<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Edelman serves as Law Clerk to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Edelman becomes Legislative Assistant to Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D-NY).</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>Edelman is appointed Vice President for University Policy at the University of Massachusetts.</td>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>Edelman is named as Director of the New York State Division of Youth.</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>Edelman becomes Professor of Law at the Georgetown University Law Center, where he teaches constitutional law, civil procedure, legislation and social welfare law, and runs a family poverty law clinic. He serves as Associate Dean from 1989 to 1992.</td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>In a policy address at Georgetown University, Clinton promises to “put an end to the permanent dependence of welfare,” and to “end welfare as we know it.” <em>(The Washington Post, 11/21/1991)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Edelman heads the Justice Department transition team for the incoming Clinton Administration.</td>
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| 1993 | *January* Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) chides Health and Human Services Secretary-nominee Donna Shalala for ignoring welfare reform and social security issues in her announcement of priorities at her confirmation hearing. HHS has become “a department of health,” says Moynihan, who emphasizes that welfare reform must remain a priority of the Administration. *(The Washington Post, 01/15/1993)*  
President Clinton announces the appointment of Edelman as Counselor to HHS Secretary Donna Shalala. Edelman is expected to provide expertise in the areas of poverty and welfare reform policy. *(The Washington Post, 01/23/1993)* |
February

President Clinton orders the federal government to initiate procedures that allow states to receive waivers from government regulations in order to implement innovative welfare reform measures. He describes the program as a way to promote welfare reform at the state level. *(The Washington Post, 02/02/1993)*

Shalala announces that President Clinton’s welfare reform proposals will build initially on existing programs and that plans to “end welfare as we know it” will include aggressive support services to help recipients transition off public assistance and into jobs. *(The Washington Post, 02/04/1993)*

The Senate passes, 71-27, the Family and Medical Leave Act, which permits employees to take up to twelve weeks unpaid leave to care for a new baby, adopted child, or sick family member without jeopardizing their jobs. President Clinton signs the bill, which is nearly identical to one that President George H. W. Bush vetoed a year earlier. *(1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1994, p. 389)*

April

Clinton announces a major effort through the Department of Health and Human Services to immunize children. Funding for the plan is included in the budget proposal submitted to Congress. *(The New York Times, 04/05/1993)*

The Administration announces appointments to a 27-member task force on reforming welfare. The task force is led by Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy Bruce Reed, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation at HHS David T. Ellwood, and HHS Assistant Secretary of Administration for Children and Families, Mary Jo Bane. The task force begins holding hearings around the country in early summer. *(1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p. 374)*

August

Congress passes an expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit, which provides direct income tax refunds to the nation’s poorest citizens. Estimates indicate that fifteen million taxpayers will be affected by the change. *(The Washington Post, 08/11/1994)*

September

President Clinton signs into law a bill creating the National Service Corporation. The new agency will recruit and send young people from around the country into communities to serve others. In return, participants will receive limited financial assistance for their education. *(1993 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p. 400)*

Judy Feder, a Deputy Secretary at HHS, says that Clinton’s health care reform package is intended to bring the poor and uninsured into the same insurance system as all Americans. The President’s proposal
would require all employers to pay at least eighty percent of health insurance premiums with employers contributing the remaining twenty percent. Critics question the ability of the federal government to finance the broad new coverage. *(States News Service, 09/22/1993)*

**December**

President Clinton’s task force on welfare reform proposes to make welfare a transitional program that would limit benefits to two years and then require recipients to work in either private sector jobs or community service. Shalala says the reforms should not require new taxes. The task force submits a “draft discussion proposal” to encourage comment about the proposed welfare changes. *(The Washington Post, 12/04/1993)*

**1994**

**January**

Increased efforts by child enforcement agencies across the country collect nearly $8 billion in delinquent child support payments in 1992. This represents an increase of sixteen percent over the prior year, but still only one-fourth of what was owed. Shalala announces that President Clinton has directed the interagency task force on welfare reform to propose plans to improve child support enforcement. *(The Washington Post, 01/07/1994)*

