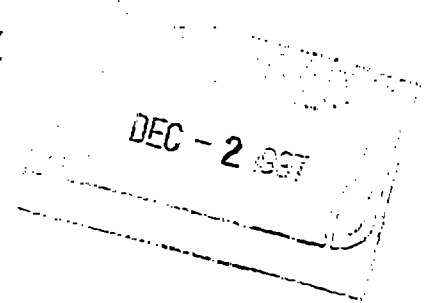


C.C. Cynthia

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510
November 24, 1997



The Honorable Franklin Raines
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20503

Dear Franklin:

As the first session of the 105th Congress draws to a close and as Congress and the Administration begin to focus on the federal budget for fiscal year 1999, we want to urge you to include funding for several important food stamp and child nutrition programs in the President's budget submission next February. We believe that these programs should be accorded a high priority by your agency and can be funded without increasing the federal budget deficit.

Hunger is a very real problem facing millions of adults and children in the United States every day. Poor nutrition not only stunts growth in our nation's children, but also causes detrimental effects on the cognitive development of children. As you know, the most recent data published by the Department of Agriculture revealed that 11 million people in the U.S. experience moderate or severe hunger each year, including more than 4 million children. The Federal Government has been working for many years to provide a safety net to help people who do not have enough to eat. For fiscal year 1998 alone, Congress has provided in excess of \$37 billion for the food stamp and other domestic nutrition programs.

A careful review of federal food and nutrition programs, as modified by the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, suggests that we should do more to protect some of the most vulnerable individuals in our society: children, the elderly and the disabled. Accordingly, we urge you to provide funding in the Administration's fiscal year 1999 budget in order to provide for the following vital food programs:

- **Food Stamps** – Provide Food Stamp benefits to elderly and child legal immigrants, to legal immigrants who become disabled after they enter the country, and to refugees and asylees who now qualify for Supplemental Security Income and Medicaid benefits under the Balanced Budget Act of 1997.
- **WIC Funding** – Provide adequate funding to allow full participation in the Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children. WIC has a proven track record in improving the nutrition and health of low income infants and children, and actually saving tax dollars in both the short and long term.
- **School Breakfast Program** – Restore outreach funding for start-up and expansion grants for school breakfast and summer meals programs. Children who do not receive an adequate breakfast at home should not have to wait until lunchtime to have their first meal of the day. Despite significant improvement in the availability of school breakfasts,

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The Honorable Franklin Raines

Page 2

many low income children still cannot obtain them. In 1997, fewer than half of the children receiving free or reduced price school lunches also participated in the school breakfast program.

- **Fourth Meal** -- Restore a fourth meal or snack to child care centers in the Child and Adult Care Food Program. Under current law centers are reimbursed for no more than three meals or snacks a day, regardless of how long children are in their care. Especially for young children and infants, payment for a fourth meal should be available for those in care over eight hours a day.
- **Summer Meals Program** -- The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act significantly reduced the per-meal reimbursement rate in the Summer Meals Program, which provides free, nutritious meals to more than 2.2 million children during the summer months, when school lunches and breakfasts are not available. The impact of the reduced reimbursement rate on participation in the Summer Meals Program should be carefully evaluated. The President's budget should include funding sufficient to ensure that the per-meal reimbursement rate is adequate to maintain participation and allow the program to reach more of the many low income children it does not presently serve.

We are convinced that in the totality of the federal budget, we can work together to prioritize our spending and provide adequate funding for these vital programs without increasing the federal budget deficit.

Sincerely,

Zem Harkin *Harkin*

Allen Smith *Speaker*

Robert C. Nicholas *Nichols*

Jeffery *Jefferson*

Jeffery L. Gordon *Gordon*

Ron Wyden *Wyden*

The Honorable Franklin Raines
Page 3

Max Baucus

Frank R. Lautenberg

Paul Sarbanes

Jack Reed

Carl Levin

Herb Kohl

Paul V. Wellstone

Barbara Boxer

Ed Johnson

Kent Conrad

Chris Dodd

Patrick Leahy

John F. Kerry

Ed Kennedy

Danell Tard

Chuck Robb

Dan Judd

The Honorable Franklin Raines
Page 4

Byrd
Carl Levin

Torricelli
Robert

Gordon Smith
Norm Feingold

Max Cleland

Carl

Fritz Hollings

Clinton
David L. Baker

Byron Dorgan

Tom Vascile
John Glenn

Al Skaggs

Alfred A. Pata

James Eastman

Patty Murray

Harry Reid

Richard D. Bryan

John Edwards

The Honorable Franklin Raines
Page 5

Bob Crutcher

Susan Collins

Jan Rabyette

William ^{Inouye}
Olympia Snow

Arnette

To: ~~Betty Jenkins 720-2166~~ 375-3888
From: Pam Muha 224-9028

4/7

~~/Specter~~
~~/Harkin~~
~~/Mikulski~~
~~/Jeffords~~
~~/Landrieu~~
~~/Wyden~~
~~/Baucus~~
~~/Lautenberg~~
~~/Santorum~~
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~~/Kohl~~
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~~/Breaux~~
~~/Graham~~
~~/Inouye~~

~~/Collins~~
~~/Snowe~~
~~/Rockefeller~~
~~/Feingold~~
~~/Cleland~~

NCLR

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Raul Yzaguirre, President

National Office
1111 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1000
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 785-1670
Fax: (202) 776-1792

December 2, 1997

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

CC Cynthia

F41

Dina

Dear Mr. President:

We, the undersigned ethnic, religious, immigration and nutrition organizations, are writing to you regarding our concern about the impact of the loss of food stamps for legal immigrants on our communities. The restoration of food stamps for legal immigrants, refugees, and asylees is our highest priority for inclusion in your FY 1999 budget.

Your leadership in restoring some of the benefits denied to legal immigrants by the welfare reform law through the Balanced Budget Act is greatly appreciated. As you know, food stamp assistance was not included in this restoration. The loss of this benefit program to the most vulnerable immigrants and refugees has already caused substantial hardship to those least able to cope.

Mr. President, there is strong support for food stamp assistance to this population. Nearly half of the Senate recently sent you a letter calling for restoration of food stamps for many legal immigrants and refugees. We ask you to support the inclusion of adequate funding in your budget to address this problem.

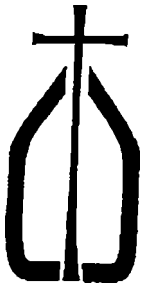
Yours Truly,

American Association of Jews from the
Former USSR
Bread for the World
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
Church World Service Immigration and
Refugee Program
Council of Jewish Federations
Ethiopian Community Development Council
Food Research and Action Center
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
Immigration and Refugee Services of
America

Jesuit Conference, Office of Social Ministry
Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs,
ELCA
National Council of La Raza
National Immigration Law Center
National Asian Pacific American Legal
Consortium
New York Association for New Americans
Southeast Asia Resource Action Center
UJA-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of
New York



Program Offices: Phoenix, Arizona • San Antonio, Texas • Los Angeles, California • Chicago, Illinois
LA RAZA: The Hispanic People of the New World



Catholic
Charities
USA

November 26, 1997

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you prepare your FY1999 budget, we ask that you include funding to restore food stamp benefits to legal immigrants. We appreciate your leadership in restoring SSI and Medicaid benefits to elderly and disabled legal immigrants as part of the balanced budget act. As you know, however, food stamp benefits were not restored.

We urge you now to include in your budget funding for food stamps for legal immigrants, especially those who struggle to support themselves on or near the minimum wage.

In two weeks Catholic Charities USA will hold our annual press conference to describe the challenges facing Catholic Charities agencies across the country. The most startling development that will be reported is the enormous increase in the need for emergency food and shelter services. Catholic Charities agencies served 7.9 million people who had no food, shelter, or needed other emergency assistance in 1996, an increase of nearly one million people in one year alone.

We are joining dozens of other nonprofit charitable organizations to ask for \$175 million for the Emergency Food and Shelter Program for FY1999. Catholic Charities agencies are forced to give out less food to people in need because demand is so high at many of our food pantries and soup kitchens. Some of our food pantries are empty for the first time in their history.

Regarding the USDA budget, our number one priority is restoration of food stamps for legal immigrants. Catholic Charities agencies across the country strongly support this restoration not only for refugees and asylees but also for elderly and disabled immigrants and those who are working at the minimum wage and still struggle with hunger.

Sincerely,

Rev. Fred Kammer, SJ
President

Episcopal Liaison
The Most Reverend
Joseph M. Sullivan, DD

Chair
Mr. Patrick J. Johnson, Jr.

Vice Chair
Ms. Beatriz Diaz Taveras

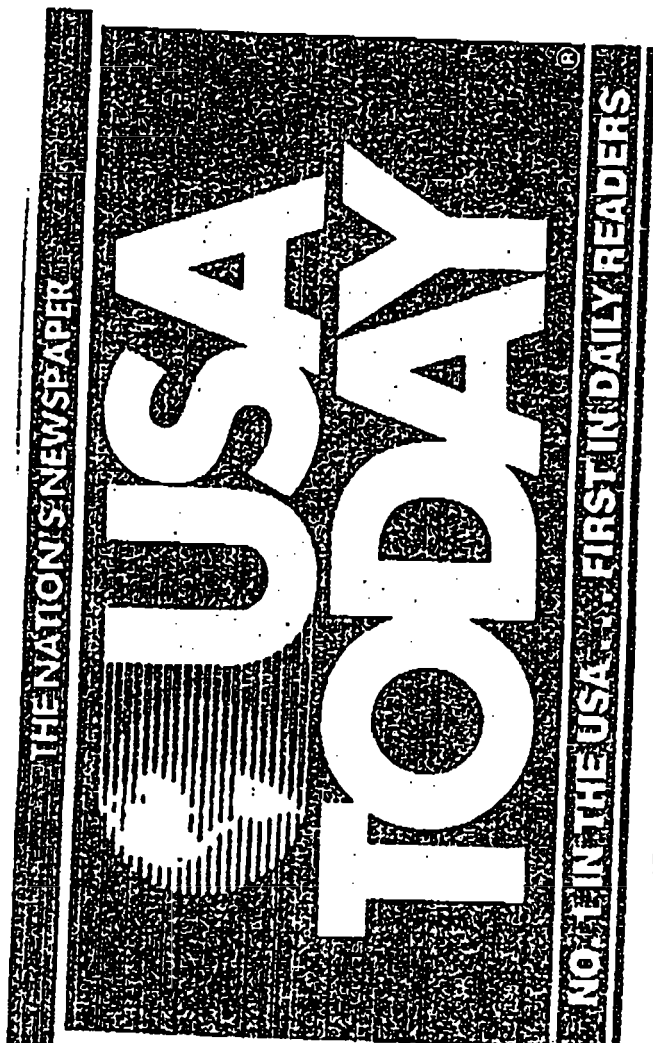
Secretary
Ms. Kathleen McGowan

Treasurer
Mr. Larry Blankinship, Jr.

President
Rev. Fred Kammer, SJ

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MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1997



Food banks' stock off, demand up

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

Donations are down, and demand is up at the nation's food banks this year, threatening their ability to help millions.

Second Harvest, a nonprofit charity that runs most of the nation's food banks, says demand has risen 15% in a year, while supplies are down 5% over two years.

The combination has caused some food pantries and soup kitchens to close, reduce their hours or ration supplies.

"Some of our food pantries are empty for the first time," says Lisa Carr of Catholic Charities USA.

The rising demand for food stems largely from cuts in the federal food stamp program. Last year's welfare reform law cut \$27 billion in projected spending over six years.

Nearly 500,000 able-bodied adults without children began losing food stamps in March. More than 900,000 legal immigrants who are not citizens lost food stamps in September.

At the same time, donations to Second Harvest continue to drop. That's largely because technological advances in the food industry mean less waste.

"Food banking lives on the dark side of the food industry. We get the mistakes," says Tina Osso, director of Shared Harvest Foodbank in Fairfield, Ohio. "Unfortunately, they're making less of them."

Some food banks are battling back, replacing lost dry goods with fresh produce and fish, staging more food drives and gleaning unpicked crops.

"It's right out of the Old Testament," says Dave Krepcho of Daily Bread Food Bank in Miami. "We literally get hundreds of volunteers, go out into a cornfield, and pick fresh corn."

