

**President William J. Clinton  
Child Support Enforcement Executive Order  
Talking Points  
February 27, 1994**

\* **American values.** Today, we are taking another important step in our ongoing effort to bring the federal government in line with the values of our people. Parents have an absolute responsibility to take care of their children -- and any parent who isn't paying child support should be forced to pay.

\* **Record enforcement in 1993.** The action I'm taking today builds on the work we've been doing for the last two years to step up child support enforcement. Last week, the Department of Health and Human Services reported that we collected a record \$703 Million in delinquent child support for 1993 by garnishing income tax refunds of parents who failed to pay. This 13% increase helped almost one Million families.

**\* Toughest enforcement measures ever proposed.**

Last year, as part of our welfare reform plan, my Administration put forward the toughest child support enforcement measures ever proposed. Our plan says to absent parents: If you're not paying your child support, we'll garnish your wages, suspend your license, track you across state lines, and if necessary, make you work off what you owe. Child support enforcement is essential to getting people off welfare, and Congress should pass a welfare reform bill that makes these tough measures the law of the land.

\* **Executive Order.** The Executive Order I just signed will make the federal government a model employer in the area of child support enforcement.

It will make it easier for us to find federal employees who don't meet their obligations to their children. It will speed up our ability to garnish their paychecks and force them to pay the child support they owe.

\* **Any parent who is avoiding his or her responsibility for a child should listen very carefully: We will find you. We will catch you. We will make you pay.**

\* **Children suffer for parent's mistakes. Too many children in this country suffer because of their parent's irresponsible behavior. That's wrong. We can't let children be punished for their parents' mistakes. When parents don't provide the child support they owe, their children pay forever, and so do we.**

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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Until Saturday, March 18, 1995

at 10:06 A.M. EST

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Roosevelt Room

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. This morning I want to talk about responsibility -- the responsibility all parents have to support their children. I'm pleased to be joined by Gerri Jensen, the president of the leading child support enforcement group in America, along with six other conscientious parents who have struggled to raise their children without the child support they were entitled to.

Our generation, at the end of the 20th century, has two great responsibilities: First, to keep the American Dream alive and well for all our children; and, second, to help our country remain the strongest force for freedom and democracy in the world. We can't do that if we don't have strong families and responsible parenting.

In Washington we're having a great debate about what we ought to do here to support these goals. On one side is the old Washington view that big, bureaucratic, one-size-fits-all government can provide big solutions to America's big problems. On the other side is the new extreme view that government is the source of all our problems, and if we just get rid of it, every problem would go away as well.

I've got a different view based on practical experience. I think we have to chart a course between the old way of big government and the new rage of no government. I think government's job is to expand opportunity while shrinking bureaucracy; to get more jobs and higher incomes with less burden from government; to empower people to make the most of their own lives through more education and training and technology and support for families and for work; and to enhance our security on our streets and around the world.

To achieve these ends, the federal government has to be a partner -- a partner with the private sector, with state and local governments, with individual citizens to strengthen our communities; a partner in promoting opportunity and, at the same time, demanding more responsibility. That's what the New Covenant is all about.

Nowhere is the lack of values, the lack of opportunity and responsibility more apparent than in our own failed welfare system. We all agree we have to end welfare as we know it. I think to do it we'll have to offer more opportunity to move people from welfare to work and demand more responsibility in return; to have a requirement that anyone on welfare who can work must go to work, and to discourage irresponsible behavior that lands people on welfare in the first place by insisting on tougher child support enforcement and responsible parenting. We have to make responsibility a way of life.

I've been working on this issue for the last 15 years. Last year I sent Congress a sweeping welfare reform plan. Congress didn't act last year, but I applaud the new Republican majority and the Democrats, both of them for making welfare reform a priority this year. Meanwhile, in the last two years, we've cut through federal red tape to give 26 states -- more than half the country -- the authority to conduct their own welfare reform experiments. And Republicans and Democrats now agree on tougher child support enforcement. They all agree that we have to have national action on tougher child support enforcement because 30 percent or more of the child support cases that are delinquent cross state boundaries.

I've worked hard on this. Since I've been President, child support collections are up substantially. And I just issued a tough executive order to crack down on delinquency by federal employees.

If deadbeat parents paid all the child support they should in this country, we could immediately move over 800,000 mothers and children off welfare. Let me say that again. If deadbeat parents paid the child support they owe, we could move immediately over 800,000 mothers and children off welfare. This goes way beyond welfare. Millions of children of working parents would have more secure lives and much brighter futures if the errant parents -- absent parents -- paid what they owe.

The welfare reform plan I sent to Congress last year included five key provisions for tough child support enforcement -- employer reporting of new hires to catch deadbeats who move from job to job; uniform interstate child support laws; computerized state-wide collection to speed up payments; streamlined efforts to identify the father in every case; and tough new penalties, like driver's license revocation.

These reforms will work. According to a report issued today by the Department of Human Services -- of Health and Human Services, if we crack down on deadbeat parents by making these five provisions the law all over America, child support collections would go up by \$24 billion in the next 10 years.

I am pleased that the House Republicans have come our way on these child support enforcement issues. They have included four of the five steps I proposed in their welfare bill. But I think the fifth step is crucial as well. Our plan calls on states to deny

driver's licenses and professional licenses to people who refuse to pay the money they owe for their own children. Nineteen states are doing that today, and they're collecting a lot more child support as a result.

So I hope the House Republicans will take a look at these new findings and join us to send deadbeat parents all across this country a loud signal: If you neglect your responsibility to support your children, we'll suspend your license, garnish your pay, track you down, and make you pay.

Eighteen years ago, Gerri Jensen's husband abandoned her and her two young sons. She held down several low-paying jobs, but eventually was forced to turn to welfare because her ex-husband stopped paying child support altogether. She got so fed up with weak laws and bureaucratic runarounds that she launched a grass-roots movement to crack down on deadbeat parents nationwide. We are all in her debt, and we all owe an obligation to all the people like her in America who are doing their dead-level best to be good parents. They deserve our support.

Gerri Jensen stood up and fought to make our laws reflect our values. No parent has a right to walk away from responsibility to his or her children. Now, if we work together, we can make this kind of responsibility the law of our land.

Thanks for listening. (Applause.)

END

## STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT

March 23, 1995

I want to applaud Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives for approving an amendment this afternoon to require states to deny drivers' and professional licenses to deadbeat parents who refuse to pay child support. This tough provision was a central part of the welfare reform plan my Administration introduced last year, and sends a clear signal: No parent in America has a right to walk away from the responsibility to raise their children.

I congratulate the sponsor of the amendment, Rep. Marge Roukema (R-NJ), as well as Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-CT) and other members who have worked across party lines to make tough child support enforcement a central part of welfare reform. With this amendment, the House welfare reform legislation now includes every major child support pillar of our welfare reform plan, which offered the toughest possible child support enforcement measures ever put forward.

These actions on child support enforcement prove that welfare reform can and must be a bipartisan issue. Unfortunately, the House Republican bill still does not offer the kind of real welfare reform that Americans in both parties expect. Welfare reform must be tough on work and tough on deadbeat parents, not tough on children.

I look forward to working with Republicans and Democrats in both houses of Congress to enact real reform that makes work and responsibility a way of life.

**Executive Order 12921—  
Amendment to Executive Order  
No. 12864**

June 13, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to provide for the appointment of up to 37 members to the United States Advisory Council on the National Information Infrastructure, it is hereby ordered that section 1(a) of Executive Order No. 12864, as amended, is further amended by deleting the number "30" and inserting the number "37" in lieu thereof.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
June 13, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:09 p.m., June 13, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on June 15.

**Remarks at the State Dinner for the  
Emperor and Empress of Japan**

June 13, 1994

Ladies and gentlemen, Your Majesties, our other distinguished guests from Japan, ladies and gentlemen. We are honored and privileged to welcome this evening the Emperor and Empress of Japan.

You are no strangers to the United States, but it gives me particular pleasure to host you here at the White House on this, the occasion of your first visit to America since you ascended to the Chrysanthemum Throne.

As citizens of a relatively young nation, we Americans are honored by your presence, and we deeply value the rich culture and history you represent. You embody a tradition that stretches back century after century and a people who have brought the world a civilization of great elegance.

At a time when the call of tradition so often clashes with the demands of the modern world, Your Majesties revere your ancestors and your past and, yet, revel in your own people's extraordinary ability to innovate for tomorrow.

Your personal interest in your nation's cultural heritage is matched by your vital curiosity about the world around you. And your travels have surely taken you far and wide. You have fully pursued professional knowledge, and yet, in your devotion to your family, you have set an example for us all. Through your words and deeds, Your Majesties have earned the respect and the admiration of the Japanese people. But those are sentiments we Americans also share.

Today, the ties that bind our two nations have never been stronger. The miracles of technology and the common search for democracy, prosperity, and peace have brought us together. Exchange between our two peoples has opened windows and shed great light. Yet, there is always more to learn. And as we gather here tonight in 1994, our relationship is still unfolding.

The Japanese poet, Basho, put it well in a haiku that sums up the distance ahead:

Nearing autumn's close,  
My neighbor—  
How does he live?  
I wonder.

May Your Majesties' visit provide new answers to that question and bring our peoples closer still. May your journey across our land be enjoyable and leave you wanting to visit us again. And may the sea that separates us be also a shining path between us.

Your Majesties, Hillary and I thank you for gracing our Nation's home tonight. It is with deep admiration and respect for you and the great nation you represent that I now ask all of us to raise our glasses to join in a toast to you and to the people of Japan.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:58 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

**Remarks on Welfare Reform in  
Kansas City, Missouri**

June 14, 1994

Thank you very much. Thank you, ladies and gentleman, for that warm introduction and welcome. And thank you, Yolanda Magee, for presenting me today and, far more importantly, for presenting such a good example of a young American determined to

be a good parent and a good worker and a successful citizen. Thank you, Mr. Kemper, for giving her a chance to be all that. Thank you, Congressman Wheat, for your leadership on welfare reform. And thank you, Mayor Cleaver, for your leadership on this issue. Thank you, Governor Carnahan, for proving once again that the States, just as James Madison and Thomas Jefferson intended, are still the laboratories of democracy, still capable of leading the way to change things that don't work in this country and to unleash the potential of our citizens. This is a remarkable welfare reform plan that you have put together. I'd like to thank also Secretary Shakala for her work here. Many people in the White House and in the Department of Health and Human Services worked with people all over America in putting this welfare reform plan together today. I thank them all.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is an important day for me because I have worked on this issue for about 14 years, and I care a great deal about it. I came out here to the heart of America, to a bank where Harry Truman had his first job, to talk about the values that sustain us all as citizens and as Americans, faith and family, work and responsibility, community and opportunity.

Last week, on behalf of all Americans, I took a journey of remembrance—many of you at least took it, too, through the television—to honor the sacrifices of the people who led our invasions at D-Day and on the Italian Peninsula. I came home from Normandy with a renewed sense, which I hope all of you share, of the work that we have to do in this time to be worthy of the sacrifices of that generation and to preserve this country for generations still to come.

The people who won World War II and rebuilt our country afterward were driven by certain bedrock values that have made our country the strongest in history. Facing the dawn of a new century, it is up to us to take those same values to meet a new set of challenges.

Our challenge is different. Today we have to restore faith in the beginning in certain basic principles that our forebears took for granted: the bond of family, the virtue of community, the dignity of work. That is really

what I ran for President to try to do, to restore our economy, to empower individuals and strengthen our communities, to make our Government work for ordinary citizens again.

I think we've made a good beginning. In the last year and a half, we have reversed an economic trend that was leading us into deeper and deeper debt, less investment, and a weaker economy. The Congress, as Congresswoman Danner and Congressman Wheat will attest, is about to put the finishing touches on a new budget which will give us 3 years of declining deficits in the Federal accounts for the first time since Harry Truman was President.

We worked to expand trade and the frontiers of technology, to have tax incentives for small businesses and for working families on modest wages to keep them moving ahead. And the results are pretty clear. Our economy has produced about 3.4 million jobs in the first 17 months of this administration. So we're moving ahead.

We're trying to empower people with new systems for job training and community service and other options for young people to rebuild their communities and go to college. We're trying to make this Government work again for ordinary citizens by reforming the way it works with our reinventing Government program that will lead us within 5 years to the smallest Federal bureaucracy since John Kennedy was President, doing more work than ever done before by the Federal Government; that will lead the Congress, I hope, in just a couple of weeks to pass the most comprehensive antitrust bill in the history of the country; that is helping all of us to restore that bond that has to exist between a Government and its people.

But I have to tell you that the challenge of the welfare system poses these issues, all of them in stark terms: how to make the economy work; how to make the Government work for ordinary citizens; how to empower individuals and strengthen communities. These difficulties are all present in the challenges presented by the current welfare system. There's no greater gap between our good intentions and our misguided consequences than you see in the welfare system.

It started for the right common purpose of helping people who fall by the wayside. And believe it or not, it still works that way for some, people who just hit a rough spot in their lives and have to go on public assistance for awhile, and then they get themselves off, and they do just fine. But for many the system has worked to undermine the very values that people need to put themselves and their lives back on track. We have to repair the damaged bond between our people and their Government, manifested in the way the welfare system works. We have to end welfare as we know it.

In a few days, as has already been said, I will send to Congress my plan to change the welfare system, to change it from a system based on dependence to a system that works toward independence, to change it—*(applause)*—thank you—to change it so that the focus is clearly on work.

I also want to say that I developed a phrase over the last few years that world and welfare as we know it by saying welfare ought to be a second chance, not a way of life. One young woman I met a few moments ago said, "It ought to be a stepping stone, not a way of life." Maybe that's even better, but you have the idea.

Long before I became President, as I said, I worked with other Governors and Members of Congress of both parties. I worked on it with people who were on welfare, a lot of them. And let me say first of all to all those whom I invite to join this great national debate, if you really want to know what's wrong with the welfare system, talk to the people who are stuck in it or who have been on it. They want to change it more than most people you know. And if you give them half a chance, they will.

Before I came down to see you, I met with Yolanda Magee, and she told me her story. I also met with several other people who are now working in this area, who used to be on welfare, people who got up every morning and go to work in factories or small businesses or banks, who do their best to take care of their children and to advance their capacity to succeed in our complex, modern society.

And I want to introduce them all to you and ask them to stand, so that when you look

at them you'll know what this whole deal is about. And let me just—they're over here: Kathy Romero, who works at Lutheran Trinity Hospital—stand up—Arlenda Moffitt, who works at Pitney-Bowes Management Services; Vicki Phelps who works at Continuum Vantage Research; Pamela Rohmke, who works at Cates Sheet Metal; Birdella Smith at HOK Sports Facilities; Christine McDonald who works for Pepsi-Cola; Mimi Fluker who works at Payless Cashways; Audrey Williams who works at Allied Security; Judy Sutton, a teacher in the Kansas City School District; and Tracy Varron, a home health registered nurse at Excelsior Spring City Hospital.

Every one of those American citizens at one point in her life was on welfare. Every one now, thanks to programs and incentives and help with medical coverage and child care and training and just helping people put their lives back together through the initiatives that have already been discussed here, is now a working American. And I say to you, if these American citizens can do this here in Kansas City, we ought to be able to do this in every community in the country. And we ought to be able to change the system and get these people out of it.

How shall we change this system? Let me say first, I think we have to begin with responsibility, with the elemental proposition that governments do not raise children, people do, and that among other things, an awful lot of people are trapped in welfare because they are raising children on their own when the other parent of the child has refused to pay child support that is due, payable, and able to pay.

This plan includes the toughest child support enforcement measures in the history of this country that go after the \$34—listen to this—the \$34 billion gap in this country. That is, it is estimated that there are \$34 billion worth of ordered but uncollected child support today in America, \$34 billion.

How are we going to do that? First, by requiring both parents to be identified at a hospital when a baby's born. Second, by saying, if you don't provide for your children, you should have your wages garnished, your license suspended; you should be tracked across State lines. If necessary, you should

have to work off what you owe. This is a very serious thing. We can no longer say that the business of bringing a child into the world carries no responsibility with it and that someone can walk away from it.

The second thing that responsibility means is not just going after people who aren't fulfilling it but rewarding those who are being responsible. The system now does just the opposite. Just for example, the welfare system will pay teen parents more to move out of their home than to stay there. In my opinion, that is wrong. We should encourage teen parents to live at home, stay in school, take responsibility for their own futures and their children's futures. And the financial incentives of the welfare system ought to do that instead of just the reverse. We have to change the signals we are sending here.

We also have to face the fact that we have a big welfare problem because the rate of children born out of wedlock, where there was no marriage, is going up dramatically. The rate of illegitimacy has literally quadrupled since Daniel Patrick Moynihan, now a Senator from New York, first called it to our attention 30 years ago. At the rate we're going, unless we reverse it, within 10 years more than half of our children will be born in homes where there has never been a marriage.

We must keep people from the need to go on welfare in the first place by emphasizing a national campaign against teen pregnancy, to send a powerful message that it is wrong to continue this trend, that children should not be born until parents are married and fully capable of taking care of them. And this trend did not develop overnight. There are many reasons for it. It will not be turned around overnight. But be sure of this: No Government edict can do it.

This is a free country with hundreds of millions of people making their decisions, billions of them every day. To change a country on a profound issue like this requires the efforts of millions and millions and millions of you talking openly and honestly and freely about these things; talking to people who have lived through these experiences and many of them doing the very best they can to be honorable and good parents; talking about what we can do to involve churches

and civic clubs and groups of all kinds in this endeavor, not to point the finger at people to drive them down or embarrass them but to lift them up so that they can make the most of their lives and so they can be good parents when the time comes to do that.

But let us be clear on this: No nation has ever found a substitute for the family. And over the course of human history, several have tried. No country has ever devised any sort of program that would substitute for the consistent, loving devotion and dedication and role-modeling of caring parents. We must do this work. This is not a Government mission; this is an American mission. But we must do it if we want to succeed over the long run.

And let me say finally that if you strengthen the families, we still can't change the welfare system unless it is rooted in getting people back to work. You can lecture people; you can encourage people; you can do whatever you want. But there has to be something at the end of the road for people who work hard and play by the rules. Work is the best social program this country ever devised. It gives hope and structure and meaning to our lives. All of us here who have our jobs would be lost without them.

Just stop for a moment sometime today and think about how much of your life is organized around your work, how much of your family life, how much of your social life, not to mention your work life. Think about the extent to which you are defined by the friends you have at work, by the sense that you do a good job, by the regularity of the paycheck.

One of these fine women who's agreed to come here today said that one of the best things about being off welfare was getting the check and being able to go buy her own groceries every 2 weeks. That's a big deal.

So I say to you, we propose to offer people on welfare a simple contract. We will help you get the skills you need, but after 2 years, anyone who can go to work must go to work, in the private sector if possible, in a subsidized job if necessary. But work is preferable to welfare. And it must be enforced.

Now, this plan will let communities do what's best for them. States can design their own programs; communities can design their

own programs. This will support initiatives like the WEN program here, not take things away from them and substitute Government programs.

We want to give communities a chance to put their people to work in child care, home care, and other fields that are desperately needed. We want every community to do what you've done here in Kansas City, to bring together business and civic and church leaders, together to find out how you can make lasting jobs and lasting independence.

Let me say just a couple of other things. If you wish people to go to work, you also have to reward them for doing so. Now, a popular misconception is that a lot of people stay on welfare because the welfare check is so big. In fact, when you adjust it for inflation—[laughter]—right? When you adjust it for inflation, welfare checks are smaller than they were 20 years ago.

But there are things that do keep people on welfare. One is the tax burden of low wage work; another is the cost of child care; another is the cost of medical care. Now, a few years ago, I was active as a Governor in helping to rewrite the welfare laws so that States were given the opportunity to offer some people the chance to get child care and medical care continued when they got off welfare and went to work for a period of transition. Several of these women have taken advantage of that, and they talked about it.

But we must do more. Last year when the Congress passed our economic program, they expanded the earned-income tax credit dramatically, which lowered taxes on one in six working Americans working for modest wages so that there would never again be an incentive to stay on welfare instead of going to work. Instead of using the tax system to hold people in poverty, we want to use the tax system to lift workers out of poverty.

That was one of the least known aspects of the economic program last year, but more than 10 times as many Missourians, for example, got an income tax cut as the 1.2 percent of the wealthiest people got an income tax increase. Why? Because you want to reward people who are out there working who are hovering just above the poverty line.

What's the next issue? In our bill, we provide some more transitional funds for child

support to help people deal with that. That's important.

But thirdly, one of the most important reasons we should pass a health care reform bill that makes America join the ranks of every other advanced country in the world that provides health insurance to all its people is that today you have this bizarre situation where people on welfare, if they take a job in a place which doesn't offer health insurance, are asked to give up their children's health care and go to work, earning money, paying taxes to pay for the health care of the children of people who didn't make the decision to go to work and stayed on welfare, while they made the decision to go to work and gave up their children's health care coverage. That does not make any sense. And until we fix that, we will never close the circle and have a truly work-based system.

If we do the things we propose in this welfare reform program, even by the most conservative estimates, these changes together will move one million adults who would otherwise be on welfare into work or off welfare altogether by the year 2000.

And if we can change the whole value system, which has got us into the fix we're in today, the full savings over the long haul are more than we will ever be able to imagine, because the true issue on welfare, as Senator Moynihan said so many years ago, is not what it cost the taxpayers; it's what it cost the recipients. We should be worried about that.

And let me say, one of the most rewarding things that happened today in our little meeting before I came down was I asked all these fine ladies who are here, I said, "Now, if we were able to provide these services, do you believe that it should be mandatory to participate in this program?" Every one of them said, "Absolutely! Absolutely!"

So I ask you all here—let us be honest, none of this will be easy to accomplish. We know what the problems are. And we know they did not develop overnight. But we have to make a beginning. We owe it to the next generation. We cannot permit millions and millions and millions of American children to be trapped in a cycle of dependency with people who are not responsible for bringing them into the world, with parents who are trapped in a system that doesn't develop their

human capacity to live up to the fullest of their God-given abilities and to succeed as both workers and parents. We must break this cycle.