A bipartisan advisory panel recommends that the federal government take steps to strengthen the Head Start program by extending its benefits to much younger children and providing the services year-round. Administration officials promise to revitalize the $2.7 billion program, saying the Administration wants to increase funding by as much as $8 billion in 1997. *(The Washington Post, 01/13/1994)*

**February**

Skepticism abounds over proposed reform of the health care system. Fears among senior citizens that the Clinton plan might decrease existing Medicare coverage create a cautious and hesitant approach within Congress. *(The Washington Post, 02/23/1994)*

**April**

Social Security officials release a report warning that the trust funds for old age and disability benefits will go broke in 2029, a year earlier than they predicted two years before. Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL) applauds the report for providing an “early warning” of future problems, but cautions that the report raises concerns that “demand congressional action in the months ahead.” *(The Washington Post, 04/12/1994)*

**May**

Congress passes legislation increasing Head Start participation and quality. The new program, called Early Head Start, provides for minimum performance standards, strong accountability, and increased

The American Civil Liberties Union and the National Organization for Women, along with over eighty other civil rights and religious organizations, announce their opposition to the Administration’s plan to include a proposal in the welfare reform package that allows states to deny additional benefits to women who have children while on welfare. The “child exclusion” issue reportedly brings abortion rights and antiabortion forces together for the first time. *(The Washington Post, 05/27/1994)*

**July**

In the 1993 Household Drug Survey released by HHS, the number of illicit drug users rose slightly in 1993, the first rise since the Carter Administration. Critics complain that Clinton has abandoned the “drug war,” but Shalala says that the survey supports Administration efforts to focus on treatment and prevention options for hard-core inner city drug abusers. *(The Washington Times, 07/21/1994)*

**August**

Shalala testifies before the House Education and Labor Committee that President Clinton wants to see health care reform passed this year, disappointing members of Congress who had only last month expressed hopes of reaching a bipartisan compromise on welfare reform. The complications of proceeding on both the health care and welfare reform issues make it unlikely that both issues will come before Congress in the current session. *(The Washington Times, 08/03/1994)*

**September**

Administration sources report that President Clinton will nominate Edelman to fill a vacancy on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. His nomination is likely to be sent to the Senate for consideration soon after the Congress convenes in January. Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) criticizes Edelman, calling him an “activist liberal” and signals that an Edelman nomination will face a tough confirmation fight in the Senate. *(The Washington Post, 09/12/1994)*

HHS Secretary Shalala announces that the government has approved a welfare experiment from Oregon that subsidizes employers who hire welfare clients at the state minimum wage or better to provide them on-the-job experience and transition them off of the welfare rolls. Rep. Ron Wyden (D-OR), whose district includes one of the six participating counties, supports the program and predicts that, with both welfare and health care reform stalled in Congress, “you will be seeing a strong acceleration of state efforts to solve these problems.” *(The Washington Post, 09/20/1994)*
**October**

With the evident death of a comprehensive reform of the health care system, the Clinton Administration has gotten the message, says Shalala, that the public “does not want to take on the whole health care system next year.” It is reported that a list of possible new approaches to health care reform for 1995 are being considered by Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin, White House Assistant for Domestic Policy Carol Rasco, White House Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta, and Office of Management and Budget Director Alice M. Rivlin. Shalala says that around the nation, people tell her the cause of the plan’s defeat was anger that “the government can’t get anything right.” *(The Washington Post, 10/21/1994)*

**November**

Republicans take over control of the Senate and win control of the House of Representatives for the first time in forty years. All of the 34 House incumbents defeated for re-election were Democrats. *(1994 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, pp. 561-564.)*