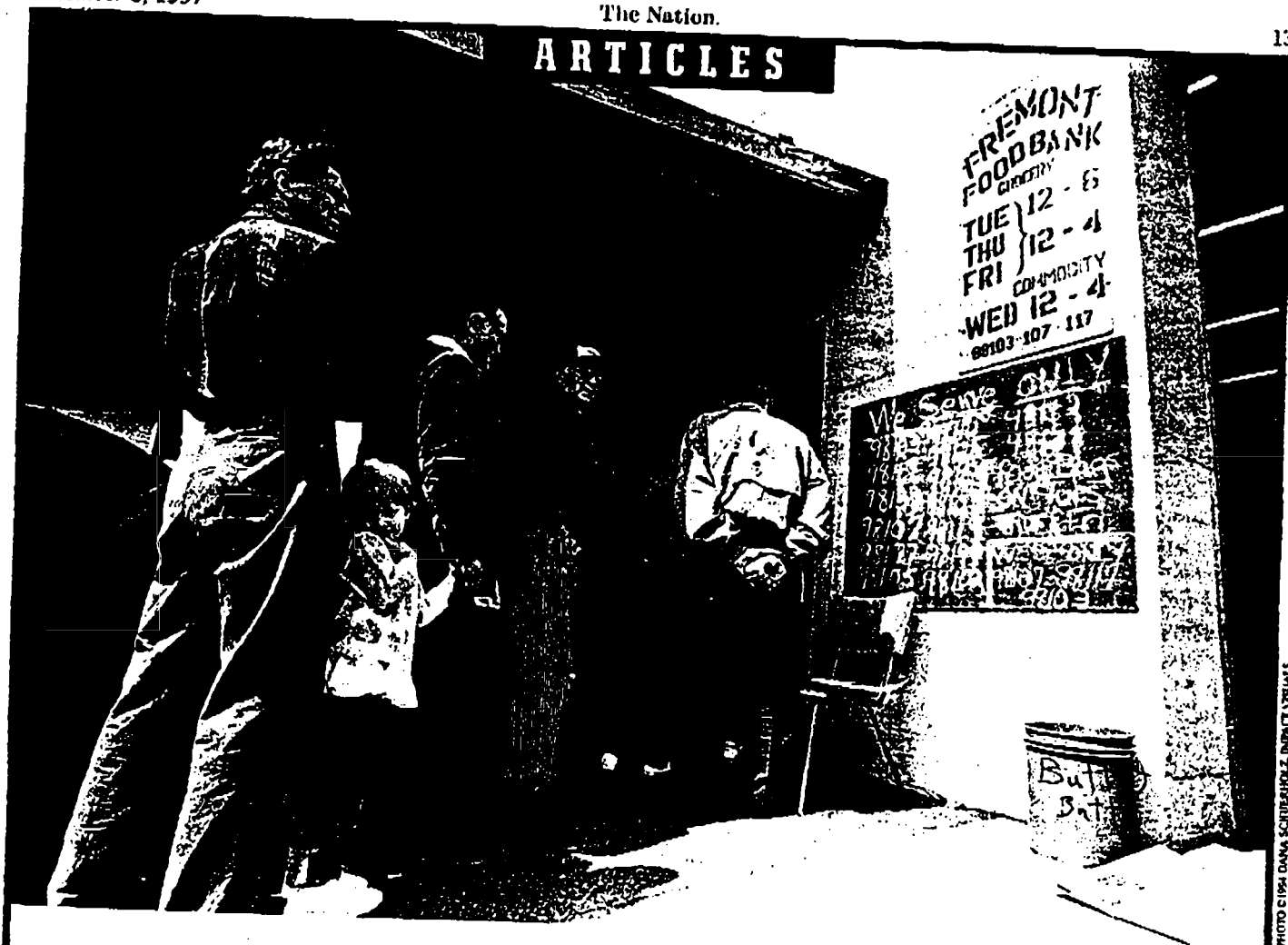
► Empty shelves, 3A

December 8, 1997

The Nation.

ARTICLES

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HUNGER ON MAIN ST.

FOOD BANKS ARE STRAINING, BUT THE WORST IS YET TO COME ■ DAVID SARASOHN

WHEELER, OREGON

Every Tuesday, the line starts to form early. Even though nothing really happens until 1 o'clock, people are waiting by 12:30, or even before. In fall, when the wind and rain come whistling off the North Pacific into this coastal town, a trek up the hill to the basement of a defunct public hospital is nobody's idea of a day at the beach. But the people waiting know that the North County Food Bank, like a lot of emergency food distributors, sometimes runs out of things. If you've got kids, and you're hoping for the fullest box, it's worth showing up ahead of time.

People seem to feel that way especially toward the end of the month. On this Tuesday, a little before Thanksgiving, twenty-five people come into the privately supported food bank, which serves a few small towns in between coastal Oregon's tourist hot spots. Five of the food seekers have already been in earlier this month, meaning this time they don't qualify for the U.S.D.A. surplus tuna, pinto beans, applesauce and peanut butter in white cans reading "A gift of the people of the United States of America."

Fortunately for them, most of the food-bank stock consists of gifts from more specific groups of Americans. The food industry, from manufacturers to local groceries, provides the bulk of it: cans and produce that

are surplus or nearing their expiration date. Food drives bring in some more, some of it fairly idiosyncratic; tucked among the dozens of boxes of rice is someone's donation of a large can of boiled abalone. A local salmon hatchery donated this month's surplus fish, although the food bank did have to pay 50 cents a pound to get it cleaned and wrapped. And because this is Tillamook County, Oregon, there's a category of donors whose offerings might not appear in a New York soup kitchen: hunters. One volunteer explains, "We get quite a lot of ground bear and elk."

Food boxes built around ground bear, assembled in four spare rooms just up from Nehalem Bay, can seem a long way from the expense-account lunches of Capitol Hill. But the North County Food Bank is directly connected to Washington, D.C., which is responsible not only for U.S.D.A. applesauce but also for legislation approved in 1996

that narrows and slices the food stamp program, sending steadily more people on their Tuesday trek up the Oregon hill. The program was created

in the sixties to cover all those below a certain income level, including welfare recipients and the working poor. This year, as the changes went into effect, most legal immigrants who hadn't become citizens were disqualified, and childless unemployed adults were limited to one three-month stay in three years.

The impact is felt among the tuna cans. "Last month, we suddenly had a ton of young singles," says one volunteer. "I thought we were seeing the tip of the iceberg headed toward our Titanic." In Portland, especially in single-room-occupancy hotel territory, the number of singles coming to food banks has recently jumped by as much as 50 percent. Maybe they're not all driven by the food stamp cuts, but chances are they're not sent there by a restaurant critic.

To find out what they will get today, clients of the North County Food Bank start out talking to a volunteer, who runs down the list of this week's stocks. The clients' responses tend to be brief. The men seem matter-of-fact, the women more abashed, carefully polite, trying to please. But what the interviewer sees isn't the whole picture, or the whole family. "The first time, the father rarely comes in," says Jerry Tippons, a retired newspaperman who spends one Tuesday a month packing food boxes here and much of the rest of the week serving as chairman of the board of the statewide Oregon Food Bank, which supplies hundreds of outlets like this. "It's the male ego; he'll send the mother in. One thing I've learned is not to help a woman carry the food to the car—her husband might be hiding there."

People coming in for emergency food don't turn down much, although one declines frozen vegetables because she doesn't have a freezer, and another remarks bleakly that he already has quite a few cans of pinto beans. Several greet one particular offering as an old friend. "Top Ramen?" one exclaims, almost fondly. "We've been living on Top Ramen."

It seems she's not alone. Rachel Bristol, executive director of the Oregon Food Bank, tells of a young mother explaining that her family had been eating mostly Top Ramen noodles for about

a month. "Maybe that's how we should mark the impact of welfare reform," says Bristol, "tracking the sales of Top Ramen."

The Top Ramen index, it seems, would cover a lot of people the Dow Jones seems to miss. And just like the pork belly index it would be monitored in Chicago, in this case by Second Harvest, a national umbrella organization for thousands of food banks and soup kitchens across the country. The Wheeler operation may resemble the urban centers that Second Harvest president and C.E.O. Christine Vladimiroff sees close up, but nothing about would surprise her. "Poverty," she says, "is increasing at a fast rate outside the metropolitan areas."

In Oregon, emergency food demands run just as high in the rural areas—including the cowboy counties east of the Cascade Mountains—as in Portland. And lately, the cutoff of

legal immigrants has caused a sharp hunger surge in the rich Willamette Valley agricultural counties, where Spanish is often the language of the fields but is no longer spoken

by the food stamp program. Migrant workers who are legal aliens are disqualified from federal food help even though they've been paying taxes to maintain it—not to mention harvesting much of it.

Some states with high immigrant populations, such as California, Texas and Florida, have moved state funds into the gap. Oregon, like most states, has done little. That's not an immediate problem here in Wheeler, where this Tuesday's clientele comes entirely from the group most ignored in discussions of poverty—poor whites. (Last Tuesday, a volunteer remembers, the group did include three Native Americans.) But a rising burden on the Oregon program anywhere tends to ripple across the state, and according to Bristol, emergency food demand is up 17 percent over last year in some of the major farming counties.

And, like immigrants themselves, the new hunger finds its way to the cities, like Portland. Immigrant-serving agencies in the metropolitan area say they've been "inundated with calls, and food is high on the list," says Bristol. "We can't provide a nutritionally balanced program, but we can give them a little something once a month." To do even that requires a major, long-range food-bank effort. And as Franklin D. Roosevelt's aide Harry Hopkins once pointed out during the Depression, people don't eat in the long run; they eat every day.

Or they don't.

In October the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy at Tufts University, after a new analysis of federal data, concluded that 12 percent of U.S. households are "food insecure," which can mean anything from missing the last few meals to not quite knowing where to find the next one. The study paralleled a September report from the Department of Agriculture declaring that 11 million Americans—including 4 million children—live in households categorized as moderately or severely hungry.

But even this situation, the center reported, may one day be regarded as the good old days. Congress's food stamp overhaul includes a six-year total cut of \$28 billion, or about 24 billion pounds of food at 1997 prices. Cuts of that size—and Congress managed to find most of its broadly defined welfare "savings" in the food

The people coming in for emergency food don't turn down much, though one declines frozen vegetables because she doesn't have a freezer.

stamp system—could not be squeezed out of just legal immigrants and childless unemployed adults. It also meant slicing the food stamp allotments of most other recipients. In the early nineties, Congress passed the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act, named after the Houston Congressman who died in a plane crash while investigating Ethiopian famine; the bill raised food stamp allotments by changing calculations on such things as how much a family was expected to spend on housing. The 1996 Congress cut all that back, a change that affected both welfare recipients and the working poor who depend on food stamps to survive.

The last time Second Harvest did a survey—in 1992-93, when 26 million people made emergency requests to its affiliates—one-third of the applicants had someone in the household working. On this Tuesday in Wheeler, the percentage seems at least that high, although the incomes written on the forms are so low that you think a digit has been mistakenly left out. Before counting food stamps, monthly family incomes are listed as \$800, \$600 or even \$400; adding food stamps, the number isn't much higher.

Already, reports the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy, 12 percent of U.S. families are 'food insecure.' Just wait.

We are especially concerned about the working poor in states like Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico and Oklahoma," said one of the Tufts researchers, "and poor legal immigrants in states like California, Texas, New York, Washington, Oregon and Florida." Bristol, of course, agrees about Oregon. She also points out that the popular G.O.P. vision of smart, sensitive, warmhearted private charity stepping in to make up for wasteful, inefficient, bureaucratic federal efforts is flawed. The federal cuts will mean 40 million fewer pounds of food, paid for through food stamps, in Oregon this coming year; with great effort, the Oregon Food Bank now collects and distributes more than 20 million pounds a year.

The food-bank system, after all, is supposed to help people who have somehow slipped through the safety net. It's not supposed to replace it. But for more and more people, it may be the only safety net left—and it may be fraying just like the original government one.

One big reason is that a system based heavily on corporate overestimates of consumer demand is being hit by its most dangerous threat: corporate efficiency. "We are finding that on the supply side we are flat, or down, rather than getting more," says Vladimiroff, the head of Second Harvest. "We feel a reflection of trends in the industry, such as just-in-time management. I think there's a certain anxiety out there among food banks." Anxiety may be too mild a word, as food banks all over the country are facing heavier withdrawals and slimmer deposits. Lisa Carr of Catholic Charities USA recently told *USA Today* that "some of our food pantries are empty for the first time," and food banks surveyed by the newspaper all over the country feel the squeeze.

Even the government is noticing—or at least parts of the government. In November, Representative Tony Hall of Ohio wrote Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman "to express my serious concern over whether, in the wake of [nutrition] cuts, the nation's emergency food banks can handle the growing demands they now face." Hall reported, "During a recent visit to

the main local food bank in Dayton, I was shocked at the diminished quantity and quality of foods in stock compared with the situation only a year ago."

Hall, the former chairman of the Congressional Hunger Caucus—until the group was abolished after the Republican takeover of the House by the somewhat larger fat-cat caucus—is a member quirky enough to care about hunger, someone who pursues it into Capitol Hill soup kitchens and Ethiopia. This year, his idea of an overseas junket was to go to North Korea to see if its famine was as bad as reported. It was.

In Newt Gingrich's House, someone who keeps talking about hunger is like someone who goes into a fraternity party and tries to recruit volunteer tutors. But the proposed Hunger Help a Cure Act, which would roll back some of the recent nutritional hacking, now has 139 co-sponsors, with a sprinkling of Republicans—including conservative powerhouse Henry Hyde of Illinois, chairman of the Judiciary Committee and creator of the antiabortion Hyde amendment.

In late October, eighty-eight of the co-sponsors wrote President Clinton, urging that in designing the fiscal 1999 budget he "include funding necessary to secure the nutritional well-being of children, the elderly, the disabled, and adults willing to work but unable to find a job." Specifically, they called for restoring food stamp benefits to legal immigrants, making sure that adults unable to find a job don't get cut off and providing enough money for child nutrition programs, such as school lunches, that come up for reauthorization next year.

