosters community empowerment by giving counties, towns and local communities incentives (POCCIPs) for implementing Safe havens in that with block grants they can keep any local savings that they can achieve through aggressively implementing prevention-oriented programs.
10. Fosters local governmental accountability in that local citizens can now see a direct benefit (eg, safer streets, higher academic standards, lower taxes) by what they and local policroats (politicians and bureaucrats) do in terms of implementing these programs.



# THE SUNDAY JOURNAL

Wanted  
Listeners?  
— page 4

Kankakee, Ill.

Sunday, January 16, 1994

9 Sections, 128 Pages

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## 'Safe Haven' aims to protect youths from crime, drugs

By Phil Angelo  
Managing editor

Approximately 20 people, many of them elected officials or the heads of social agencies, gathered at Riverside Hospital Saturday to lend support to a proposed Safe Haven program.

Safe Haven is being pushed by Dr. Kimball Ladien, a Kankakee psychiatrist. Dr. Ladien's plan calls for after-school "Safe Havens" for kids so they can avoid crime and drugs. "It would be like the old CCC or WPA," he told the audience Saturday. "We would use a corps of tutors to work with children."

Dr. Ladien says that even a penny of prevention would be worth a dollar of cure. He says that even a 10 percent reduction in such problems as teen pregnancy or youth crime would mean a big savings to taxpayers.



Journal/Bill Byrnes

Above, Dr. Kimball Ladien, a Kankakee psychiatrist, tells how Safe Haven can help youth by providing a place where they can avoid crime and drugs.

But getting the program started is the reason why Ladien called the leaders together. He wants to put bipartisan pressure on Gov. Jim Edgar to release part of a \$9 million private grant sent to Illinois from the McDougal Foundation.

That grant is designed to fund demonstration anti-poverty programs in Illinois. Ladien wants to obtain some of those dollars for this area.

"The one person who can do it is Jim Edgar," Ladien said.

People present at the meeting gave general support to Ladien's proposal, although no formal vote was taken.

State Senator Tom Dunn, D-Joliet, said he has written to Iowa and New Jersey to get copies of their welfare reform proposals.

"There is a perception — a stereotype — that people on welfare are living the Life of Riley," Dunn said. That's not true, he said. People, when offered a choice of working or not working, will choose to work.

He said he's consistently supported social programs that work.

"I like the approach used by Franklin Delano Roosevelt," he said. "Do something. If that doesn't work, do something else."

State Rep. Jerry Weller, R-Morris, says today's social problems prove that the welfare programs of the past 40 years have failed.

He supports Learnware, a new state initiative that would require any dropout on welfare to work toward a GED high school equivalency degree.

State Rep. Phil Novak, D-Bradley, said that while he supported the idea of Safe Haven, everyone must be prepared for the day the private grant, if it is received, runs out.

He said that while everyone today wants to deal with crime by building prisons, society needs to get at the root causes "dysfunctional families, latchkey kids and unemployment."

John Tate, director of the Victims Assistance Center in Kankakee, said that the problem was more than just black women on welfare. It was unemployed black men killing other black men. Tate, who has helped organize Citizens Against Gangs, wants to hold a march this spring against handgun violence.

Suzie Brown, executive director of the United Way, said existing social programs do sometimes work. She herself was once a welfare mother, but had the motivation and drive to get educated and get a job.

Frank Seebach, the Illinois director of United We Stand (the Perot organization) said that he generally supported Ladien's ideas, but also noted that there were few people present who were not politicians.

"Obviously we don't have many people from the private sector," he said.

That comment irked several of the elected officials who pointed out that running and winning office, they, in fact, are supported by plenty of common people.



Journal/Bill Byrnes

## S-s-s-s-steamy sight

The water at the Kankakee City Dam looks almost like a steam bath as the water's warmth clashes with the frigid air and causes water vapor. It's a sign that the current of the river is slowing as the water ices over in some spots. It

doesn't look as if the area is going to get much of a respite from frigid temperatures, either. Although the highs today and Monday may hit the lower 20s, the bitter cold will return Tuesday with highs zero to 10 below.

## Unique local lifestyle revealed on 'Geraldo'

By Phil Angelo  
Managing editor

Just call him an "animal."

Animal is indeed the name of the

appears on the show, said the program was a "climic" on broken marriage. Another woman, said their relationship was platonic, but that

Animal is indeed the name of the

er, married to someone else. Madonna, another woman, said their relationship was platonic, but that

Animal is indeed the name of the

On the air, Animal said the couple arguing about the mother-in-law was "horrible."

Animal is indeed the name of the

## briefs

\* Safe Haven would fund Reverend Brown's tutoring and other after-school programs using CSE participants at least 6 days/week to provide positive alternatives to gang violence and significantly improve academic performance, who better than parents and



U.S. Department of Justice

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Washington, D.C. 20530

**Memorandum**

**TO:** Leon Panetta  
Chief of Staff  
The White House

Betsy Meyers  
Deputy Assistant to the President and  
Director for Women's Outreach and Initiatives  
The White House

**FROM:** Bonnie Campbell  
Director  
Violence Against Women Office  
US Department of Justice

Aileen Adams  
Director  
Office for Victims of Crime  
Office of Justice Programs

**DATE:** November 9, 1995

**SUBJECT: THE IMPACT OF WELFARE REFORM ON DOMESTIC  
VIOLENCE VICTIMS**

---

Domestic violence victims and their children have a whole host of needs, many of which are traditionally provided by the safety net of social programs developed in this country over the past several decades. It's hard to imagine how we move a battering victim and her children through the shelter system and to economic independence without the benefit of a full range of fundamental services which are threatened by the extreme proposals in the Congressional welfare reform bills. Battered women and their children need shelter, child support, food stamps, social services, job training, health care, and a panoply of other services that will be denied to them unless the President acts to protect them.

Memorandum  
Page Two

What is a woman to do when she and her children have left an abusive home and find that their access to food stamps, child care, job training, and other social services has been effectively eliminated? Violence against women and their children can only be overcome when all the key players in a community come together. Government must be a part of the solution. Denying adequate support for the children who live violent homes will only continue the cycle of violence and create more expensive problems in years to come.