**1995**

**January**

HHS Secretary Shalala criticizes the House Republican welfare reform proposal that denies benefits to children whose paternity has not been established. “Making innocent children suffer because a teenager, a child themselves, had a child, seems to me so unfair and indefensible,” says Shalala. The Republican and White House proposals also differ in how many welfare recipients they would impact, with the Republican proposal requiring 1.5 million recipients to leave the welfare system and begin work by the year 2000, and the Administration proposal affecting 400,000. *(The Washington Post, 01/11/1995)*

**February**

Facing Republican opposition in the Senate to the judicial nomination of Edelman before it is formally announced, Counsel to the President Abner J. Mikva says that “if we find objections raised, that means the nominee won’t get a hearing,” the Administration will turn to other nominees. Mikva signals that the potential nomination of Edelman to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia is a nomination fight the Administration will not undertake. Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), a member of the Judiciary Committee, says that the White House is “giving up on judicial fights too early.” *(The Washington Post, 02/13/1995)*

The Administration’s 1995 budget proposes cuts in funding for law enforcement focused on the drug war, shifting resources instead to treatment and prevention. Edelman supports improving access to treatment and prevention programs. Critics complain that Clinton’s budget cuts in the Customs Service, the Drug Enforcement Agency, and
the Defense Department will hamper effective drug control and interdiction efforts. (*The Washington Times*, 02/28/1995)

**March**

Vice President Gore announces that the Department of HHS will be one of the federal agencies “overhauled” as part of the Administration’s efforts to cut costs and “reinvent” government. Sources report that one major change would shift the two major Public Health Service agencies that handle substance abuse and medical services into the agency that runs Medicaid and Medicare. (*The Washington Post*, 03/30/1995)

**August**

Massachusetts Republican Governor William F. Weld calls the federal government’s denial of a welfare system waiver for his state “insulting.” The Massachusetts plan includes a work requirement for able-bodied welfare recipients and a two-year limit on benefits. Current rules allow the federal government to deny state-designed plans that fail to satisfy Administration requirements. (*States News Service*, 08/11/1995)

**September**

The welfare reform bill currently before the Senate moves closer to approval as supporters defeat amendments that threaten a bipartisan compromise proposal. Concerns about the cost of the program are expressed as senators add $75 million for abstinence assistance, and over $100 million for substance abuse treatment programs. (*The Washington Post*, 09/18/1995)

**October**

President Clinton threatens to veto a bill approved by the Senate Finance Committee, 11-9, on a straight party line vote. The bill would revolutionize Medicare and Medicaid by authorizing cuts of $452.3 billion that Clinton calls “literally cataclysmic.” Committee Chairman Don Nickles (R-OK) says the program assures “solvency” for a program that he says is “going broke.” (*The Washington Post*, 10/01/1995)

Senate Democrats request a new analysis of the extent to which the Republican welfare reform will hurt millions of children. Clinton had signaled his support for the Senate-passed version of welfare reform last month. The move is seen as a victory for Senator Moynihan who expressed concern that the estimates of harm to children have been grossly understated. (*The Washington Post*, 10/28/1995)

**November**

In a speech to the National Association for the Education of Young Children, HHS Secretary Shalala calls the Republican welfare plan “cruel, counterproductive, and costly.” Her comments come as the Administration negotiates for a second day with Republican leaders on an overall budget plan. (*The Washington Post*, 12/18/1995)
December  Clinton vetoes a Republican welfare reform plan that is included as part of the deficit-reducing budget-reconciliation bill, calling the measure too harsh and more likely to hurt children than to help welfare recipients get jobs. (1996 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1997, p. 6-3).

1996

January  Clinton vetoes a free-standing welfare reform bill and challenges Congress in his State of the Union address to send him a bipartisan welfare reform plan that overhauls welfare and Medicaid. (1996 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p. 63).