Coincidentally, members of Congress are starting to think about the budget surplus expected to show up any year now. There would be a certain symmetry if some of it went to the people who've already given up the most. But Hall isn't counting on his colleagues' seeing a link between the budget surplus and the food deficit. "I don't think they've made the connection yet," he says. "Because you've got such a strong economy, hardly anybody is focusing on hunger except the hungry people." Only very recently, he says, are some legislators beginning to notice some stomach rumblings from their districts. And the Administration? "No," Hall says flatly. "I don't see it on their list. This issue is not a priority."

But before next Thanksgiving, developments could make food as inescapable an issue in Washington as coffee. As much as welfare reform has strained the food-bank system so far, the biggest impact is still to come. Sometime next year, a wave of two-year cutoffs of welfare families will begin to hit in some states; after that, the wave will roll across the country. Like all of the previous, smaller waves, it will break against the food banks, against the Top Ramen and cans of U.S.D.A. surplus tuna. Vladimiroff reports that in states like Wisconsin and Michigan, which pride themselves on having gotten out in front of the federal government with their welfare reform, emergency food demand in some places is already up by 14-20 percent. "We need to take time to reflect, to watch results," she says. "Are children being put at risk because families are cut off? It's inexcusable that there's chronic malnutrition in our children, that children

arrive at first grade with one hand tied behind their backs."

At the North County Food Bank, the twenty-five people who show up for help on the Tuesday in November represent families that include thirty children. There's little food intended particularly for them, and a very slim shelf of baby food. But the food drives among the local residents and grocery owners usually bring in some things that the volunteers classify as treats—small items to tuck into a box of staples and make it look a little more like a regular supermarket shopping load. Today, it's individual

packets of cocoa mix, and although they could fit into any box the volunteers tend to slip them between the pasta and baked beans in boxes going to families with children.

Apart from Congressionally mandated limits on U.S.D.A. food there are no hard-and-fast rules on how to fill the boxes. "If there are three children in a family, throw in six of the cocoa packets," a veteran volunteer advises a newcomer. "Use your judgment." As Congress unleashes a wave of hunger against a food-bank system never intended to handle it, it's nice that somebody does.

CAN A HANDFUL OF THE HILL'S BACKBENCHERS AND THEIR MEDIA ALLIES PLAY THIS SILLY CARD?

The Impeachment Craze

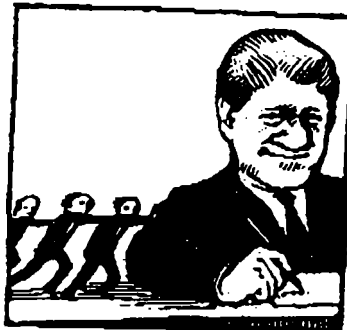
BY JOE CONASON

On the night of October 21, more than a dozen members of Washington's conservative elite met at La Brasserie, an old French restaurant on Capitol Hill. Their host was R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., the author, columnist and bon vivant editor of *The American Spectator*. Dubbed "the Saturday Evening Club," these monthly dinners (often on Tuesdays) feature a standard menu of policy and politics, but on this particular evening the main course was unusually heavy: a proposal to impeach the President.

Present to explain the constitutional intricacies of removing Bill Clinton from office was Georgia Representative Bob Barr, a militant of the 1994 Republican revolution who had first raised the subject in March, when almost nobody would listen. Since then, however, he has been encouraged by support from the grassroots and, lately, by his heroic role in Tyrrell's forthcoming speculative novel, *The Impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton*.

As Barr explained his carefully researched scheme for bringing impeachment to the floor of the House, he was basking in the attention of some of the most powerful voices of Beltway conservatism, including Wesley Pruden, the editor of *The Washington Times*; John Fund of *The Wall Street Journal's* editorial page; Grover Norquist, the capital's leading conservative activist and a close confidant of House Speaker Newt Gingrich; Mark Levin, president of the Landmark Legal Foundation; and David Brock, a journalist known for his book-length assault on Anita Hill and his *Spectator* expose of "Troopergate," in which Arkansas state police allegedly aided in Governor Clinton's sexual liaisons. No matter how unlikely the prospect of impeaching Clinton might seem, Barr is no longer being dismissed as a noisy eccentric from the political fringe.

Indeed, he was treated quite seriously that October evening, and why not? Impeachment has grown in the past few weeks from a curiosity on right wing talk-radio and Web sites to a topic on the editorial pages of *The Wall Street Journal*, *The*



Washington Post and *Investor's Business Daily*. While several of Tyrrell's guests that evening expressed skepticism about Barr's plan, others forcefully supported his argument that impeachment proceedings were a constitutional duty and would be a devastating blow to Clinton. Among the intrigued was the *Journal's* Fund, whose paper had published a stentorian essay on October 10, with the stark headline "Impeach," by novelist and former Bob Dole speechwriter Mark Helprin.

If Congress were to begin proceedings against Clinton, and Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth Starr were finally to issue a new round of indictments, then, Fund predicted, a bored public would awaken and the President's persistently high approval ratings would sink. Two weeks later, on November 5, Barr was joined by a score of co-sponsors as he introduced a resolution demanding an "inquiry of impeachment" on the House floor. House Resolution 304 was referred to the Rules Committee, which plans to hold "preliminary" hearings on impeachment during the current recess or soon after Congress returns in January.

For anyone who has wondered how Starr will extricate himself from the Whitewater morass he seemed so desperate to escape last winter—when he suddenly resigned as independent counsel to become dean of Pepperdine Law School and then rescinded his resignation, all within a few days' time—impeachment might at first seem an implausible exit strategy. But having repeatedly raised and then dashed the hopes of his conservative supporters for the imminent destruction of Clinton's presidency, Starr may be well served by an official impeachment inquiry. If, as many observers believe, Starr is unable to make a convincing criminal case against Clinton despite his \$30 million, three-year investigation, he may save significant face by leaving any legal action against his ultimate target in the hands of Congress. And in fact, Starr has close personal connections with those who have been preparing the way for an impeachment bid.

In the angriest precincts of the right, of course, where Bill Clinton's electoral victories have never been accepted as entirely legitimate, impeachment has been a favorite theme for years.

Joe Conason is political editor of *The New York Observer*, where he writes a weekly column.

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

October 27, 1997

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

We the undersigned co-sponsors of H.R. 1507, the Hunger Has a Cure Act of 1997, ask that as you formulate the Fiscal Year 1999 budget, you include funding necessary to secure the nutritional well-being of children, the elderly, the disabled, and adults willing to work but unable to find a job. It is especially critical that you include adequate funding to restore food stamp benefits to vulnerable groups of legal immigrants facing undue hardship as a result of recent food stamp cut-offs. Specifically, we urge you to give priority to the following areas:

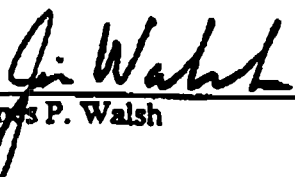
1) Restoration of Food Stamp Benefits to Vulnerable Legal Immigrants: As of this month, hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants living well below the poverty line have been cut off of food stamps, many of them working poor as well as children, elderly, and disabled persons. State response to their plight appears to be uneven at best. Just as restoration of SSI benefits to some legal immigrants was the right thing to do, protecting millions of families from hunger by restoring food stamp benefits should be a priority. We urge you to provide funding to restore food stamp benefits to these vulnerable populations.

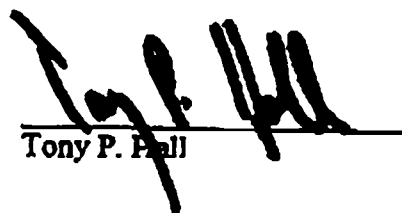
2) Providing adequate Funding for Child Nutrition Programs: The Summer Food, School Breakfast, and Child and Adult Care Feeding Programs are vital to ensuring adequate, nutritious diets to low-income children. Often, these programs provide poor children with a significant percentage of their daily nutrition. The loss of start-up funds and cuts in reimbursement rates is weakening the ability of these programs to meet the needs of children at risk of undernutrition. We urge you to provide sufficient funding for these vital programs, specifically: to restore start-up monies for school breakfast and summer food programs; to enhance meal reimbursement rates for the summer food and child and adult care programs; and to reinstate coverage for provision of fourth meals to children who spend long hours in day care centers. We also urge you to support adequate funding for the WIC and TEFAP programs.

3) Ensuring That No Person Who Is Willing to Work Is Cut Off Food Stamps: We appreciate your efforts in the Budget Reconciliation Act of 1997 to address unfair cut-offs of food stamp recipients who are looking for work but unable to find a job or a work program slot. Funding for additional work slots and exemptions provides some positive relief in this area. We urge your continued leadership to maintain adequate funding for the food stamp program in the FY 1999 budget, and further ask that you revisit elimination of the cap on the food stamp shelter deduction and increases in the food stamp vehicle allowance.

New numbers released on September 15th by the Department of Agriculture indicate that 11 million people in the United States, including over 4 million children, experience moderate or severe hunger. In a nation as rich as ours, that is simply unacceptable. Our Hunger Has a Cure Act of 1997 attempts to protect children, the elderly, and other vulnerable populations from facing the harsh realities of hunger. Private charities are doing much to fight hunger, but their important efforts alone cannot take the place of an adequate and effective federal safety net. We appreciate your attention to these most important matters.

Sincerely,


James P. Walsh

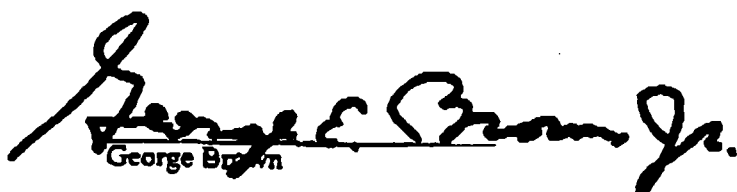

Tony P. Hall


Marge Roukema

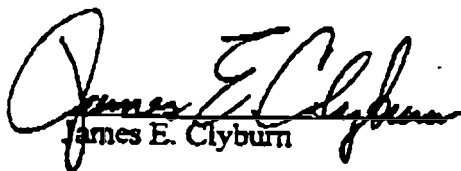

Eva Clayton


Maxine Waters


Carolyn Maloney


George Brown


Lucille Roybal-Allard

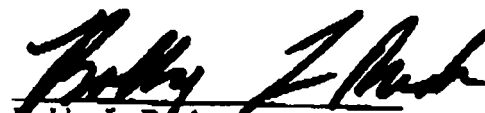

James E. Clyburn

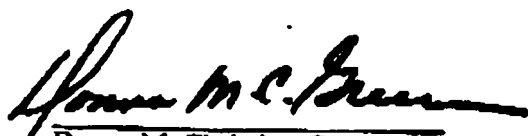

Maurice Hinchey


John W. Oliver


Barney Frank

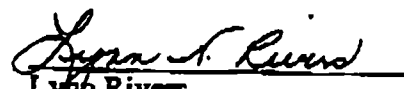

Dale E. Kildee

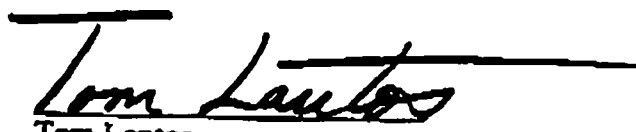

Bobby L. Rush


Donna M. Christian-Green


Michael R. McNulty

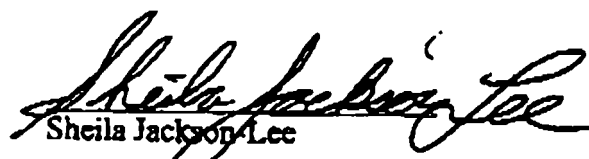

Bob Clement

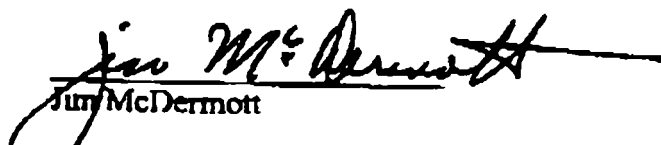

Lynn Rivers

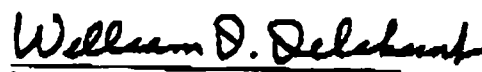

Tom Lantos


Neil Abercrombie


John Conyers

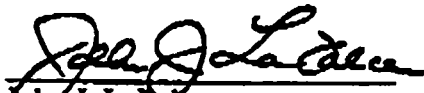

Sheila Jackson Lee


Jim McDermott


William D. Delahunt

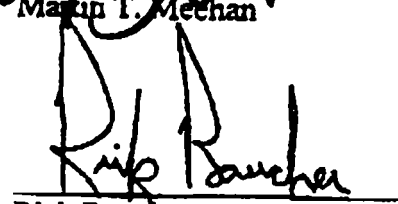

 Robert T. Matsui

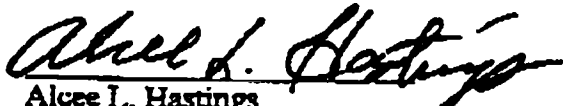

 Carolyn C. Kilpatrick

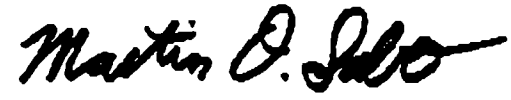

 John J. LaPalce

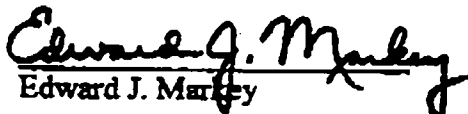

 Martin T. Meehan


 Bernard Sanders


 Rick Boucher


 Alcee L. Hastings


 Martin Olav Sabo


 Edward J. Markey

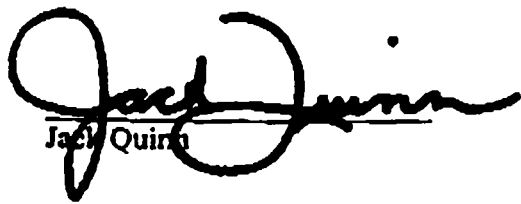

 Nancy L. Johnson


 Bill Pascrell, Jr.


