

## Gramm claims he has votes to change Dole bill

By JIM ABRAMS

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Texas conservative Sen. Phil Gramm says he has the votes to impose tougher work requirements on a Republican welfare reform bill the Senate takes up this week.

Gramm said Sunday on CBS' "Face the Nation" that he also expected a close vote on his effort to cut off welfare benefits to single mothers who have more children.

The main Republican bill, introduced by Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., Gramm's rival for the GOP presidential nomination, faces challenges both from Democrats who say it penalizes the poor and conservatives who claim it lacks the teeth to get people off the welfare rolls.

The Dole plan, supported by 32 of 54 Republican senators, aims to curb welfare spending by \$70 billion over seven years by imposing a five-year lifetime limit on benefits, requiring teen-age mothers on welfare to live at home, and turning over welfare pro-

grams to the states in the form of block grants.

"The Dole bill, as written, is not going to change" the trend where one out of three children is born out of wedlock, Gramm said. "It is suicidal for society to simply say, 'If you will have another child we will give you more money,'" he said, referring also to Democratic plans for less drastic sanctions against single mothers.

Dole's plan, introduced last Friday, would let states decide whether to support young mothers and their children.

The White House today said Dole's bill doesn't do enough to make sure welfare recipients find work.

"What Senator Dole does is a phantom transition of responsibilities to the states," press secretary Mike McCurry said. "By cutting funding he does absolutely nothing to ensure the welfare population will successfully move to work."

Gramm said he would oppose work requirements outlined in the Dole bill, "because it has no enforcement

mechanism that actually takes the money away if people won't work. ... I think we'll win on that."

Gramm, who has made welfare reform a key issue in his uphill battle to catch Dole in the presidential nomination race, said he would also push for stronger language to bar welfare payments to immigrants, and to make deeper inroads in revising federal programs for the poor.

He claimed the Dole bill only reforms 12 percent of means-tested federal programs and has lots of strings attached "to protect special interests, but not to help the people." He said, for example, that Texas would not be able to use welfare recipients to wash the windows of buildings if that meant displacing state workers.

"We can't fool around with marginal changes. We are either going to dramatically change welfare and break this cycle or we are going to end up losing America as we know it," Gramm said.

Senate Democrats unveiled their

own welfare reform plan last week. It emphasizes moving people from welfare to the workplace but also offers safety nets for child care.

The White House says that while Republicans are involved in an ideological debate on welfare, it is focused on getting more people into the work place, and the Dole bill falls short in meeting the test of putting people to work.

"I agree it is a crisis," Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, the Democrats' leading expert on welfare reform, said on CBS. "But I say it is a crisis that requires intense effort with the children now coming into the system. It won't happen if the federal government walks away from the problem."

The Senate is expected to spend most of the week, before its scheduled departure for its August recess, on the welfare issue. The House passed a welfare bill last March reflecting many of Gramm's tougher provisions on out-of-wedlock births.

## Dole's run puts Kansas in spotlight

By Julie Wright

The Wichita Eagle

If it seems like the elections of 1994 just ended and it's way too soon to think about the elections of 1996, brace yourself.

Sixteen months before the election, the next presidential race has begun in Kansas.

As the home of U.S. Sen. Bob Dole, the apparent front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination, Kansas gets less of a break between election cycles than other states this time around.

On Saturday, Dole supporters will pay \$1,000 a person to attend a fund-raising reception at the Marriott in Wichita. Forty-three of the city's biggest hitters — leaders in aviation, manufacturing and banking — will sponsor the event.

On Aug. 19, Dole supporters will pile into buses in Wichita, Russell, Topeka and Johnson County for a trip to Ames, Iowa, site of a straw poll designed to raise money for the Iowa GOP and to demonstrate the relative support for each of the Republican candidates.

Every four years, the most enthusiastic political activists from across the country descend on Iowa, the state with the first caucuses, to campaign for their candidates. A good showing in Iowa is considered important to build momentum for later caucuses and primaries.

Everyone who attends the Ames gathering and pays \$25 will get to cast a "vote" for the GOP presidential candidate of his or her choice.

The point of sending rank-and-file Republicans from Kansas to Iowa, said longtime GOP leader George Parsons, is to raise Dole's visibility.

"It's very important that Senator Dole do very good and show that he has a good organization built," Parsons said.

Jack Ranson, Kansas Republican National Committeeman, said Dole supporters made a similar trip in 1988. Ranson considers the effort an important indication to



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Iowans of Dole's home state popularity. And, he said, it makes Dole feel good.

"Bob likes to get back to Kansas, and he likes to see Kansans," Ranson said.

So far, Parsons has 38 travelers penciled in for a 47-seat bus that will leave Wichita at 6:30 a.m. on the 19th. Just so the trip doesn't get dull, organizers have asked riders to bring guitars, banjos and fiddles.