For this reason, this ought to be a bipartisan issue. Over the last 30 years, poor folks in this country have seen about all the political posturing they can stand, one way or the other. Now, there are serious people in both political parties in Congress who have advanced proposals to change the welfare system. And I really believe that we have a chance finally to replace dependence with independence, welfare with work.

I don't care who gets the credit for this if we can rebuild the American family; if we can strengthen our communities; if we can give every person on welfare the dignity, the pride, the direction, the strength, the sheer personal power I felt coming out of these ladies that I spoke with today; if we can give people the pride that I sense from Yolanda's coworkers when she stood up here to introduce me today. This is not a partisan issue; this is an American issue.

Let me tell you, several years ago when I was a Governor of my State, I brought in Governors from all over the country to a meeting in Washington, and then I brought in people from all over America who had been on welfare to talk to them. We had most of the Governors there, and they were shocked. Most of them had never met anybody who'd been on welfare before. And there was a woman from my State who was asked a question. I had no idea what she was going to answer. She was asked about her job, and she talked about her job and how she got on the job. And then she was asked by a Governor, "Well, do you think enrollment in these programs ought to be mandatory?" She said, "I sure do." And then a Governor said, "Well, can you tell us what the best thing about being in a full-time job is?" She said, "Yes, sir. When my boy goes to school, and they ask him, 'what does you maw do for a living,' he can give an answer."

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for proving today that we can give every child in America a chance to give an answer. Let's go do it.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:12 p.m. at the Commerce Bank. In his remarks, he referred to Yolanda Magee, a participant in the Future Now program who introduced the President; Jonathan Kemper, president and CEO, Commerce Bank; Mayor Emanuel Cleaver II of Kansas City, MO; and Gov. Mel Carnahan of Missouri.

### Proclamation 6701—Father's Day, 1994

June 14, 1994

*By the President of the United States of America*

#### *A Proclamation*

June conjures up memories of sunny days, backyard cookouts, relaxing vacations, lush gardens in bloom, and on the third Sunday of the month, the celebration of Father's Day. This is a time set aside by tradition to pay tribute to fathers across our land and to thank them for their unconditional love, for their belief in their children's potential, and for their vital parental role. Their profound influence on their sons and daughters—on society itself—is incalculable.

The loving concern of fathers in raising, protecting, educating, encouraging, and providing direction for their children shapes our national character, as well as our children's. The positive interaction of fathers who responsibly welcome the challenges of guiding their children is immeasurable. Through the nurturing support of such parents, competent, caring, and resilient generations of citizens develop and thrive. These fathers, whether biological, foster, or adoptive, deserve our honor and gratitude.

All fathers in our society today must reinvest in supplying emotional and financial support for their children. It is never too late to assume the responsibility for meeting a child's needs. To do so, despite personal and economic hardship, is to help our children transcend adverse circumstances and to earn the love, respect, and appreciation that will become a legacy of devotion for generations long after ours.

Our Nation is becoming increasingly aware that a father's acceptance and support are powerful motivators. It is most fitting that we recognize our fathers' contributions today

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 7, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTIES

Washington Hilton  
Washington, D.C.

10:15 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Thank you, Randy, for the tee-shirt and for the sentiment which it represents. I thank all of you for having me here. I'm glad to be here with Secretary Shalala and Doug Bovin and Michael Hightower, Randy Johnson, John Stroger, my old friend from Arkansas by way of Chicago -- (laughter) -- Doris Ward and Larry Naake.

Let me begin by congratulating you on this program this morning. I was impressed that you had our longtime friend, Marian Wright Edelman, who gave my wife her first job after law school in the Children's Defense Fund. And I'm glad the Speaker got to come back and give his talk today -- (laughter) -- and I thank you for hearing him. (Applause.)

You know, I've done a lot of work over the years with the Acorn\* Group, and they stood for a lot of good things in my home state. But I think everyone deserves to be heard. And we need people debating these important issues in Washington. This is a very exciting time, and it's important that all the voices be heard and that people like you especially that have to live with the consequences of what is done here hear the ideas that are being debated, and also that you be heard.

I am always glad to be with people who I think of as being in the backbone of public service in America. You serve at the level where you can have the greatest impact. When I was a governor, nothing mattered more to me than just being in direct contact with the people who hired me to do my job. And I have to tell you, as President, perhaps the most frustrating thing about the job is that I don't have as many opportunities as you do to be in direct contact with the people who hired me to do this job. That's not good for me, and sometimes it's not so good for them as well.

When I was governor, people used to make fun of me and say that I was basically a courthouse governor, which meant that I loved to go to the county courthouses in the rural areas of my state and sit for hours and talk to the officials and also visit with the people who would come in. But I know this: I know that one of the things that our government in Washington has suffered from for so many years is being too far from the concerns of ordinary Americans. (Applause.)

You see in personal terms, with names and faces and life histories, the struggle now going to keep the American Dream alive. And you know as well as any the importance of reconnecting the values of the American people to their government. I ran for President because that American Dream and those values were threatened in the face of the huge changes that are going on here in the United States and all around the world, and because I thought that too often our government was simply not prepared to deal with those challenges or, in some cases, actually making them worse.

MORE

Now, for two years I have worked hard to help ensure that our people have the tools they need to build good lives for themselves as we move into the 21st century, and that we cross that great divide still the strongest and most secure country in the world; still the greatest force for peace and freedom and democracy.

We're about two-thirds through the first 100 days of this new Congress. On Saturday, March the 4th, we had the 62nd anniversary of President Franklin Roosevelt's inauguration as President and the start of the original first 100 days. On that day, Franklin Roosevelt began to restore our nation and to redefine the relationship between our people and their government for half a century. And a lot of things he said then are still accurate today. In his inaugural he said, "The joy and moral stimulation of work must no longer be forgotten. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto, but to minister to ourselves and our fellow men."

Today, we face different challenges, but our job is much the same. We have to keep the American Dream alive for ourselves and our children during a time of great change. And we have to do that while we maintain the values that have always made us strong -- work, family, community, responsibility for ourselves and for the future of our children.

As all of you know -- and you're now seeing it played out this morning -- we're engaged in a great debate here in Washington about how to do that. The old Washington view is that the federal government can provide big solutions to America's big problems. The new Republican Contract view reflects often an outright hostility to almost any federal government involvement, unless the present majority in Congress disagrees with what's going on in the state; and then there is a curious desire to increase the federal government's control over those aspects of our lives.

Now, my view is very different, really, from both. It reflects the years and years that I lived like you live now, when I was a governor out there working among the American people, and seeing these problems that people talk about in sound bites with names and faces and life histories.

The New Covenant that I want to forge with the American people for the future says that we need both more opportunity and more responsibility; that we don't have a person to waste, so we have to have very strong communities that unite us instead of divide us. We do need very big changes in the way government works. We don't need big, bureaucratic, one-size-fits-all government in Washington.

But we do have common problems and common opportunities which require a partnership -- a partnership with a limited but an effective government; a government committed to increasing opportunity in terms of jobs and incomes, while shrinking government bureaucracy; a government committed to empowering people through education and training and technology to make the most of their own lives; a government committed to enhancing our security all around the world and here at home on our streets as well.

Now, this kind of government will necessarily send more decisions back to the state and local governments and to citizens themselves. It will cut unnecessary spending, but it will invest more in jobs, incomes and educations. It will, in short, as I said in 1992, put people first. It will insist on more personal responsibility and it will support stronger communities. It will be a partner, but it won't be a savior, and it won't sit on the sidelines. Either extreme is wrong.

Now, I see this debate about the role of our government as terribly important. And you can see it now playing out on every issue now before the Congress. We see it being debated in terms of how we should best educate our children, how we should train our workers, how we should make our communities safe again; how our civil justice system should work, what is the right way to fix the broken welfare system. I want you to watch it play out this year. Underneath it all will be, what is the responsibility of the government in Washington; what is your responsibility at the grass-roots level; how can it best be met.

As we debate these matters, I will keep working to change the way Washington does business -- to achieve a government that gives taxpayers better value for their dollar, to support more jobs and higher incomes for the middle class and to shrink the under class, and to reinforce mainstream values of responsibility, work, family and community.

You know, for the 12 years before I came here, Washington allowed the deficit to quadruple and didn't do much to shrink the size or change the role of government. Organized interest did very well, but the public interest suffered. In the last two years, we've begun to change that. We've cut the federal deficit by \$600 billion, shrunk the federal government faster than at any time in memory. We've cut more than 300 domestic programs and consolidated hundreds of others. We've got more than 150,000 fewer people working for the federal bureaucracy today than on the day I became President, and we're --(applause)-- and we are on the way to reducing it by more than a quarter of a million, so that the federal government will be the smallest it has been since President Kennedy took office. (Applause.)

In the process, we have done a lot to shift power away from Washington to states, counties, cities and towns throughout the country. Our reinventing government initiative has already saved the taxpayers \$63 billion under the leadership of the Vice President, and we will save more.

We have cut regulations that make it harder on business and local government to create opportunity, but we will do more. And all of this has made a difference in the work and the lives of the people you serve. The economy has created almost six million jobs since I became President, the combined rate of unemployment and inflation is at a 25-year low. (Applause.)

But, clearly, we still have more to do. Most people are working harder without a raise, even though we've got a recovery. We're the only advanced country in the world where the percentage of people in the work force with health insurance is smaller today than it was 10 years ago. We still have a lot of economic problems out there, and you know that.

I am ready to work with the Republicans, especially in areas that will give you more power to do what you have to do. Together, we have moved forward legislation in the Congress that will keep Congress from imposing unreasonable new mandates on you without paying for them. (Applause.)

We've got a few issues left to work out on that, but a bill has passed the House and a bill has passed the Senate, and I encourage all sides to work in a bipartisan way to resolve them soon. In particular, though -- and I want you to weigh in on this -- I hope you will -- I think the bill ought to be made effective immediately. (Applause.) For reasons I don't understand, Congress seems to want to make it effective toward the end of this year or at the beginning of next year. If it's going to be a good idea then, it will be a good idea now. Let's go on and get it done. (Applause.)

As we have worked to cut yesterday's government, we've also invested in our people to help them solve their own problems. We have approached that work, too, as a partner with people at the local level. For example, last year we had the most productive year in passing education reform legislation from expanding Head Start to making college loans more affordable to the middle class in 30 years. But our education reforms set world-class standards for our schools, and yet give to educators and parents much more say than the federal government used to about how to meet these standards and how to improve our children's education.

We tried to be good partners with local government on the crime bill. I want to thank all of you at NACO for helping us to pass it. After six years of rhetoric and hot air in Washington, we finally passed the crime bill. (Applause.) You told us you wanted an end to gridlock, and you helped us get it. And we are providing what you told us you wanted -- you and other local officials all across the country -- resources for 100,000 new law enforcement officers, smarter prevention efforts, tougher punishment, like three strikes and you're out, a hard-won ban on assault weapons.

We are working with you now to implement this crime bill. The Justice Department and the Attorney General are working very, very hard. This is an amazing thing. I hear those who criticize this crime bill say that we have imposed this on local government, and they really don't want it, and they can't afford to pay any match. But do you know, since October, over half the police departments in the United States of America have already applied for assistance under the police grants -- over half. (Applause.) And in this five-year program, we have already released funds just since last fall to our 17,000 new law enforcement officers, including over 1,000 deputy sheriffs. (Applause.)

Now, sadly some people in Congress think we ought to reverse this. I agree that we have to continue to cut the deficit. My new budget cuts \$140 billion more in federal spending. We have reduced the rate of health costs growing by about \$100 billion over the next five years. We had about \$250 billion in budget cuts in our last budget.

But how are we going to do this? I do not believe we should sacrifice our safety and not put 100,000 police on the street. I do not believe that we should not keep working for education. Instead, I think it's clear that our security and our ability to pay our way in the world depends upon educating and training our people for the new global economy. That includes a stronger Head Start program, serving more children. It includes more affordable college loans for middle-class students. It includes a whole range of educational initiatives.

I don't think we should limit our efforts to make college loans more affordable -- especially when you consider the fact that this administration has reduced your costs in delinquent college loans from \$2.8 billion a year down to a billion dollars a year. We cut it by two-thirds -- the loss to taxpayers. So we're collecting on the student loans; let's give more loans to young people to go to college to make America stronger. (Applause.)

I don't agree that we should eliminate the national service project, AmeriCorps. It's doing a world of good out there at the grass-roots level. A lot of you are using it. (Applause.) And I certainly don't agree, with drug use on the rise among young people -- who seem to have forgotten that it is not only illegal, it is dangerous -- I certainly don't agree that we should eliminate the provisions for drug education programs and for security programs against drug problems in our public schools, which will now cover 94 percent of the schools in this country, but if the proposal now in

Congress passes will be wiped out. That is not the way to cut the budget. We do not have to do it that way. (Applause.)

It depends on how you look at it. Some in Congress want to cut the school lunch program. You know what we did instead? We closed 1,200 regional offices in the Department of Agriculture. I think we did it the right way. (Applause.)

So my view of this is that yes, we've got to cut the budget, but we should expand opportunity, not restrict it. We should give people the tools they need to make the most of their own lives, not take them away. We should enhance security, not undermine it. Those are my standards, and I need your help. You can make it clear to Washington that America wants us to get our house in order. They like it when we reduce the deficit. We have to cut the spending, but there is a right way and a wrong way to do this work.

And I'd like to ask your help in particular on an issue of concern to a lot of you. I know it differs from state to state in how it's implemented, but every American citizen has an interest in ending welfare as we know it. Like it or not, we have a welfare system that doesn't further our basic values, and like many of you, I have worked on this problem for years. Those of us who work in it know it's a little more complicated than people who just talk about it. I have spent countless hours in welfare offices talking to case workers, talking to people on welfare. For years and years now -- about 15 years this year -- I have been working on this problem as a governor and as a president. I have seen this great drama unfold.

You know, when welfare started under President Roosevelt, the typical welfare recipient was a West Virginia miner's widow, who had a grade school education, was never expected to be in the workplace, and had orphaned children that needed help. And everybody thought this was the right thing to do. Then, we had people on welfare who just hit a rough patch, but who got off welfare in a couple of months. And believe it or not, nearly half the people who go on welfare today are still in that category. Welfare actually works for them; we shouldn't forget that. There are a lot of folks who hit a rough patch in life, and they get on welfare and then they get themselves off.

Then, there are those whom all the American people, without regard to party or philosophy, are justifiably concerned with -- people who are trapped on welfare in cycles of dependency that sometimes become intergenerational; that are plainly rooted to the explosion of teen pregnancy, out-of-wedlock births, coupled with low levels of education, inability to pierce the job market, inability to succeed as both workers and parents. What ought to be the greatest joy of life, giving birth to a child, has now become a great social drama for us, in which we all worry that our values are being regularly violated. And that's being reinforced by the way a government program works. And we are worried about it.

Many of our people are worried because they don't have enough money to pay for their own kids, and they think their tax money is going down the drain to reinforce values they don't support to create more burdens on their tax money in the future.

And nobody wants to get off the welfare system, I can tell you, any more than the people who are on it. All you've got to do is go out and sit in any welfare office in the country and talk to people. I had four people who had worked their way off welfare into the Oval Office to see me the other day, and it was just like every story I've heard for the last 15 years -- people talking about how they were dying to get off welfare.

Now, our country has been engaged in a serious effort to try to address this problem for some years now. This is not a new

issue. In the late 1980s, along with then-governor and now-Congressman Mike Castle from Delaware, I represented a bipartisan group of governors in working with the Congress in the Reagan administration to pass the Family Support Act of 1988. It was a welfare reform bill designed to promote work and education, and to move people from welfare to work through having the states do more with education and training and job placements and requiring that people participate in these programs.

And many of us who were governors at the time used the Family Support Act to move people off welfare. But everybody who worked with it recognized that more had to be done if the welfare system was going to be changed. There were still a lot of people who said, well, if I move from welfare to work, I'll lose my kid's child care, or I'll lose medical coverage for my child after a few months. There are others who still could kind of get through loopholes in the program because we didn't cover everybody.

So to reflect our country's values of work and education and responsible parenting, we knew we needed to do more. We also knew that we needed more state flexibility in tackling this problem. If somebody knew how to fix this, it would have been done a long time ago and people in politics would be talking about something else. Right? That's what this whole state flexibility's about. The framers were pretty smart wanting the states and the localities to be the laboratories of democracy because they knew that there would be thorny problems involving complex matters of economics and social organization and human nature that no one would know all the answers to.

So I'm glad the Republicans chose to make welfare reform part of their Contract for America. It's always been part of my Contract with America. (Applause.)

Now, let's see if there's some things we can all agree on. I think we should demand and reward work, not punish those who go to work. I think we should -- (applause) -- I think we should demand responsibility from parents who bring children into the world, not let them off the hook and expect the taxpayers to pick up the tab for their neglect. (Applause.) I think we must discourage irresponsible behavior that lands people on welfare in the first place. We must tell our children not to have children until they are married and ready to be good parents. (Applause.)

Now, in the last two years we've made some progress in pursuing these goals. In 1993 when the Congress passed the Economic Reform Plan, one of the provisions gave a tax break averaging \$1,000 a year to families with incomes of under \$25,000 to 15 million working families to send this message: If you work full-time and you have children in the home, you should not be in poverty. And there should never be an incentive to stay on welfare instead of go to work. That's what the Earned Income Tax Credit Expansion was all about.

Last year I sent to Congress the most sweeping welfare reform plan ever presented to the United States Congress. It was pro-work, pro-education, pro-responsibility, and pro-state flexibility. It did not pass, but I still hope it will be the basis of what ultimately does pass. We are collecting child support at a record level from delinquent parents -- \$9 billion in 1993. (Applause.) And last week I signed an executive order to crack down on federal employees who owe child support to require them to pay as well. (Applause.)

For the last two years, we have granted welfare reform waivers from federal rules to two dozen states -- more than the last two administrations in 12 years combined -- giving states flexibility to try out their ideas without being stifled by Washington one-size-

fits-all rules. Today I am proud to announce that Ohio has become the 25th state to receive a waiver to reform its welfare system. (Applause.)

Now, here's what Ohio wants to do. I think it's an interesting idea. They want to take some of their welfare and food stamp money to subsidize jobs in the private sector, including an initiative with our new empowerment zone in Cleveland. That's not a bad idea. Some people say, well, we don't have enough money to create government jobs for all these folks, and the private sector won't hire them if they have limited skills. So Ohio and Oregon and a couple of other states say, would you let us use the welfare check to give to employers -- say, okay, you're going to pay whatever you're going to pay at this job. This will replace some of what you'll have to pay. Put these people to work. Give them work experience. Give them a chance -- give them a chance to earn something.

Secretary Shalala thought it was a good idea, and so do I. These are the kinds of things being done all across America. Half the country today, as of this day with this waiver, now half the states are carrying out significant welfare reform experiments that promote work and responsibility instead of undermining it. Ten states are strengthening their child support enforcement. Nineteen are finding ways to insist on responsible behavior in return for help. Twenty states are providing incentives to families to go to work, not stay on welfare.

I think we should go further and abolish this waiver system altogether in the welfare reform. Instead, we should give all states the flexibility to do all the things that our waivers allow 25 states to do today, so people don't have to come to Washington to ask. (Applause.)

But I would like to say in this debate and for your benefit, especially those of you who have county responsibilities in this area, we shouldn't forget that the need for flexibility doesn't stop at the state level. We need it at the local level as well. (Applause.)

So we're making some headway on this welfare reform. But we've still got a lot of work to do. In January, I called a meeting at the White House with leaders from both parties and all levels of government to press Congress to get moving on welfare reform legislation. I spoke about it in the State of the Union address. I wanted the people who will write the legislation to hear from people like you, so we had representatives from local government at this meeting. I wanted them to hear from folks who will have to put this legislation into action on the front lines.

We all know the old system did too little to require work, education and parental responsibility; that it gave the states too little flexibility. The original Republican Contract proposal did give the state more flexibility, with some exceptions, in return for substantial reductions in federal payments in future years. But, like the present system and unlike my proposal, the original Republican Contract proposal was weak on work and parental responsibility. And in terms of denying benefits to all welfare parents under the age of 18 and their children, it was also, in my view, very hard on children.

Now, the present bill in the Congress, as it stands today, as we speak, contains real improvements from the original Contract proposal in the areas of work and parental responsibility. But I think there are still significant problems with it which could undermine our common goals. And in my view, they still make the bill too tough on children and too weak on work and responsibility. I'd like to talk a little about that, again, because there's a debate

still to be had in the House and then when the bill goes to the Senate.

When we met in January, we agreed, Democrats and Republicans alike, that the toughest possible child support enforcement must be a central part of welfare reform. If we collected all the money that deadbeat parents owe, we could move 300,000 mothers and over a half a million children off the welfare roles immediately -- tomorrow -- just with child support collection. (Applause.)

So at that meeting, people from every level of government and both parties agreed that while generally we want to move more of these decisions back to the state, we need national action on child support enforcement, and national standards, because 30 percent of the cases where parents don't pay cross state lines.

The original child support provisions in the Contract of the Republicans left out a lot of the most effective means for finding delinquent parents, which were in our welfare reform bill, including a system to track them across state lines. But to the credit of the Republicans, they have recently included almost all our tough child support measures. And I appreciate it.

There is more that we ought to do, I think, together. Our plan calls on states to deny drivers and professional licenses to people who refuse to pay their child support. (Applause.) Now, I know that's a tough idea, but let me tell you -- 19 states are doing that today, and they're collecting a lot more child support as a result of it. So I hope that the Congress will join us to make this provision also the law of the land.

We've got to send a loud signal: No parent in America has a right to walk away from the responsibility to raise their children. That's the signal; we've got to send it. (Applause.)