 Thomas C. Sawyer

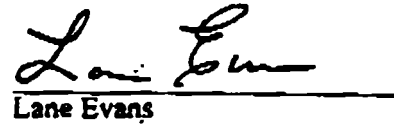

 Jerry F. Costello

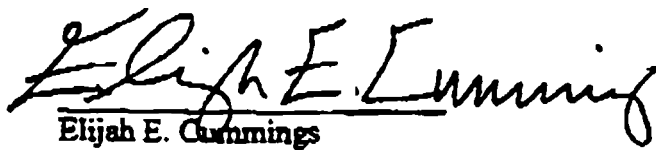

 Ronald V. Dellums

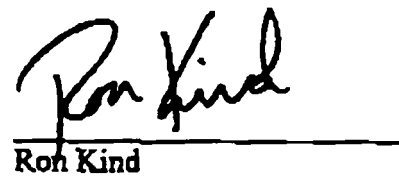

Jack Quinn

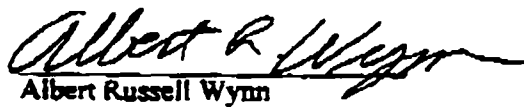

Wayne T. Gilchrist

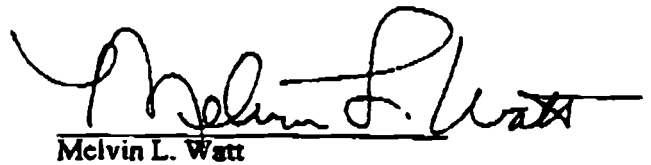

Ted Strickland

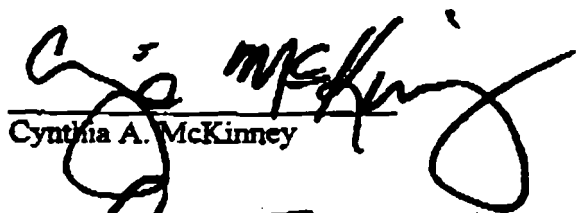

Lane Evans


Elijah E. Cummings

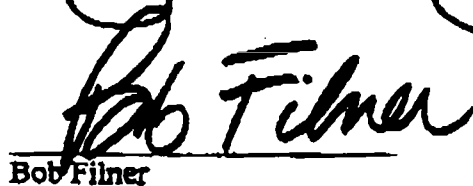

Ron Kind


Albert Russell Wynn

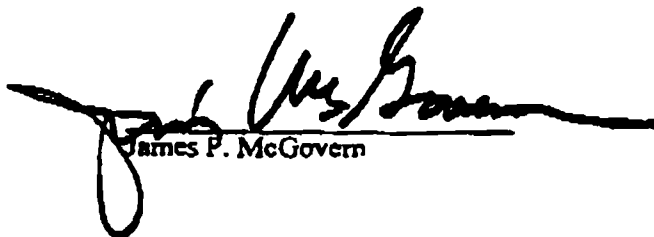

Melvin L. Watt


Cynthia A. McKinney


Martin Frost


Bob Filner


Eliot L. Engel


James P. McGovern


Earl F. Hilliard



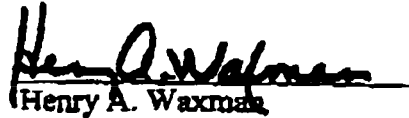
David E. Price



David E. Bonior



Matthew G. Martinez



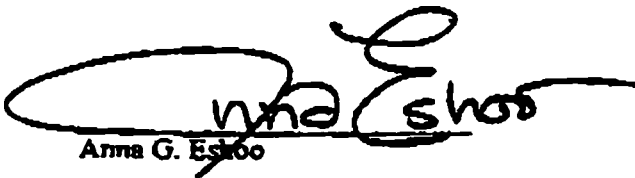
Henry A. Waxman



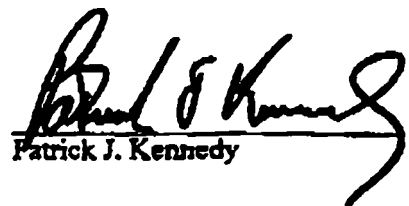
Karen McCarthy



Esteban Edward Torres



Anna G. Esch



Patrick J. Kennedy



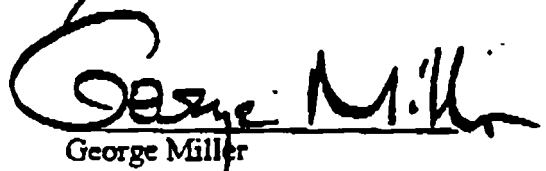
Walter H. Capps



Louis Stokes

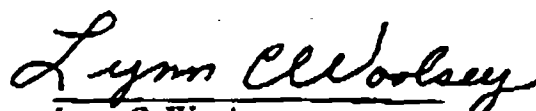


Frank R. Wolf

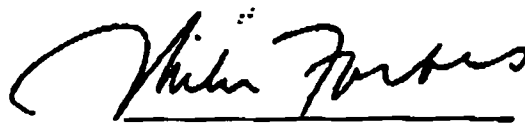


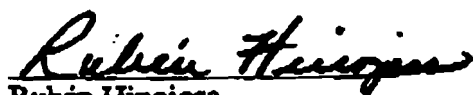
George Miller


Richard E. Neal

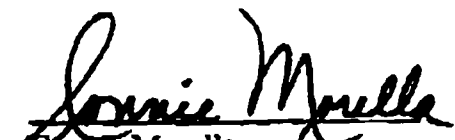

Lynn C. Woolsey

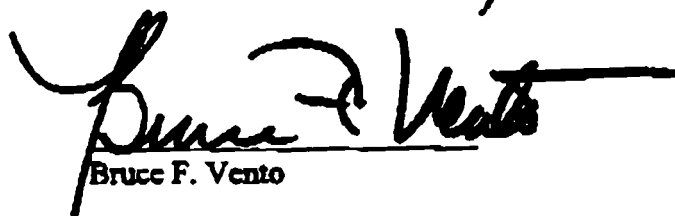

Gene Green

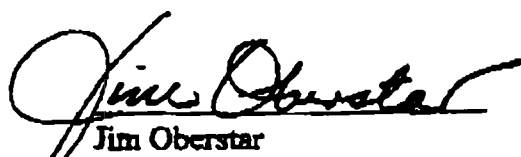

Michael P. Forbes


Rubén Hinojosa


Barbara B. Kennelly

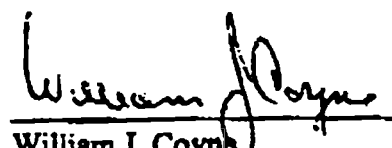

Connie Morella

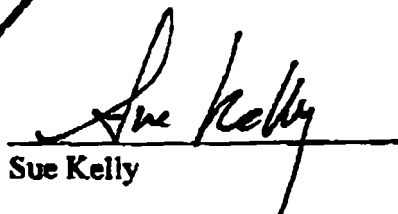

Bruce F. Vento

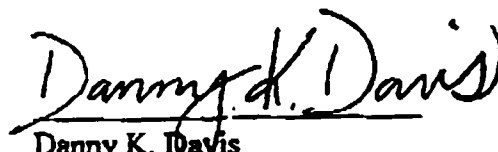

Jim Oberstar


Luis V. Gutierrez


James A. Traficant, Jr.

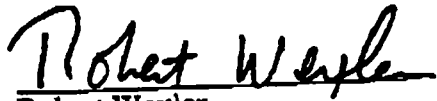

William J. Coyne


Sue Kelly


Danny K. Davis


Jesse L. Jackson, Jr.


Dennis J. Kucinich


Robert Wexler


Gary L. Ackerman


Nancy Pelosi


Sherwood L. Boehlert


Peter A. DeFazio


Karen Thurman


Ed Pastor


John Lewis

IMPACT OF THE BALANCED BUDGET ACT ON BENEFITS TO IMMIGRANTS

(dollars in billions)

NOTE: Estimates below show scoring of Welfare Reform and Balanced Budget Act (BBA) at times of enactment. Relative differences in savings by program will vary from prior estimates because of changes in baselines and technical assumptions.

	Welfare Reform (savings in FY 1997 baseline)		BBA (costs of restored benefits with FY 1998 midsession baseline)		Affect of Welfare Reform after adjusting for benefit restorations in BBA (savings in draft FY 1999 baseline)	
	FY 2002	Five Years 1998-2002	FY 2003	Five Years 1999-2003	FY 2003	Five Years 1999-2003
SSI	- 3.6	-15.6	2.2	11.0	-0.8	-2.7
Food Stamps	-0.7	-3.2	NA	NA	-0.7	-3.2
Medicaid	-1.6	-5.0	0.8	3.6	-1.2	-3.9
Total	-5.8	-25.2	3.0	14.6	-2.7	-9.8
	Number of Individuals made Ineligible FY 2002		Number of Individuals with Eligibility Restored (Affect in FY 2003)		Number Still Ineligible After BBA (Affect in FY 2003)	
SSI	590,000	NA	355,000	NA	140,000	NA
Food Stamps	1,000,000	NA	0	NA	775,000	NA
Medicaid	440,000	NA	NA	NA	350,000	NA

FY 99 Restorations 99

CHARLES W. STENHOLM17TH DISTRICT
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12021 726-6605
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RANKING MEMBER**Congress of the United States**
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515**DISTRICT OFFICES:**P.O. Box 1237
STAMPED, TX 79563
(915) 773-3823
FAX (915) 773-2823P.O. Box 1101
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(915) 873-7221
FAX (915) 878-954733 E. TWOMB AVE., #318
SAN ANGELO, TX 76903
(915) 865-7994
FAX (915) 868-2798**FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET**TO: Diane FortneyDATE: 11/20, 1997

FAX #: _____

NO. OF PAGES FOLLOWING: 3 THE HONORABLE CHARLES W. STENHOLM AUER, LOIS HAMILTON, JAMES JOHNSON, ANDY LORENZEN, ED NETTLES, CINDY SLOCUM, JULIE TICE, BECCA THINNES, BILLY TURNER, JULIEComments: _____

Note: This fax transmission contains confidential information from the Office of U.S. Congressman Charles W. Stenholm. It is intended solely for the addressee(s). If you received this fax in error, please DO NOT disclose, copy, or distribute any part of this transmission. Instead, please notify us immediately at (202) 225-6605. Thank you.

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RANKING MEMBER**Congress of the United States**
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

November 18, 1997

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Fax (915) 676-854733 E. TWIDG AVE., #314
SAN ANGELO, TX 76903
(915) 658-7994
Fax (915) 658-2798Mr. Bruce Reed
Domestic Policy Advisor
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bruce:

I wanted to bring to your attention the enclosed copy of a letter I've sent to the President recommending that the administration propose reforms of cost allocation procedures for food stamp administrative costs and reallocate the savings into priority programs within the Department of Agriculture.

There is a growing consensus that there are substantial savings that can be realized by preventing states from "double-billing" the federal government for administrative costs. Achieving savings in administrative programs and reinvesting the savings to meet the many challenges facing U.S. agriculture would make good sense on substantive and political grounds. As you may know, I have advocated using these savings to provide mandatory funds for rural development, crop insurance, agricultural research, and nutrition programs, particularly restoring food stamp benefits to certain non-citizens.

Thank you in advance for your attention and assistance in this matter. With warmest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Charles W. Stenholm
Member of CongressCWS:esl
Enclosures

CHARLES W. STENHOLM17TH DISTRICT
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(202) 225-8606
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RANKING MEMBER**Congress of the United States**
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
November 17, 1997**DISTRICT OFFICES:**P.O. Box 1237
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FAX (915) 876-954733 E. TWOMBIE AVE., #318
SAN ANGELO, TX 76903
(915) 866-7994
FAX (915) 868-2796*cc Andrea
FM*The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you continue your efforts to balance priorities in your FY 1999 Budget, please consider an option that would both reduce unintended federal expenditures on welfare administration and provide significant mandatory savings that can be reinvested in priority programs: legislative reform of cost allocation procedures for administrative costs of means-tested benefit programs.