February  Addressing the National Governors Association meeting in Washington, D.C., Shalala says that the bipartisan welfare plan moving through Congress falls short of protecting children and providing a real guarantee of quality health care for the poor. The NGA proposes to eliminate the long-standing guarantee of welfare benefits for eligible Americans, to require most recipients to go to work, and would cut off welfare benefits for individual recipients after five years. (The New York Times, 02/29/1996)

May  House Republicans, led by Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA), Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (R-TX), Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer (R-TX), and Human Resources Subcommittee Chairman E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), send a letter to Clinton criticizing his granting a welfare waiver to Wisconsin that requires all recipients to work. Clinton had opposed that same proposal in the welfare reform discussions before Congress. Deputy Assistant to the President Rahm Emanuel, says that the President “has been very consistent in making sure welfare reform one way or another is a reality.” (The Washington Post, 05/20/1996)

Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-KS) calls the welfare system “Liberalism’s greatest shame” and proposes tougher work requirements for welfare recipients, a lifetime limit on benefits, measures that allow states to test recipients for drug usage, and a proposal to cut off benefits to teenage mothers who become pregnant while on the program. Dole says that real welfare reform must attack “the national epidemic of illegitimate births,” and calls on Clinton to help Congress pass the plan this year. (The Washington Post, 05/22/1996)

Marian Wright Edelman, President of the Children’s Defense Fund, says that she hopes a march across Arlington Memorial Bridge toward the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. by thousands of mothers and children will “do for children what the 1963 march did for civil rights,
what Earth Day did for the environment, what the moratoriums did for Vietnam.” Gary Bauer, head of the conservative Family Research Council, says the march is “just the liberal agenda being repackaged - another way to push the sort of big-government approach that doesn’t work.” (The Washington Post, 05/29/1996)

**July**

Clinton challenges Congress to send him an acceptable bill to overhaul welfare this summer or he will give the states the power through welfare waivers to force recipients to find work or face a loss of benefits. Republican presidential candidate Dole questions Clinton’s willingness to support real welfare reform and charges that the Administration has frustrated state efforts to reform the system by delaying approval needed for federal waivers. (The Washington Post, 07/17/1996)

**August**

Congress passes welfare reform legislation. The House vote (328-101) and the Senate vote (78-21) signal broad support for the reform. The bill replaces the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program with block grants to the states, places a lifetime limit on welfare recipients of five years, requires able-bodied recipients to work within two years of receiving assistance, and makes changes to the child welfare and child care system. The reform is projected to reduce federal spending on Medicaid by $72 billion over six years. (1996 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1997, pp. 6-3 - 6-7; The Washington Post, 08/01/1996)

Amidst protests from family rights groups, Clinton signs the welfare reform bill into law. Clinton says, “This is not the end of welfare reform, this is the beginning.” Several hundred protesters organized by the National Organization for Women argue that Clinton “had a choice to stand up for what was right or to do what was wrong, and he did what was wrong.” Clinton promises to undo cuts next year in nutritional programs and bans on most welfare assistance to legal immigrants, two of the final law’s provisions he had opposed. (The Washington Post, 08/23/1996)

**September**

Edelman and Mary Jo Bane, Assistant Secretary for Children and Families at the Department of Health and Human Services, resign in response to President Clinton signing the welfare reform bill. The resignations are seen as significant because Edelman and his wife, Marian Wright Edelman, are close personal friends of the Clintons, and because Bane has long been one of the country’s leading academics on welfare issues. Edelman, who has devoted much of his professional life to reducing poverty, writes in his resignation letter that he believes the recently enacted welfare bill “goes in the opposite direction” by increasing the burden on poor children. (The Washington Post, 09/12/1996)
1997

January  Edelman returns to teaching at the Georgetown University Law Center in Washington, D.C. (The Washington Post, 01/10/1996)

March  The Atlantic Monthly publishes an article by Edelman titled “The Worst Thing Bill Clinton Had Done,” which is highly critical of President Clinton’s decision to sign the welfare reform bill. (The Atlantic Monthly, 03/1997)
Joining the Clinton Administration

• Discuss the origins of your relationship with Bill and Hillary Clinton. What were your first impressions of them?
• Were you involved in the 1992 campaign? If so, on what issues did you advise Clinton (child care, health, poverty, welfare issues, etc.)?
• Discuss your work as head of the Justice Department transition team. What were your principal responsibilities? Did you anticipate moving into the Justice Department?

