

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN
BALTIMORE, MD
JUNE 6, 1995

[Acknowledgements: Governor Dean for introduction]

Thanks to our hosts, Governor Glendening and Mayor Schmoke. In Baltimore the waitresses all call you, "Hon." The Inner Harbor at this time of year is truly magnificent. And, even when things aren't going so well, the whole town is always buzzing about the Orioles -- especially after Cal Ripkin hit that grand slam.

Let me begin by congratulating my good friend Governor Dean for his dynamic leadership of the National Governors' Association. I've been where you are, governor. And I think we both agree that keeping 50 restless governors happy is no easy task.

Since we're here to talk about children, let me use a child's perspective to illustrate what I mean. A small girl's father asked her what she wanted most for Christmas. Knowing that her mother was expecting, the girl replied, "a baby sister." To everyone's delight, the mother came home from the hospital on Christmas Eve with a baby girl. A while later, the father asked his daughter, "Next Christmas, what would you like?" "Well," said the girl, "if it wouldn't be too uncomfortable for Mom, I'd like to have a pony." I hope you all haven't made it too uncomfortable for Governor Dean.

He may not have been able to deliver a pony, but Governor Dean has delivered something far more important. He has used his leadership of this organization to challenge all of us to care for our most precious resource -- our children. For that, he deserves our deepest thanks.

Let me say one more thing before I begin. For many years, my wife Hillary has worked side-by-side with many of you in the struggle to strengthen children and families. There is nothing she cares about more. She is working on a book about the responsibilities we owe our children. The title comes from the old African proverb, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Child." So, I'm not standing up here alone. Hillary stands with me and with all of you everyday on this important issue.

But we all know, for all the progress we have made, America's children and families are in the grips of what the Carnegie Corporation has called, "A Quiet Crisis." It is an ironic and unacceptable tragedy that in the richest nation on earth, one in five children -- almost 16 million young people -- live in poverty. Compared to most other industrialized countries, our infant mortality rates are higher. We have a higher percentage of low-birthweight babies. Our immunization rates are lower. And we have a higher rate of teen pregnancy.

We must do better -- especially now. As we stand at the dawn of the information age and a new global economy, it has never been more important to make sure our children are well prepared for the future. The challenges they face are greater than ever. I ran for President because I did not want my daughter to be a part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents. I wanted to expand opportunity for all Americans -- especially our children. To raise incomes for hard working families. To rebuild a sense of community. To grow the middle class and shrink the underclass.

To do that we have to discard the old labels of left or right, conservative or liberal, and come together to find practical, pragmatic solutions to the problems that confront us. You know that better than anyone.

Our approach, in everything we've done these past two years, is not to tell you how to solve your problems -- you know what works. This is about a new partnership. It's about what we can do at the Federal level and what you can do at the local and grassroots levels to solve our common problems -- and to give individuals and families the chance to make good lives for themselves.

This new partnership replaces the big, centralized government of the past. Let's not forget what then Governor Franklin Roosevelt said in 1932, "New conditions impose new requirements upon government and those who conduct government." Different times demand different approaches.

In 1992, that was the blueprint for change that Vice President Gore and I offered in our book, "Putting People First." We began at the beginning -- by turning the spotlight on the needs of children and families.

Go back and look at our chapter on children and families. We laid out an agenda to make their lives as strong as their dreams. And, we've accomplished more than 90 percent of what we set out to do for children:

EITC -- tax cut for working families earning less than \$26,000 a year. **Family and Medical Leave** -- allows parents to be good parents and good workers. **Head Start** -- increased investments; new zero to three initiative. **Goals 2000** -- new partnership to set world class standards for our schools. **Direct Lending** -- More than 2 million students and more than 1,400 schools will be participating this year. We're saving taxpayers and students billions of dollars by making college loans easier to get and easier to pay back. **School-to-Work** -- apprenticeship program to prepare young people who are not going directly to college to get high-wage jobs. **AmeriCorps** -- 20,000 members working in schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods across this country -- earning money

for college by giving something back to their communities. And let me say that we wouldn't be where we are today without the outstanding leadership and support of someone we call the "Godmother of National Service:" Maryland Senator, Barbara Mikulski.

But too many Americans are still struggling too hard -- working longer hours for the same or less money than they earned 15 years ago. Too many of our young people are drifting through life without any direction or hope. We cannot let this be. And so once again, America turns to you for leadership.

You are the backbone of public service in America. You see in personal terms, the names, faces, and life histories of everyday people struggling to keep the American Dream alive. States have become the real laboratories of reform in this country. It is governors and states who have led the way in most of the major reform movements of the past few decades -- especially in the area of children and families.

This conference is highlighting some 30 state initiatives to improve services for children and families, such as the Oregon Benchmarks effort and the Ohio Family and Children First Initiative that were featured in the opening video today.

There is something else we must do together that is perhaps the most important thing we can do for the children of this country: welfare reform.

The Senate is about to begin a monumentally important debate, and I'd like to take a few moments to tell you where I think we need to be.

I was elected President to end welfare as we know it. And, with the help of governors in this room and across the country, we have already begun to end welfare and replace it with work. In just 2 years, I've granted 29 waivers. [None of the governors in this room who has requested a welfare reform waiver has been turned down.] And those of you have gotten them are using those waivers to put people to work.

In Vermont and Wisconsin, Governors Dean and Thompson are using their waivers to impose time limits and reward and require work.

In Ohio, Governor Voinovich is moving people to work by using the money now spent on welfare and food stamp benefits to subsidize private sector jobs.