Secondly, all of you know that the hardest and the most important part of welfare reform is moving people from welfare to work. You have to educate and train people. You've got to make sure that their kids aren't punished once they go to work by losing their health care or their child care. And then you've got to figure out where these jobs are coming from. You know, I'm doing my best to lower the unemployment rate, but still, if there's unemployment in a given area, where will the jobs come from? Will the government provide them? If not, you have to do things like I described in the Ohio waiver.

But this work has always been at the core of my approach. I think what we want for every American adult is to be a successful parent and a successful worker. When I proposed my plan last year and when I was running for president, I said, if people need help with education, training or child care so they can go to work, we ought to give them the help. But, after two years, they should be required to take a job and get a paycheck, not a welfare check, if there's a job available. There should not be an option. If you can go to work, you must.

Now, I know in their hearts this is really the position that most of the Republicans in the Congress agree with. Last year, 162 of 175 House Republicans, including Speaker Gingrich, co-sponsored a bill that was similar to our plan on work in many ways. But the plan that they are currently considering in the House doesn't do much to support work. It would actually make it harder for many recipients to make it in the workplace.

Now, they wisely abandoned an earlier provision which basically allowed a welfare recipient to get around the work requirement literally by submitting a resume. But their new plan

gives the states a perverse incentive to cut people off welfare. It lets them count people as working if they were simply cut off the welfare rolls for any reason and whether or not they have moved into a job.

Now, when people just get cut off without going to work, we know where they're likely to end up, don't we? On your doorstep. That's not welfare reform. That's just shifting the problem from one place to another. Now, we know that an inordinate number of people also who get off welfare without work skills, without child care, wind up right back on welfare in a matter of a few months. Yet, the current Republican plan cuts child care both for people trying to leave welfare and for working people who are working at low incomes who are trying to stay off of welfare.

Equally important, this new plan removes any real responsibility for states to provide education, training and job placement, though that is at the heart of getting and keeping people off welfare. In other words, these provisions on work effectively repeal the Family Support Act of 1988 which was passed with the support of President Reagan and substantial Republicans in the Congress and actually did some good when the states implemented it in good faith.

Why? Because basically the new provisions are designed to allow the federal government to send less money to the states over time, and in return for saving budget money, they're willing to walk away from the standards necessary to move people from welfare to work. It's like a lot of things you can do around here -- it may feel good for a year or two, but five years now we'll be hitting ourselves upside the head, saying why have we got a bigger welfare problem than we had five years ago.

Now, besides the need to support work and tough child support enforcement, I also think there are some other questions here -- questions of the treatment of children, and addressing the problems of teen pregnancy. Three-quarters of the unwed teen mothers in this country end up on welfare within five years. We clearly need a national campaign against teen pregnancy that sends a clear message: It is wrong to have a child outside marriage. Nobody should get pregnant or father a child who isn't prepared to raise the child, love the child and take responsibility for the child's future. (Applause.)

I know the Republicans care about this problem, too. This is not a partisan political issue. It is not a racial issue; it is not an income issue; it is not a regional issue. This issue is eating the heart out of this country. You don't have to be in any particular political camp to know we're in big trouble as a society if we're headed toward a day when half of all the kids in this country are born outside marriage.

But some aspects of this current plan in Congress could do more harm than good. Our plan sends a clear message to young men and women that mistakes have consequences, that they have to turn their lives around, that they have to give their children a better chance. We want teen fathers to know they'll spend the next 18 years paying child support. We want teen mothers to know they have to stay at home with their parents or in an appropriate supervised setting and stay in school. And they have to implement or identify the fathers. They don't have a separate check to go out on their own.

Now, the Republican plan in Congress sends a different message to young people that's both tougher and weaker. It says, if you make a mistake, you're out on your own, even it means your likely to end up on welfare for life. It costs us even more money down the road.

Now, in recent weeks, we've narrowed our differences, the Republicans and the administration, in response to concerns that have been raised by people within the Republican Party. But their bill still denies -- now listen to this -- their bill still denies any assistance to teen mothers under the age of 18 and their children until they turn 18, and then leaves the states the option of denying those benefits permanently, as long -- to anybody who was under 18 when they had a child.

Now, I just believe it's a mistake to cut people off because they're young and unmarried and they make a mistake. The younger you are, the more likely you are to make mistakes, although I haven't noticed any absence of errors from those of us who get older. (Laughter.) I think it's wrong to make small children pay the price for their parents' mistakes. I also think it's counterproductive. It's not in our interest. It will cost the taxpayers more money than it will save. It's bound to lead to more dependency, not less; to more broken families, not fewer; to more burdens on the taxpayers over the long run, not less.

Now, our plan is different, but it is tougher in some ways. It would say, if you want this check and you're a teenager, you've got to live at home. And if you're in an abusive home you must live in another appropriate supervised setting. You must stay in school. You must identify the father of the child. So we're not weaker, but we're different.

We also want a national campaign against teen pregnancy rooted in our local communities that sends a clear message about abstinence and responsible parenting. That is the clue, folks -- if we could get rid of that, we wouldn't have a welfare problem, and we'd be talking about something else in the next couple of years. (Applause.)

Now, there are other provisions in this bill that I think are unfair to children, and let me just mention, for your information -- I think they're really tough on disabled children and children in foster homes, and I think they ought to be modified. And, finally, it is important to point out that under the guise of state flexibility, this plan reduces future payments to states in ways that make states and children very vulnerable in times of recession, or if their population is growing more than other states.

So, basically, if we adopt this plan the way it is, it will say to you in your state, if times get tough, you're on your own. I don't think we should let budget-cutting be wrapped in a cloak of welfare reform. We have a national interest in the welfare of our children. Let's reform welfare. Let's cut the deficit. But let's don't mix up the two and pretend that one is the other. Let's put our children first.

Let me say that I have come here today in the spirit of good faith to try to outline these specifics. You may not agree with me; you may agree with them. But I want you to know what the points of debate are. Again, I am glad we're discussing this. This is a big problem for America. And I believe in the end we can work it out together as long as we remember what it's really about -- again, the way you think about problems; you have a name, a face, and a life history. That's what we sometimes lose up here in Washington.

I just want to close with this story. When I was Governor, I was trying to get all the other governors interested in welfare reform. I once had a panel at a welfare meeting in Washington. And I didn't even know how many governors would show up. Forty-one governors showed up to listen to women on welfare, or women who had been on welfare, talk about their lives.

There was a woman there from my state, and I was asking her questions, and I didn't know what her answers were going to be --

letting her talk to the governors. And I said, do you think it ought to be mandatory for people on welfare to be in these education and job placements programs? She said, yes, I do. I said, why? She said, because a lot of people like me, we lose all our self-confidence, we don't think we amount to much, and if you don't make us do it we'll just lay up and watch the soaps. But then I said, I asked her to describe her job, and she did. And I said, what's the best thing about having a job? She said, when my boy goes to school, and they ask him, what does your momma do for a living, he can give an answer. (Applause.)

So I want you to help us, because whether you're Republicans or Democrats or black, brown or white, or liberals or conservatives, you have to deal with people with names, faces and life histories. We're up here dealing in sound bites trying to pierce through on the evening news. (Applause.) It's a big difference. (Applause.) It's a big difference.

This debate is about more than welfare. It's about who we are as a people and what kind of country we'll want to pass along to our children. It's about the dignity of work, the bond of family, the virtue of responsibility, the strength of our communities, the strength of our democratic values.

This is a great American issue. And I still believe that all of us working together can advance those values and secure the future of our children, and make sure that no child in this country ever has to grow up without those values and the great hope that has made us, all of us, what we are.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

END

11:06 A.M. EST

Fundraising for terrorism and use of the U.S. banking system for transfers on behalf of such organizations are inimical to American interests. Further, failure to take effective action against similar fundraising and transfers in foreign countries indicate the need for leadership by the United States on this subject. Thus, it is necessary to provide the tools to combat any financial support from the United States for such terrorist activities. The United States will use these actions on our part to impress on our allies in Europe and elsewhere the seriousness of the danger of terrorist funding threatening the Middle East peace process, and to encourage them to adopt appropriate and effective measures to cut off terrorist fundraising and the harboring of terrorist assets in their territories and by their nationals.

The measures we are taking demonstrate our determination to thwart acts of terrorism that threaten to disrupt the Middle East peace process by attacking any material or financial support for such acts that may emanate from the United States.

William J. Clinton

The White House,  
January 23, 1995.

NOTE: This message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 24.

### Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union January 24, 1995

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the 104th Congress, my fellow Americans: Again we are here in the sanctuary of democracy, and once again our democracy has spoken. So let me begin by congratulating all of you here in the 104th Congress and congratulating you, Mr. Speaker.

If we agree on nothing else tonight, we must agree that the American people certainly voted for change in 1992 and in 1994. And as I look out at you, I know how some of you must have felt in 1992. [Laughter]

I must say that in both years we didn't hear America singing, we heard America shouting. And now all of us, Republicans and Democrats alike, must say, "We hear you.

We will work together to earn the jobs you have given us. For we are the keepers of a sacred trust, and we must be faithful to it in this new and very demanding era."

Over 200 years ago, our Founders changed the entire course of human history by joining together to create a new country based on a single powerful idea: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, . . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, and among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

It has fallen to every generation since then to preserve that idea, the American idea, and to deepen and expand its meaning in new and different times: to Lincoln and to his Congress to preserve the Union and to end slavery; to Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson to restrain the abuses and excesses of the industrial revolution and to assert our leadership in the world; to Franklin Roosevelt to fight the failure and pain of the Great Depression and to win our country's great struggle against fascism; and to all our Presidents since to fight the cold war. Especially, I recall two who struggled to fight that cold war in partnership with Congresses where the majority was of a different party: to Harry Truman, who summoned us to unparalleled prosperity at home and who built the architecture of the cold war; and to Ronald Reagan, whom we wish well tonight and who exhorted us to carry on until the twilight struggle against communism was won.

In another time of change and challenge, I had the honor to be the first President to be elected in the post-cold-war era, an era marked by the global economy, the information revolution, unparalleled change and opportunity and insecurity for the American people. I came to this hallowed Chamber 2 years ago on a mission, to restore the American dream for all our people and to make sure that we move into the 21st century still the strongest force for freedom and democracy in the entire world. I was determined then to tackle the tough problems too long ignored. In this effort I am frank to say that I have made my mistakes, and I have learned again the importance of humility in all human endeavor. But I am also proud to say

tonight that our country is stronger than it was 2 years ago. [Applause] Thank you.

Record numbers of Americans are succeeding in the new global economy. We are at peace, and we are a force for peace and freedom throughout the world. We have almost 6 million new jobs since I became President, and we have the lowest combined rate of unemployment and inflation in 25 years. Our businesses are more productive. And here we have worked to bring the deficit down, to expand trade, to put more police on our streets, to give our citizens more of the tools they need to get an education and to rebuild their own communities.

But the rising tide is not lifting all boats. While our Nation is enjoying peace and prosperity, too many of our people are still working harder and harder, for less and less. While our businesses are restructuring and growing more productive and competitive, too many of our people still can't be sure of having a job next year or even next month. And far more than our material riches are threatened, things far more precious to us, our children, our families, our values.

Our civil life is suffering in America today. Citizens are working together less and shouting at each other more. The common bonds of community which have been the great strength of our country from its very beginning are badly frayed. What are we to do about it?

More than 60 years ago, at the dawn of another new era, President Roosevelt told our Nation, "New conditions impose new requirements on Government and those who conduct Government." And from that simple proposition, he shaped the New Deal, which helped to restore our Nation to prosperity and define the relationship between our people and their Government for half a century.

That approach worked in its time. But we today, we face a very different time and very different conditions. We are moving from an industrial age built on gears and sweat to an information age demanding skills and learning and flexibility. Our Government, once a champion of national purpose, is now seen by many as simply a captive of narrow interests, putting more burdens on our citizens rather than equipping them to get ahead.

The values that used to hold us all seem to be coming apart.

So tonight we must forge a new compact to meet the challenges of this new era, we enter a new era, we need a new understanding, not just with Government, but, even more important, with one another as Americans.

That's what I want to talk with you tonight. I call it the New Covenant, grounded in a very, very old idea. Americans have not just a right but a responsibility to rise as far as their talents and determination can take them to give something back to their communities and their country in return. Opportunity and responsibility: They go hand in hand. One can't have one without the other. Our national community can't hold together without both.

Our New Covenant is a new set of understandings for how we can equip ourselves to meet the challenges of a new era. It is how we can change the way our Government works to fit a different time, and, a how we can repair the damaged bonds of our society and come together behind a common purpose. We must have a change in our economy, our Government, and ourselves.

My fellow Americans, without a political party, let us rise to the occasion. Let us set aside partisanship and pettiness and let us begin. As we embark on this new course, let us begin with our country first, remembering that the least of party label, we are all Americans. Let the final test of everything we do be a simple one: Is it good for the American people?

Let me begin by saying that we can be better Americans to be better citizens if we are better servants. You made a good law passing that law which applies to all the laws you put on the private sector, and I was proud to sign it yesterday. We have a lot more to do before people trust the way things work around here as much as many lobbyists are in the corridors of Washington as were 20 years ago. The American people look at the Capital, and they see a city where the streets are not connected and the well-protected, c

system, but the interests of ordinary citizens are often left out.

As the new Congress opened its doors, lobbyists were still doing business as usual; the trips, the trips, all the things that people are concerned about haven't stopped. Twice this month you missed opportunities to stop these practices. I know there were other considerations in those votes, but I want to use something that I've heard my Republican friends say from time to time, "There doesn't have to be a law for everything." So tonight I ask you to just stop taking the lobbyists' perks. It stops. We don't have to wait for legislation to pass to send a strong signal to the American people that things are really changing. But I also hope you will send me the longest possible lobby reform bill, and I'll sign that, too.

We should require lobbyists to tell the people for whom they work what they're spending, what they want. We should also curb the role of big money in elections by capping the cost of campaigns and limiting the influence of PAC's. And as I have said over 3 years, we should work to open the airwaves so that they can be an instrument of democracy, not a weapon of destruction, by giving free TV time to candidates for public office.

When the last Congress killed political reform last year, it was reported in the press that the lobbyists actually stood in the Halls of this sacred building and cheered. This year, let's give the folks at home something to cheer about.

More important, I think we all agree that we have to change the way the Government works. Let's make it smaller, less costly, and smarter, leaner, not meaner. *[Applause]*

I just told the Speaker the equal time doctrine is alive and well. *[Laughter]*

The New Covenant approach to governing is different from the old bureaucratic way: the computer is from the manual typewriter. The old way of governing around here protected organized interests. We should look out for the interests of ordinary people. The old way divided us by interest, constituency, or class. The New Covenant way should unite us behind a common vision of what's best for our country. The old way dispensed favors through large, top-down, inflexible

bureaucracies. The New Covenant way should shift these resources and decision-making from bureaucrats to citizens, injecting choice and competition and individual responsibility into national policy. The old way of governing around here actually seemed to reward failure. The New Covenant way should have built-in incentives to reward success. The old way was centralized here in Washington. The New Covenant way must take hold in the communities all across America. And we should help them to do that.

Our job here is to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy, to empower people to make the most of their own lives, and to enhance our security here at home and abroad. We must not ask Government to do what we should do for ourselves. We should rely on Government as a partner to help us to do more for ourselves and for each other.

I hope very much that as we debate these specific and exciting matters, we can go beyond the sterile discussion between the illusion that there is somehow a program for every problem, on the one hand, and the other illusion that the Government is a source of every problem we have. Our job is to get rid of yesterday's Government so that our own people can meet today's and tomorrow's needs. And we ought to do it together.

You know, for years before I became President, I heard others say they would cut Government and how bad it was, but not much happened. We actually did it. We cut over a quarter of a trillion dollars in spending, more than 300 domestic programs, more than 100,000 positions from the Federal bureaucracy in the last 2 years alone. Based on decisions already made, we will have cut a total of more than a quarter of a million positions from the Federal Government, making it the smallest it has been since John Kennedy was President, by the time I come here again next year.

Under the leadership of Vice President Gore, our initiatives have already saved taxpayers \$63 billion. The age of the \$500 hammer and the ashtray you can break on "David Letterman" is gone. Deadwood programs, like mohair subsidies, are gone. We've streamlined the Agriculture Department by

reducing it by more than 1,200 offices. We've slashed the small business loan form from an inch thick to a single page. We've thrown away the Government's 10,000-page personnel manual.

And the Government is working better in important ways: FEMA, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, has gone from being a disaster to helping people in disasters. You can ask the farmers in the Middle West who fought the flood there or the people in California who have dealt with floods and earthquakes and fires, and they'll tell you that. Government workers, working hand in hand with private business, rebuilt southern California's fractured freeways in record time and under budget. And because the Federal Government moved fast, all but one of the 5,600 schools damaged in the earthquake are back in business.

Now, there are a lot of other things that I could talk about. I want to just mention one because it will be discussed here in the next few weeks. University administrators all over the country have told me that they are saving weeks and weeks of bureaucratic time now because of our direct college loan program, which makes college loans cheaper and more affordable with better repayment terms for students, costs the Government less, and cuts out paperwork and bureaucracy for the Government and for the universities. We shouldn't cap that program. We should give every college in America the opportunity to be a part of it.

Previous Government programs gathered dust. The reinventing Government report is getting results. And we're not through. There's going to be a second round of reinventing Government. We propose to cut \$130 billion in spending by shrinking departments, extending our freeze on domestic spending, cutting 60 public housing programs down to 3, getting rid of over 100 programs we do not need, like the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Helium Reserve Program. And we're working on getting rid of unnecessary regulations and making them more sensible. The programs and regulations that have outlived their usefulness should go. We have to cut yesterday's Government to help solve tomorrow's problems.

And we need to get Government closer to the people it's meant to serve. We need to help move programs down to the place where States and communities and private citizens in the private sector can do a better job. If they can do it, we ought to let them do it. We should get out of the way and let them do what they can do better. Take power away from Federal bureaucracies and give it back to communities and individuals. It's something everyone should be able to do for.

It's time for Congress to stop passing to the States the cost of decisions we make here in Washington. I know there are serious differences over the details of the unfunded mandates legislation, but I want to work with you to make sure we pass a reasonable bill which will protect the national interests and give justified relief where we need to give it.

For years, Congress concealed in its budget scores of pet spending projects. Last year was no difference. There was a \$1 billion to study stress in plants and \$12 million for a tick removal program that didn't work. It's hard to remove ticks. Those of us who have had them know. *[Laughter]* But I'll tell you something, if you'll give me line-item veto, I'll remove some of that unnecessary spending.

But I think we should all remember, almost all of us would agree, that Government still has important responsibilities. Young people—we should think of this when we cut—our young people hold our future in their hands. We still owe a debt to our veterans. And our senior citizens have made us what we are. Now, my budget cuts a lot. But it protects education, veterans, Social Security, and Medicare, and I hope you will do the same thing. You should, and I hope you will.

And when we give more flexibility to the States, let us remember that there are certain fundamental national needs that should be addressed in every State. North and South and West: immunization against childhood disease, school lunches in all our schools. Head Start, medical care and nutrition for pregnant women and infants—*[applause]*—medical care and nutrition for pre-

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And when we give more flexibility to States, let us remember that there are fundamental national needs that should be addressed in every State, North and South and East and West: Immunization against childhood disease, school lunches in schools, Head Start, medical care and nutrition for pregnant women and infants *[Applause]*—medical care and nutrition for

nant women and infants, all these things, all these things are in the national interest.

I applaud your desire to get rid of costly and unnecessary regulations. But when we deregulate, let's remember what national action in the national interest has given us: safer food for our families, safer toys for our children, safer nursing homes for our parents, safer cars and highways, and safer workplaces, cleaner air, and cleaner water. Do we need common sense and fairness in our regulations? You bet we do. But we can have common sense and still provide for safe drinking water. We can have fairness and still clean up toxic dumps, and we ought to do it.

Should we cut the deficit more? Well, of course we should. Of course we should. But we can bring it down in a way that still protects our economic recovery and does not unduly punish people who should not be punished but instead should be helped.

I know many of you in this Chamber support the balanced budget amendment. I certainly want to balance the budget. Our administration has done more to bring the budget down and to save money than any in a very, very long time. If you believe passing this amendment is the right thing to do, then you have to be straight with the American people. They have a right to know what you're going to cut, what taxes you're going to raise, and how it's going to affect them. We should be doing things in the open around here. For example, everybody ought to know if this proposal is going to endanger Social Security. I would oppose that, and I think most Americans would.

Nothing has done more to undermine our sense of common responsibility than our failed welfare system. This is one of the problems we have to face here in Washington in our New Covenant. It rewards welfare over work. It undermines family values. It lets millions of parents get away without paying their child support. It keeps a minority but a significant minority of the people on welfare trapped on it for a very long time.

I've worked on this problem for a long time, nearly 15 years now. As a Governor, I had the honor of working with the Reagan administration to write the last welfare reform bill back in 1988. In the last 2 years,

we made a good start at continuing the work of welfare reform. Our administration gave two dozen States the right to slash through Federal rules and regulations to reform their own welfare systems and to try to promote work and responsibility over welfare and dependency.

Last year I introduced the most sweeping welfare reform plan ever presented by an administration. We have to make welfare what it was meant to be, a second chance, not a way of life. We have to help those on welfare move to work as quickly as possible, to provide child care and teach them skills, if that's what they need, for up to 2 years. And after that, there ought to be a simple, hard rule: Anyone who can work must go to work. If a parent isn't paying child support, they should be forced to pay. We should suspend drivers' license, track them across State lines, make them work off what they owe. That is what we should do. Governments do not raise children, people do. And the parents must take responsibility for the children they bring into this world.

I want to work with you, with all of you, to pass welfare reform. But our goal must be to liberate people and lift them up from dependence to independence, from welfare to work, from mere childbearing to responsible parenting. Our goal should not be to punish them because they happen to be poor.