The Senate-passed agricultural research bill, which recieved bipartisan support, included a provision to reduce by \$1.25 billion the \$2.5 billion increase for food stamp administrative costs projected by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) as a result of changes in cost allocation procedures. This reduction would be used to provide mandatory funding for rural development and nutrition programs, as well as agricultural research. I offered a similar proposal during the Agriculture Committee consideration of budget reconciliation legislation.

The savings in food stamp administration costs would neither reduce benefits nor hinder services to needy individuals. In point of fact, the savings result from restricting the amount of increased food stamp administration reimbursements that states may receive when they shift the allocation of certain administration costs, currently provided under the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) block grant, to the food stamp program. Some individuals refer to this as "double billing" the federal government.

CBO has projected that federal spending on food stamp administrative costs will be \$500 million a year higher than it would have been otherwise as a result of states shifting costs from TANF to food stamps by changing cost allocation. Part of this estimate is attributable to states seeking administrative efficiencies by allocating common costs of TANF, food stamps and Medicaid equally among the three programs, the so-called "benefiting program" model. The estimate's other basis is recognition of the unintended incentive in welfare reform for states to retain an historical share of reimbursements of the common administrative costs, provided through the TANF block grant, and report reallocated costs to the food stamp program for a 50 percent federal reimbursement. CBO estimated that an analogous cost reallocation would have the same impact on Medicaid administrative costs.

It has become increasingly clear to me that the CBO is correct in its assumption that states will change their cost allocation procedures to use the "benefiting program" model, which would shift costs to the food stamp and Medicaid programs. In fact, several states have told my staff that they have already begun to allocate administrative costs according to the "benefiting program" model. Legislation providing clear guidelines on this issue will provide HHS with the legal authority and political support that will be necessary to deny states submission for payment of shared administrative costs in the food stamp and Medicaid administrative accounts.

You would find support in Congress if you propose legislation preventing states from such reallocation of administrative costs. I would caution your Administration against one proposed alternative, which is to reduce each state's TANF allotment by the amount of common administrative costs included in the allotment. While this proposal has substantive merit as a simple

and direct approach, such a proposal poses very serious political risks. The issue of state allocations of federal block grant funds under the TANF program was one of the most controversial issues in the Congressional debate on welfare reform. Furthermore, the National Governors' Association (NGA) has indicated that next year it intends to reopen the maintenance of effort and transferability issues in the TANF block grant. An Administration proposal that directly changes the TANF program would strengthen NGA proposals to reduce the maintenance of effort requirements and increase the amount that can be transferred out of the TANF block grant, which both your Administration and I strongly opposed.

The Senate agricultural research bill would address the cost shift, without reopening the TANF debate, by reducing the amount the federal government pays a state for food stamp administrative costs by the amount of food stamp administrative expenses that were previously funded through the AFDC program. This approach effectively prevents states from claiming federal reimbursement from the food stamp program for administrative costs that were previously allocated to the AFDC program and now provided through the TANF block grant. States would be allowed to charge the food stamp program only for food stamp common costs above the amount of food stamp administrative costs the state allocated to the AFDC program prior to welfare reform.

After discussions with many Democratic members and numerous outside groups, I have proposed to reinvest the savings through mandatory funding in four broad priority categories: rural development; nutrition programs, particularly restoring food stamps for some legal immigrants; crop insurance; and agricultural research. These priorities reflect the interests of Democrats across the spectrum. Providing mandatory funding in these areas will also help relieve the pressure on the Appropriations Committee to fund other discretionary programs that Democrats support.

Including a proposal to legislatively address cost allocation, both for food stamps and Medicaid, would succeed in reducing unintended additional federal expenditures on welfare administration. Reinvestment of the food stamp savings in the broad priority areas I have outlined would send a very strong message to the agricultural and nutrition communities about your commitment to address the very serious needs facing the programs in these two areas. Similar reductions in Medicaid administration costs would be available for other important priorities. In addition, a proposal that addresses these broad priorities would maximize the chances for legislative success next year.

Again, thank you for your consideration of this issue. I look forward to continuing to work with you on this and other issues.

Sincerely yours,



Charles W. Stenholm
Member of Congress

CWS:esl

Enclosures

cc: Erskine Bowles
Frank Raines
Gene Sperling
Bruce Reed
John Hilley
Dan Glickman

Calls Rising For Food And Housing

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14 (AP) — Despite a surging economy and low unemployment, the demand for emergency food and shelter continued to grow this year, the Conference of Mayors said today.

A conference survey of 29 cities, to be released on Monday, said that requests for emergency food rose an average of 16 percent, the largest increase since 1992, the survey found. Among the reasons, officials said, were low wages and high housing costs. Nearly all the cities expected demand for food and shelter to rise next year as well.

Requests for emergency housing, however, were up just 3 percent, the smallest increase in the survey's 13-year history. Of the homeless population, about 47 percent were single men, 36 percent families with children, 14 percent single women, and 4 percent minors, the survey found.

The study, based on self-reporting by the cities, which varied widely in detail, found that: emergency food assistance requests increased in 24 of the 29 cities; about one-fifth of emergency food help demands was estimated to have been unfulfilled, and 17 cities had increases in shelter requests, while the number of emergency shelter beds decreased an average of 3 percent in all of the cities.

Only Alexandria, Va., and Charlotte, N.C., reported that no food assistance request went unanswered. And Charleston, S.C., reported a 23 percent reduction in shelter demand by single adults, because the city said it provided "an array of services in an accessible location."

More common, however, were reports of fewer beds and tougher eligibility requirements.

"Admission criteria to emergency shelter has been tightened, and the word is out that emergency shelter is not an option that a needy person can depend on," St. Paul officials reported. "So many do not ask."

Other cities surveyed were Boston; Chicago; Cleveland; Denver; Detroit; Kansas City, Mo.; Los Angeles; Louisville, Ky.; Miami; Minneapolis; Nashville; New Orleans; Norfolk, Va.; Philadelphia; Phoenix; Portland, Ore.; Providence, R.I.; St. Louis; Salt Lake City; San Antonio; San Diego; San Francisco; Santa Monica, Calif.; Seattle, and Trenton.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

THE WASH

AROUND

12/15/97

Emergency Food, Shelter Demand Grows, Survey Says

Despite a surging economy and low unemployment, demand for emergency food and shelter continued to grow this year, the U.S. Conference of Mayors says.

A conference survey of 29 cities, to be released today, contains good and bad news on how the nation's poor are coping.

On the up side, requests for emergency housing are up just 3 percent—the smallest increase in the survey's 13-year history.

On the down side, requests for emergency food rose an average of 16 percent, the largest increase since 1992, the survey found. Among the reasons, officials said, are

low wages and high housing costs. Nearly all the cities expected demand for food and shelter to rise next year.

Alexandria was among the cities surveyed.

Soldier Killed While Helping at Crash

■ LOUISVILLE—A Fort Knox soldier, part of a group who stopped to help people injured in an early morning accident, was killed Saturday when a car police say was driven by a drunk driver plowed into the crash scene on Interstate 264.

The driver, who allegedly swerved at a high speed around a police cruiser and into the emergency lane, was charged with one count of murder. Christopher Love, 24, of New Albany, Ind., also was charged with

drunken driving license, two counts of assault and one count of

John Rickey, 2 the soldier who

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LI Restorations
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F. Gallagher
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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510
November 24, 1997

DEC - 2 1997

The Honorable Franklin Raines
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Executive Office Building
Washington, DC 20503

Dear Franklin:

As the first session of the 105th Congress draws to a close and as Congress and the Administration begin to focus on the federal budget for fiscal year 1999, we want to urge you to include funding for several important food stamp and child nutrition programs in the President's budget submission next February. We believe that these programs should be accorded a high priority by your agency and can be funded without increasing the federal budget deficit.

Hunger is a very real problem facing millions of adults and children in the United States every day. Poor nutrition not only stunts growth in our nation's children, but also causes detrimental effects on the cognitive development of children. As you know, the most recent data published by the Department of Agriculture revealed that 11 million people in the U.S. experience moderate or severe hunger each year, including more than 4 million children. The Federal Government has been working for many years to provide a safety net to help people who do not have enough to eat. For fiscal year 1998 alone, Congress has provided in excess of \$37 billion for the food stamp and other domestic nutrition programs.

A careful review of federal food and nutrition programs, as modified by the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, suggests that we should do more to protect some of the most vulnerable individuals in our society: children, the elderly and the disabled. Accordingly, we urge you to provide funding in the Administration's fiscal year 1999 budget in order to provide for the following vital food programs:

- **Food Stamps** – Provide Food Stamp benefits to elderly and child legal immigrants, to legal immigrants who become disabled after they enter the country, and to refugees and asylees who now qualify for Supplemental Security Income and Medicaid benefits under the Balanced Budget Act of 1997.
- **WIC Funding** – Provide adequate funding to allow full participation in the Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children. WIC has a proven track record in improving the nutrition and health of low income infants and children, and actually saving tax dollars in both the short and long term.
- **School Breakfast Program** – Restore outreach funding for start-up and expansion grants for school breakfast and summer meals programs. Children who do not receive an adequate breakfast at home should not have to wait until lunchtime to have their first meal of the day. Despite significant improvement in the availability of school breakfasts,

3731

The Honorable Franklin Raines

Page 2

many low income children still cannot obtain them. In 1997, fewer than half of the children receiving free or reduced price school lunches also participated in the school breakfast program.

- **Fourth Meal** -- Restore a fourth meal or snack to child care centers in the Child and Adult Care Food Program. Under current law centers are reimbursed for no more than three meals or snacks a day, regardless of how long children are in their care. Especially for young children and infants, payment for a fourth meal should be available for those in care over eight hours a day.
- **Summer Meals Program** -- The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act significantly reduced the per-meal reimbursement rate in the Summer Meals Program, which provides free, nutritious meals to more than 2.2 million children during the summer months, when school lunches and breakfasts are not available. The impact of the reduced reimbursement rate on participation in the Summer Meals Program should be carefully evaluated. The President's budget should include funding sufficient to ensure that the per-meal reimbursement rate is adequate to maintain participation and allow the program to reach more of the many low income children it does not presently serve.

We are convinced that in the totality of the federal budget, we can work together to prioritize our spending and provide adequate funding for these vital programs without increasing the federal budget deficit.

Sincerely,

Zorn Harkin *Harkin*

Allen Smith *Smith*

Robert C. Nicholas *Nicholas*

Jeffrey *Jeffrey*

Walter L. Gordon *Gordon*

Ron Wyden *Wyden*

Max Baucus

Frank R. Lautenberg

Paul Sarbanes

Jack Reed

Carl Levin

Herb Kohl

Paul V. Wellstone

Barbara Boxer

Ed Johnson

Kent Conrad

Chris Dodd

Patrick Leahy

John F. Kerry

Ed Kennedy

Dan Claitor

Chuck Robb

Dan Claitor

Byrd
Carl Levin

Max Cleland

Fritz Hollings

Barbara Dwyer

Al Rogers

Alfonse D'Amato

Patty Murray

Richard H. Bryan

Torricelli
Roth

Norm Feingold

Goldsmith
Carl Albert

Alaska
David L. Lake

Tom Harchuk
John Glenn

James Eastman

Harry Reid

John Breaux

The Honorable Franklin Raines
Page 5

Bob Crutcher

Susan Collins

Jon Rahyelle

Malinda ^{Invoye}
Olympe Snow

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To: ~~Betty Jenkins 720-2166~~ 375-3888
From: Pam Muha 224-9028

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~~/Snowe~~
~~/Rockefeller~~
~~/Feingold~~
~~/Cleland~~

NCLR

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Raul Yzaguirre, President

National Office
1111 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1000
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: (202) 785-1670
Fax: (202) 776-1792

December 2, 1997

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

CC Cynthia

F41

Diana

Dear Mr. President:

We, the undersigned ethnic, religious, immigration and nutrition organizations, are writing to you regarding our concern about the impact of the loss of food stamps for legal immigrants on our communities. The restoration of food stamps for legal immigrants, refugees, and asylees is our highest priority for inclusion in your FY 1999 budget.

Your leadership in restoring some of the benefits denied to legal immigrants by the welfare reform law through the Balanced Budget Act is greatly appreciated. As you know, food stamp assistance was not included in this restoration. The loss of this benefit program to the most vulnerable immigrants and refugees has already caused substantial hardship to those least able to cope.

Mr. President, there is strong support for food stamp assistance to this population. Nearly half of the Senate recently sent you a letter calling for restoration of food stamps for many legal immigrants and refugees. We ask you to support the inclusion of adequate funding in your budget to address this problem.

Yours Truly,

American Association of Jews from the
Former USSR
Bread for the World
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
Church World Service Immigration and
Refugee Program
Council of Jewish Federations
Ethiopian Community Development Council
Food Research and Action Center
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
Immigration and Refugee Services of
America

Jesuit Conference, Office of Social Ministry
Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland
Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs,
ELCA
National Council of La Raza
National Immigration Law Center
National Asian Pacific American Legal
Consortium
New York Association for New Americans
Southeast Asia Resource Action Center
UJA-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of
New York



Program Offices: Phoenix, Arizona • San Antonio, Texas • Los Angeles, California • Chicago, Illinois
LA RAZA: The Hispanic People of the New World



Catholic
Charities
USA

November 26, 1997

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you prepare your FY1999 budget, we ask that you include funding to restore food stamp benefits to legal immigrants. We appreciate your leadership in restoring SSI and Medicaid benefits to elderly and disabled legal immigrants as part of the balanced budget act. As you know, however, food stamp benefits were not restored.