In Missouri, Governor Carnahan has imposed work requirements and a two-year time limit so people on welfare who can work, must go to work. When I announced my welfare reform plan in Kansas City almost a year ago, I met several young mothers who used to be on

welfare. But they are working today because Missouri is giving them a chance to move from dependence to independence.

Every governor here -- Democrat and Republican -- knows that welfare reform is first and foremost about work. Unfortunately, the welfare reform debate in Congress has not focused enough on work. The House bill was weak on work and tough on kids. I had to push and push them to be tough on deadbeat parents. The Senate Finance Committee reported out a bill the other day that is a step in the right direction in some areas, but still misses the point on work.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, which is headed by a Republican welfare reform expert, the current Senate Finance Committee bill won't succeed in moving people from welfare to work. In fact, the CBO analysis concludes that only six states will fulfill the bill's work requirements in the year 2000. Forty-four states will fail. Six out of 50 in baseball is a 120 batting average. That won't even cut it in the minor leagues. That's not ending welfare as we know it. That's just politics as usual.

The reason the current Senate bill is a failure on work is simple: it takes away the tools states use to move people from welfare to work: child care, job training, and incentives for job placement.

I am committed to working across party lines to solve this problem. That's why I want Congress to send me a bill that accomplishes the following basic principles:

First, it should require people who can work to go to work, making sure they have child care when they do. One of the things people need the most to get off welfare and stay off is child care. It defies common sense to take away child care and keep people from going to work.

Second, the legislation should have real work requirements, backed up with real resources for education and training and job placement to help people get jobs and keep them. According to the CBO, it would cost states \$10 billion a year by the year 2000 to meet the requirements in the Senate bill; and yet the bill expects them to do this with less money than they have now. I was a governor long enough to spot an unfunded mandate. That's exactly what you and I fought so hard to stop in Washington.

Third, it should have incentives that reward states for putting people to work, not for cutting them off. The current bills give states an incentive to save money by throwing people off the rolls. The House bill even gives states an illegitimacy bonus that the Catholic Church says would be an incentive for more abortions. That's not welfare reform. If we're going to change

the culture of the welfare bureaucracy, we've got to reward success instead of failure.

Fourth, the legislation should protect states so they can continue to move people from welfare to work even in the event of an economic downturn, population growth, or unpredictable emergencies. In their current form, these bills would kill growth states like Florida, and put every state at risk in the next recession or natural disaster.

And, finally, as we give states more flexibility, we should make sure that states continue to fulfill their responsibilities. The proposed legislation contains no incentives or requirements for states to maintain their own funding for cash assistance, child care, and supports for work. There is a serious danger that some states will "race to the bottom:" It is always much cheaper to simply cut people off than to move them to work. Welfare reform should not be a race to the bottom. It should be a race to independence.

So, I challenge Congress to send me a real welfare reform bill by July fourth, Independence Day. If Congress sends me a welfare reform bill that will move people from welfare to work, I'll sign it. But, if Congress sends me a welfare reform bill that doesn't end welfare by moving people to work, I'll send them back to the table until they do. Let's give every state a chance to succeed -- not just 6 out of 50.

Let's never forget, the people who most want to change this system are the people who are dependent on it.

Some of you may remember the NGA welfare hearing I once held in Arkansas. I brought in people on welfare from all over America who had found their way to work. The woman from my State who testified was asked this question: "What's the best thing about being off welfare and in a job?" Without batting an eye, she looked at 40 governors, and she said, "When my boy goes to school and they say what does your mother do for a living, he can give them an answer." Most people on welfare are like that woman. They want to get off welfare. They want to go to work. They want to do right by their kids. We ought to give them that chance.

With your help, we will break the cycle of dependence and inspire more young people to follow the paths of their parents towards an even greater realization of the American Dream.

Thank you and God bless you all.

draft 6/5/95 4:10 p.m.

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Thanks to Governor Glendening and Mayor Schmoke for hosting this event. In Baltimore the waitresses all call you, "Hon." The Inner Harbor at this time of year is truly magnificent. And, even when things aren't going so well, the whole town is always buzzing about the Orioles. This is especially the case today, after Cal Ripkin hit that terrific grand slam a few days ago. That's what I call community spirit.

Let me begin by congratulating my good friend Governor Dean for his dynamic leadership of the National Governors' Association. I've been where you are, governor. And I think we both agree that keeping 50 restless governors happy is no easy task.

Since we're here to talk about children, let me use a child's perspective to illustrate what I mean. A small girl's father asked her what she wanted most for Christmas. Knowing that her mother was expecting, the girl replied, "a baby sister." To everyone's delight, the mother came home from the hospital on Christmas Eve with a baby girl. A while later, the father asked his daughter, "Next Christmas, what would you like? "Well," said the girl, "if it wouldn't be too uncomfortable for Mom, I'd like to have a pony." I hope you all haven't made it too uncomfortable for Governor Dean.

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Let me say one more thing before I begin. For many years, my wife Hillary has worked side-by-side with many of you in the struggle to strengthen children and families. There is nothing she cares about more. She is working on a book about the responsibilities we owe our children. The title comes from the old African proverb, "It Takes a Whole Village to Raise a Child." So, I'm not standing up here alone. Even though she may not be here in person, Hillary stands with me and with all of you everyday on this important issue.

But we all know, for all the progress we have made, America's children and families are in the grips of what the Carnegie

Corporation has called, "A Quiet Crisis." It is an ironic and unacceptable tragedy that in the richest nation on earth, one in five children -- almost 16 million young people -- live in poverty. Compared to most other industrialized countries, our infant mortality rates are higher. We have a higher percentage of low-birthweight babies. Our immunization rates are lower. And we have a higher rate of teen pregnancy and teen parenthood. In addition, one in four children under the age of three lives in a single-parent family; and one in four is a victim of physical abuse. For too long we have failed our children. They are now experiencing what the Carnegie Corporation has called, "A Quiet Crisis."