We should, we should require work and mutual responsibility. But we shouldn't cut people off just because they're poor, they're young, or even because they're unmarried. We should promote responsibility by requiring young mothers to live at home with their parents or in other supervised settings, by requiring them to finish school. But we shouldn't put them and their children out on the street. And I know all the arguments, pro and con, and I have read and thought about this for a long time. I still don't think we can in good conscience punish poor children for the mistakes of their parents.

My fellow Americans, every single survey shows that all the American people care about this without regard to party or race or region. So let this be the year we end welfare as we know it. But also let this be the year that we are all able to stop using this issue to divide America. No one is more

eager to end welfare—[applause]—I may be the only President who has actually had the opportunity to sit in a welfare office, who's actually spent hours and hours talking to people on welfare. And I am telling you, the people who are trapped on it know it doesn't work; they also want to get off. So we can promote, together, education and work and good parenting. I have no problem with punishing bad behavior or the refusal to be a worker or a student or a responsible parent. I just don't want to punish poverty and past mistakes. All of us have made our mistakes, and none of us can change our yesterdays. But every one of us can change our tomorrows. And America's best example of that may be Lynn Woolsey, who worked her way off welfare to become a Congresswoman from the State of California.

I know the Members of this Congress are concerned about crime, as are all the citizens of our country. And I remind you that last year we passed a very tough crime bill: longer sentences, "three strikes and you're out," almost 60 new capital punishment offenses, more prisons, more prevention, 100,000 more police. And we paid for it all by reducing the size of the Federal bureaucracy and giving the money back to local communities to lower the crime rate.

There may be other things we can do to be tougher on crime, to be smarter with crime, to help to lower that rate first. Well, if there are, let's talk about them, and let's do them. But let's not go back on the things that we did last year that we know work, that we know work because the local law enforcement officers tell us that we did the right thing, because local community leaders who have worked for years and years to lower the crime rate tell us that they work. Let's look at the experience of our cities and our rural areas where the crime rate has gone down and ask the people who did it how they did it. And if what we did last year supports the decline in the crime rate—and I am convinced that it does—let us not go back on it. Let's stick with it, implement it. We've got 4 more hard years of work to do to do that.

I don't want to destroy the good atmosphere in the room or in the country tonight, but I have to mention one issue that divided

this body greatly last year. The last Congress also passed the Brady bill and, in the bill, the ban on 19 assault weapons. I think it's a secret to anybody in this that several Members of the last Congress who voted for that aren't here tonight cause they voted for it. And I know, for sure, that some of you who are here but they voted for it are under enormous sure to repeal it. I just have to tell you I feel about it.

The Members of Congress who vote that bill and I would never do any infringe on the right to keep and be to hunt and to engage in other sporting activities. I've done it since a boy, and I'm going to keep right on it until I can't do it anymore. But people laid down their seats in Congress that police officers and kids would lay down their lives under a hail of weapon attack, and I will not let that be repealed. I will not let it be repealed.

I'd like to talk about a couple of issues we have to deal with. I want to see more spending, but I hope we won't cut government programs that help to prepare for the new economy, promote responsible and are organized from the grassroots by Federal bureaucracy. The very best of this is the national service AmeriCorps. It passed with strong bipartisan support. And now there are 20,000 cans, more than ever served in our the Peace Corps, working all over the country, helping people person-to-person grassroots volunteer groups, solving problems, and in the process earning some for their education. This is citizens' best. It's good for the AmeriCorps but it's good for the rest of us, too. The essence of the New Covenant, shouldn't stop it.

All Americans, not only in the States heavily affected but in every place in the country, are rightly disturbed by the numbers of illegal aliens entering the country. The jobs they hold might otherwise be held by citizens or legal immigrants. If public service they use impose on our taxpayers. That's why our administration has moved aggressively to secure our more by hiring a record number of

der guards, by deporting twice as many criminal aliens as ever before, by cracking down on illegal hiring, by barring welfare benefits to illegal aliens. In the budget I will present to you, we will try to do more to speed the deportation of illegal aliens who are arrested for crimes, to better identify illegal aliens in the workplace as recommended by the commission headed by former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan. We are a nation of immigrants. But we are also a nation of laws. It is wrong and ultimately self-defeating for a nation of immigrants to permit the kind of abuse of our immigration laws we have seen in recent years, and we must do more to stop it.

The most important job of our Government in this new era is to empower the American people to succeed in the global economy. America has always been a land of opportunity, a land where, if you work hard, you can get ahead. We've become a great middle class country. Middle class values sustain us. We must expand that middle class and shrink the underclass, even as we do everything we can to support the millions of Americans who are already successful in the new economy.

America is once again the world's strongest economic power: almost 6 million new jobs in the last 2 years, exports booming, inflation down. High-wage jobs are coming back. A record number of American entrepreneurs are living the American dream. If we want it to stay that way, those who work and lift our Nation must have more of its benefits.

Today, too many of those people are being left out. They're working harder for less. They have less security, less income, less certainty that they can even afford a vacation, much less college for their kids or retirement for themselves. We cannot let this continue. If we don't act, our economy will probably keep doing what it's been doing since about 1978, when the income growth began to go to those at the very top of our economic scale and the people in the vast middle got very little growth, and people who worked like crazy but were on the bottom then fell even further and further behind in the years afterward, no matter how hard they worked.

We've got to have a Government that can be a real partner in making this new economy

work for all of our people, a Government that helps each and every one of us to get an education and to have the opportunity to renew our skills. That's why we worked so hard to increase educational opportunities in the last 2 years, from Head Start to public schools, to apprenticeships for young people who don't go to college, to making college loans more available and more affordable. That's the first thing we have to do. We've got to do something to empower people to improve their skills.

The second thing we ought to do is to help people raise their incomes immediately by lowering their taxes. We took the first step in 1993 with a working family tax cut for 15 million families with incomes under \$27,000, a tax cut that this year will average about \$1,000 a family. And we also gave tax reductions to most small and new businesses. Before we could do more than that, we first had to bring down the deficit we inherited, and we had to get economic growth up. Now we've done both. And now we can cut taxes in a more comprehensive way. But tax cuts should reinforce and promote our first obligation: to empower our citizens through education and training to make the most of their own lives. The spotlight should shine on those who make the right choices for themselves, their families, and their communities.

I have proposed the middle class bill of rights, which should properly be called the bill of rights and responsibilities because its provisions only benefit those who are working to educate and raise their children and to educate themselves. It will, therefore, give needed tax relief and raise incomes in both the short run and the long run in a way that benefits all of us.

There are four provisions. First, a tax deduction for all education and training after high school. If you think about it, we permit businesses to deduct their investment, we permit individuals to deduct interest on their home mortgages, but today an education is even more important to the economic well-being of our whole country than even those things are. We should do everything we can to encourage it. And I hope you will support it. Second, we ought to cut taxes \$500 for families with children under 13. Third, we ought to foster more savings and personal re-

sponsibility by permitting people to establish an individual retirement account and withdraw from it tax free for the cost of education, health care, first-time homebuying, or the care of a parent. And fourth, we should pass a GI bill for America's workers. We propose to collapse nearly 70 Federal programs and not give the money to the States but give the money directly to the American people, offer vouchers to them so that they, if they're laid off or if they're working for a very low wage, can get a voucher worth \$2,600 a year for up to 2 years to go to their local community colleges or wherever else they want to get the skills they need to improve their lives. Let's empower people in this way, move it from the Government directly to the workers of America.

Now, any one of us can call for a tax cut, but I won't accept one that explodes the deficit or puts our recovery at risk. We ought to pay for our tax cuts fully and honestly.

Just 2 years ago, it was an open question whether we would find the strength to cut the deficit. Thanks to the courage of the people who were here then, many of whom didn't return, we did cut the deficit. We began to do what others said would not be done. We cut the deficit by over \$600 billion, about \$10,000 for every family in this country. It's coming down 3 years in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was President, and I don't think anybody in America wants us to let it explode again.

In the budget I will send you, the middle class bill of rights is fully paid for by budget cuts in bureaucracy, cuts in programs, cuts in special interest subsidies. And the spending cuts will more than double the tax cuts. My budget pays for the middle class bill of rights without any cuts in Medicare. And I will oppose any attempts to pay for tax cuts with Medicare cuts. That's not the right thing to do.

I know that a lot of you have your own ideas about tax relief, and some of them I find quite interesting. I really want to work with all of you. My test for our proposals will be: Will it create jobs and raise incomes; will it strengthen our families and support our children; is it paid for; will it build the middle class and shrink the underclass? If it does, I'll support it. But if it doesn't, I won't.

The goal of building the middle class, shrinking the underclass is also why I believe that you should raise the minimum wage rewards work. Two and a half million Americans, two and a half million Americans, women with children, are working out today for \$4.25 an hour. In terms of real power, by next year that minimum will be at a 40-year low. That's not in of how the new economy ought to work.

Now, I've studied the arguments in evidence for and against a minimum increase. I believe the weight of the evidence is that a modest increase does not cost and may even lure people back into the market. But the most important thing can't make a living on \$4.25 an hour, especially if you have children, even with working families tax cut we passed last year. In the past, the minimum wage has been a bipartisan issue, and I think it should be again. So I want to challenge you to honest hearings on this, to get together and find a way to make the minimum wage work.

Members of Congress have been here than a month, but by the end of the 25 days into the new year, every Member of Congress will have earned as much congressional salary as a minimum wage makes all year long.

Everybody else here, including the President, has something else that too many Americans do without, and that's health care. Now, last year we almost came to blows over health care, but we didn't do anything about the cold, hard fact is that, since I was here, another 1.1 million Americans in working families have lost their health care. And the cold, hard fact is that millions more, most of them former small business people and self-employed people, have seen their premiums skyrocket, their copays and deductibles go up. A whole bunch of people in this country, in the statistics have health insurance, really what they've got is a piece of paper that says they won't lose their home if they get sick.

Now, I still believe our country ought to move toward providing health security for every American family. But I know that, year after year, as the evidence indicates, we

more than we could chew. So I'm asking you to work together. Let's do it step by step. Let's do whatever we have to do to get nothing done. Let's at least pass meaningful insurance reform so that no American is losing coverage for facing skyrocketing costs, that nobody loses their coverage because they face high prices or unavailable insurance when they change jobs or lose a job or a family member gets sick.

I want to work together with all of you to have an interest in this, with the Democrats who worked on it fast time, with the publican leaders like Senator Dole, who has a longtime commitment to health care reform and made some constructive proposals in this area last year. We ought to make sure that self-employed people in small businesses can buy insurance at more affordable rates through voluntary purchasing pools. We ought to help families provide long-term care for a sick parent or a disabled child. We can work to help workers who lose their jobs at least keep their health insurance coverage for a year while they look for work. And we can find a way—it may take some time, but we can find a way—to make sure that our children have health care.

You know, I think everybody in this room, without regard to party, can be proud of the fact that our country was rated as having the world's most productive economy for the first time in nearly a decade. But we can't be proud of the fact that we're the only wealthy country in the world that has a smaller percentage of the work force and their children with health insurance today than we did 10 years ago, the last time we were the most productive economy in the world. So let's work together on this. It is too important for politics as usual.

Much of what the American people are talking about tonight is what we've already talked about. A lot of people think that the security concerns of America today are entirely internal to our borders. They relate to the security of our jobs and our homes and our incomes and our children, our streets, our health, and protecting those borders. Now that the cold war has passed, it's tempting to believe that all the security issues, with the possible exception of trade, reside here at home. But it's not so. Our security still

depends upon our continued world leadership for peace and freedom and democracy. We still can't be strong at home unless we're strong abroad.

The financial crisis in Mexico is a case in point. I know it's not popular to say it tonight, but we have to act, not for the Mexican people but for the sake of the millions of Americans whose livelihoods are tied to Mexico's well-being. If we want to secure American jobs, preserve American exports, safeguard America's borders, then we must pass the stabilization program and help to put Mexico back on track.

Now let me repeat: It's not a loan; it's not foreign aid; it's not a bailout. We will be given a guarantee like consigning a note, with good collateral that will cover our risks. This legislation is the right thing for America. That's why the bipartisan leadership has supported it. And I hope you in Congress will pass it quickly. It is in our interest, and we can explain it to the American people because we're going to do it in the right way.

You know, tonight, this is the first State of the Union Address ever delivered since the beginning of the cold war when not a single Russian missile is pointed at the children of America. And along with the Russians, we're on our way to destroying the missiles and the bombers that carry 9,000 nuclear warheads. We've come so far so fast in this post-cold-war world that it's easy to take the decline of the nuclear threat for granted. But it's still there, and we aren't finished yet.

This year I'll ask the Senate to approve START II to eliminate weapons that carry 5,000 more warheads. The United States will lead the charge to extend indefinitely the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, to enact a comprehensive nuclear test ban, and to eliminate chemical weapons. To stop and roll back North Korea's potentially deadly nuclear program, we'll continue to implement the agreement we have reached with that nation. It's smart. It's tough. It's a deal based on continuing inspection with safeguards for our allies and ourselves.

This year I'll submit to Congress comprehensive legislation to strengthen our hand in combating terrorists, whether they strike at home or abroad. As the cowards who

bombed the World Trade Center found out, this country will hunt down terrorists and bring them to justice.

Just this week, another horrendous terrorist act in Israel killed 19 and injured scores more. On behalf of the American people and all of you, I send our deepest sympathy to the families of the victims. I know that in the face of such evil, it is hard for the people in the Middle East to go forward. But the terrorists represent the past, not the future. We must and we will pursue a comprehensive peace between Israel and all her neighbors in the Middle East.

Accordingly, last night I signed an Executive order that will block the assets in the United States of terrorist organizations that threaten to disrupt the peace process. It prohibits financial transactions with these groups. And tonight I call on all our allies and peace-loving nations throughout the world to join us with renewed fervor in a global effort to combat terrorism. We cannot permit the future to be marred by terror and fear and paralysis.

From the day I took the oath of office, I pledged that our Nation would maintain the best equipped, best trained, and best prepared military on Earth. We have, and they are. They have managed the dramatic downsizing of our forces after the cold war with remarkable skill and spirit. But to make sure our military is ready for action and to provide the pay and the quality of life the military and their families deserve, I'm asking the Congress to add \$25 billion in defense spending over the next 6 years.

I have visited many bases at home and around the world since I became President. Tonight I repeat that request with renewed conviction. We ask a very great deal of our Armed Forces. Now that they are smaller in number, we ask more of them. They go out more often to more different places and stay longer. They are called to service in many, many ways. And we must give them and their families what the times demand and what they have earned.

Just think about what our troops have done in the last year, showing America at its best, helping to save hundreds of thousands of people in Rwanda, moving with lightning speed to head off another threat to Kuwait,

giving freedom and democracy back to the people of Haiti. We have proudly supported peace and prosperity and freedom from South Africa to Northern Ireland, from Central and Eastern Europe to Asia, from Latin America to the Middle East. All the endeavors are good in those places, but they make our future more confident and more secure.

Well, my fellow Americans, that's the agenda for America's future: expanding opportunity, not bureaucracy; enhancing security at home and abroad; empowering a people to make the most of their own lives. It's ambitious and achievable, but it's not enough. We even need more than new ideas for changing the world or equipping Americans to compete in the new economy, more than a Government that's smaller, smarter, and wiser, more than all of the changes we can make in Government and in the private sector from the outside in.

Our fortunes and our posterity also depend upon our ability to answer some questions from within, from the values and voices that speak to our hearts as well as our heads. Voices that tell us we have to do more: accept responsibility for ourselves and our families, for our communities, and yes, for our fellow citizens. We see our families and our communities all over this country coming apart, and we feel the common ground shifting from under us. The PTA, the town hall meeting, the ball park, it's hard for a lot of overworked parents to find the time and space for those things that strengthen the bonds of trust and cooperation. Too many of our children don't even have parents and grandparents who can give them those experiences that they need to build their own character and their sense of identity.

We all know what while we here in the Chamber can make a difference on those things, that the real differences will be made by our fellow citizens, where they work and where they live and that it will be made almost without regard to party. When I used to go to the softball park in Little Rock I watch my daughter's league, and people would come up to me, fathers and mothers and talk to me, I can honestly say I had no idea whether 90 percent of them were Republicans or Democrats. When I visited the

relief centers after the floods in California, northern California, last week, a woman came up to me and did something that very few of you would do. She hugged me and said, "Mr. President, I'm a Republican, but I'm glad you're here." [Laughter]

Now, why? We can't wait for disasters to act the way we used to act every day, because as we move into this next century, everybody matters. We don't have a person to waste. And a lot of people are losing a lot of chances to do better. That means that we need a New Covenant for everybody.

For our corporate and business leaders, we're going to work here to keep bringing the deficit down, to expand markets, to support their success in every possible way. But they have an obligation when they're doing well to keep jobs in our communities and give their workers a fair share of the prosperity they generate.

For people in the entertainment industry in this country, we applaud your creativity and your worldwide success, and we support your freedom of expression. But you do have a responsibility to assess the impact of your work and to understand the damage that comes from the incessant, repetitive, mindless violence and irresponsible conduct that permeates our media all the time.

We've got to ask our community leaders and all kinds of organizations to help us stop our most serious social problem, the epidemic of teen pregnancies and births where there is no marriage. I have sent to Congress a plan to target schools all over this country with antipregnancy programs that work. But Government can only do so much. Tonight I call on parents and leaders all across this country to join together in a national campaign against teen pregnancy to make a difference. We can do this, and we must.

And I would like to say a special word to our religious leaders. You know, I'm proud of the fact the United States has more houses of worship per capita than any country in the world. These people who lead our houses of worship can ignite their congregations to carry their faith into action, can reach out to all of our children, to all of the people in distress, to those who have been savaged by the breakdown of all we hold dear. Because so much of what must be done must

come from the inside out and our religious leaders and their congregations can make all the difference, they have a role in the New Covenant as well.

There must be more responsibility for all of our citizens. You know, it takes a lot of people to help all the kids in trouble stay off the streets and in school. It takes a lot of people to build the Habitat for Humanity houses that the Speaker celebrates on his lapel pin. It takes a lot of people to provide the people power for all of the civic organizations in this country that made our communities mean so much to most of us when we were kids. It takes every parent to teach the children the difference between right and wrong and to encourage them to learn and grow and to say no to the wrong things but also to believe that they can be whatever they want to be.

I know it's hard when you're working harder for less, when you're under great stress to do these things. A lot of our people don't have the time or the emotional stress, they think, to do the work of citizenship.

Most of us in politics haven't helped very much. For years, we've mostly treated citizens like they were consumers or spectators, sort of political couch potatoes who were supposed to watch the TV ads either promise them something for nothing or play on their fears and frustrations. And more and more of our citizens now get most of their information in very negative and aggressive ways that are hardly conducive to honest and open conversations. But the truth is, we have got to stop seeing each other as enemies just because we have different views.

If you go back to the beginning of this country, the great strength of America, as de Tocqueville pointed out when he came here a long time ago, has always been our ability to associate with people who were different from ourselves and to work together to find common ground. And in this day, everybody has a responsibility to do more of that. We simply cannot wait for a tornado, a fire, or a flood to behave like Americans ought to behave in dealing with one another.

I want to finish up here by pointing out some folks that are up with the First Lady that represent what I'm trying to talk about—citizens. I have no idea what their party affili-

ation is or who they voted for in the last election. But they represent what we ought to be doing.

Cindy Perry teaches second graders to read in AmeriCorps in rural Kentucky. She gains when she gives. She's a mother of four. She says that her service inspired her to get her high school equivalency last year. She was married when she was a teenager—stand up, Cindy. She was married when she was a teenager. She had four children. But she had time to serve other people, to get her high school equivalency, and she's going to use her AmeriCorps money to go back to college.

Chief Stephen Bishop is the police chief of Kansas City. He's been a national leader—stand up, Steve. He's been a national leader in using more police in community policing, and he's worked with AmeriCorps to do it. And the crime rate in Kansas City has gone down as a result of what he did.

Corporal Gregory Depestre went to Haiti as part of his adopted country's force to help secure democracy in his native land. And I might add, we must be the only country in the world that could have gone to Haiti and taken Haitian-Americans there who could speak the language and talk to the people. And he was one of them, and we're proud of him.

The next two folks I've had the honor of meeting and getting to know a little bit, the Reverend John and the Reverend Diana Cherry of the AME Zion Church in Temple Hills, Maryland. I'd like to ask them to stand. I want to tell you about them. In the early eighties, they left Government service and formed a church in a small living room in a small house, in the early eighties. Today that church has 17,000 members. It is one of the three or four biggest churches in the entire United States. It grows by 200 a month. They do it together. And the special focus of their ministry is keeping families together.

Two things they did make a big impression on me. I visited their church once, and I learned they were building a new sanctuary closer to the Washington, DC, line in a higher crime, higher drug rate area because they thought it was part of their ministry to change the lives of the people who needed

them. The second thing I want to say is once Reverend Cherry was at a meet the White House with some other religious leaders, and he left early to go back to church to minister to 150 couples that had brought back to his church from America to convince them to come together, to save their marriages, and to their kids. This is the kind of work the zums are doing in America. We need of it, and it ought to be lifted up and ported.

The last person I want to introduce Lucas from Hattiesburg, Mississippi, would you stand up? Fifty years ago, sands of two Jimia, Jack Lucas taught learned the lessons of citizenship. On ruary 20th, 1945, he and three of his b encountered the enemy and two gren their feet. Jack Lucas threw himself o of them. In that moment, he saved th of his companions, and miraculously next instant, a medic saved his life. He a foothold for freedom, and at the 17, just a year older than his grandso is up there with him today—and his so is a West Point graduate and a veter 17. Jack Lucas became the youngest i in history and the youngest soldier century to win the Congressional M Honor. All these years later, yesterday, what he said about that day: "It didn't where you were from or who you we relied on one another. You did it fc country."