We urge you now to include in your budget funding for food stamps for legal immigrants, especially those who struggle to support themselves on or near the minimum wage.

In two weeks Catholic Charities USA will hold our annual press conference to describe the challenges facing Catholic Charities agencies across the country. The most startling development that will be reported is the enormous increase in the need for emergency food and shelter services. Catholic Charities agencies served 7.9 million people who had no food, shelter, or needed other emergency assistance in 1996, an increase of nearly one million people in one year alone.

We are joining dozens of other nonprofit charitable organizations to ask for \$175 million for the Emergency Food and Shelter Program for FY1999. Catholic Charities agencies are forced to give out less food to people in need because demand is so high at many of our food pantries and soup kitchens. Some of our food pantries are empty for the first time in their history.

Regarding the USDA budget, our number one priority is restoration of food stamps for legal immigrants. Catholic Charities agencies across the country strongly support this restoration not only for refugees and asylees but also for elderly and disabled immigrants and those who are working at the minimum wage and still struggle with hunger.

Sincerely,

Rev. Fred Kammer, SJ
President

Episcopal Liaison
The Most Reverend
Joseph M. Sullivan, DD

Chair
Mr. Patrick J. Johnson, Jr.

Vice Chair
Ms. Beatriz Diaz Taveras

Secretary
Ms. Kathleen McGowan

Treasurer
Mr. Larry Blankinship, Jr.

President
Rev. Fred Kammer, SJ

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MONDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1997

Food banks' stock off, demand up

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

Donations are down, and demand is up at the nation's food banks this year, threatening their ability to help millions.

Second Harvest, a nonprofit charity that runs most of the nation's food banks, says demand has risen 15% in a year, while supplies are down 5% over two years.

The combination has caused some food pantries and soup kitchens to close, reduce their hours or ration supplies.

"Some of our food pantries are empty for the first time," says Lisa Carr of Catholic Charities USA.

The rising demand for food stems largely from cuts in the federal food stamp program. Last year's welfare reform law cut \$27 billion in projected spending over six years.

Nearly 500,000 able-bodied adults without children began losing food stamps in March. More than 900,000 legal immigrants who are not citizens lost food stamps in September.

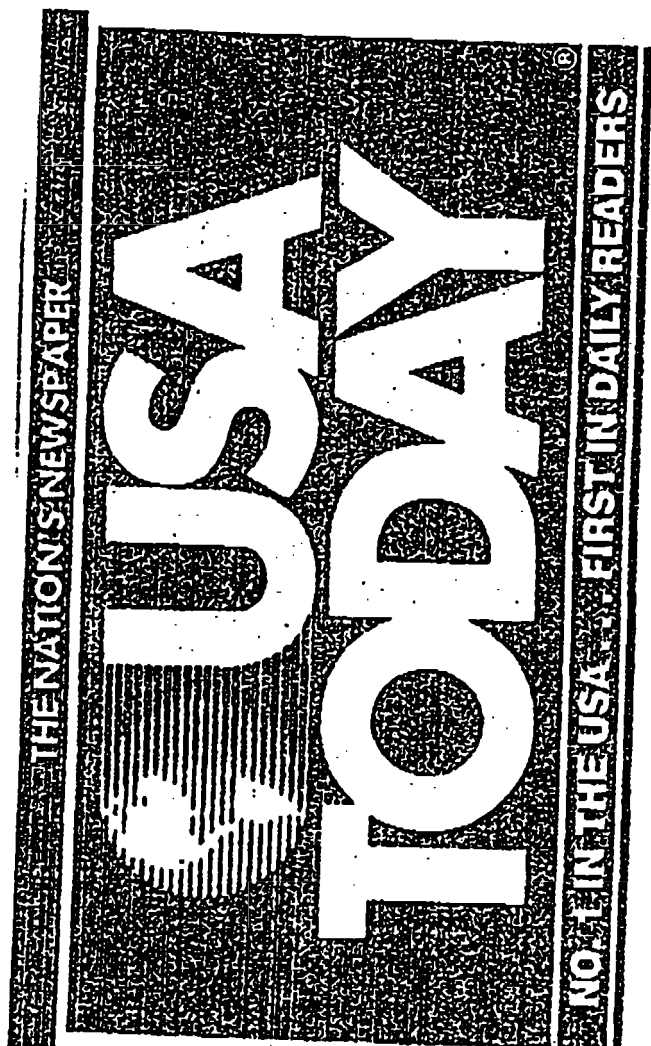
At the same time, donations to Second Harvest continue to drop. That's largely because technological advances in the food industry mean less waste.

"Food banking lives on the dark side of the food industry. We get the mistakes," says Tina Osso, director of Shared Harvest Foodbank in Fairfield, Ohio. "Unfortunately, they're making less of them."

Some food banks are battling back, replacing lost dry goods with fresh produce and fish, staging more food drives and gleaning unpicked crops.

"It's right out of the Old Testament," says Dave Krepcho of Daily Bread Food Bank in Miami. "We literally get hundreds of volunteers, go out into a cornfield, and pick fresh corn."

► Empty shelves, 3A



December 8, 1997

The Nation.

ARTICLES

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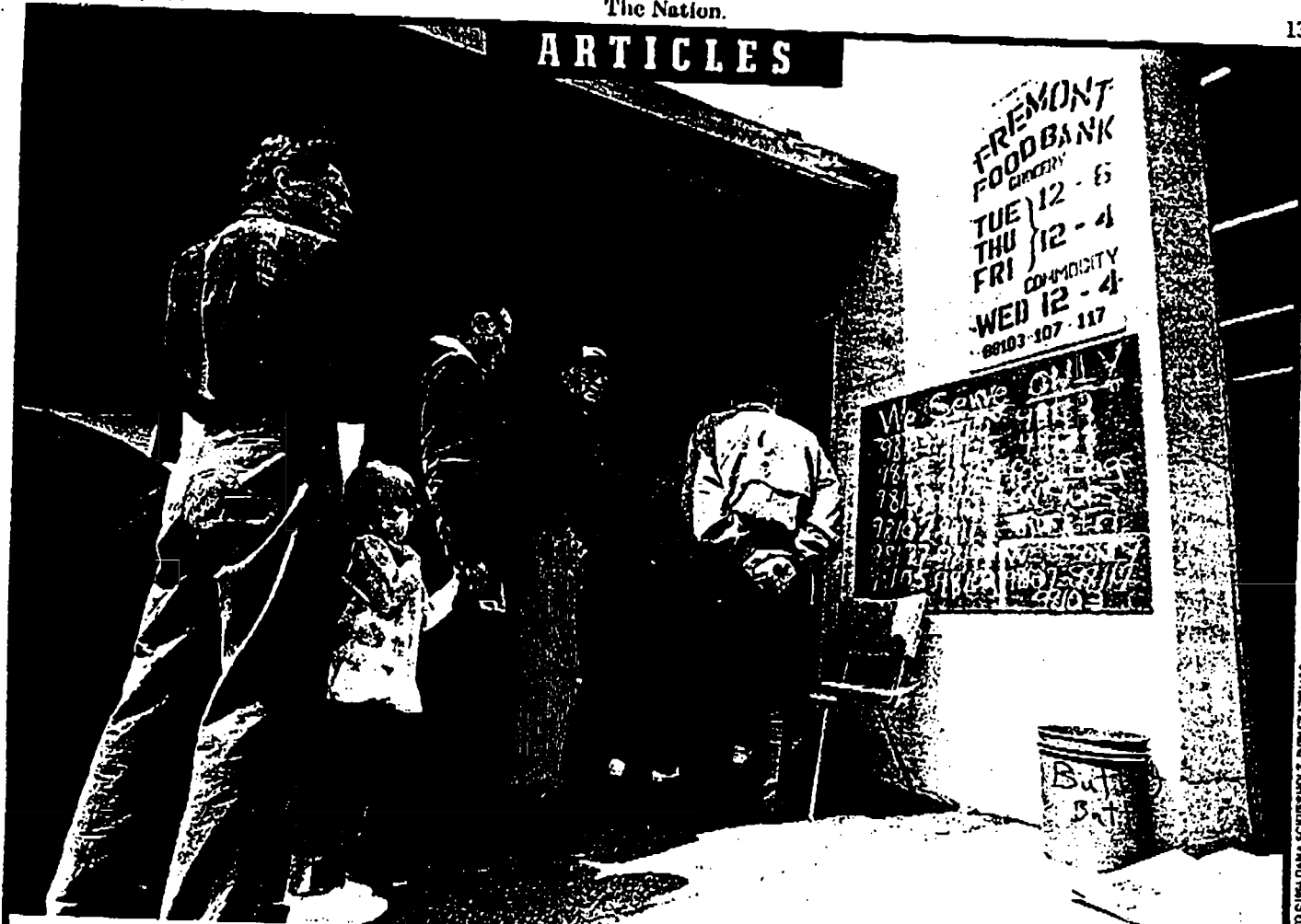


PHOTO © 1994 DANA SCHLESFELD, DOWNTOWN

HUNGER ON MAIN ST.

FOOD BANKS ARE STRAINING, BUT THE WORST IS YET TO COME ■ DAVID SARASOHN

WHEELER, OREGON

Every Tuesday, the line starts to form early. Even though nothing really happens until 1 o'clock, people are waiting by 12:30, or even before. In fall, when the wind and rain come whistling off the North Pacific into this coastal town, a trek up the hill to the basement of a defunct public hospital is nobody's idea of a day at the beach. But the people waiting know that the North County Food Bank, like a lot of emergency food distributors, sometimes runs out of things. If you've got kids, and you're hoping for the fullest box, it's worth showing up ahead of time.

People seem to feel that way especially toward the end of the month. On this Tuesday, a little before Thanksgiving, twenty-five people come into the privately supported food bank, which serves a few small towns in between coastal Oregon's tourist hot spots. Five of the food seekers have already been in earlier this month, meaning this time they don't qualify for the U.S.D.A. surplus tuna, pinto beans, applesauce and peanut butter in white cans reading "A gift of the people of the United States of America."

Fortunately for them, most of the food-bank stock consists of gifts from more specific groups of Americans. The food industry, from manufacturers to local groceries, provides the bulk of it: cans and produce that

are surplus or nearing their expiration date. Food drives bring in some more, some of it fairly idiosyncratic; tucked among the dozens of boxes of rice is someone's donation of a large can of boiled abalone. A local salmon hatchery donated this month's surplus fish, although the food bank did have to pay 50 cents a pound to get it cleaned and wrapped. And because this is Tillamook County, Oregon, there's a category of donors whose offerings might not appear in a New York soup kitchen: hunters. One volunteer explains, "We get quite a lot of ground bear and elk."

Food boxes built around ground bear, assembled in four spare rooms just up from Nehalem Bay, can seem a long way from the expense-account lunches of Capitol Hill. But the North County Food Bank is directly connected to Washington, D.C., which is responsible not only for U.S.D.A. applesauce but also for legislation approved in 1996

that narrows and slices the food stamp program, sending steadily more people on their Tuesday trek up the Oregon hill. The program was created

in the sixties to cover all those below a certain income level, including welfare recipients and the working poor. This year, as the changes went into effect, most legal immigrants who hadn't become citizens were disqualified, and childless unemployed adults were limited to one three-month stay in three years.

The impact is felt among the tuna cans. "Last month, we suddenly had a ton of young singles," says one volunteer. "I thought we were seeing the tip of the iceberg headed toward our Titanic." In Portland, especially in single-room-occupancy hotel territory, the number of singles coming to food banks has recently jumped by as much as 50 percent. Maybe they're not all driven by the food stamp cuts, but chances are they're not sent there by a restaurant critic.

To find out what they will get today, clients of the North County Food Bank start out talking to a volunteer, who runs down the list of this week's stocks. The clients' responses tend to be brief. The men seem matter-of-fact, the women more abashed, carefully polite, trying to please. But what the interviewer sees isn't the whole picture, or the whole family. "The first time, the father rarely comes in," says Jerry Tippens, a retired newspaperman who spends one Tuesday a month packing food boxes here and much of the rest of the week serving as chairman of the board of the statewide Oregon Food Bank, which supplies hundreds of outlets like this. "It's the male ego; he'll send the mother in. One thing I've learned is not to help a woman carry the food to the car—her husband might be hiding there."

People coming in for emergency food don't turn down much, although one declines frozen vegetables because she doesn't have a freezer, and another remarks bleakly that he already has quite a few cans of pinto beans. Several greet one particular offering as an old friend. "Top Ramen?" one exclaims, almost fondly. "We've been living on Top Ramen."

It seems she's not alone. Rachel Bristol, executive director of the Oregon Food Bank, tells of a young mother explaining that her family had been eating mostly Top Ramen noodles for about

a month. "Maybe that's how we should mark the impact of fare reform," says Bristol, "tracking the sales of Top Ramen."