As we stand at the dawn of the information age and a new global economy, it has never been more important to make sure our children are well prepared for the future. It is never too early to put them on the road to a life-time of learning. To begin building them pathways to the American Dream. That's why I ran for President. I did not want my daughter to be a part of the first generation of Americans to do worst than their parents. I wanted to expand opportunity for all Americans -- especially our children. To raise incomes for hard working families. To rebuild a sense of community. To grow the middle class and shrink the underclass.

To do that we have to discard the old labels of left or right, conservative or liberal. Those old labels are not what matter most anymore. What matters most is that we all come together to find practical, pragmatic solutions to the problems that confront us.

Even before the election in 1992, Vice President Gore and I offered a blueprint for change which we called "Putting People First." And we began at the beginning -- by turning the spotlight on the needs of children and families.

Go back and look at our chapter on children and families. We laid out an agenda to make their lives as grand as their dreams. And, we've kept our promises. We've accomplished more than 90 percent of what we set out to do for children:

EITC -- tax cut for working families earning less than \$26,000 a year. No one who works full time should have to raise their children in poverty.

Family and Medical Leave -- allows parents to be good parents and good workers.

Head Start -- increased investments; new zero to three initiative.

Goals 2000 -- new partnership with states to set world class

standards for our schools.

Direct Lending -- 300,000 students and more than 1,400 schools participating. We're saving taxpayers and students billions of dollars by making college loans easier to get and easier to pay back.

School-to-Work -- apprenticeship program to prepare young people who are not going directly to college to get high-wage jobs.

AmeriCorps -- 20,000 members working in schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods across this country -- earning money for college by giving something back to their communities. And let me say that we wouldn't be where we are today without the outstanding leadership and support of someone we call the "Godmother of National Service:" Maryland Senator, Barbara Mikulski.

All of these initiatives are designed to strengthen families so they can do a better job of raising healthy, hopeful children.

But we must do more. Too many Americans are still struggling too hard -- working longer hours for the same or less money than they earned 15 years ago. Too many of our young people are drifting through life without any direction or hope. We cannot let this be. And so once again, America turns to you for leadership.

You are the backbone of public service in America. You see in personal terms, the names, faces, and life histories of everyday people struggling to keep the American Dream alive. States have become the real laboratories of reform in this country. It is governors and states who have lead the way in most of the major reform movements of the past few decades:

Children and Families -- This conference is highlighting some 30 state initiatives to improve services for children and families, such as the Oregon Benchmarks effort and the Ohio Family and Children First Initiative that were featured in the opening video today.

Education Reform -- Leadership sprang from the states, following publication of the landmark Department of Education report, "A Nation at Risk" in 1983. But government still has a role. We are assisting you with Goals 2000 funds.

Our approach, as in everything we've done, is not to tell you how to solve your problems -- you know what works. This is about a new partnership. It's about what we can do at the Federal level and what you can do at the local and grassroots levels to solve our common problems. This is true in what we have done in education reform with Goals 2000. It is true in our partnerships for national service, Head Start and School-to-Work.

This new partnership replaces the big, centralized government of the past. Let's not forget what then Governor Franklin Roosevelt said in 1932, "New conditions impose new requirements upon government and those who conduct government." Different times demand different approaches.

That is of central importance as we deal with a subject that is critical to our children's future and to the future of this country: welfare reform. The Senate is about to begin a monumentally important debate, and I'd like to take a few moments to tell you where I think we need to be.

I was elected President to end welfare as we know it. And, with the help of governors in this room and across the country, we have already begun to end welfare and replace it with work. In just 2 years, I've granted 29 ^{more than all my predecessors combined} ~~welfare reform waivers~~ ~~more than all my predecessors combined~~. None of the governors in this room who has requested a welfare reform waiver has been turned down. And those of you have gotten them are using those waivers to put people to work.

③ In Ohio, Governor Voinovich is moving people to work by using the money now spent on welfare and food stamp benefits to subsidize private sector jobs.

② In Missouri, Governor Carnahan has imposed work requirements and a two-year time limit so people on welfare who can work, must go to work. When I announced my welfare reform plan in Kansas City last year, I met several young mothers who used to be on welfare but are working today because Missouri is giving them a chance, ~~and welfare as we know it.~~ *my Administration*

① In Vermont and Wisconsin, Governors Dean and Thompson are using their waivers to impose time limits and reward and require work. *- Demand for*

Every governor here knows that welfare reform is first and foremost about work. Work was at the core of the Family Support Act which was the defining issue of this organization when I was its chair, ~~in 1986~~. Work has been at the core of the 29 welfare reform ~~welfare reform~~ ^{my Administration} waivers granted to states. And work must be the central focus of any legislation coming out of Congress.

Unfortunately, the welfare reform debate in Washington has focused on everything but work. The House passed a bill that was ~~weak~~ ^{phony} on work and tough on kids. And I had to push and push them to include my child support enforcement plan that will be tough on deadbeats. The Senate Finance Committee reported out a bill the other day that wasn't ~~as tough on kids as the House~~, but still misses the point on work. *a step in the right direction on some*

According to the Congressional Budget Office, which is headed by

a Republican welfare reform expert, the current Senate Finance Committee bill won't succeed in moving people from welfare to work. In fact, the CBO analysis concludes that only six states will fulfill the bill's work requirements in the year 2000. Forty-four states will fail. Six out of 50 in baseball is a 120 average. That won't even cut it in the minor leagues. That's not ending welfare as we know it. That's just politics as usual.