We all gain when we give, and w what we sow. That's at the heart of th Covenant. Responsibility, opportunit citizenship, more than stale chapters i remote civic book, they're still the vi which we can fulfill ourselves and ree God-given potential and be like the also to fulfill the eternal promise of th try, the enduring dream from that fi most sacred covenant. I believe every in this country still believes that we a ated equal and given by our Creator t to life, liberty and the pursuit of hap This is a very, very great country. A best days are still to come.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

sible for them to support themselves. We can be tough, but we've got to be practical.

I want welfare reform that moves people from dependence to independence, from welfare to work. So my proposal is a welfare-to-work plan, not just a welfare plan that cuts welfare. So that's the first change I want to make in the Republican welfare proposal. Before I'll sign it into law it's got to have a stronger work component.

Second, the House bill is too tough on children. It cuts off aid to children who are on welfare just because their mothers are young and unmarried. These children didn't choose to be born to single mothers; they didn't choose to be born on welfare; they didn't choose to be born to women who are teenagers. We ought to remember that a child is a child, a baby is a baby. Whether they're white, black, or brown, whether they're born in or out of wedlock, anybody anywhere is entitled to a chance and innocence if it's a baby. We simply shouldn't punish babies and children for their parents' mistakes.

So we can be good to our children and give them a chance to have a better life because we're got a stake in that. Just think about it. Every child born in America, whether they're born to a welfare family or to a middle class family or to a wealthy family, is going to grow up and be a part of our future. The child may grow up to be in a university or be in jail or somewhere in between. But the chances are awful good that what happens to the child will be influenced by what happens to the babies in their earliest days and months and years.

So let's don't punish these babies and children for their parents' errors. Instead, let's give them a chance to grow up with a good education and a head start, so they'll be independent, working citizens.

So I say to Speaker Gingrich and to the leaders of the Senate and the House in both parties, let's work together to get this job done. Let's prove to the American people that we can reform welfare, really reform it, without letting this issue divide us. It is time to end welfare as we know it, to put people to work without punishing children.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 8 p.m. on April 7 in the Hilton Inn in Sacramento, CA, for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on April 8.

### Remarks to the California Democratic Party in Sacramento

April 8, 1995

*The President.* Thank you very much. Thank you for the wonderful, wonderful welcome. And thank you for the wonderful film. It's nice to see the record out there in a compelling way. Thank you, and bless you.

I guess you all know that this is Bill Press' birthday. We threw him a good party, didn't we? Happy birthday—[applause].

I'm delighted to be here with all the officers of the Democratic Party, with Arlene Holt and of course with our Chair, Don Fowler. I thank him for this remarks. Wasn't Barbara Boxer wonderful this morning? I'll tell you, you have no idea what a joy it is to see her in Washington, with all those other politicians kind of tippy-toeing around and trying to be just careful, you know. And there's Barbara every day just right there through the door, the same way every day. I want to think the members of the California delegation who are here, Norm Mineta, Bob Matsui, Vic Fazio, Maxine Waters, Walter Tucker. They have been our friends and our partners. They have worked hard to turn this country around and move it forward and to help California. I thank them. I'm glad to be here with Willie Brown. I was watching him on the television back there, and he was smiling, you know. And I thought, I hope I look half that good when I'm his age. The truth is he already looks younger than me, and I resent it. [Laughter] Senator Lockyer, I'm glad to be here with you. And Mayor Serna, thank you for hosting us. [Applause] I'm glad to be here with your State controller, Kathleen Connell; your superintendent of education, Delane Eastin; and of course, I love hearing Gray Davis talk. It's nice to know that you're always going to have a Governor, no matter what, and a good one on occasion.

I'm delighted to be here with a number of my California staffers, of course, led by my Chief of Staff, Leon Panetta. I know a lot of you used to be represented by him,

face of stark fiscal realities and, along with the adjustments Amtrak announced last December, represent an urgent attempt to move the passenger railroad toward a stable economic future.

This administration remains committed to the future of rail passenger service in this country and has included significant capital support for Amtrak in its 1996 budget.

To address the pressures Amtrak faces and to promote a more business-like approach, the Department of Transportation today transmitted to Congress the Amtrak Restructuring Act of 1995.

I encourage rail labor, Congress, Governors, mayors, and other constituents to continue to work closely with Amtrak as it works to develop rail passenger service for the 21st century. We look to our partners in Congress to support the Amtrak Restructuring Act of 1995 and for continued financial support of rail passenger service.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **The President's Radio Address**

*April 8, 1995*

Good morning. I ran for President because I believe the American dream was at risk for millions of our fellow citizens. I wanted to grow the middle class, shrink the under class, create more opportunities for entrepreneurs to succeed, so that our economy would produce the American dream. I wanted to promote mainstream values of responsibility, work, family, and community. And I wanted to reform Government to make it smaller, less bureaucratic, put it back on the side of ordinary Americans.

We're working at making progress on all these fronts—unemployment down, jobs up—real progress in giving people in the under class a chance to work their way into the middle class. But there's still a lot of challenges we face. There's no greater gap between mainstream American values and Government than the failed welfare system.

Last night the Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, spoke eloquently about the need to reform the welfare system. And I ran for President saying that I would work to end

welfare as we know it. This has been a big issue for me for long time. I've worked to move people from welfare to work for 15 years now. So the Speaker and I have a lot in common. We both want bold welfare reform. We both think that we need to make people leave welfare after a specific number of years. We both want to require welfare recipients to work to get benefits. We both want States to have a lot of flexibility to adopt their own programs.

I've gone a long way toward doing that by letting 25 States adopt bold new reforms for their own welfare systems. And we both want tough steps to enforce child support. The welfare reform plan I sent to Congress last year included the toughest possible child support enforcement. And now the Speaker and his colleagues in the House have taken our child enforcement measures and put it into their bill, including our plan to ask States to deny driver's licenses and professional licenses to deadbeat parents.

In spite of these similarities we still have two key differences I want to talk to you about. They relate to work and to children. First, cutting costs is the primary goal of the Republican welfare bill. By arbitrarily cutting future welfare costs the Republicans get money to pay for their tax cuts. Well, I agree we need to cut costs, but we also have to be sure that when people leave welfare they have the education, training, and skills they need to get jobs, not simply to be off welfare and turn to lives of crime or to remain in poverty.

If we cut child care, how can we expect mothers to go to work? If we cut job training, how will people learn to work? If we cut job programs and these people can't find jobs in the private sector, how can we require them to work?

My top priority is to get people off welfare and into jobs. I want to replace welfare with work, so people earn a paycheck, not a welfare check. To do that, we have to take some of the money we save and plow it into job training, education, and child care.

I want tough welfare reform, but we've got to be practical. If we're going to make people on welfare work, we have to make it possible for them to work. If we're going to make people self-reliant, we have to make it pos-

dollars so we can get our training and our readiness up and support a good quality of life so we can keep first-rate people in the military because it's the people that make it go.

The answer to your question, ma'am, is that we actually have more base capacity than the number of our men and women in uniform would justify. So we have to bring down the bases a little more so that they're basically in line with the size of our forces. The size of our forces now will enable to meet our security needs and meet our strategic objectives. But we can't cut it a lot more. We should stay about where we are.

**Mr. King.** Barbara Streisand is here tomorrow night. And are you both fans of hers? Do you like her speaking out on politics, by the way?

**The President.** I think she's—just as—if we have a right to speak out on entertainment, I think she has the right to speak out on politics. [Laughter] I think that she should do it.

**Mr. King.** David Letterman is here on Friday.

**The Vice President.** Tell him I said hello.

**Mr. King.** I will. Do you plan to return to that show?

**The Vice President.** I hope to sometime.

**Mr. King.** Would you recommend the President even appear with David?

**The Vice President.** I'm going to let him make that decision. [Laughter]

**The President.** But you know, since we got this procurement reform passed, there are no more of those \$10 ashtrays and \$500 hummers. So he's got no gig anymore. [Laughter]

**Mr. King.** Thanks guys. You don't want to do a Brando close, do you? [Laughter]

**The Vice President.** Just a handshake. [Laughter]

**Mr. King.** Just a handshake.

**The President.** We've enjoyed doing the show.

**Mr. King.** Oh, let me—here—President Clinton does Brando. Do it once.

**The Vice President.** You missed it.

**The President.** It's been great being on your show, Larry.

**Mr. King.** Thank you.

**The President.** You're a good man, you got a real future in this business. [Laughter]

**Mr. King.** Thank you. Thank you.

**The President.** Good night.

**Mr. King.** Good night.

**The Vice President.** Good night.

NOTE: The interview began at 9 p.m. in the Library at the White House.

### Remarks to the National Governors' Association Summit on Young Children in Baltimore, Maryland

June 6, 1995

Thank you very much. To Governor Dean and Governor Leavitt and all of the Governors who are here, Governor Glendening and Mayor Schunoke and Congressman Cardin. I'm glad to be back in Baltimore. I'm going to have to register as a citizen and begin to pay taxes if I don't stay out of your State a little more, Governor.

I am delighted to be here in Baltimore because Baltimore was one of the six cities which won a highly contested race for the empowerment zones in our country. And I congratulate Mayor Schunoke on that, and I look forward to his work, along with the Governor and others, in making Baltimore an even stronger and greater city as a result of that.

Governor Dean, I want to thank you for your leadership of the Governors' Association. I don't think I ever enjoyed any job more than being chairman of the Governors' Association, although it was not always easy to please all the Governors. I think it's still not always easy to please all of the Governors. [Laughter]

I'm delighted to see so many representatives of State government, county government, local government here. My good friend, Representative Blute from North Carolina, it's nice to see you here. Representative Campbell and Commissioner Franke, thank you for your work, sir.

I thank all of you for coming here to meet about the fate of our children. This has been a concern of mine, as the Governor said, for a long time and, of course, a profound concern for my wife. When I met her, she was spending an extra year in law school to do

4 years instead of 3, so that she could devote a year to the study of the laws that affected our children. And I might say she then predicted a lot of the more-disturbing trends which we've seen unfold in our country over the last 20 years.

Hillary is working on a book now about children's issues and the responsibilities we owe to them, and she picked the title of the old African proverb: "It takes a village to raise a child." I want to come back to that a little bit during my remarks because I think there is a great difference of opinion about that in the United States today. I began with the premise that the first responsibility for children lies with their parents, but that since all our futures are bound up in theirs, the rest of us share a responsibility in the United States and in our States and in our communities for their welfare. I do believe, in other words, that it takes a village to raise a child, especially when you consider the facts of life that children face today.

I ran for this job because I wanted to ensure a better future for our children, to ensure that instead of losing so many of our children and seeing so many of them grow up with the American dream beyond their grasp, that they could be rewarded for their work and that the values that we all share of work and family and community would be stronger, not weaker, when they came of age.

I realize that people my daughter's age were in danger of growing up to be the first generation of Americans to do worse economically than their parents but, perhaps even more important, to live in a country that was less supportive of the kind and quality of life that most people in my generation took for granted.

The recent report of the Carnegie Corporation tends to corroborate a lot of those disturbing trends with statistics you all know well. In the quiet crisis, they say, that still, after years of effort, compared to other industrialized countries, our infant mortality rates are higher, our low-birth-weight baby rates are higher, our teen pregnancy rates are much higher, our childhood immunization rates are lower, and of course, our children are subjected to far, far higher rates of violence in the United States than they would be in any other country in the world.

If we are going to rescue our children's future, we have to do a number of things. We have to grow the middle class and shrink the under class. We have to support policies that reinforce work and families and communities. We have to change the way the Government operates so that it promotes independence, not dependence, opportunity and not bureaucracy. We have to give our youngest children things that they can't guarantee for themselves.

If you believe it takes a whole village to raise a child, it means that the Government has a responsibility, working with people in the private sector, to guarantee children who can't get it for themselves health, safety, and education, and then when they get older, to empower them to make the most of their own lives. To do that, I believe, we need not another ideological war, but a passionate and practical commitment to what we know will work.

The whole issue of welfare is at the core of that. But let me just say for a moment, for the last 2½ years a great deal of what I have sought to do has been centered in that conviction, that we have to have a passionate and practical effort to go beyond ideological wars right to the heart of what will make life better for our children.

We've worked hard to strengthen families and to give children a better start. The earned-income credit will now provide a tax reduction for working families with children with incomes below \$27,000 an average of \$1,000 a year. That's a profamily policy. We should continue that, not reverse it. The family and medical leave law, more than anything I've done as President, has caused ordinary citizens to come up to me and say, "Thank you. I had a sick child. I had a sick spouse. My wife had a baby. We were able to continue to work and to provide for ourselves. We were able to be good parents and successful workers."

That, it seem to me, is the kind of thing that we ought to do. Secretary Shalala, who is here, has worked very hard to expand immunization so that all our children under the age of 2 will be properly immunized by the turn of the century. We have expanded Head Start dramatically. The Goals 2000 program in which many of you have participated—

most of you have—emphasizes grassroots reforms to achieve national, indeed, international standards of excellence.

When children are more independent, we have given them access to lower cost, better repayment terms for college loans with tougher requirements to repay them. We've worked with you for more apprenticeship programs for the young people who don't go to 4-year colleges and universities, through the school-to-work program. And of course, many of you have been very active in the national service program, AmeriCorps, which gives our young people a chance to give something back to their communities and earn more funds to go on to school. And I want to say a special word of thanks to Senator Mikulski of Maryland for her work on national service.

The crime bill was an important part of this because it emphasized not simply more punishment and more prisons but also protecting children through 100,000 more police officers on the street and through prevention programs that give our young people something to say yes to as well as something to say no to.

We were able to do those things and still reduce the deficit. The new majority in Congress uses 7-year terms. We use—the deficit is going down by a trillion dollars over 7 years, thanks to the '93 and '94 budgets. More than 6.3 million new jobs came into our economy. But we did it while saying that it takes a whole village to raise a child; that children deserve education, health, and safety; that families should be strengthened and supported; that work should be exalted; and that parents have to be able to succeed in the world we are living in, both as parents and as workers.

One thing we did not do is to pass comprehensive welfare reform. And that is now what is before the Congress. And that, more than anything else in this debate, captures a lot of the philosophical arguments that are at the core of what is going on in our national discussion today.

I don't think there's any question that I believe we ought to reform the welfare system. I was proud to represent the Governors when the Family Support Act was written under President Reagan's administration

with strong bipartisan support. I realize what the shortcomings of it are, especially since it was never properly funded. And therefore, I have now given, the Secretary and I have, 29 of the 50 States exemptions from Federal rules and regulations to pursue your own path to welfare reform to move people to work. Nothing like that has ever been done before.

In Missouri, Vermont, and Wisconsin, Governors Carnahan, Dean, and Thompson are using their waivers to impose time limits and to require work. In Ohio and Oregon, Governors Voinovich and Kitzhaber are moving people to work by using money now spent on welfare and food stamps to subsidize private sector jobs. Others are doing other things that are very important. Every Governor I've ever spoken with, without regard to party, understands that welfare reform is important and must, first and foremost, be about work.

Unfortunately, to my mind, the welfare reform bill in Congress—or the debate—has not focused as much as it should have about work. And I believe that in important respects the tenor of the debate not only in the House but also in the Senate, puts both children and States at risk. The House bill, clearly, was too tough on children and too weak on work. Finally, after a lot of efforts, the House did agree to be tough on deadbeat parents, something that everyone among the Governors agree it needed to be done. The Senate Finance Committee reported a bill out the other day that clearly is a step in the right direction in many areas but, I believe, still misses the point on work and on children.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the current Senate Finance Committee bill will not succeed in moving people from welfare to work. The Congressional Budget Office and the person who wrote the report was generally acknowledged to be one of the preeminent Republican experts on welfare reform, concluded that only six of our States would be able to fulfill the bill's work requirements in the year 2000 with the bill's funding provisions. Forty-four States will fail. Six out of 50 in baseball is a .120 batting average. You can't play for the Orioles with that batting average. You can't stay in the

minor leagues, and you sure won't elevate children or end welfare as we know it.

The reason the Senate bill failed on the standard of work seems to me is clear: It takes away the tools that States now use to move people from welfare to work, child care, job training, greater incentives for job placement.

I very much want to work across party lines to solve this problem. But if we're going to end welfare as we know it, Congress must pass a bill that meets some basic principles. First, we have to require people who can work to go to work and make sure that they have the child care to do it so that they don't have to hurt their children to do the right thing as citizens. It defies common sense to insist that people go to work when they have very young children if doing so will actually cost them money.

Second, the legislation should have real work requirements, but it ought to be backed up with the resources necessary to get people into jobs and keep them there.

According to the CBO, the Congressional Budget Office, it would cost you, the States, \$10 billion a year by the year 2000 to meet these requirements just in the Senate bill. And yet, this bill asks you to meet these requirements with less money than you have now.

Now, I was a Governor long enough to remember what an unfunded mandate is. A lot of you—Governor Voinovich was in the Rose Garden celebrating when we signed the unfunded mandates bill; I strongly supported it. Just because this doesn't say it's one doesn't mean it isn't by another term. So I think we have to look at this forthrightly.

The third thing that I think is important is that welfare reform should have real incentives to reward the States who do succeed in putting people to work, not for cutting them off. The current bill gives States an incentive instead to save money simply by throwing people off the welfare rolls.

The House bill even gives States what the Catholic Church has called an illegitimacy bonus, an incentive for more people to have abortions. That is not welfare reform. If we're going to change the culture of welfare, we have got to reward success, we've got to depart from the status quo. I want a perform-

ance bonus but one that will force the welfare bureaucracy and the welfare recipients to focus on work.

The fourth thing I believe is that the legislation should protect States so they can continue to move people from welfare to work, even when there is an economic downturn, extraordinary population growth, or unpredictable emergencies. In their current forms, these bills could really hurt the high-population States, the growth States, like Florida and Utah and others, and could put every State at risk in the next recession or profound natural disaster.

Finally, let me say we ought to protect our children. If you believe it takes a whole village to raise a child, we should avoid mean-spirited restrictions on benefits to children. We should avoid cuts in child nutrition and adoption and child protective services. We should give States more flexibility, but we should also make sure States continue to fulfill their responsibilities. The proposed legislation contains no incentives or requirements for States to maintain their own funding for cash assistance or for child care or work supports.

Now, I know that if you believe in the pure theory of State experimentation—and you know that I believe a lot of that, because if you just look at what's in these 29 waivers, I have pretty much gone along with anything the States wanted to do to move people from welfare to work. So you might argue that, in theory, if we believe that States ought to have great flexibility, why don't we just give them a block grant without any requirement for local maintenance or anything of that kind? But the serious danger there is that this will become a race to the bottom. It's always cheaper to cut people off welfare than to move them to work. It will always be cheaper to lower benefits than to figure out how to reduce the caseload by moving them to work.

We already do less for young children than most of our major competitors—perhaps all of our major competitors—throughout the world. And I just believe that we cannot allow welfare reform to be a race to the bottom.

Let me say again, I know in theory it's right, but let me remind all of you, I served for 12 years as a Governor. I served in good

times and bad times. I know that the last 2 years, this is the second year in a row when in all probability all 50 States will have economic growth. That is a highly unusual circumstance over the last two decades.

And I'm just telling you, I've been in enough State legislatures in my life, not just in my State but all around this country, to know what's going to happen. If you put this welfare reform block grant with less money and no local maintenance requirement up against the Medicaid cuts and the education cuts and the other things that are in this budget, you tell me how the poor children of your State are going to fare when they have to deal with the nursing home lobby. And I'm not complaining about the nursing home lobby; you just tell me how they're going to fare.

You know, everybody wants to cut Medicaid to shreds, because they say that's just a poor person's health care. You know as well as I do almost 70 percent of that money goes to the elderly and the disabled. And they're all coming to see you and your State legislators.

Now, how are they going to do? How are these poor children going to do? How are they going to do against some of my favorite lobbies—the education lobbies? How are they going to do? Not very well. How are they going to do against a lobby that no one can say no to, the prison lobby? The crime rate goes up and your legislature stiffens sentences, and people don't want you paroling folks that have no business on the street. And the only way you can get this Federal money for prisons is if you promise to leave people in longer and ignore your own parole laws. When you have to match that money or build prisons on your own, how are you going to stand up and say, "Well, somehow we're going to keep doing what we used to do for poor children?" And you can walk away and say, "Well, what we used to do doesn't work, so maybe we shouldn't do anything." But the truth is we do less—I will say it again—we do less for children than the countries with which we compete.

And this is not a partisan issue, at least it never has been before. Everything that happened in the last 2 years on Head Start, on every education initiative we did, on the

family and medical leave, every single thing was a bipartisan issue, everything.

Now, I think there are two big debates that are undergirding this welfare debate, and I'd like to just put it out on the table today. One is the debate about what causes people to be on welfare. Is it economic and politics, or is it culture? That's really what's behind all this debate about what's in the movies and in the rap lyrics and all.

And by the way, I think it's a positive thing. You know, Mrs. Gore was talking 18 years ago about the dangers of destructive entertainment forces on children. I've been challenging Hollywood and the television networks to reduce violence for years. I don't mind this debate. I think this is a good debate.

But the truth is, it's not either/or. You see, there was one young girl interviewed in a movie line last week—asked her, what do you think about this debate in Washington about whether movies were causing the breakdown of families. And she said, "Well, my father's working three jobs. I'll tell you, that's not good for our family. I wish he'd just come home and spend some time with me."

On the other hand, people who deny that culture is a force are wrong. The States in this country with the lowest incarceration rates also have the highest high school graduation rates and they often don't spend the most money. There are almost no poor children in families with two parents in the home. So if I could just wave a magic wand and make this problem go away, I would never have another kid in a home where there weren't two parents until the child reached a certain age so that then the child could take care of himself or herself. That would be a wonderful thing if that could be done. And in that sense, there is a cultural component to all this.

So the people that are out there exhorting parents to be more responsible, and especially male parents to be more responsible, people like this Promisekeepers Group, they deserve our support. They deserve our support. There is a cultural element in all this. But to say that there is no national responsibility on the economic and political side, I think is just plain wrong and defies the experience of every, single, solitary country in

the world. And I might add, that all the people that are out there working in the private charities, go interview them and ask them if they think that we can just walk away from this.