Dole's Washington campaign office was unable to answer questions Monday about how many are expected at the Saturday reception, but its sponsor list reads like a who's-who in Wichita business: former chairman of Fourth Financial Corp. Jordan Haines; Cessna chairman and chief executive officer Russ Meyer; Learjet president Brian Barents; Lone Star Steakhouse & Saloon founder Jamie Coulter; developer Jack DeBoer; Rent-A-Center chief Bud Gates; Boeing Wichita vice president and general manager Dan Heidt; industrialist Charles Koch; oil man and developer Don Slawson; Raytheon chairman Art Wegner; and Realtor Nestor Wegand Jr.

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## Dole: Welfare is state's job

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Declaring that the welfare system has failed both taxpayers and the poor, Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole launched the Republican drive Monday for an unprecedented turnover of welfare responsibilities to the states.

"There are a lot of people out there with no hope, and that's what this debate is all about. How do we change the system," he said.

At the same time, Dole moved to appease his conserva-

tive critics, by cracking down on welfare recipients who refuse to show up for work. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that he may not have the votes to push his bill through the Senate.

"I can't stand up and say this is going to pass," he said.

Dole has kept the Senate in session this week in hopes of passing legislation that dismantles six decades of federal welfare policies, fundamentally changing the way government supports millions of poor women and their children.

The House, which passed its

version of welfare reform in March, began its summer recess Friday. Senators faced the prospect of remaining in session through Saturday as they wrestle with the emotionally laden issues of teen-age mothers, out-of-wedlock births, and immigrants on welfare.

In an early concession to conservatives, Dole agreed to require reductions in the benefits of welfare recipients who refuse to work.

Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, one of Dole's rivals for the GOP presidential nomination, said

that Dole was tacking in the right direction but that many other contentious issues must still be resolved before he considers the bill acceptable.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., said Monday that he, too, had problems with Dole's bill, but expected it would be improved when House and Senate negotiators met to reconcile the two chambers' bills.

"I think that if we can get a fairly good bill out of the Senate, we can strengthen it in conference and pass a pretty strong bill sometime this fall," Gingrich

told NBC's "Today" show.

At the same time, GOP moderates, Democrats and the Clinton administration have criticized the legislation for failing to pump enough money into child care for welfare families who will be required to work.

A plan promoted by Senate Democrats would cut off benefits after five years, like the GOP plan. But it would save less and funnel money directly into child care and job training programs.

## GOP postpones push to revamp welfare

### Dole's bill faces much criticism

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Senate Republicans, caught in a crossfire of conservative criticism and Democratic opposition, on Tuesday postponed until next month their drive to dismantle the federal welfare system.

Some Republicans blamed Democrats for the delay, but Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., said only that there was "no way we could do it. Too many amendments, too many people hadn't been heard."

Dole had kept the Senate in session this week, as the House began

its summer recess, in the hopes of pushing through his plan to overhaul the nation's welfare system and put the states in charge of dozens of welfare, job training and child-care programs.

But his bill, introduced late last week, quickly ran into criticism from some conservatives who said it did little to discourage out-of-wedlock births, and from GOP moderates who worried that it failed to pump enough money into child care for women who would be required to work.

Democrats, united behind their own welfare overhaul legislation, had kept up a drumbeat of attacks on the GOP's bill.

They asserted that it punished children, replaced job training programs for middle-class workers with make-work programs for welfare recipients, and cut spending on the nation's social programs far too deeply.

Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., said he agreed with Dole's decision to postpone the debate.

"The reasons why make sense," Daschle said. "The next three weeks could be the most meaningful in terms of asking people outside Washington what they think. Having their input, review, ideas will even better prepare us to come back and conclude the work on this very important piece of legislation in September."

In a statement, President Clinton called on lawmakers to "put partisanship and politics aside and to get the job done."

"The American people deserve real welfare reform and have been kept waiting long enough. We need a bipartisan bill that ends welfare and replaces it with work," he said.

Both Dole and Daschle said negotiations over the legislation would continue. Dole promised to

reach out to GOP critics, and that by Friday, when the Senate begins its summer recess, "we would be hopefully, very, very close to having every Republican on board."

Dole's bill has the backing of 33 of the Senate's 54 Republicans.

One of his chief critics has been Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, who is also one of Dole's rivals for the GOP nomination for president.

Gramm said Dole has asked to meet with him, to "see if we can work out provisions that would strengthen the bill on dealing with illegitimacy and ending the economic incentives for people on welfare to have more and more children."

He said he and Dole would also attempt to work out an agreement "on denying welfare to people who come to America with their hand out instead of their sleeves rolled up, coming to get welfare instead of working."