CBO - 4/10/94
unfunded mandate

The reason the Senate bill is still a failure on work is simple: it takes away the tools states use to move people from welfare to work: child care, job training, and incentives for job placement.

I've talked to more people on welfare than any other President, and I'm sure many of you have heard the same thing over and over: One of the things people need the most to get off welfare is child care. One of the things working people need most to stay off welfare in the first place is child care. It defies common sense to take away child care and keep people from going to work. Child care has always been a bipartisan issue, and we should make a bipartisan pledge to require people who can work to go to work, and make sure they have child care when they do.

I am committed to working across party lines to solve this problem. In January, I brought governors and other leaders from both parties to the White House for a welfare reform summit to find common ground. We know how to move people from welfare to work, but we will only succeed at welfare reform if that is our goal -- not punishing children, not politics as usual, and not cuts in the Federal budget that just shift more costs to the states.

I challenge Congress to send me a welfare reform bill by July fourth, (Independence Day) Let's celebrate by helping people move from dependence to independence. ~~And I want to say to the Senate as it prepares to take up this vital issue, you can do a lot better -- a lot better than a 120 batting average.~~

If Congress sends me a welfare reform bill that will move people from welfare to work, I'll sign it. But, if Congress sends me a welfare reform bill that doesn't end welfare by moving people to work, I'll send them back to the table until they do.

They should send me a bill that contains ~~four~~^{a few} basic principles:

First, it should require people who can work to go to work, and ~~make~~^{making} sure they have child care when they do. ↑

~~Second~~^{Second}, it should have real work requirements, backed up with real resources for education and training and job placement to help people get jobs and keep them. CBO - 4/10/94 - unfunded mandate

~~Third~~^{Third}, it should have ^{performance} incentives that reward states for putting

Original

The House bill gives states ^{legitimacy} authority that the Catholic Church says would be an incentive for abortions. The House-Senate bill gives states an incentive to save a by cutting people off. That's not W.R.

So far, the House bill is for or reward states for failure

people to work, not for cutting them off.

We can't just ~~take~~ ^{pull} money from one bureaucracy to another ^{to change the culture} ^{of the welfare office by reorganizing}

And fourth, it should protect states so they can continue to move people from welfare to work even in the event of an economic downturn, population growth, or unpredictable emergencies.

success, instead of failure, in the next recession or natural disaster.

^{finally,} And as we give states more flexibility, as I have always said we must, we should make sure that states continue to fulfill their responsibilities as well. The proposed legislation contains no incentives or requirements for states to maintain their own funding for cash assistance, child care, and supports for work. There is a serious danger that some states will "race to the bottom" because it is always much cheaper to simply cut people off than to move them to work. Welfare reform should not be a race to the bottom. It should be a race to independence.

Let's not forget, the people who most want to change this system are the people who are dependent on it. They want to get off welfare. They want to go to work. They want to do right by their kids.

I once had an NGA hearing on welfare when I was Governor. Some of you may remember it. I brought in people on welfare from all over America who had found their way to work. The woman from my State who testified was asked this question: "What's the best thing about being off welfare and in a job?" Without batting an eye, she looked at 40 governors, and she said, "When my boy goes to school and they say what does your mother do for a living, he can give them an answer." People on welfare want a better system, and we ought to give it to them.

With your help, we will break the cycle of dependence and inspire more young people to follow the paths of their parents towards an even greater realization of the American Dream.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Date: 06/06/95 Time: 08:45

Clinton Criticizes GOP Welfare Reform Plans as Bad for States

WASHINGTON (AP) Trying to enlist governors in the welfare debate, President Clinton says Republican plans would spark "a race to the bottom" among cash-strapped states forced to throw people off public assistance.

In remarks prepared for delivery today to a National Governors Association meeting in Baltimore, the president also said the leading Senate plan to overhaul welfare weakens the ability of states to move low-income parents into jobs.

"Every governor here, Democratic and Republican, knows that welfare reform is first and foremost about work," Clinton said. "Unfortunately, the welfare debate in Congress does not focus enough on work."

Aides said the president was expected to propose an incentive for governors who help welfare recipients find work: States that meet specific goals for finding jobs for the needy would get federal-money bonuses.

Stopping just short of issuing yet another veto threat, the president said, "If Congress sends me a bill that doesn't end welfare by moving people to work, I'll send them back to the table until they do."

His remarks echo statements by a litany of administration officials who argued for weeks that GOP plans would make state programs cash-starved and reduce incentives for quality state welfare-to-work programs.

"Welfare reform should not be a race to the bottom," Clinton said. "It should be a race to independence."

The leading Senate plan, drafted by Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore., turns the government's primary welfare program over to the states as a block grant and freezes spending at \$16.8 billion for each of the next five years.

The bill also cancels the federal government's 60-year-old promise to support low-income mothers and their children, and gives states the right to deny welfare to immigrant families, teen-age mothers and children born to women receiving aid.

Packwood argues his plan will give states more flexibility to save money and help the needy.

But Democrats argue that the entitlement status of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main welfare program, should be preserved. Some conservative Republicans criticize the plan because it does not address out-of-wedlock births.

Once the Senate bill is passed, it must be reconciled with a far-reaching House plan that cuts welfare spending by more than \$60 billion.

Administration officials, led by Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, have argued that Packwood's bill reduces funding for job training and repeals programs that provide child-care assistance to more than 640,000 children. Those reductions will make it near-impossible for states to put all able-bodied welfare recipients to work, the administration says.

Shalala also has argued that Packwood's bill undermines the government's ability to hold states accountable for their welfare programs and provides no incentives for states to move adults from welfare to work.