So I would say, this cultural debate is a very good thing, and we ought to have it. But there is plainly a political and economic root to this. If you look at rising poverty and stagnating middle class incomes in this country, it is clearly the result of international economic trends sweeping all advanced countries and national economic policies. And all those things are reinforced, one with another.

We are on the verge of having a 40-year low in the minimum wage. Why would somebody who was on welfare who had two kids, who at least had health care from Medicaid and they've got food stamps, go to work, if we won't even raise the minimum wage to keep it up to where it was 10 years ago, in fact, we're going to let it go to a 40-year low.

So I implore you, Governors are supposed to be the places where people look at the real world and they get away from all this theory and look at the practice. There's a political and an economic element to this problem, and there is a cultural element to the problem. That is one big deal. I think there is a public responsibility and there is a private responsibility, both, not either/or.

There's another debate going on here which is: What is the most important thing we can do to help grow the economy and stabilize the society? And on one side of that debate there are those who say the most important thing we can do is to reduce the deficit and shrink the Government. And nothing else really matters because the Federal Government would mess up a one-car parade. And on the other side of that debate are not people who say we need a Government; we need an expanded bureaucracy. That debate is not existent in Washington.

You look at the record. We have reduced already, with the two budgets already adopted, the size of the Federal Government by 270,000. Congressman Cardin's already voted to do that, to bring the Federal Government to its smallest size since President Kennedy was President. We've had dramatic changes in regulation. The 29 States with the

waivers from Federal rules on welfare is just one example. The deficit has been brought down three times in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was here. Nobody is for a higher deficit. That is not the issue.

The issue is: Are there any other responsibilities of the National Government? I believe there are some. I think we have to help people who cannot help themselves through no fault of their own, not because they're irresponsible, but through no fault of their own, like little children who are poor. And I think we have to empower people to make the most of their own lives, because that way we'll all be better off. That's what I believe. Therefore, I don't think that you can sacrifice our responsibility to educate people and our responsibility for basic health and safety, security issues, on the altar of deficit reduction.

You know, sometimes I think my big problem is that I was for some of these things before they were popular, like deficit reduction. Everybody's for it now. That doesn't mean we didn't do a lot of it in the last 2 years.

So we have to decide that. Now, don't kid yourself—from the point of view of the Congress, welfare reform has stopped being welfare reform primarily. Primarily welfare reform is a way to cut spending on the poor so that we don't have to worry about it and we can balance the budget in 7 years and give a big tax cut, largely benefiting upper income people who have done pretty well in the 1980's. That's what this is about.

It is true that a lot of people genuinely believe the States ought to have more say over this. So do I. It is true that a lot of people believe the prior system didn't do much good for people who were permanently dependent on welfare. So do I. And I have for 15 years. But we should not confuse—if we really say it's more important to cut spending so that we can balance the budget in 7 years and still give a tax increase to upper income people, even if we're going to hurt poor children, people ought to just say that flat out because that's what's really underneath this.

So I ask you to think about it. What's it going to be like the next time the coasts are growing and the Middle West is in a depression, when the farmland goes to pieces?

What's it going to be like the next time there's a high-tech collapse and the coasts are in trouble and only the Heartland is doing well? What's it going to be like the next time we have a serious national recession if there is not even a maintenance of effort requirement? If there is not real effort to have work? You know what it's going to be like. You'll have less people moving from welfare to work, more people getting less money, and the most important thing is our children, our future, will be in more difficult circumstances.

You could not design a program that would be too tough on work for me. You could not design a program that would give the States any more flexibility than I want to give them as long as we recognize that we, our American village, have a responsibility to our children and that in the end, our political and economic policies must reinforce the culture we're trying to create. They ought to be profamily and prowork. But if we get in the fix in this country where people cannot succeed as parents without being derelict at work or they cannot succeed at work without being derelict to their children, which is exactly what exists for too many people in America today or that is their deep worry, then we are going to suffer. We are going to suffer economically, and we are going to suffer culturally.

Now, I think this is a huge opportunity. We can save some money and reduce the deficit in this welfare area. I have proposed that. I think we can. I don't believe every penny we're spending is sacrosanct, but I just would say to you we must not walk away, and you should not walk away. And you shouldn't want us to put you in a position to walk away from our fundamental responsibilities, just imagine all the debates that are going to occur here. Children are not very well organized. Poor children are very poorly organized. They will not do well on balance in all the State legislatures of the country the next time things are really bad and, especially, after all the other budget cuts come down to all the other people who will also be on your doorstep.

We can have welfare reform. We can balance the budget. We can shrink the Government and still be faithful to our fundamental

responsibilities to our children and our future. Let's don't make it either/or. Let's do it all, do it right, and take this country to the next century in good shape.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:38 p.m. at the Stouffer Renaissance Harbor Place. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Howard Dean of Vermont; Gov. Mike Leavitt of Utah; Gov. Parris N. Glendening of Maryland; Mayor Kurt Schmoke of Baltimore; Gov. Mel Carnahan of Missouri; Gov. Tommy G. Thompson of Wisconsin; Gov. George V. Voinovich of Ohio; and Gov. John A. Kitzhaber of Oregon.

### Remarks at the Safe and Drug-Free Schools Recognition Program

June 7, 1995

Jayne, I think I can speak for every adult in this audience today and say that there's not a person here who wouldn't be proud to be your parent when you graduate from high school tomorrow. Thank you, and God bless you for everything you've done. Thank you, Marilyn, for being here. Thank you, Director Brown. And thank you, Secretary Riley.

Ladies and gentlemen, the statement you just heard from this fine young woman, about to begin her life after high school, is as clear an example as I could ever think of, of what I think we ought to be doing as a country. You hear all these debates up here in Washington about whether the government should do this, that, or the other thing, whether our problems are fundamentally to be addressed by political action, or whether all of our problems are just cultural and if people would just simply take responsibility for themselves and do the right thing we wouldn't have any problems, and therefore, we should just ignore any spending call—nothing is really worth investing in, let's just make everybody do the right thing.

The truth is, in the real world we need to do both things. Parents have to set better examples, they have to teach their children. We need to tell young people at the earliest possible age, "There comes a time in life when you cannot blame other people for your own problems, and whatever your dif-

### **Statement on the Crash of an Air Force C-21 in Alabama**

April 18, 1995

Hillary and I were very saddened to learn of the crash of an Air Force C-21 aircraft near Alexander City, Alabama, last night, with the loss of eight lives. The death of these individuals is a tragic loss for the U.S. Air Force and the Nation. Their death reminds us all how much we are indebted to those military and civilian personnel who serve in the defense of our Nation. Our hearts and our prayers go out to the families and friends of those who were killed.

### **The President's News Conference**

April 18, 1995

*The President.* Good evening. Ladies and gentlemen, before we begin the press conference, I want to express on behalf of Hillary and myself our profoundest condolences to the families and to the loved ones of the eight Americans who were killed in the crash of the Air Force plane in Alabama last night.

Tonight I want to talk about welfare reform. But before I do, I'd like to take just a minute to put welfare reform into the context of what is going on now in the United States Congress. Before the Easter break, the House of Representatives produced a flurry of ideas and proposals. Some of them were good. Some need work. Some should be rejected. My job is to work with people of good faith in both parties, in both Houses, to do what is best for America.

I was not elected to produce a pile of vetoes. And the Congress was not elected to produce a pile of political issues for the next election. My philosophy is that we have to go beyond this kind of politics-as-usual, the old debate about whether there should be more Government or less Government. I think we need a better and different Government that helps people who are helping themselves, one that offers opportunity but demands responsibility.

I have some common goals with the new Republican majority in the Congress. They say they want to reduce the deficit and the size of Government. I support that. My ad-

ministration has reduced the deficit by \$600 billion and is reducing the size of Government by over 250,000 people. In fact, if it were not for the interest we have to pay on the debt run up between 1981 and 1992, our Government's budget would be in balance today. Let me say that again, because I don't think the American people know that. If it were not for the interest we have to pay this year on the debt run up between 1981 and 1992, our Government's budget would be in balance today.

The Republicans say that they want to be tough on crime. Our crime bill is tough on crime, and I want to work with them to build on that. The Republicans are supporting the line-item veto, and so am I. I worked hard to get a version of the line-item veto passed through the Senate, and I look forward to working with them, actually getting agreement in both Houses and having a line-item veto come into law.

As we look ahead, the issue is, what are we going to do on the outstanding matters? I have commented at length on them before the newspaper editors, but let me say again, I want us to show responsibility and common sense and decency. Do we need to cut regulation, as they say? Of course, we do. But we don't need to undermine our commitment to the safety of our skies or the purity of our water and air or the sanctity of our long-term commitment to the environment. Do we need to be tough on crime? Of course, we do, but we don't need to repeal the commitment to 100,000 police officers or the assault weapons ban. Do we need to cut taxes? I believe we do, but not as much as the House bill provides. I think the tax cuts should be targeted to the middle class and to education so we raise incomes and growth for America over the long run.

Now let's talk a little about welfare. That's an issue that the Republicans and I, and the congressional Democrats should be able to agree on. They say we should end welfare as we know it. That's a commitment I made in 1992 and again in 1993 and 1994. Welfare reform is surely an example where all the people ought to be able to get together in the Congress to have reform.

We all know what we need. We need time limits for welfare recipients. We need strict

work requirements. We need very tough child support enforcement. We need more flexibility for the States. That's what our administration has been working on for more than 2 years now. We already have freed 25 States from cumbersome Federal rules and regulations so they can pursue welfare reform on their own. Tonight we're cutting redtape for two more States, for Montana and Missouri, one State with a Republican Governor, one State with a Democratic Governor, both committed to require people on welfare to go to work within 2 years. That's the same time limit I called for when I ran for President and that I called for last year.

Most people are in agreement on this. The question is, what are we going to do about it in Washington. In 1994, I introduced the most sweeping welfare reform ever presented to Congress. In 1994, Senator Dole, Senator Gramm, Senator Brown, and Senator Packwood cosponsored a pretty good bill. In 1994, Speaker, then-Congressman, Gingrich and 162 of the 175 House Republicans sponsored a bill that was an awful lot like mine. All of these bills were based on the same idea: The fundamental goal of welfare reform is to move people into the work force and to make them independent.

But the bill that passed the House of Representatives, supported by the House Republicans, in my opinion, is too weak on work and too tough on children. It saves a lot of money in the short run but at great damage to our long run interests, promoting responsible parenting and working to promote independence.

The only way to save money over the long run is to move people from welfare to work and to ensure that they have the skills to keep jobs and to stay independent. And it's wrong to cut children off just because their mothers are minor. After all, a child is a child, a baby is a baby. Whether they're white or black or brown, whether they're born in or out of wedlock, every child deserves a chance to make a good life.

Surely we should not punish children for the mistakes of their parents. Instead, we ought to give them a chance to become independent, full participating citizens, not part of the welfare population.

Let me say again, this does not have to be a partisan issue. I know that there are some here in Washington, for example, who want to fold this whole welfare reform issue into the broader budget debate. If you put it into the budget process, as those of you who live here know, it can be buried in a pile of other issues. And then there will be no need for a bipartisan consensus on welfare reform. But welfare reform is too important for that kind of Washington game. It should be open. It should be bipartisan. And we should get on with it right away.

I want to challenge Congress to pass a bipartisan welfare reform bill and put it on my desk by July the 4th, so that we can celebrate Independence Day by giving Americans on welfare the chance, the opportunity, the responsibility, to move to independence.

#### **Surgeon General Nomination**

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International].

**Q.** Mr. President, Senator Dole has threatened to block Dr. Foster's nomination as Surgeon General from reaching a vote or going to the Senate floor. I have a two-part question. Are you going to the mat to fight for it? Are you going to withdraw it? And do you think that abortion, which is still lawful in this country, will be a litmus test in Presidential politics?

**The President.** Yes, I'm going to the mat for the nomination. Whether abortion is a litmus test in Presidential politics is up to the voters. Dr. Foster is a good man with a good record as a family doctor, as someone who has helped thousands of mothers to give birth to their children, and as an academic and as someone who has supported policies that are pro-family and pro-child. He is qualified. He should be confirmed. He should not be caught up in any kind of politics, Presidential or otherwise.

Terry [Terence Hunt, Associated Press].

#### **Russian Nuclear Cooperation With Iran**

**Q.** Mr. President, two countries with which the United States has important relationships, Russia and China, want to sell nuclear technology to Iran over your objections. Can you explain why Russia, in particular, would want to give this technology to a neigh-

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 9, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

10:06 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. As a candidate for President, I pledged to end welfare as we know it. And as President, I've been doing everything in my power to keep that pledge.

Earlier, for more than 15 years, first as Governor of Arkansas and later when I became President, I have always felt it was critically important to fix our broken welfare system. It doesn't honor our values of work and family and personal responsibility. Well, it's been a long time coming, but finally the Senate is taking up this issue.

Meanwhile, over the last two and a half years, while I've been urging Congress to act, my administration has worked as hard as we can to change the welfare system by executive action in a way that honors the values most Americans hold dear -- work responsibility and family. We've put tough child support enforcement at the center of the national debate. Our administration collected a record level of child support in 1994 -- \$10 billion. And I signed a tough executive order to crack down on federal employees who owe child support.

We've also cut through federal red tape to speed up welfare reform all around the country by approving experiments in a record 34 states. Just through these experiments, 7 million recipients of welfare around the country are now being required to work, pay child support, live at home and stay in school, or earn a paycheck from a business that pays them with money that used to be spent on food stamps and welfare. Now, I have told all 50 states they can have these welfare reforms immediately, within 30 days, just by asking.

Next week, it's the Senate's turn to do its part. The current system must be replaced. Instead of requiring people to work, now it penalizes people who go to work. Instead of strengthening families, now it gives teenagers a separate check to leave home, leave school and set up their own households. Instead of demanding responsibility, it lets too many parents who owe child support just walk away without paying. That's not right, and it's time to change it.

But we should do this the right way, not the wrong way. Real reform, first and foremost, must be about work. We should impose time limits and tough work requirements while making sure that parents get the child care they need to go to work. We should reward states for putting people to work, not for cutting people off. We will only succeed if we move people from welfare to work.

But real welfare reform is also about family. That means putting in place the toughest possible child support enforcement. It means requiring teen mothers to live at home, to stay in school, to turn their lives around. But it doesn't mean punishing children for the mistakes of their parents.

And finally, welfare reform must be about responsibility. States have a responsibility to maintain their own efforts to move people from welfare to work. That way we can have a race to independence, not a race to the bottom. And individuals have a responsibility to work in return for the help they receive. It's time to make welfare a second chance, not a way of life. It's time to make responsibility a way of life.

Let me be clear -- some differences still remain between the congressional proposals and me. But we must find common ground -- and soon. Look how far we've come already. Not long ago, some conservatives were talking about putting young people in orphanages. And not long ago, many liberals opposed requiring welfare recipients to work. But we've reached consensus on these issues. Now we need to go the final mile.

We've stood at the brink of welfare reform before. But for too long, American people have been frustrated by demands for ideological purity, by politicians who put their personal ambitions first. Millions of people who are trapped in the system and millions more taxpayers who pay the tab have suffered as a result. We can't let that happen again.

This is a time to deliver for the American people, not to pander to extremists who have held us back for too long. We can't let welfare reform die at the hands of ideological extremism or presidential politics or budget politics. If welfare reform gets caught up in the whirlpool of the budget debate, we run the risk that it might drown.

This is an historic moment. For 30 years, under both Democratic and Republican leadership, we've been saddled with a broken welfare system. Now we've got a real chance to reach common ground and higher ground. The senators owe it to the people who sent them to Washington not to let this opportunity slip away by doing the wrong thing or by failing to act at all. The American people have waited long enough.

Next week, let's end the old system that fosters dependence, and let's give the American people a new one based on independence, work, responsibility and family.

Thanks for listening.

END

10:12 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 8, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

10:06 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Last week I spoke to you about the need for Congress to pass reforms to end welfare as we know it. I want Congress to send me a bill that requires work, demands responsibility, and provides the child care people need to move from welfare to work.

This issue is now before the U.S. Senate. The truth is Republicans and Democrats alike know what's needed to get this job done. A majority of senators in both parties agree with me that welfare reform must require everyone who can work to go to work. We agree on the need for the toughest possible child support enforcement. And we agree that no one who can work should be able to stay on welfare forever. So we are close.

Congress could put a bill on my desk, a good bill, within the next few weeks. After a generation of debate, we have a chance, finally, to do what's right for the taxpayers who pay for a failed welfare system, and for the people who are trapped by it. But in recent days we've seen unsettling signs that progress could fall to gridlock. This week, Republican leaders said that a threat from the far right in their own party could keep them from passing a welfare reform bill this year. A handful of senators are threatening to hold welfare reform hostage to their own political views. They're threatening to block a vote on any bill that doesn't cut off all help to children whose mothers are poor, young and unmarried.

I believe their position is wrong. Republican and Democratic governors also strongly oppose Washington telling them to throw children off the rolls simply because their parents are under 18 and unmarried. And the Catholic Church has taken a very strong position on this, fearing that to cut young people under 18 and their children off welfare would lead to more abortions.

This approach also would punish the innocent children of unmarried teenagers for the mistakes of their parents. This might cut spending on welfare, but it wouldn't reform welfare to promote work and responsible parenting. That's why so many Republicans and Democrats oppose it.

The threat of the senators to take this extreme position and block this welfare reform effort is just wrong. We've come a long way in the welfare reform debate in the last few years. Not so very long ago, many liberals opposed requiring all welfare recipients who can work to do so. And not so long ago, most conservatives thought the government shouldn't spend money on child care to give welfare mothers a chance to go to work and still be good parents. Now we have a broad consensus from both. We should do both, and we shouldn't allow welfare reform to be held prisoner to ideological political debates.

MORE

I ran for President to bring new opportunity to the American people and demand more responsibility in return. That's what I call the New Covenant. And welfare reform is a crucial part of this effort. We are now at an historic moment. The failure to pass welfare reform this year would be a disservice to the American people. It shouldn't become another victim to the politics of gridlock. Republicans and Democrats alike have a real responsibility to bring real change to Washington, and a bipartisan majority in the Senate is prepared to vote for a welfare reform bill with time limits and real work requirements, and without moralistic dictates that will do more harm than good.

A few days ago, in a speech at Georgetown University, I said our leaders have to stop looking only for political advantage and start looking for common ground. I challenged our leaders to do four things:

First, we need more conversation and less combat. So let's settle our differences on welfare reform without resorting to legislative trench warfare designed to stop real reform at any cost.

Second, when we do differ, we ought to offer an alternative. When the vast majority of Americans and members of Congress agree on an issue like welfare reform, a small minority shouldn't be able to get away with "just say no" politics.

Third, we ought to look at our problems with a view toward the long-term. Moving people from welfare to work will save a lot more money in the long run than throwing children off the rolls. They'll be in trouble and they'll cost us a lot of money in the long run, and a lot of our national life as well. We are never going to end welfare unless people have the training and child care to be good workers and good parents.

And, finally, we shouldn't just berate the worst in America, we ought to spend more time concentrating on the best. That's what I have done, by giving 29 states the freedom from burdensome federal government regulations so they can lead the way in helping to find new ways to end welfare.

The only way our country can meet the profound challenges of the 21st century and the global economy is if we all pull together and we all look forward. We don't have a person to waste. That's why welfare reform is so critical. We can't afford to filibuster away our future.

So I say to those in Congress who have joined me in demanding responsibility from people on welfare, you have a responsibility, too. Don't place pride of partisanship ahead of our national pride. Don't pander to the partisan extremes. Let's not let politics stand in the way of making work and responsibility a way of life for the next generation.

Thanks for listening.

END

10:11 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 13, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
FOLLOWING WELFARE REFORM MEETING

The Rose Garden

10:08 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. I want to thank Senator Daschle, Senator Moynihan, Senator Mikulski, Senator Breaux, Senator Harkin for coming. Governor Carper; Mayor Archer, a county Executive from Madison, Wisconsin; Rick Phelps and the Majority Leader of the Tennessee House of Representatives; Bill Purcell for joining members of our administration here.

We have just had a good talk about welfare reform and the growing consensus around the approach taken by the bill offered by Senators Daschle and Mikulski and Breaux on welfare reform.

The American people have made it abundantly clear that they want us to fix the welfare system. It doesn't work for the people who are stuck on it, and it doesn't work for the taxpayers.

Welfare reform furthers both of the primary objectives of our administration. If it works, it will further the American Dream of opportunity and it will further the American value of responsibility. Our goal should be to help people be successful and independent workers and to build strong families.

We ought to be able to do this. We've come a long way in this debate. There's a broad consensus, for example, on tougher child support enforcement requirements. And not so very long ago, liberals opposed work requirements; they don't anymore. Not so very long ago, conservatives opposed spending money to provide child care when people move from welfare to work. Most conservatives out in the country don't any more.

In America, where people live with this issue, there is a great deal of consensus about what we ought to do. And we ought to build on that consensus here in Washington. The reason we can't is that some people on the far right are blocking any action on welfare reform, and the Senate especially now, that doesn't cut off children and parents if the parents if the parents are young, poor and unmarried. I think that is a terrible mistake. We shouldn't punish babies for their parents mistakes. We ought to be building strong families and independent workers.

I'm not the only person who feels this way. Yesterday, I had a meeting with the Catholic bishops, who deeply oppose the extreme position of these far right senators. And they're helping to lead the fight against it. They think it's cruel and they believe it will even lead to more abortions.

I also think that people in the state legislatures and the governor's offices throughout the country should think about the approach that is being offered on the other side. We believe it could constitute a huge, unfunded burden on state and local governments -- people actually dealing with the welfare reform issue in the years ahead.

MORE

Now, there is an alternative. This shouldn't be hard. We basically all agree on what ought to be in a welfare reform proposal. It isn't getting done because a few senators with an extreme position have decided that it is in their political interest to block any welfare legislation. The United States Senate should not practice "just say no" politics on welfare reform. We can fix this problem.