The Top Ramen index, it seems, would cover a lot of po the Dow Jones seems to miss. And just like the pork belly in it would be monitored in Chicago, in this case by Second Harvest, a national umbrella organization for thousands of food banks soup kitchens across the country. The Wheeler operation may resemble the urban centers that Second Harvest president C.E.O. Christine Vladimiroff sees close up, but nothing about would surprise her. "Poverty," she says, "is increasing at a far rate outside the metropolitan areas."

In Oregon, emergency food demands run just as high the rural areas—including the cowboy counties east of Cascade Mountains—as in Portland. And lately, the cutoff

The people coming in for emergency food don't turn down much, though one declines frozen vegetables because she doesn't have a freezer.

by the food stamp program. Migrant workers who are legal alien are disqualified from federal food help even though they've been paying taxes to maintain it—not to mention harvesting much of it.

Some states with high immigrant populations, such as California, Texas and Florida, have moved state funds into the gap. Oregon, like most states, has done little. That's not an immediate problem here in Wheeler, where this Tuesday's clientele come entirely from the group most ignored in discussions of poverty—poor whites. (Last Tuesday, a volunteer remembers, the group did include three Native Americans.) But a rising burden on the Oregon program anywhere tends to ripple across the state, and according to Bristol, emergency food demand is up 17 percent over last year in some of the major farming counties.

And, like immigrants themselves, the new hunger finds its way to the cities, like Portland. Immigrant-serving agencies in the metropolitan area say they've been "inundated with calls and food is high on the list," says Bristol. "We can't provide a nutritionally balanced program, but we can give them a little something once a month." To do even that requires a major, long-range food-bank effort. And as Franklin D. Roosevelt's aide Harry Hopkins once pointed out during the Depression, people don't eat in the long run; they eat every day.

Or they don't.

In October the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy at Tufts University, after a new analysis of federal data, concluded that 12 percent of U.S. households are "food insecure," which can mean anything from missing the last few meals to not quite knowing where to find the next one. The study paralleled a September report from the Department of Agriculture declaring that 11 million Americans—including 4 million children—live in households categorized as moderately or severely hungry.

But even this situation, the center reported, may one day be regarded as the good old days. Congress's food stamp overhaul includes a six-year total cut of \$28 billion, or about 24 billion pounds of food at 1997 prices. Cuts of that size—and Congress managed to find most of its broadly defined welfare "savings" in the food

stamp system—could not be squeezed out of just legal immigrants and childless unemployed adults. It also meant slicing the food stamp allotments of most other recipients. In the early nineties, Congress passed the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act, named after the Houston Congressman who died in a plane crash while investigating Ethiopian famine; the bill raised food stamp allotments by changing calculations on such things as how much a family was expected to spend on housing. The 1996 Congress cut all that back, a change that affected both welfare recipients and the working poor who depend on food stamps to survive.

The last time Second Harvest did a survey—in 1992-93, when 26 million people made emergency requests to its affiliates—one-third of the applicants had someone in the household working. On this Tuesday in Wheeler, the percentage seems at least that high, although the incomes written on the forms are so low that you think a digit has been mistakenly left out. Before counting food stamps, monthly family incomes are listed as \$800, \$600 or even \$400; adding food stamps, the number isn't much higher.

Already, reports the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy, 12 percent of U.S. families are 'food insecure.' Just wait.

We are especially concerned about the working poor in states like Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico and Oklahoma," said one of the Tufts researchers, "and poor legal immigrants in states like California, Texas, New York, Washington, Oregon and Florida." Bristol, of course, agrees about Oregon. She also points out that the popular G.O.P. vision of smart, sensitive, warmhearted private charity stepping in to make up for wasteful, inefficient, bureaucratic federal efforts is flawed. The federal cuts will mean 40 million fewer pounds of food, paid for through food stamps, in Oregon this coming year, with great effort, the Oregon Food Bank now collects and distributes more than 20 million pounds a year.

The food-bank system, after all, is supposed to help people who have somehow slipped through the safety net. It's not supposed to replace it. But for more and more people, it may be the only safety net left—and it may be fraying just like the original government one.

One big reason is that a system based heavily on corporate overestimates of consumer demand is being hit by its most dangerous threat: corporate efficiency. "We are finding that on the supply side we are flat, or down, rather than getting more," says Vladimiroff, the head of Second Harvest. "We feel a reflection of trends in the industry, such as just-in-time management. I think there's a certain anxiety out there among food banks." Anxiety may be too mild a word, as food banks all over the country are facing heavier withdrawals and slimmer deposits. Lisa Carr of Catholic Charities USA recently told *USA Today* that "some of our food pantries are empty for the first time," and food banks surveyed by the newspaper all over the country feel the squeeze.

Even the government is noticing—or at least parts of the government. In November, Representative Tony Hall of Ohio wrote Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman "to express my serious concern over whether, in the wake of [nutrition] cuts, the nation's emergency food banks can handle the growing demands they now face." Hall reported, "During a recent visit to

the main local food bank in Dayton, I was shocked at the diminished quantity and quality of foods in stock compared with situation only a year ago."

Hall, the former chairman of the Congressional Hunger Caucus—until the group was abolished after the Republican takeover of the House by the somewhat larger fat-cat caucus—is a member quirky enough to care about hunger, someone who pursues it into Capitol Hill soup kitchens and Ethiopia. This year, his idea of an overseas junket was to go to North Korea to see if its famine was as bad as reported. It was.

In Newt Gingrich's House, someone who keeps talking about hunger is like someone who goes into a fraternity party and tries

to recruit volunteer tutors. But the proposed Hunger Relief Act, which would roll back some of the recent nutritional hacking, now has 13 co-sponsors, with a sprinkling of Republicans—including conservative powerhouse Henry Hyde of Illinois, chairman of the Judiciary Committee and creator of the antiabortion Hyde amendment.

In late October, eighty-eight of the co-sponsors wrote President Clinton, urging that in designing the fiscal 1999 budget he "include funding necessary to secure the nutritional well-being of children, the elderly, the disabled, and adults willing to work but unable to find a job." Specifically, they called for restoring food stamp benefits to legal immigrants, making sure that adults unable to find a job don't get cut off and providing enough money for child nutrition programs, such as school lunches, that come up for reauthorization next year.

Coincidentally, members of Congress are starting to think about the budget surplus expected to show up any year now. There would be a certain symmetry if some of it went to the people who've already given up the most. But Hall isn't counting on his colleagues' seeing a link between the budget surplus and the food deficit. "I don't think they've made the connection yet," he says. "Because you've got such a strong economy, hardly anybody is focusing on hunger except the hungry people." Only very recently, he says, are some legislators beginning to notice some stomach rumblings from their districts. And the Administration? "No," Hall says flatly. "I don't see it on their list. This issue is not a priority."

But before next Thanksgiving, developments could make food as inescapable an issue in Washington as coffee. As much as welfare reform has strained the food-bank system so far, the biggest impact is still to come. Sometime next year, a wave of two-year cutoffs of welfare families will begin to hit in some states, after that, the wave will roll across the country. Like all of the previous, smaller waves, it will break against the food banks, against the Top Ramen and cans of U.S.D.A. surplus tuna. Vladimiroff reports that in states like Wisconsin and Michigan, which pride themselves on having gotten out in front of the federal government with their welfare reform, emergency food demand in some places is already up by 14-20 percent. "We need to take time to reflect, to watch results," she says. "Are children being put at risk because families are cut off? It's inexcusable that there's chronic malnutrition in our children, that children

arrive at first grade with one hand tied behind their backs."

At the North County Food Bank, the twenty-five people who show up for help on the Tuesday in November represent families that include thirty children. There's little food intended particularly for them, and a very slim shelf of baby food. But the food drives among the local residents and grocery owners usually bring in some things that the volunteers classify as treats—small items to tuck into a box of staples and make it look a little more like a regular supermarket shopping load. Today, it's individual

packets of cocoa mix, and although they could fit into any box the volunteers tend to slip them between the pasta and baked beans in boxes going to families with children.

Apart from Congressionally mandated limits on U.S.D.A. food there are no hard-and-fast rules on how to fill the boxes. "If there are three children in a family, throw in six of the cocoa packets," a veteran volunteer advises a newcomer. "Use your judgment." A Congress unleashes a wave of hunger against a food-bank system never intended to handle it, it's nice that somebody does.

CAN A HANDFUL OF THE HILL'S BACKBENCHERS AND THEIR MEDIA ALLIES PLAY THIS SILLY CARD?

The Impeachment Craze

BY JOE CONASON

On the night of October 21, more than a dozen members of Washington's conservative elite met at La Brasserie, an old French restaurant on Capitol Hill. Their host was R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., the author, columnist and bon vivant editor of *The American Spectator*. Dubbed "the Saturday Evening Club," these monthly dinners (often on Tuesdays) feature a standard menu of policy and politics, but on this particular evening the main course was unusually heavy: a proposal to impeach the President.

Present to explain the constitutional intricacies of removing Bill Clinton from office was Georgia Representative Bob Barr, a militant of the 1994 Republican revolution who had first raised the subject in March, when almost nobody would listen. Since then, however, he has been encouraged by support from the grassroots and, lately, by his heroic role in Tyrrell's forthcoming speculative novel, *The Impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton*.

As Barr explained his carefully researched scheme for bringing impeachment to the floor of the House, he was basking in the attention of some of the most powerful voices of Beltway conservatism, including Wesley Pruden, the editor of *The Washington Times*; John Fund of *The Wall Street Journal's* editorial page; Grover Norquist, the capital's leading conservative activist and a close confidant of House Speaker Newt Gingrich; Mark Levin, president of the Landmark Legal Foundation; and David Brock, a journalist known for his book-length assault on Anita Hill and his *Spectator* exposé of "Troopergate," in which Arkansas state police allegedly aided in Governor Clinton's sexual liaisons. No matter how unlikely the prospect of impeaching Clinton might seem, Barr is no longer being dismissed as a noisy eccentric from the political fringe.

Indeed, he was treated quite seriously that October evening, and why not? Impeachment has grown in the past few weeks from a curiosity on right wing talk-radio and Web sites to a topic on the editorial pages of *The Wall Street Journal*, *The*



Washington Post and *Investor's Business Daily*. While several of Tyrrell's guests that evening expressed skepticism about Barr's plan, others forcefully supported his argument that impeachment proceedings were a constitutional duty and would be a devastating blow to Clinton. Among the intrigued was the *Journal's* Fund, whose paper had published a stentorian essay on October 10, with the stark headline "Impeach," by novelist and former Bob Dole speechwriter Mark Helprin.

If Congress were to begin proceedings against Clinton, and Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth Starr were finally to issue a new round of indictments, then, Fund predicted, a bored public would awaken and the President's persistently high approval ratings would sink. Two weeks later, on November 5, Barr was joined by a score of co-sponsors as he introduced a resolution demanding an "inquiry of impeachment" on the House floor. House Resolution 304 was referred to the Rules Committee, which plans to hold "preliminary" hearings on impeachment during the current recess or soon after Congress returns in January.

For anyone who has wondered how Starr will extricate himself from the Whitewater morass he seemed so desperate to escape last winter—when he suddenly resigned as independent counsel to become dean of Pepperdine Law School and then rescinded his resignation, all within a few days' time—impeachment might at first seem an implausible exit strategy. But having repeatedly raised and then dashed the hopes of his conservative supporters for the imminent destruction of Clinton's presidency, Starr may be well served by an official impeachment inquiry. If, as many observers believe, Starr is unable to make a convincing criminal case against Clinton despite his \$30 million, three-year investigation, he may save significant face by leaving any legal action against his ultimate target in the hands of Congress. And in fact, Starr has close personal connections with those who have been preparing the way for an impeachment bid.

In the angriest precincts of the right, of course, where Bill Clinton's electoral victories have never been accepted as entirely legitimate, impeachment has been a favorite theme for years.

Joe Conason is political editor of *The New York Observer*, where he writes a weekly column.

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

October 27, 1997

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

We the undersigned co-sponsors of H.R. 1507, the Hunger Has a Cure Act of 1997, ask that as you formulate the Fiscal Year 1999 budget, you include funding necessary to secure the nutritional well-being of children, the elderly, the disabled, and adults willing to work but unable to find a job. It is especially critical that you include adequate funding to restore food stamp benefits to vulnerable groups of legal immigrants facing undue hardship as a result of recent food stamp cut-offs. Specifically, we urge you to give priority to the following areas:

1) Restoration of Food Stamp Benefits to Vulnerable Legal Immigrants: As of this month, hundreds of thousands of legal immigrants living well below the poverty line have been cut off of food stamps, many of them working poor as well as children, elderly, and disabled persons. State response to their plight appears to be uneven at best. Just as restoration of SSI benefits to some legal immigrants was the right thing to do, protecting millions of families from hunger by restoring food stamp benefits should be a priority. We urge you to provide funding to restore food stamp benefits to these vulnerable populations.