Shalala also questioned the bill's five-year lifetime limit on cash benefits, and said the block grant approach fails to provide for the changing needs of states, such as economic downturns, population increases or poverty. States would no longer be required

to spend any of their own money on welfare, child care or work programs.

APNP-06-06-95 0847EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1995

THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN

DATE: June 6, 1995
LOCATION: Stouffer Renaissance Harborplace Hotel
Balimore, Maryland.
TIME: 1:30 - 2:30 p.m.
FROM: Marcia Hale / Carol Rasco / Bruce Reed

I. PURPOSE

YOUR participation in this event will provide an opportunity to tout YOUR accomplishments and garner support for programs affecting children and families and welfare reform.

YOU will be laying out specific changes in the Senate Finance Committee's welfare bill you will demand so that you can sign the bill. YOU will repeat your challenge to Congress to pass welfare reform by Independence Day, and YOU will make clear that real welfare reform must be about demanding, promoting, and supporting work.

II. BACKGROUND

The National Summit on Young Children is being hosted by Governor Dean, Chairman of the National Governors' Association. The Summit is intended to:

focus public attention on the needs of young children and to reorient and reform service delivery systems to more effectively meet these needs;

reach agreement about the need to develop a broad consensus at the state and community level on the benchmarks that should guide the development of programs and the allocation of resources; and

reach agreement on a process that will support state and local efforts to develop benchmarks and to implement the steps necessary to achieve them.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Program participants will include Governors Howard Dean,

Parris Glendening, Tommy Thompson, Mel Carnahan, George Voinivich, and Arne Carlson; Representative Jane Campbell, President of the National Conference of State Legislatures, Duncan Wyse, Executive Director of the Oregon Progress Board; Randall Franke, President of the National Association of Counties; and Carolyn Long Banks, President of the National League of Cities.

In addition, there will be approximately 150 people - congressional members, other representatives of state and local governments, members of the business community, representatives from foundations, religious leaders and advocates - in the audience.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Governor Dean will introduce YOU.
YOU will make your remarks.
YOU will work the ropeline and depart.

VI. REMARKS

Prepared by Speechwriting.

BOSTON GLOBE 6/7/95

Clinton decries GOP plan for welfare

By Bob Haber
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON - As the Weld administration seeks federal approval to experiment with welfare overhaul, President Clinton warned yesterday that a plan by congressional Republicans to spur states to alter their welfare systems "will become a race to the bottom."

"It's always cheaper to cut people off welfare than to move them to work," Clinton told the National Governors Association in Baltimore.

However, Clinton portrayed himself as a champion of welfare change, noting that he has granted 29 states waivers to alter their systems. And the president appeared to strike an encouraging chord for backers of the Massachusetts plan, saying he has "pretty much gone along with anything the states wanted to do to move people from welfare to work."

But a federal official indicated that Massachusetts may not receive a waiver for its experiment by July 1, the date the state requested, and may have to wait at least another 90 days. And a key member of the Weld administration expressed frustration.

"There is an expectation across the commonwealth that people are anxious to see this reform approved," said Gerald Whitburn, the state Health and Human Services secretary. "We're ready to go, but we can't start the music until the feds give us the green."



Gov. Howard Dean of Vermont joins President Clinton yesterday at the governors conference.

'Family cap'

Among the key elements of the Massachusetts waiver application are "family caps" which prohibit additional benefits to recipients who have more children; a 3-year limit on benefits over a 5-year period to able-bodied workers; and a requirement that mothers with school-age children work within 60 days of going on welfare.

The state submitted the waiver request on March 21, 67 days ago, and asked for approval within 90 days. Weld wants to make sweeping changes in the way federal welfare funds are spent and programs administered when the new fiscal year begins on July 1.

Michael Kharfen, a spokesman for the US Department of Health and Human Services, which is processing the application, said the 90-day request is "not outside the realm of possibility."

However, Clinton has directed the department to process applications from the states within 120 days, which Kharfen said, "is still our goal."

Only a few of the 29 waivers granted so far were approved in fewer than 120 days, Kharfen said, while others exceeded the president's deadline.

In all, the Clinton administration is considering 26 additional waiver requests from 19 states. And the challenge is to meet the 120-day deadline

has grown. Kharfen said, as states such as Massachusetts pursue more ambitious and complex welfare overhauls.

Clinton, speaking at a summit on children's issues at the governors' conference, sharply criticized a plan by congressional Republicans that would give states broad authority to run their welfare systems. States would receive federal block grants to partially offset the costs under the GOP plan.

But Clinton said the Congressional Budget Office had determined that it would cost an additional \$10 billion by the year 2000 to create jobs to meet the requirements in the GOP plan for reducing the welfare rolls - money that he said the federal government would not provide.

The president, who has stopped short of threatening to veto a congressional welfare overhaul, also said the GOP plan placed poor children at risk by forcing their parents into work without day care or adequate transitional benefits.

Weld, who supports the Republican plan, was in Boston and did not attend Clinton's speech. He has said that if the GOP plan became law, Massachusetts would not need a federal waiver to change its welfare system.

Whitburn acknowledged that the Massachusetts application raises new questions for the Clinton

administration because no state has received a waiver yet to require mothers of school-age children to work within 60 days or to cut off benefits to all able-bodied recipients after two years. Some states are experimenting with the 2-year limit in particular counties.

'Some give and take'

Whitburn said state and federal officials have been negotiating changes in the plan, which is opposed by Cardinal Law, Mayor Marino and many labor and human services groups.

"There has been some give and take, and we haven't reached an impasse," Whitburn said. "But typically what happens in these negotiations is that the tougher issues surface at the end."

Neither Whitburn nor Kharfen would cite specific areas of negotiation.