Every week that goes by, thousands of welfare mothers stay on welfare instead of going to work simply because they can't afford child care. Every week we don't make our child support laws as tough as we possibly can, we leave 800,000 people on welfare who could be off welfare if they got the child support to which they are legally entitled. Every day without welfare reform drains our economic strength, saps our community spirit and prevents Americans from being able to live up to their full potential.

We need to work together and get this job done. This coalition is growing. We're going to continue to work. We need help. We cannot pass welfare reform without Republicans and Democrats working together. It is time to move away from the extreme position toward the common ground of sensible welfare reform.

I thank all these people who are here for supporting that.

Q. Mr. President, is it time for the U.N. troops to get out of Bosnia and for the U.S. to lift the arms embargo, as Senator Dole and others are proposing?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, let me comment on the events of the last few days. I am very disturbed about what has happened in Srebrenica. We are very concerned about the fate of the refugees. And we have been working hard for the last couple of days to determine what options there are to deal with the immediate humanitarian problems. And we intend to do everything we can on that. And that is the first and foremost thing.

The truth is that the Bosnian Serbs should do what they did the last time this crisis arose, they should withdraw. And the United Nations should go back in there and reestablish the safe area, and the people should be able to go home. But we have to deal with the humanitarian crisis.

Now, on the second issue, let me remind you of what my position has always been and what it still is today. The Europeans have tried to take the lead, under the umbrella of the United Nations, in minimizing the loss of life in Bosnia, in keeping the conflict from spreading and in urging a diplomatic resolution of the war. They are still committed to do that.

I believe if the Rapid Reaction Force idea, which the French and the British have pushed, had been fully implemented before this occurred, this problem could have been minimized.

I still do not believe that it is in the interest of the United States to collapse and force the Europeans out of their willingness to put ground troops on the ground in Bosnia to try to minimize the loss of life and limit the spread. If the United Nations mission does collapse, then I believe that, together, the allies should all vote on the arms embargo. That is the best way to keep the NATO position unified, to keep the world position unified, and to avoid overly Americanizing the dealings in Bosnia should the U.N. mission collapse.

I'm quite concerned about that. The Europeans have been willing to try to solve what is clearly the toughest problem they

face on their own continent in the aftermath of the Cold War. I have tried to be supportive of that. There are serious problems now with this. Unless we can restore the integrity of the U.N. mission, obviously, its days will be numbered.

But let's not forget that it has accomplished a dramatic reduction in the loss of life since 1992 and the conflict has not spread. This is a serious challenge to the U.N. mission. It must either be resolved or there will have to be some changes there.

Q Mr. President, on another welfare issue that's headed for your desk, what are you going to do about this tobacco issue that is headed for your decision?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't -- let me say this -- I have not received a recommendation from the FDA. I saw the news reports today and they struck me as somewhat premature inasmuch as I have not yet received either a recommendation or, as the news reports indicated, requests for my own guidance on that yet.

But we have had some discussions and I can tell you this: My concern is apparently what the FDA'S concern is, and that is the impact of cigarette smoking, particularly on our young people, and the fact that cigarette smoking seems to be going up among our young people and certainly among certain groups of them. And I think we ought to do more about that than is being done and I'm willing to do that. But I want to see exactly what their recommendation is.

Q Mr. President, how do you answer the charge that the White House has injected politics into the base closing process?

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, it is absolutely false. I intend to answer it in the letter that I write today, but since you gave me a chance to do it, I'll answer it.

Let's look at the facts here. Where is the politics? This Base Closing Commission made far more changes in the Pentagon plan than either any of the three previous base closing commissions, far more. They've been under a lot of political pressure. I understand that. I don't disagree with all the changes they made.

They acknowledge -- secondly, under the law they are supposed to take into account economic impact. Based on their report, which I have read -- and I urge all of you to read it if you haven't -- before you make any judgments about where there was political influence, I urge all of you to read it. They took 23 bases or realignments off that the Pentagon recommended, off the list; and then put nine more on, three of which happen to be in California, with the biggest job loss by far in San Antonio at Kelly Air Force Base; rejecting the Defense Department's recommendation that instead of closing these two big Air Force depots, they take an across-the-board cut in all five of them. That's what they did.

Apparently, in all of their deliberations the only place where they took economic impact into account was at the Red River Depot on the border of Texas and my home state. It is clear that -- I think they have a case there. It would have almost doubled unemployment in that community.

But let's look at the facts on this politics. This is about economics. In the report itself they acknowledge that at Kelly Air Force Base 60 percent of the employees are Hispanic; 45 percent of the Hispanics employed in the entire area work there; that it will have a devastating impact, and they were willing to shut down about 16,000 jobs, when there was another alternative that saved at least as much money, according to the Pentagon, or nearly as much, according to them.

Secondly, in California here are the facts. I have not seen these anywhere. I have not seen these anywhere. The law requires economic impact to be taken into effect -- into account. Here are the facts.

When this Base Closing Commission process started, California had 13 percent of the population, 15 percent of the people in military, 20 percent of the defense budget. In the first three base closings they sustained 52 percent of the direct job losses. We're not talking about indirect jobs, we're not talking about speculation -- 52 percent.

In this recommendation the Pentagon hit them pretty hard, recommended closing Long Beach, a big facility. This Base Closing Commission, not satisfied with that, made a decision that they had to add back a lot of other jobs. So they decided to take almost all the jobs they took out, out of one place, San Antonio, Texas, and by closing three California bases -- taking the California job loss in this round to almost 50 percent.

Now, you tell me that my concern over that economic situation when their unemployment rate is 8.5 percent, they have borne over 50 percent of the burden of the job loss, is political. My concern in San Antonio, Texas, where one decision could virtually wipe out the Hispanic middle class is political, when there was another alternative that the Pentagon said was better for national security -- I am tired of these arguments about politics.

My political concern is the political economy of America and what happens to the people in these communities and are they being treated fairly.

Now, I do not disagree with every recommendation the Base Closing Commission made, but this is an outrage. And there has been a calculated, deliberate attempt to turn this into a political thing and to obscure the real economic impact of their recommendations in San Antonio and California, which were made solely so they could put back a lot of other things.

Now, let's not --

Q Why do you think they did that?

Q Have you accepted their recommendations?

Q What is the reason that they did that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I'm not imputing motives to them. I'm just saying it's very interesting to me that there has been almost no analysis of anything. This whole thing immediately became, well, this is a big political story about California. This is an economic story and it's a national security story. And there has been no analysis of what got put back and why, and what got taken off and why.

And I have been doing my best to deal with what is in the national interest. There are two considerations here. We have to reduce our base capacity. That's the most important thing. We have twice as much base capacity as we need, more or less, for the size of the military force we have. That is a national security interest. And that is my first and most important duty.

But, secondly, under the law, economic impact was supposed to be taken into account, and as nearly as I can determine, it wasn't anywhere -- never in these determinations, with the possible exception of the Red River Depot, based on my reading of the report.

Now, the question is, is there a way to accept these recommendations, because even though I think they're far -- they're

not as good as what the Pentagon recommended and they do a lot more economic harm for very little extra security gains -- is there a way to accept them and minimize the economic loss in the areas where I think it is plainly excessive. And that is what we have been working on. That is what I've been working hard on. But I just want you to know that I deeply resent the suggestion that this is somehow a political deal.

I have not seen anything written anywhere that the state of California lost 52 percent of the jobs in the first three base closings and that this commission took them back up to nearly 50 percent in this one, even though they only have 15 percent of the soldiers and their unemployment rate is 50 percent above the national average. I haven't seen anywhere what this was likely to do to the Hispanic middle class and to the people of San Antonio, Texas, unless we can save a lot of those jobs there so that a lot of other things could be put back in 10 or 11 places around the country.

And I think that you folks need to look at the real impact of this. I am trying to do my job to reduce the capacity of the bases in the country consistent with the national interest and still be faithful to the statute requiring us to deal with the economic impact on these communities.

END

10:23 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 20, 1995

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary  
(Chicago, Illinois)

Embargoed For Release  
Until 10:06 A.M. EDT  
Saturday, July 1, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

Sheraton Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. On this 4th of July weekend, I want to talk about one thing that is at the root of all of our independence -- going to work. It makes you self-sufficient. It makes you and your family truly independent.

Unfortunately, millions of Americans are not independent because they are dependent on welfare. The vast majority of these Americans dream the same dreams most of us do. They want the same dignity that comes from going to work and the pride that comes from doing right by their children. They want to be independent.

The Congress and I are now working hard on welfare reform to give them that kind independence. I look forward to Congress passing and my signing into law a bipartisan bill that stands a real chance of ending welfare as we know it.

Though there are very different approaches in the bills now before Congress, we have agreed on much of what needs to do. We agree there must be time limits on welfare after which all who can must work. And I'm pleased that Congress has now agreed with me that we must enforce child support with the toughest possible law.

But if we're going to end welfare, we must do more about a crucial element that is missing from the current approach of many in Congress. Instead of providing the child care people need to get off welfare, some in Congress actually are trying to cut child care.

So today I say to Congress, child care must be the central element of our effort to put welfare mothers to work. The bold plan that I support, which has been proposed by Senators Daschle, Breaux and Mikulski, provides that kind of child care.

Our bill presents a genuine opportunity for bipartisan agreement, and I hope we take advantage of it soon. After all, we should want the same thing for people on welfare we want for all Americans -- the chance to build strong families and to make the most of their own lives.

The very name of the welfare program says it all -- "Aid to Families with Dependent Children." Children by nature are dependent. The point of welfare reform must not be to punish children, but to help their families become independent. To be independent with dependent children, a person must be able to succeed both as a worker and a parent. That's what most Americans have to do these days. That's a big reason I worked so hard back in 1993 to cut taxes for working families with children whose incomes were under \$28,000, and now they're about a \$1,000 lower than they used to be.

And that's why I'm working hard to include in my Middle Class Bill of Rights a tax credit of \$500 per child for all the children under 13 in middle class families. And that's

why it is pure fantasy to believe we can put a welfare mother to work unless we provide child care for her children. We don't need more latchkey kids. We certainly don't need more neglected children. And we don't want more welfare mothers staying at home, living on welfare, just because they can't find child care.

We do want people to be good workers and good parents. And if we want parents on welfare to go to work, we have to make sure they can find good, clean, safe places for their children to go during the day.

Many in Congress want to cut child care just to save money. Well, I want to cut spending, and I want to save money, too. But we have to do it the smart way. Cutting child care will make it harder for parents to get off and stay off welfare. It will, therefore, cost us far more down the road than it will ever save in the near-term.

Some people in Congress want to take even more extreme steps that will hurt, not strengthen, families. They don't want welfare reform unless it cuts off all help to children whose mothers are poor, young and unmarried. I want to discourage teen pregnancy. We have to do that, but not by hurting innocent babies. We should require teen mothers to live at home, stay in school and turn their lives around so they and their children stay off welfare for good.

Our administration has already put 29 states on the road to ending welfare as we know it with waivers to free them up from cumbersome federal rules and regulations when they have good ideas to reform welfare.

Today I'm pleased to announce that Virginia will receive the newest waiver. Virginia's plan requires people on welfare to go to work. Like the states of Oregon, Missouri and a few others, it also allows money now spent on welfare and food stamps to go to employers to supplement wages to help create jobs in the private sector. And it helps people get child care. It's a good plan, and I'm proud to be supporting it.

Several months ago, I called on Congress to send me a welfare reform bill by July the 4th, Independence Day. I'm disappointed they haven't been able to meet that deadline, but I am hopeful that we'll move forward on a bipartisan welfare reform bill. I don't want filibusters. I don't want vetoes. I don't want gridlock. But I do want real welfare reform that requires work, demands responsibility and provides the child care people need to move off welfare and to be successful as workers and parents.

It's time to get to work so we can give millions of other Americans a new Independence Day.

Thanks for listening.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 20, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
VIA SATELLITE TO THE  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE LEGISLATURES  
IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

11:16 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Jane Campbell, for your gracious introduction and for all the great work you've done as president of the NCSL. I saw your mother yesterday morning at my affirmative action speech, and I wonder who you're going to produce in your family to start tomorrow off right for me. I'm very glad to see you again.

I want to wish your incoming president, Jim Lack, the best of luck in the coming year. I think he can expect interesting times as well.

Let me express my thanks to your NCSL vice president, Mike Box; your former president, Bob Connor; two of your assembly chairs -- my good friend, Dan Blue, and Representative Bill Purcell, with whom I enjoyed working at the Vice President's Family Conference in Nashville recently. It's great to be here with all of you, even if I'm only here by satellite.

You know, the image that is bringing me to you traveled from Washington to a satellite about 22,000 miles away in space, and then back down to Milwaukee, a total of 44,000 miles. Back when I was a governor there were times when I felt that Washington was that far away. And it's been very important to me, as you said, to try to make you feel that we're not 44,000 miles away, that we're not living on a different planet, that we can stay in touch with you and that we can work together.

For 12 years I lived with state government and I saw how it can be the laboratory of our democracy. I know how you drive us forward as a nation with your innovation, your will to experiment responsibly, and your common sense. You are the inspiration for so much of what we're trying to do up here. And I thank you very much for that.

America's state legislators have had a very productive year. I noticed that in Utah, West Virginia, New Mexico and Montana, statutes were enacted that permit employers to establish medical savings accounts for health care. Delaware and Ohio have led the way with truly meaningful welfare reform legislation that is focused on protecting our children and moving people from welfare to work, something I've been laboring with for 15 years now. And I understand that those of you from Iowa saw fit to put diaper-changing tables in all the statehouse rest rooms. Now, if that is not a sincere commitment to family values, I don't know what is.

For many of you, your work for the year is done. But in Washington, as you know, we've still got a very long way to go. When I ran for President as the governor of my state, I did it for two reasons. First, I thought that, on the verge of the 21st century, we were in danger of losing the American Dream of opportunity for all and in danger of losing our sense of responsibility with all the

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social problems that were tearing our country apart. So I wanted to restore opportunity and a sense of responsibility.

But I also wanted to bring the American people together as a community. Politics has been used too long to divide us when what we really need to do is to rise above partisanship to find common ground. In order to do that, Washington needs to inspire the trust of more people throughout the country with a government that empowers people to make the most of their own lives, empowers communities to solve their own problems and is far less bureaucratic and less proscriptive.

Now, in the last two and a half years I believe we've produced some real achievements. The economy is up, inflation is low, trade is expanding, interest rates and unemployment are down. The facts speak for themselves. In the last two years we have cut the deficit by a third, and we're in the process of reducing it for three years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was president. We have put in place more than 80 new trade agreements, including NAFTA and the GATT world trade agreement, and an historic pact to finally, finally open Japan's markets to American cars and American auto parts.

These efforts have added about seven million new jobs to our economy, and almost all of them have been in the private sector. To give you an idea of what that means, it's like creating a job for every person in Delaware, Idaho, Maine, Mississippi, Montana and Wyoming combined. In 1993 our country established more new businesses than ever before, and in 1994 Americans broke that record again.

One of the best pieces of evidence that this country is turning around is right in the room here. The report in CSL issued for this conference, the report The New York Times put on its front page on Sunday, says that the finances of the state are -- and I quote -- "the best they have been since the 1980s." Last year, employment grew in all 50 states and independent forecasters expect the same thing to happen again this year.

I have only one thing to say to that. As good as this is, you ain't seen nothing yet, if we stay on the same course. We couldn't have done all this without a strong commitment to changing the way the government does the people's business here in Washington, because the old federal ways and the old federal bureaucracy were not going to permit the kind of changes that we have to make as a country to get to the 21st century.

Our federal work force is well on its way to being the smallest it's been since John Kennedy was President. It will be in just another year or two. Already, we've cut well over 100,000 positions from the government; hundreds of programs have been abolished. Just last month, we got rid of 16,000 pages in the Federal Code of Regulations. Fifty percent of the regulations at the Small Business Administration are on their way to being history. We've reduced that budget by 40 percent, and doubled the number of small business loans.

Forty percent of the Education Department's regulations are being scrapped. And as you know, that will directly help a lot of you. The time it takes to fill out EPA regulations has been cut by 25 percent. And we're now telling small businesses around America, if you call the EPA and you ask for help on a problem, you cannot be fined for six months while you try to work it out.

Reinventing government means reinventing the way the federal government does business with you as well. Our job has been to bring together all levels of government to cooperate, to find common ground, to actually work together to solve our nation's

problems, instead of just talking about them. We have worked very hard to forge a genuine partnership between the states and the national government.

I learned about the importance of this partnership a long time ago. When I was the governor, in Little Rock the legislature and the governor's offices were close together -- just one floor apart in the Capital. We saw each other all the time. Legislators dropped by my office at any time of the day or night during the legislative sessions. Many legislators even came to the governor's morning planning meetings. There was a spirit of teamwork, a tremendous amount of goodwill, and an awful lot of good came out of it.

As you know, unfortunately, we too often don't work that way in Washington. I am doing my best to build on that tradition to go beyond partisanship to finding common ground and actually solving a lot of these issues.

I've also tried to give you more say in your own affairs. We have now given 29 states a total of 33 waivers from federal rules to enact their own welfare reform proposals. In the last two and a half years, more states have received waivers than in the previous 12 years of the previous two administrations combined. We have also given 10 states waivers to carry out major health care reform initiatives.

I did sign, as Jane said, the Unfunded Mandates Act, which restricts Congress from passing new mandates on state and local governments without paying for them. From now on, Congress will not be able to take you out for a 10-course dinner and then stick you with the check.

We have proposed setting up performance partnerships with you. Under this initiative, you would have a real say in how federal programs are run in your state. But in exchange for more flexibility and more freedom to innovate, you would also be more accountable for the results.

The list goes on. OSHA and the EPA no longer play cops and robbers with you as they used to. We're moving away from punishment to compliance as a goal. FEMA used to be a disaster, but all of you had to use it in the last two and a half years know that it is a genuine disaster agency now, helping states all across our country to respond quickly and efficiently and compassionately to crises.

Even though we've made strides, I know we still have a lot to do. That's why I have submitted my balanced budget plan, which I believe is important because of the way it balances the budget and because of the things that it still does in the budget both for the American people and with the American states.

All of you have to balance your budget, and you know it's important. The United States never had a structural deficit until about 12 years ago. Before, when we ran deficits, it was just because of economic conditions. But from 1981 until the day I took office, we quadrupled the debt of this country. And we were in a position where we were going to have deficits forever and ever, with all the economic weakness that that implies.

I know what you have to do and the tough choices you have to make. I used to do it every year for 12 years. We are now at an historic moment, because for the first time in a long time, the leaders of both parties in Washington agree that we must balance the budget. The Congress has a budget plan that I have differences with, but at least we share this common goal. And I am confident we are going to be able to work together to balance the budget and to help

all Americans achieve the objectives of a balanced budget -- a stronger economy and a brighter future for ourselves and our children.

But in the meanwhile, we need to be honest and open about our differences; and there are real differences. The biggest difference is the difference between necessary cuts and unacceptable and ultimately self-defeating pain. Our balanced budget plan cuts spending by more than \$1 trillion. It cuts non-defense discretionary spending by an average of 20 percent across the board, except for education. The congressional plan wants to make deep cuts in education and training, while I want to increase our investment in education, because that is essential to our ability to meet the challenges of the next century.

Let me say also that I am very concerned about the direction that the House Appropriations Committee seems to be going with regard to the bill which includes funding for key education and training initiatives. The bill they've come up with would eliminate the Goals 2000 program. It would drastically cut back the School-to-Work initiatives that we have used to help all of you establish systems in your own state to move everybody who doesn't go on to four year colleges into a continuing education program.

And let me stop and say that when I became President I knew that the United States was the only advanced economy in the world that had no system for the young people who did not go on to four-year universities. We all have our community colleges; we all have our vocational schools; we all are blessed with private sector employers that try to provide people on-the-job training. But we had no system on a state-by-state basis in all 50 states for keeping up with those young people who don't go to the four-year schools and making sure that they can make the transition from school to work in a job with a chance to have a growing, not a shrinking income. So I think it's a mistake to walk away from the School-to-Work program.

They also want to effectively gut the Safe and Drug-free Schools and Communities program. I know that a lot of you have schools that need more help with security measures, that need more help with drug prevention measures, and that you cannot provide this money on your own. The Safe and Drug-free Schools program has enabled all the schools of our country to access the resources they need to try to have the schools be safe and drug free. The House proposed budget would also deny Pell Grants to 300,000 students who want to attend college. And it would cut job training for hundreds of thousands of Americans just when we need to help our people build the skills to meet the demands of the 21st century.

If Congress sends me this bill in its present form, I will have to veto it because it will weaken our economy and it will undermine the good that we can do by balancing the budget. The congressional plan will also cut Medicare in a way that could impose huge costs on the elderly. We have to reduce the rate at which Medicare costs are increasing. We can reform the Medicare program, but we have to make sure that it will be intact for Americans who need it.

Congress also has a plan that will give very large tax cuts that will primarily go to people who are better off. I think the tax cuts are too large and will require cuts in Medicare, Medicaid and education that are too large. But if we simply cut taxes for people who really need it, cutting taxes for middle-class people so that they can invest that money in their children and in their education, we can afford a sizeable tax cut, balance the budget and continue to invest in our fundamental needs.

The congressional plan would balance the budget in seven years. I believe that that is too fast. We have had a deficit since

1969. We have had a huge structural deficit for 12 years. We've already cut the deficit for three years in a row. I think it is better to take a little more time so that we can continue to invest in education, protect Medicare, protect our relationships and our partnerships with you, and invest in the things that will grow our economy. If we can balance the budget in 10 years without doing that kind of harm, we ought to take more time and do it right.

So I say, let's balance the budget, but let's balance the budget in 10 years, not seven years. We cannot expect to undo these decades of fiscal damages overnight. And we must continue to make investments here at the national level, in education; in investments in science and technology and the environment, and, obviously, in Medicare and Medicaid.