Department of HHS

• How were you selected as Counselor to the Secretary of Health and Human Services? What discussions did you have with Clinton, Secretary Shalala, or with other staff about your role and responsibilities in that position?
• What were the challenges facing the Department of BITS at the time of your appointment?
• What were your main areas of responsibility at BUS? How did you see your role as Counselor to Secretary Shalala?
• What issues occupied most of your time (national service, Family and Medical Leave Act, drug abuse, health care, child health and immunization, etc)? With which Administration officials did you most closely work on these initiatives?
• Discuss your relationship with Secretary Shalala. On what programs or initiatives did you most closely work with her? Discuss your working relationship with the staff at MIS.
• How closely did you work with the Administration's domestic policy advisors (Rasco, Emanuel, etc)? On what issues?
• How would you characterize Shalala's relationship with the President and the White House staff? Discuss her relationships with other members of the Cabinet.
• Discuss your appointment as Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation. How did your role and responsibilities change in that position?

Welfare Reform

• Discuss the process of welfare reform as you saw it from 1993-1996.
• What was your role in advising Shalala and Clinton on the policy? What concerns about welfare reform did you express to Clinton or members of the Administration? Describe the internal debate within the Administration about the shape of the bill and whether the President should sign it?
• How did the health care reform initiative affect the welfare reform package?
• Comment on your interactions with members of Congress (for example, Senator Moynihan and Senator Kennedy) on the issue of welfare reform.
• Describe the events leading to your decision to resign your position.
• Why did you decide to write the *Atlantic Monthly* article? Did you hear from people within the Administration about it?

**Judicial Appointments**
• Discuss your prospective nomination to the federal bench? Did you discuss the prospect of your nomination with Clinton?
• Comment on the judicial nomination process as you experienced it.

**The Clinton Presidency in Retrospect**
• Assess the strengths and weaknesses of the Clinton presidency. What features of the Clinton presidency were overlooked or misunderstood by the press?
• How should the Clinton presidency be viewed in history? What were its most significant achievements?
• How would you assess the short- and long-term effects of welfare reform?
• Assess Clinton's legacy for the Democratic Party. Compare Clinton's leadership style with the other prominent Democratic leaders you have known in your career. What traits did he have in common with them? What distinguished him from them?
• Discuss Hillary Clinton's contributions to her husband's presidency. In what ways did her skills and interests complement his own?
TIMELINES


- Clinton Administration Timeline, prepared by Robbie Robinson, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 05/30/2002.

SELECTED WRITINGS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY PETER B. EDELMAN


- Peter Edelman, "The Worst Thing Bill Clinton Had Done," The Atlantic Monthly, 03/1997,


WELFARE REFORM


• Dan Balz, "Dole Stresses State Options in Welfare Reform; Kansan, Calling Programs Liberalism's 'Greatest Shame,' Would Allow Testing for Drugs," The Washington Post, 05/22/1996.

• Cindy Loose, "Memorial Bridge to Resound with the Patter of Little Feet; 'Stand for Children' March Targets Program Cuts," The Washington Post, 05/29/1996.


• John F. Harris and John E. Yang, "Clinton to Sign Bill Overhauling Welfare," The Washington Post, 08/01/1996.


SELECTED HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES POLICY ISSUES

Health Care
• Lisa Richwine, "Can Clinton Deliver Health Care to the Poor?" States News Service, 09/22/1993.


Social Security

National Service Program

Head Start and Child Health and Support Programs


Family and Medical Leave Act

Drug Abuse Programs


**HHS Restructuring and Budget Policy**