2) Providing adequate Funding for Child Nutrition Programs: The Summer Food, School Breakfast, and Child and Adult Care Feeding Programs are vital to ensuring adequate, nutritious diets to low-income children. Often, these programs provide poor children with a significant percentage of their daily nutrition. The loss of start-up funds and cuts in reimbursement rates is weakening the ability of these programs to meet the needs of children at risk of undernutrition. We urge you to provide sufficient funding for these vital programs, specifically: to restore start-up monies for school breakfast and summer food programs; to enhance meal reimbursement rates for the summer food and child and adult care programs; and to reinstate coverage for provision of fourth meals to children who spend long hours in day care centers. We also urge you to support adequate funding for the WIC and TEFAP programs.

3) Ensuring That No Person Who Is Willing to Work Is Cut Off Food Stamps: We appreciate your efforts in the Budget Reconciliation Act of 1997 to address unfair cut-offs of food stamp recipients who are looking for work but unable to find a job or a work program slot. Funding for additional work slots and exemptions provides some positive relief in this area. We urge your continued leadership to maintain adequate funding for the food stamp program in the FY 1999 budget, and further ask that you revisit elimination of the cap on the food stamp shelter deduction and increases in the food stamp vehicle allowance.

New numbers released on September 15th by the Department of Agriculture indicate that 11 million people in the United States, including over 4 million children, experience moderate or severe hunger. In a nation as rich as ours, that is simply unacceptable. Our Hunger Has a Cure Act of 1997 attempts to protect children, the elderly, and other vulnerable populations from facing the harsh realities of hunger. Private charities are doing much to fight hunger, but their important efforts alone cannot take the place of an adequate and effective federal safety net. We appreciate your attention to these most important matters.

Sincerely,

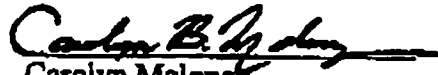

 James P. Walsh

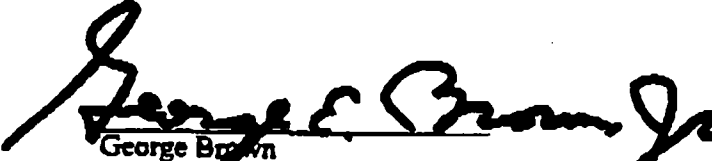

 Tony P. Hall


 Marge Royclma

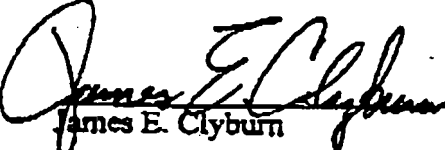

 Eva Clayton


 Maxine Waters


 Carolyn Maloney


 George Brown


 Lucille Roybal-Allard

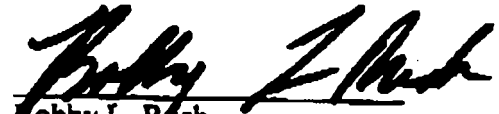

 James E. Clyburn

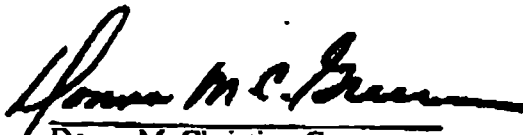

 Maurice Hinchey


John W. Olver


Barney Frank

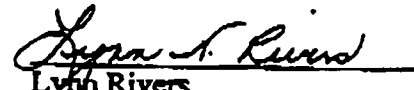

Dale E. Kildee


Bobby L. Rush


Donna M. Christian-Green


Michael R. McNulty

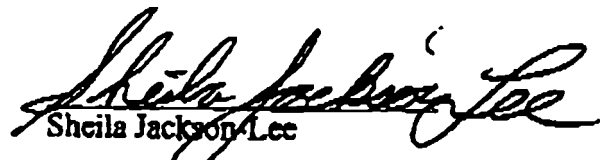

Bob Clement

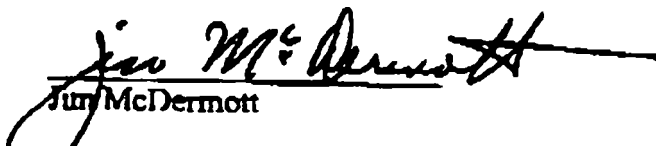

Lynn Rivers

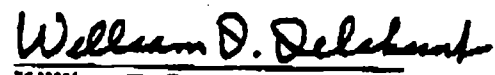

Tom Lantos

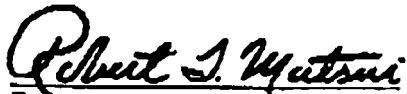

Neil Abercrombie


John Conyers

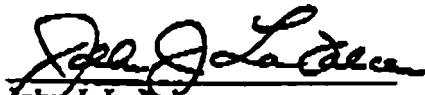

Sheila Jackson Lee

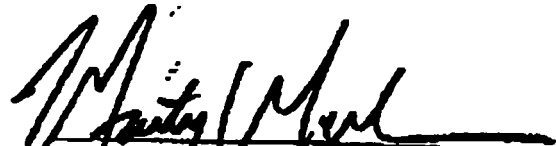

Jim McDermott


William D. Delahunt

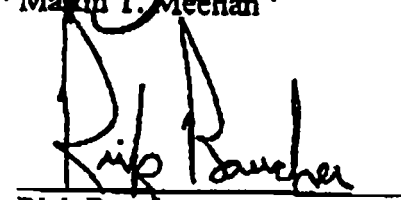

Robert T. Matsui

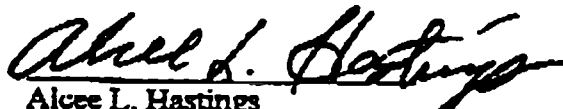

Carolyn C. Kilpatrick

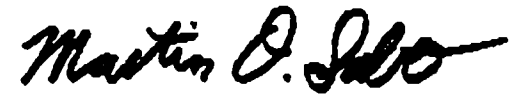

John J. LaFalce

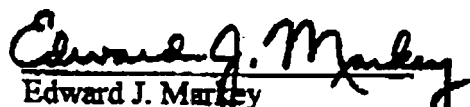

Martin T. Meehan


Bernard Sanders


Rick Boucher


Alcee L. Hastings


Martin Olav Sabo


Edward J. Markey


Nancy L. Johnson

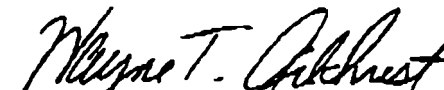

Bill Pascrell, Jr.


Thomas C. Sawyer


Jerry F. Costello

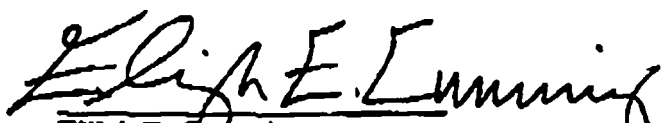

Ronald V. Dellums

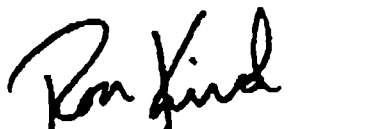

Jack Quinn

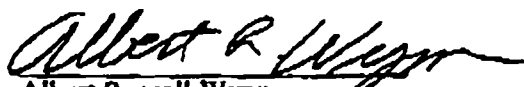

Wayne T. Gilchrist

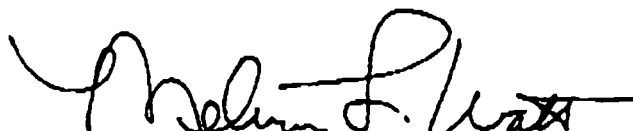

Ted Strickland


Lane Evans


Elijah E. Cummings


Ron Kind

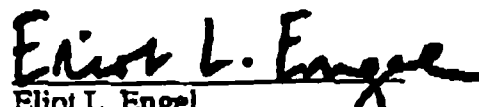

Albert Russell Wynn

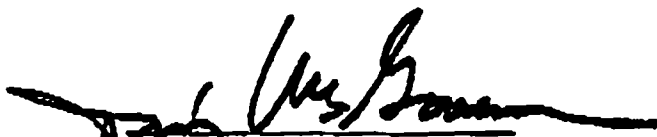

Melvin L. Watt

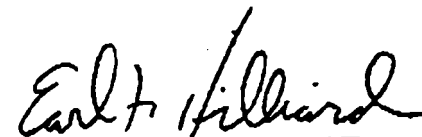

Cynthia A. McKinney


Martin Frost


Bob Filner


Eliot L. Engel


James P. McGovern


Earl F. Hilliard



David E. Price



David E. Bonior



Matthew G. Martinez



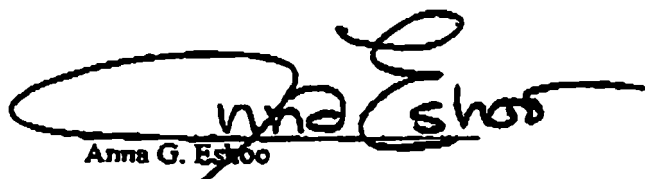
Henry A. Waxman



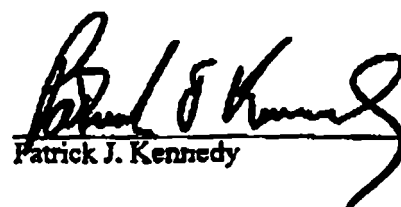
Karen McCarthy



Esteban Edward Torres



Anna G. Eskoo



Patrick J. Kennedy



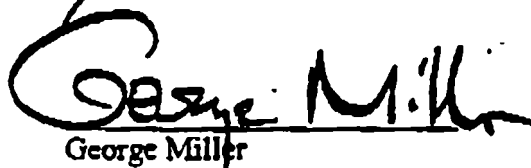
Walter H. Capps



Louis Stokes

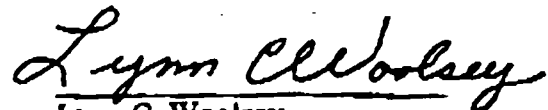


Frank R. Wolf

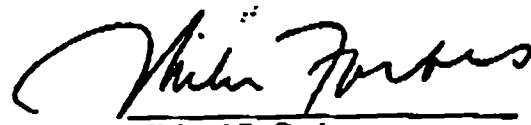


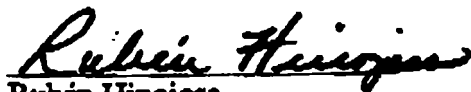
George Miller


Richard E. Neal

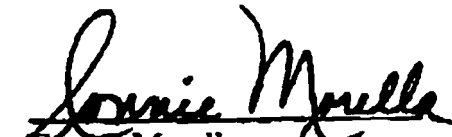

Lynn C. Woolsey

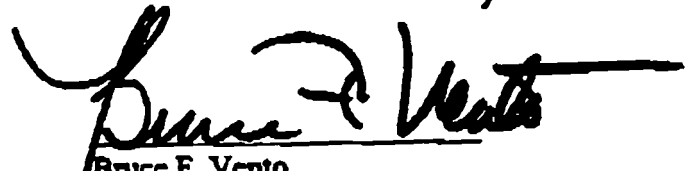

Gene Green

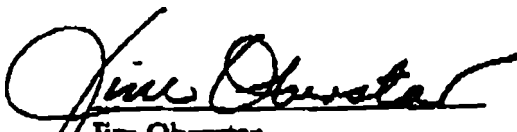

Michael P. Forbes


Rubén Hinojosa

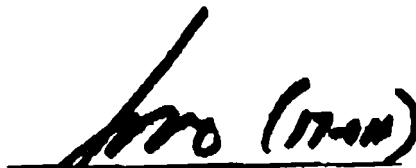

Barbara B. Kennelly


Connie Morella

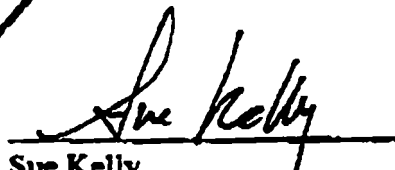

Bruce F. Vento

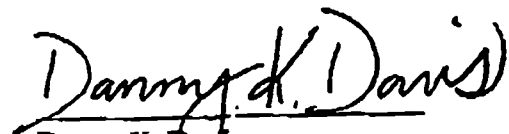

Jim Oberstar


Luis V. Gutierrez

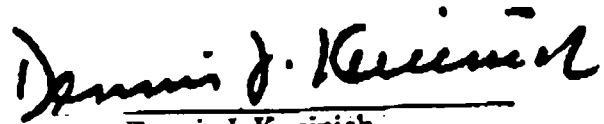

James A. Traficant, Jr.

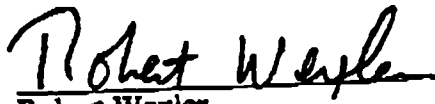

William J. Coyne


Sue Kelly


Danny K. Davis

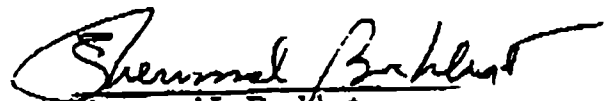

Jesse L. Jackson, Jr.

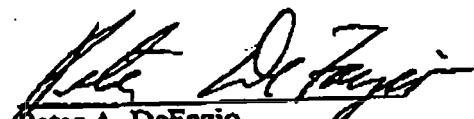

Dennis J. Kucinich


Robert Wexler


Gary L. Ackerman


Nancy Pelosi


Sherwood L. Boehlert


Peter A. DeFazio


Karen Thurman


Ed Pastor


John Lewis