Whitburn said he did not suspect that the White House was trying to block the Massachusetts plan. But he suggested that there may be conflicting opinions of the plan within the administration.

"There are a variety of views on welfare policy across the Clinton administration," he said. "As new ground is being cut, there is always internal debate, and I suspect that is probably going on."

draft 6/3/95 1:00 p.m.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
NATIONAL GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN
BALTIMORE, MD
JUNE 6, 1995

[Acknowledgements: Governor Dean for introduction; Governor Glendening; Mayor Schmoke; participants and guests]

Thanks to Governor Glendening and Mayor Schmoke for hosting this event. In Baltimore the waitresses all call you, "Hon." The Inner Harbor at this time of year is truly magnificent. And, even when things aren't going so well, the whole town is still buzzing about "dem Os," especially after Cal Ripkin hit that terrific grand slam a few days ago. That's what I call community spirit.

Let me begin by congratulating my good friend Governor Dean for his dynamic leadership of the National Governors' Association. I've been where you are, governor. And I think we both agree that keeping 50 restless governors happy is no easy task.

Since we're here to talk about children, let me use a child's perspective to illustrate what I mean. A small girl's father asked her what she wanted most for Christmas. Knowing that her mother was expecting, the girl replied, "a baby sister." To everyone's delight, the mother came home from the hospital on Christmas Eve with a baby girl. A while later, the father asked his daughter, "Next Christmas, what would you like? "Well," said the girl, "if it wouldn't be too uncomfortable for Mom, I'd like to have a pony." I hope you all haven't made it too uncomfortable for Governor Dean.

He may not have been able to deliver a pony, but Governor Dean has delivered something far more important. He has used his leadership of this organization to challenge all of us to care for our most precious resource -- our children. For that, he deserves our deepest thanks.

Let me say one more thing before I begin. For many years, my wife Hillary has worked side-by-side with many of you in the struggle to strengthen children and families. There is nothing she cares about more. She is working on a book about the responsibilities we owe our children. The title comes from the old African proverb, "It Takes a Whole Village to Raise a Child." So, I'm not standing up here alone. Even though she may not be here in person, Hillary stands with me and with all of you everyday on this important issue.

But we all know, for all the progress we have made, America's children and families are in the grips of what the Carnegie

Corporation has called, "A Quiet Crisis." It is an ironic and unacceptable tragedy that in the richest nation on earth, one in five children -- almost 16 million young people -- live in poverty. Compared to most other industrialized countries, our infant mortality rates are higher. We have a higher percentage of low-birthweight babies. Our immunization rates are lower. And we have a higher rate of teen pregnancy and teen parenthood. In addition, one in four children under the age of three lives in a single-parent family; and one in four is a victim of physical abuse. For too long we have failed our children. They are now experiencing what the Carnegie Corporation has called, "A Quiet Crisis."

As we stand at the dawn of the information age and a new global economy, it has never been more important to make sure our children are well prepared for the future. It is never too early to begin building our sons and daughters pathways to the American Dream. That's why I ran for President. To expand opportunity for all Americans, and especially our children. To raise incomes for hard working families. To rebuild a sense of community. To grow the middle class and shrink the underclass.

And to do that we have to discard the old labels of left or right, conservative or liberal. Those old labels are not what matter most anymore. What matters most is that we all come together to find practical, pragmatic solutions to the problems that confront us.

Even before the election in 1992, Vice President Gore and I offered a blueprint for change which we called "Putting People First." And we began at the beginning -- by turning the spotlight on the needs of children and families.

Go back and look at our chapter on children and families. We've kept our promises on more than 90 percent of what we set out to do for children -- to make their lives as grand as their dreams:

EITC -- tax cut for working families earning less than \$26,000 a year. No one who works full time should have to raise their children in poverty.

Family and Medical Leave -- allows parents to be good parents and good workers.

Head Start -- increased investments; new zero to three initiative.

Goals 2000 -- new partnership with states to set world class standards for our schools.

Direct Lending -- 300,000 students and more than 1,400 schools participating. We're saving taxpayers and students billions of

dollars by making college loans easier to get and easier to pay back.

School-to-Work -- apprenticeship program to prepare young people who are not going directly to college to get high-wage jobs.

AmeriCorps -- 20,000 members working in schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods across this country -- earning money for college by giving something back to their communities. And let me say that we wouldn't be where we are today without the outstanding leadership and support of someone we call the "Godmother of National Service:" Maryland Senator, Barbara Mikulski.

But we must do more. Too many Americans are still struggling too hard -- working longer hours for the same or less money than they earned 15 years ago. Too many of our young people are drifting through life without any direction or hope. We cannot let this be. And so once again, America turns to you for leadership.

No one knows better than I do that states are the real laboratories of reform in this country. States and governors know what works. It is governors and states who have lead the way in most of the major reform movements of the past few decades:

Education Reform -- leadership sprang from the states, following publication of the landmark Department of Education report, "A Nation at Risk" in 1983. From the establishment of homework hotlines in Harrison County, Kentucky to the efforts by the Arlington Heights School District in Illinois to better provide for the educational needs of its immigrant children, you are leading the way. And we are assisting you with Goals 2000 funds.

Children and Families -- This conference is highlighting some 30 state initiatives to improve services for children and families, such as the Oregon Benchmarks effort and the Ohio Family and Children First Initiative that were featured in the opening video today.

The beauty in all of this is that Washington is not telling you how to solve your problems -- you know what to do. But we're not abandoning you either. We're here to help set broad goals, ensure accountability, and provide the necessary resources to let you do the job.