### Senate debates politics of welfare reform with an eye toward '96 election

## Compassion vs. 'tough love' for poor

By Vanessa Gallman

Eagle Washington bureau

WASHINGTON — The Senate started what is expected to be a tumultuous debate on welfare revision Monday, with Democrats challenging Republicans and Republicans challenging each other on the best way to move the country's poor toward self-sufficiency.

Yet, in ways that directly affect the lives of welfare recipients, much of the argument is already over. Major proposals before the Senate, like the House-passed bill, agree on requiring work, setting time limits on welfare and restricting who can receive benefits. And the lack of a veto threat from President Clinton on these measures means that the changes are virtually certain to occur.

Still, it will be a volatile week as the sena-



### DOLE'S ROLE

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole is seeking bipartisan support in pushing to get his welfare reform bill approved by the Senate this week. The House, which adjourned Friday for a monthlong recess, passed its comprehensive welfare bill in March.

The '96 race:

Dole campaign heating up in Kansas, Page 1D

tors stake out political positions against the backdrop of next year's presidential campaign and look for ways to make a flawed welfare system work.

In Monday's opening salvos, some members pleaded for compassion for the poor; others called for a "tough love" approach to pushing them toward self-sufficiency.

"As people have turned more and more to the government, they have by their very nature turned away from self-reliance, family and faith," said Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, a presidential candidate.

Sen. Paul Wellstone, D-Minn., countered: "The argument that welfare causes poverty is tantamount to arguing that Social Security

causes people to get old."

Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole said he hopes for a welfare bill this week. He needs bipartisan support — including disgruntled conservatives — to pass a GOP bill that would allow states to design their own welfare programs, while reducing projected spending by \$70 billion over seven years.

"This debate is not about presidential politics. It's not about the party that has the biggest heart," said Dole, R-Kan., also a presidential candidate. "We all know the system has failed the American taxpayer and the Americans we tried to serve. There are a lot of people out there with no hope."

When the arguments are over, any Senate

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bill is likely to include:

■ State flexibility. The GOP bill would send states a limited amount of welfare money, or block grants, and generally let states decide who gets what benefits. The Democrats' bill maintains the federal guarantee to provide aid to all in need but allows states to have a lot more flexibility.

Clinton has only threatened a veto over any decision to put money for food stamps in a limited block grant — which the Republicans do not do. Whatever happens, the states come out ahead, said Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, a leader in GOP welfare reform efforts. Either proposal, he said Sunday, "is a quantum leap" above current Washington rules.

■ Time limits. A maximum five-year limit on welfare benefits is included in both Senate bills and there has been little debate over it. "No one should have the unrestricted right to live off the toil of others," said Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchinson, R-Texas.

■ Work requirements. Both the Democratic and Republican bills mandate able-bodied, adult recipients to go to work or job-training after two years. Clinton and Senate Democrats want more child care — which was actually cut back under the GOP bill.

During the debate, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., pointed out the need for more child care at a time when more mothers would be required to work. Dole responded that Republican leaders would work to address that concern.

Dole, after complaints from Gramm, also amended the bill to penalize those recipients who do not meet work obligations. The provision, similar to the House bill, would require states to reduce or end benefits to those who do not work.

■ Restrictions on teens. Teen mothers on welfare should stay in school and live at home with a responsible adult, both bills say. The Democrats want to add money to help states build "second chance" homes for those mothers and babies who cannot live at home.

Gramm, a presidential candidate leading conservative opposition to the GOP bill, plans to offer an amendment to deny benefits to teen mothers as a way of discouraging out-of-wedlock births. But some sen-

"The most important thing to know about this subject is how little we know."

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan

ators worry such a provision would encourage poor women to have more abortions.

■ Restrictions on immigrants. Those who sponsor immigrants will be legally obligated to help them financially. Legal immigrants would be denied Supplemental Security Income benefits, except for the very old, refugees and those who have paid taxes in this country for more than five years.

Still in question is whether legal immigrants would be prohibited from getting cash welfare and food stamps. It should be up to the states, the GOP bill says. But Gramm may easily find the votes to support an amendment that would say that no immigrant can qualify for assistance until becoming a citizen.

"People should come here with their sleeves rolled up," he said on the Senate floor, "and not their hands out."

Other issues long-since settled are proposals for an extensive state and national tracking system for parents owing overdue child support, and the denial of federal disability benefits to drug addicts and alcoholics.

But having so much agreement does not preclude a lengthy debate over details and tone or discourses over how and whether welfare erodes family values.

One reason is practical. Dole is short on votes to pass the GOP bill and senators will have to be wooed at the same time many are standing firm on some conservative principles. "The bottom line," Dole told the Senate, "is how many votes you have, not how many speeches you make."

Another reason is more basic: After all the experts testifying on Capitol Hill, no one is that confident that they know the answers to moving people off welfare to work.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., a longtime social welfare expert, said: "The most important thing to know about this subject is how little we know."