Big, centralized government bureaucracy has had its day. As then Governor Franklin Roosevelt said in 1932, "New conditions impose new requirements upon government and those who conduct government." Different times demand different approaches and no where is this more important for our country and our children than in our efforts to reform welfare. I'd like to take a few minutes to tell you where we are in this debate and where I think

we need to be.

I was elected President to end welfare as we know it. And we are going to do it. But, we have to do it the right way. The right way is a true partnership with states to move people from welfare to work. From dependence to independence. From collecting welfare checks to earning paychecks. Our first goal in this effort should not be cutting people off, or streamlining the bureaucracy. Our first goal should be getting people into work.

Welfare reform has always been first and foremost about work. Work was at the core of the Family Support Act which was the defining issue of this organization when I was its chair in 1986. Work has been at the core of the record 29 welfare reform waivers my Administration has granted to states. And work must be the central focus of any legislation coming out of Congress.

But, according to the Congressional Budget Office, the legislation that was just approved by the Senate Finance Committee fails to meet that test. In fact, the CBO analysis concludes that only six states would be able to put half their welfare families to work by the year 2000, as required in the bill. Forty-four states will not meet those requirements. That's not welfare reform. That's smoke and mirrors, politics as usual. And it won't wash. Not with me. Not with the American people.

The reason this bill fails to meet the work requirements is that it lowers the amount available to states for the kinds of supports that are critical to moving people from welfare to work: education and training, incentives that reward states for putting people to work, and, most importantly, child care.

The critical need for child care can not be overstated. The lack of quality, affordable child care is one of the leading reasons why people on welfare stay there, and why people who get off -- fall back on. It defies common sense to take away child care and keep people from going to work.

I also share the concern of a growing number of Republican and Democratic governors and senators that the fixed block grant in the proposed legislation will leave states in the lurch in the event of an economic downturn, population growth or unpredictable emergencies. By failing to provide for the changing needs of states, the danger is real that many states will not be able to meet the needs of their people. That's not state flexibility. That's abandonment of responsibility. And we must not allow it.

The proposed legislation also contains no incentives or requirements for states to maintain their own funding for cash assistance, child care, and supports for work. There is a serious danger that states will "race to the bottom" in an

attempt to save state dollars. It is much cheaper to simply cut people off than to move them to work. But welfare reform should not be about a race to the bottom. It should be about a race to independence. We owe it to our children to ensure that welfare reform expands opportunities and protects children across this country.

So today I'm challenging Congress to send me by Independence Day, July the fourth, a real welfare reform bill. A bill with real work requirements that are achievable. It must contain four essential elements: first, resources for education and training to help prepare people to get jobs and keep them. Second, the child care funding that is critical to allowing parents to go to work. Third, incentives that reward states for putting people to work -- not for cutting them off. And fourth, a personal responsibility contract that commits participants to a plan for moving from welfare to work within a specified time frame. That's real welfare reform.

As most of you know, I've worked on welfare reform for years before I became President, with other governors and with members of Congress from both parties. I've also worked on it with people who were on welfare. And I want to say something to everybody here who cares about this issue. The people who most want to change this system are the people who are dependent on it. They want to get off welfare. They want to go to work. They want to do right by their kids.

I once had a hearing when I was Governor. I brought in people on welfare from all over America who had found their way to work. The woman from my State who testified was asked this question: "What's the best thing about being off welfare and in a job?" Without batting an eye, she looked at 40 governors, and she said, "When my boy goes to school and they say what does your mother do for a living, he can give them an answer." People on welfare want a better system, and we ought to give it to them.

Welfare reform should be a bipartisan issue. And let me say that I am pleased that the Senate bill has moved in the right direction by including the strong child support enforcement measures that we have urged them to adopt. The Senate bill has also eliminated some of the more punitive measures passed by the House that penalize children for the failings of their parents or the State. But the Senate must go the final mile by sending me a bill that protects children by putting their parents to work. We must come together to do what is best and right for America's children and families.

One of my favorite authors, James Agee once wrote, "In every child who is born, under no matter what circumstances and no matter what parents, the potentiality of the whole human race is born again. And in him, too, once more, and of each of us our

terrific responsibility toward human life; toward the utmost idea of goodness, of the horror of terror, and of God."

Our children's future is shaped by our idea of goodness and the policies of our nation.

Thank you for working with us to make sure those ideas and policies benefit all our children.

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[Joke: Since we're here to talk about children, let me use a child's perspective to illustrate what I mean. A small girl's father asked her what she wanted most for Christmas. Knowing that her mother was expecting, the girl replied, "a baby sister." To everyone's delight, the mother came home from the hospital on Christmas Eve with a baby girl.

A while later, the father asked his daughter, "Next Christmas, what would you like? "Well," said the girl, "if it wouldn't be too uncomfortable for Mom, I'd like to have a pony." I hope you all haven't made it too uncomfortable for Governor Dean.]

Governor Dean has delivered something very important himself. He has used his leadership to challenge all of us to care for our most precious resource -- our children. For that, he deserves our deepest thanks.

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babies is higher. Our teen pregnancy rate is higher. And our immunization rates are lower.

We must do better -- especially as we stand at the dawn of the information age and a new global economy. It has never been more important to make sure our children are well prepared for the future. I ran for President because I did not want my daughter to be a part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents.

I wanted to expand opportunity for all Americans -- especially our children. To raise incomes for hard working families. To rebuild a sense of community. To grow the middle class and shrink the underclass.

To do that we have to discard the old labels of left or right, conservative or liberal, and come together to find practical, pragmatic solutions to the problems that confront us. You know that better than anyone.

Our approach, in everything we've done these past two years, is not to tell you how to solve your problems -- you know what works. We have created a new partnership to meet the demands of changing times. We have worked hard to replace the big, centralized government of the past. For as then Governor Franklin Roosevelt said in 1932, "New conditions impose new requirements upon government and those who conduct government."

In these times, we must solve our common problems and give individuals and families the chance to make good lives for themselves.

In 1992, that was the blueprint for change that Vice President Gore and I offered in our book, "Putting People First." We began at the beginning -- with the needs of children and families.

Go back and look at our chapter on children and families -- an agenda to make their lives as strong as their dreams. We've accomplished more than 90 percent of what we set out to do for children:

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prepare young people who are not going directly to college to get high-wage jobs. AmeriCorps -- 20,000 members working in schools, hospitals, and neighborhoods across this country -- earning money for college by giving something back to their communities.

And let me say that we wouldn't be where we are today without the outstanding leadership of someone we call the "Godmother of National Service:" Maryland Senator, Barbara Mikulski.

But too many Americans are still struggling too hard -- working longer hours for the same or less money than they earned 15 years ago. Too many of our young people are drifting through life without any direction or hope. We cannot let this be. And so once again, America turns to you for leadership.

You are the backbone of public service in America. You see in personal terms, the names, faces, and life histories of everyday people struggling to keep the American Dream alive. You in the states have led the way in most of the major reforms of the past few decades -- especially for children and families.

As you focus on youth, there is one issue that we must now work together to solve: welfare reform. It is an issue many of you have led on. Now you must lead again -- as the Senate begins a monumentally important debate. I'd like to take a few moments to tell you what I hope we can do together.

With your help, we have already begun to replace welfare with work. In just 2 years, I've granted 29 waivers. And those of you who have gotten them are using those waivers to put people to work.

In Missouri, Vermont and Wisconsin, Governors Carnahan, Dean and Thompson are using their waivers to impose time limits and require work.

In Ohio, Governor Voinovich is moving people to work by using the money now spent on welfare and food stamps to subsidize private sector jobs.

Every governor here -- Democrat and Republican -- knows that welfare reform is first and foremost about work. Unfortunately, the welfare reform debate in Congress has not focused enough on work and puts states and children at risk. The House bill was weak on work and tough on kids. I had to push and push them to be tough on deadbeat parents. The Senate Finance Committee reported out a bill the other day that is a step in the right direction in some areas, but still misses the point on work.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the current Senate Finance Committee bill won't succeed in moving people from welfare to work. In fact, the CBO concludes that only six states

will fulfill the bill's work requirements in the year 2000. Forty-four states will fail. Six out of 50 in baseball is a 120 batting average. That won't even cut it in the minor leagues. That is not ending welfare as we know it. That is just politics as usual.

The current Senate bill is a failure on work for a simple reason: it takes away the tools states use to move people from welfare to work: child care, job training, and incentives for job placement.

I am committed to working across party lines to solve this problem. But if we are going to really end welfare as we know it, Congress must send me a bill that accomplishes the following basic principles:

First, we must require people who can work to go to work, making sure they have child care when they do. It defies common sense to insist that people go to work and then take away their child care.

Second, the legislation should have real work requirements, backed up with real resources for education and training and job placement to help people get jobs and keep them. According to the CBO, it would cost states \$10 billion a year by the year 2000 to meet the requirements in the Senate bill; and yet the bill expects them to do this with less money than they have now. I was a governor long enough to spot an unfunded mandate. That's exactly what you and I fought so hard to stop in Washington.

Third, welfare reform should have incentives that reward states for putting people to work, not for cutting them off. The current bills give states an incentive to save money by throwing people off the rolls. The House bill even gives states an illegitimacy bonus that the Catholic Church says would be an incentive for more abortions. That's not welfare reform. If we're going to change the culture of the welfare bureaucracy, we've got to begin to reward success instead of the status quo. That is why I want a performance bonus that will force the welfare bureaucracy and recipients to move from welfare to work.

Fourth, the legislation should protect states so they can continue to move people from welfare to work even in the event of an economic downturn, population growth, or unpredictable emergencies. In their current form, these bills would kill growth states like Florida and Utah, and put every state at risk in the next recession or natural disaster.

And, finally, we must protect our children, our most precious resource. That means we should avoid the mean spirited restrictions on benefits to children. We should also avoid cuts in child nutrition, adoption, and child protective services. And

as we give states more flexibility, we should make sure that states continue to fulfill their responsibilities. The proposed legislation contains no incentives or requirements for states to maintain their own funding for cash assistance, child care, and supports for work. There is a serious danger that some states will "race to the bottom." It is always much cheaper to simply cut people off than to move them to work. Welfare reform should not be a race to the bottom. It should be a race to independence.

So, I challenge Congress to send me a real welfare reform bill by July fourth, Independence Day. If Congress sends me a welfare reform bill that will move people from welfare to work, I'll sign it. But, if Congress sends me a welfare reform bill that doesn't end welfare by moving people to work, I'll send them back to the table until they do. Six out of 50 states is not good enough. Let's give every state a chance to succeed.

Let's never forget, the people who most want to change this system are the people who are dependent on it.

Some of you may remember the NGA welfare hearing I once held in Arkansas with people on welfare from all over America who had found their way to work. The woman from my State who testified was asked this question: "What's the best thing about being off welfare and in a job?" Without batting an eye, she looked at 40 governors, and she said, "When my boy goes to school and they say what does your mother do for a living, he can give them an answer." Most people on welfare are like that woman. They want to go to work. They want to do right by their kids. We ought to give them that chance.

With your help, we will break the cycle of dependence and inspire more young people to follow the paths of their parents towards an even greater realization of the American Dream. Thank you and God bless you all.