How we balance the budget is as important as balancing it. Just three extra years will preserve the dreams of millions of Americans. And it will strengthen our economy. We get all the economic benefits of balancing the budget, and the economic benefits of opening the doors of college education to all with affordable and payable loans; continuing to increase the impact of Head Start for our young people; and being able to create a genuine big training program for unemployed and underemployed people, so that we can get rid of all these many, many dozens of federal training programs and still have enough money to put in this block so that people who lose their jobs or are underemployed can have access which they can take to the local community college or any other place of their choice.

Now, to me, this choice is clear, and I hope you will agree. I was gratified to learn that yesterday, your federal budget and taxation committee passed a resolution calling for a balanced federal budget within 10 years. That will enable us to maintain our partnership.

The congressional budget would also do something else. I believe it would put an unfair burden on every one of you. Anybody who's worked in state government in the 1980s learned a very painful lesson. Washington's budget decisions all throughout the '80s gave us too many problems and too few resources. States were stuck with a horrible combination of more mandates and less funding. I know there are people in this room who worked night and day to see to it that the citizens of your state were taken care of, but it wasn't easy. There was an awful lot of unnecessary pain. And I don't see any reason on Earth why we ought to go through that again. But that is exactly what could happen with the congressional budget.

It sounds good -- it calls for block grants for Medicaid and food stamps. But I have to tell you, I have real doubts that these block grants would be able to keep pace with the demands that you are going to face in your individual states. And in the real world, remember that economies change, populations rise, needs evolve. As those things happen you could be locked into a grant that could lock you into a real bind. And no matter how great a job you've done getting your own fiscal house in order, no matter how hard you've worked to prepare your state for the next century, you'll have to respond. And that could mean putting the working families of your state, the children of your state, the elderly of your state either in dire straights at the moment that we need to be doing everything we can to help them to make the most of their own lives, or forcing you to raise taxes when that might not be in the economic interests of your state or your people.

Should the states have more responsibility? Of course, they should. I'm doing my best to give you more. Should you deliver primary services? You always have. Should we in Washington do more than we have to free you up? Absolutely, we should. But we ought to do it in partnership. Simply moving the bureaucracy from one place to another, or shifting the problems from one level to another is

nothing more than a shell game. Giving you the responsibility without the resources could be disastrous. We can do better than that. We can get rid of this deficit. We can give our people the tools they need to make the most of their own God-given talents and we can give our states more flexibility.

The budget process is entering a crucial stage now. If there was ever a time for you to add your voices the time is now. We need to get to work and we need to do it in a bipartisan fashion. I have the feeling that even today at the state level there is less partisanship, less ideological argument and more willingness to roll up your sleeves and get down to work than there is too often here in Washington.

You can help us with that. We need an infusion of that. We can solve the problems of this country. We can give you more flexibility; balance the budget, still invest in our people as we need. But to do it, we have to look beyond the hot air and the harsh talk and try to find common ground.

Thank you very much, and God bless you. (Applause.)

REPRESENTATIVE CAMPBELL: Thank you, Mr. President. It is now my pleasure to call upon two of our colleagues to pose questions to President Clinton. The first is NCSL's incoming president, Senator Lack of New York.

Senator Lack.

SENATOR LACK: Good morning, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning, Senator.

SENATOR LACK: As I assume the presidency of NCSL I certainly look forward to continuing the relationship between our organization and you and your administration, and would like to take this opportunity to extend an invitation to you to join with us next year at our conference in St. Louis if you can. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

SENATOR LACK: Mr. President, you alluded to block grants. State legislators, for many years, have supported the flexibility provided by block grants and performance partnerships. However, the worse scenario we could imagine would be to receive block grants that really aren't block grants. Will you support us in keeping block grant legislation free of mandates and other prescriptive elements?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I agree with you that if we're going to have a block grant program, it ought to be as free as possible of proscriptive mandates, consistent with the larger objectives of the program. The community development block grant program that I used as a governor, that presumably many of you still take full advantage of at the state level, worked pretty well in that regard.

And I am generally in favor of pushing more and more decision-making away from the federal government, down to the states; and where appropriate, not only the local government, but the private citizens as well. For example, I have proposed this G.I. Bill for America's workers, which would take these 70 Labor Department job training programs and just get rid of them, put it into a block, and when someone is unemployed, they can apply and get a voucher worth \$2,600 a year for up to two years to take to your local community college or wherever else they want to get the training.

We have given, as I said in my remarks, welfare reform waivers to 29 states, and we have more pending. I am opposed to Washington's micromanagement, whether it comes from the right or the left. And I have been very concerned that in the welfare reform debate we were going to wind up, under the guise of giving the states more responsibility, essentially putting more details on the states and putting the states in an economic bind.

Right now, the welfare reform bill is stalled in the Senate because some of those mostly on the extreme conservative end of the Senate believe that it doesn't contain enough mandates to, for example, prohibit any funds going to teenage mothers who have children out of wedlock and to their children.

I believe that what we ought to do, consistent with the very few things we know -- I've worked on welfare reform for 15 years -- we know a few things. We know that most people on welfare will go to work if they're given a chance to do it. We know that the absence of child care is a big problem, a barrier. And we know that the states will figure all this out if they have the tools to do it right. So what I want to do in the welfare reform debate is to give you the maximum amount of flexibility, consistent with some simple objectives. I do think the only place we need federal rules and welfare reform -- and you and I, I think, have talked about this before -- is in the area of child support enforcement because so many of those cases cross state lines.

So I'm going to do my best to get you a welfare reform proposal which gives more flexibility to the states and doesn't have a lot of ideological proscriptions one way or the other and just focuses on one or two big things that need to be done. I think that is the right way to do it.

Let me just say one other thing, though, about these block grants. Block grants are very good if they can be used by you for the purpose for which they're intended and they don't have some trap down the road. So, for example, with the community development block grant, the dollar amount I got was held constant for a decade. So, in real terms, it got smaller and smaller and smaller. But since I didn't have a dependent population that had to have it every year we were able to work and make the most of it, use it to create jobs in my state without causing any problems anywhere else.

Now, if we turn food stamps into a block grant, what are we going to do the first time we don't have all 50 states growing? The food stamp program, because it goes to people in need, worked very well in the 1980s when, first of all, we had the so-called bicoastal economy. The coasts were doing well and the heartland was doing terribly. Then when the heartland and the Middle West and the South came back, the coast got in trouble, the food stamp program worked as an economic stabilizer as well as a personal safety net, moving back and forth across the states to help deal with the problems of those states. I think that there's a real potential for problems for you in that.

And I feel the same way about Medicaid. If you have a Medicaid block grant with -- particularly with all the other problems you've got, what are we going to do the first time that there's a terrible but uneven recession in America?

And, in the case of the welfare program, if there were an AFDC block grant with no local participation requirement, look what that could do to you. What are you going to do if you get cut across the board -- Medicaid cuts, education cuts, welfare cuts -- and you've got a welfare block grant with no local participation requirement, and then that money becomes the target of every lobby group in your state legislature that needs it? What's going to happen to the poor children in your state?

So what I think we need to do is to be very practical about this, not ideological; use the block grants where they'll work, and give you as much flexibility as possible to be creative. The federal government should be defining the objectives we want to achieve, and unless we have absolute, clear, unambiguous evidence that some condition or another is a precondition of achieving that objective, we ought to give you the maximum amount of creativity. That's what I tried to do with this waiver process, and that's the direction I think we ought to take.

REPRESENTATIVE CAMPBELL: Thank you, Mr. President. Our second questioner is Representative Dan Blue of North Carolina, Chair of our Assembly on Federal Issues.

Representative Blue.

REPRESENTATIVE BLUE: Thank you, Madame President. Good morning, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning, Dan.

REPRESENTATIVE BLUE: Mr. President, you alluded briefly to welfare reform. State legislators have welcomed the current debate on the welfare system. We, like you, believe that it is a need of substantial reform. However, NCSL believes that any welfare reform legislation must contain some kind of contingency or rainy-day fund to assist states during periods of emergency. And we wonder whether you would share with us your position on this issue.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I clearly agree with you. If we're going to the block grant proposals, there have to be some protections for the times when the economy goes down in the country as a whole, and the times when the economy goes down in some parts of the country, but not in others. I have tried to say all along that one of the big risks with these block grants is that some states are going to come up short in the next recession, and all states could.

And one of the things that really concerns me -- I'm very excited about the fact that there's a lot of energy here in Washington, and a lot of energy for reform throughout the country. We've got a lot of new people in government, with a lot of really determined ideas about what to do to change. And even when they disagree with me, I think it's an exciting thing to have this kind of debate. But we must have memory, also, and we must have some way of calling on our common experience.

I am gratified that the productivity of the American private sector and the economic policies that we have established, the kind of work that many of you do in economic development in your own state have given us now a couple of years of nationwide economic growth. But I want to reemphasize, if you go back over the last 20 years in our history, this period is atypical. In most of the last 20 years, we've had some regions doing well while others were doing poorly.

And we need to make sure that we don't have states left holding the bag if their own economies hit a log down the road. Now, I have spoken to state legislators now throughout the country, in Florida and Indiana and other places, and I can tell you that -- I mean, Florida and Iowa and other places -- excuse me -- and I can tell you that I've talked privately with Republicans and Democrats alike, who ask me to fight for protections like the contingency fund, and even the state match. Particularly in the fast-growing states, they're worried about this. So I will support you on that. I will stand with you on that.

I think that what you need to do here is to make sure when each one of these issues is being debated in Congress that you understand both the up sides and the down sides, because when

Congress proposes these kind of block grants they may be in philosophical agreement with you at one level, that you should have more say over your own affairs; but keep in mind also, there's a big desire to meet these very, very tough deficit reduction targets that they have set for themselves. So if they are using you to save money, it only works for you if the increased flexibility and the diminished paperwork and hassle, and the increased creativity you can bring to the task means you can do the same work for less money as well or better than you were doing it before. And it only works if these economic changes have been taken into account.

So I'm with you on it. I'll work with you. We can get this done. I will say again, for all of my differences with the Congress, we have got to balance the budget. We are going to do that. We are going to reach an agreement on it. But we need to do it in a way that enables you to do your job and that promotes the objectives of a balanced budget -- more jobs, higher incomes, a more stable future for our children.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:47 A.M. EDT

draft 7/28/95

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING  
BURLINGTON, VERMONT  
JULY 31, 1995

[Acknowledgements: Governor Dean for introduction; Governor Thompson, in-coming chairman; ~~Governor Miller (Bob), in-coming vice chairman~~; Mayor Peter Clavelle; Ray Sheppach, NGA Executive Director; fellow Governors; ladies and gentlemen]

It's great to be back in New England and in Vermont, especially this time of year. Let me begin by congratulating Governor Thompson for taking over the reins of the NGA for the next year. He really has a tough act to follow. Governor Dean has been a terrific leader. His "Campaign for Children" has helped focus much-needed attention on the responsibilities we owe our children -- as parents, as citizens and as leaders. There is no more important issue facing this nation.

I share Governor Dean's sense of urgency about our children. In fact, I ran for President because I wanted to ensure a better future for our children. I did not want my daughter to be a part of the first generation of Americans to do worse than their parents. I also did not want to be a passive spectator at the funeral of our core American values: work and responsibility, community and family. So I took office to do two things: first, to expand opportunity and demand responsibility from every citizen. And secondly, to bring this country together again through a recommitment to the shared values that have made us great. And I have realized something during the course of this journey. You can't do one without the other. We must all pull together to rebuild the American Dream.

That's why, for the past two-and-a-half years, I have sought common ground with the American people about the needs of children and families. We've worked hard to give hard-working families the help they need to make the most of their God-given potential -- and to give their children a good start in life.

The Earned Income Tax Credit now provides an average tax deduction of \$1000 for working families with children with incomes below \$28,000. The Family and Medical Leave Law now helps more people be good parents and successful workers. The crime bill we enacted protects our children with 100,000 more police officers on the street and prevention programs that give our young people something to say yes to. We are well on our way to achieving our goal of immunizing every child under age 2 by the turn of the century. We've expanded Head Start and made historic strides in education reform with efforts like Goals 2000, direct student loans, and our national service program, AmeriCorps.

*My whole life  
Don't need to  
to move this detail  
found at DC  
around country  
- my record  
workplaces, etc.*

- 1. Larger fight
- 2. In absence of

*- Sub - bill  
- DOD - what to say*

So, we have done a lot to improve the quality of life for children and families. But, there is one thing we have not been able to do -- pass comprehensive welfare reform. The American people have been clear: They want welfare reform and they want it now.

We have found common ground, across partisan and ideological lines, on most of the issues surrounding welfare reform. Not so very long ago, many liberals opposed requiring all welfare recipients who can work to do so. And not so long ago, most conservatives thought the government shouldn't spend money on child care to give welfare mothers a chance to go to work and still be good parents. Now we have a broad consensus from both. We should do both.

We also began this year with some in Washington suggesting that ending welfare meant taking children from their parents and putting them in orphanages. Now there's a bipartisan consensus even in Washington that that would be the wrong way to go. When this Congress first took up welfare reform, some questioned the need to include strong child support enforcement. But when governors and Members of Congress came together at our White House summit on welfare reform in January, Tommy Thompson, Howard Dean and every other governor there let Congress know that tough child support enforcement is something we all can agree on.

So, why has the Congress failed to act? Unfortunately, in recent days, partisan, ideological in-fighting has stalled the progress on welfare reform. We just can't afford to let this die. I want Congress to stop the ideological bickering and send me a strong, bipartisan welfare reform bill yesterday. The American people have waited long enough.

You and I have been working hard to move the ball forward. In fact, my Administration has approved waivers for 29 states to reform welfare their way. Governor Dean led the way with the first time-limit waiver in the country. And Governor Thompson was right on his heels.

Today, I want to announce three immediate steps that we can take together that will move us closer to ending welfare as we know it while we wait for Congress to end the logjam and act.

First, I am directing the Secretary of Health and Human Services to see to it that any State that meets four basic principles of welfare reform, can get a waiver within 30 days.

Those principles are at the core of what most Americans, without regard to party want to see as part of welfare reform.

They are:

One: time limits and real work requirements. No one who can work should be able to stay on welfare forever. And we need to make sure that people have the child care and job training they need to move from welfare to work.

Two: teen mothers must live at home, stay in school, and prepare for work. We shouldn't punish children for the mistakes of their parents. But we should insist that young mothers and fathers take responsibility and turn their lives around.

Three: mothers must identify the father of their child so we can collect child support. Parents should not be able to walk away from their responsibilities.

And four: Let's do what Ohio and Oregon and Missouri are doing -- move people to work by using money now spent on welfare and food stamps to subsidize private sector jobs. That's a win-win. Businesses can hire more people, taxpayers can save money, and people who used to get welfare checks can now get paychecks.

The second executive action I am taking today is to approve the most state waivers ever announced at one time. We are approving welfare reform waivers for [six states? Ohio, West Virginia, Utah, Texas, California, and Massachusetts?] and food stamp waivers for [four states? Delaware, Virginia, ?, ?]. That's 10 states that will be freed up to try out their ideas without being stifled by Washington one-size-fits-all rules.

And finally, we must do everything in our power to change the culture of welfare to put work first. Welfare reform isn't about just cutting people off. It will only succeed if it moves people from welfare to work. Today, I am using my executive authority to hold states to a tougher performance standard for moving people from welfare to work and giving them the tools to do so. Starting October 1, I am doubling the work participation goal from 20 percent to 40 percent. And we'll make sure that States that meet this tough, new benchmark are recognized and rewarded. At the same time, I am changing federal regulations so that states can impose tougher sanctions on recipients who refuse to work.

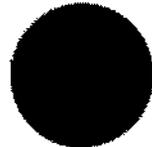
None of this is a replacement for bold Congressional action. Rather, I hope it will spur the Congress to get off the dime. Let me be clear: Congress still needs to pass a comprehensive welfare reform bill that contains work requirements, time limits, the toughest possible child support enforcement laws, and gives states the tools to succeed. The Senate has before it a bill that will do just that. The Work First Plan sponsored by Senators Daschle, Breaux and Mikulski ends the current welfare system and replaces it with one based on work. I urge the Congress to pass this bill.

I ran for President to bring new opportunity to the American people and to demand more responsibility in return. That's what I call the New Covenant. Welfare reform is a crucial part of this effort. We are now at an historic moment. The failure to pass welfare reform this year would be a breach of faith with the American people. Republicans and Democrats alike have a responsibility to bring real change to Washington.

I hope Congress will act, and soon. But even if they don't, I will work with you and your legislatures to get this job done.

Thank you.

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 06/29/95 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 9:30 am 6/30/95

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: RADIO ADDRESS FOR 6/30

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McGINTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
PANETTA	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	NASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
McLARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUINN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ICKES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	RASCO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BOWLES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SEGAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
RIVLIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SOSNIK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
EMANUEL	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STEPHANOPOULOS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GEARAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TYSON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GIBBONS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WEBSTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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McCURRY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Comments to Don Baer by 9:30 am.

RESPONSE:

JOHN D. PODESTA  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION  
JULY 1, 1995  
(Taped June 30, 1995)

95 JUN 29 P7:57

Good morning. On this 4th of July weekend, I want to talk about one thing that is at the root of our independence. Going to work makes you self-sufficient; it makes you and your family truly independent. Unfortunately, millions of Americans don't have that independence; they're dependent on welfare.

The vast majority of these Americans dream the same dream that most Americans do. They want the dignity that comes from going to work and doing right by their children.

Congress and I are now at work on a welfare reform bill. I look forward to their passing and my signing into law a bipartisan bill that has a real chance of ending welfare as we know it.

We have already agreed on much of what needs to be done. We agree that there must be time limits on welfare. We agree that we must move people off welfare and into work. And I am pleased that Congress has now agreed with me that we should have the toughest child support enforcement laws possible.

But if we are going to end welfare, we must do more about a crucial element that is missing from the current approach of many in Congress. Instead of providing the child care people need to get off welfare, some in Congress are actually trying to cut child care.

Today, I say to Congress: Let's make child care the central element of our initiative to put welfare mothers to work. The bold plan that I am for, which has been proposed by Senators Daschle, Breaux and Mikulski, provides that support. Our bill presents a genuine opportunity for a bipartisan agreement, and I hope we take advantage of it soon.

After all, we should want the same thing for people on welfare that we want for all Americans: the chance to build strong families and to make the most of their own lives. The very name of the welfare program says it all: Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Children are by nature dependent. The point of welfare reform is not to punish children, but to help their families become independent.

It is pure fantasy to believe that we can put a mother to work unless we provide child care for her children. We don't want more latch key kids or neglected children. And we don't want more welfare mothers staying home, drawing welfare because they can't find child care.

We do want people to be good workers and good parents. If we want parents on welfare to go to work and become independent of welfare, we have to make sure they can find good, clean, safe places for their children to stay during the day.

Many in Congress want to cut child care just to save money. I want to save money too. But we have to do it the smart way. Cutting child care will make it harder for parents to get off and stay off welfare. And it will cost us far more than it saves in the long run.

Some in Congress want to take even more extreme measures that will hurt, not strengthen families. They want to block welfare reform unless it cuts off all help to children whose mothers are poor, young and unmarried. I believe we must discourage teen pregnancy, but not by hurting babies. We should require teen mothers to live at home, stay in school and turn their lives around so they -- and their children -- stay off welfare for good.

My administration has already put 29 states on the road to ending welfare as we know it, with waivers to free them from cumbersome federal rules and regulations. Today, I am pleased to announce that Virginia will become the latest state to receive a waiver.

Virginia's plan requires people on welfare to go to work; it makes it possible to send money now spent on welfare and food stamps to employers to subsidize jobs in the private sector, and it helps people get child care.

Several months ago, I called on Congress to send me a welfare reform bill by July 4th. I'm disappointed that they haven't met that deadline. But I am hopeful that we will move forward on a bipartisan welfare reform bill. I don't want filibusters and vetoes and gridlock. I want real welfare reform that requires work, that demands responsibility and that provides the child care people need to move off welfare. It is time to get to work so we can give millions of Americans a new independence day.

Thanks for listening.

To: *Jonathan Prince Bues*

## DRAFT RADIO ADDRESS FOR PRESIDENT FOR JULY 1

Good morning. As we celebrate independence day weekend, we need to think about those Americans who are not truly independent. Some are dependent on drugs or alcohol and have no real control over their own lives. But today I want to talk about how we can bring true independence to the millions of American women who are on welfare caring for their children.

Welfare reform is really about how we can bring independence to them and a life of independence to their children. One way is to help make the fathers of their children meet more of the burden of supporting them. I was very pleased that the House accepted my recommendation and provided for the termination of all drivers and professional licenses for men who do not pay child support and honor their commitment to their children.

But the key element in welfare reform is child care. Without a full range of child care alternatives, we cannot have welfare reform. Too many people equate welfare reform with welfare cuts. Cutting is easy, but only by moving people from welfare to jobs can we really change their lives and make them independent. And it will take child care to do that.

The very name of the welfare program says it all. Its not called welfare its called aid to families of dependent children. Since most of these families are really single mothers, welfare is really a way of supporting single mothers and their children when the fathers won't. or can't.

So the basic fact is that almost everybody lives alone with their children. If we want mothers to go to work and become independent of welfare handouts, we have to provide good, clean, safe places for their children to stay during the day.

This very basic fact is all too often overlooked by people in Congress who are planning welfare reform. Their goal is to stop welfare costs from going up. That's my goal too. But I know that if we just accomplish that goal by cutting benefits, we'll just produce more homeless, more sick, more crime, and more hungry kids. To cut welfare costs, we have to promote work and to do that, we need child care.

But the welfare reforms Congress is considering do nothing to increase child care. They simply toss the problems to the states and say — "here's

the same amount of money we now pay for welfare in your state. We'll freeze it, we won't increase it for five years and you go figure out how to provide child care. Good luck."

I want to work with Congress on welfare reform. I want a bi-partisan welfare reform bill. I don't want filibusters or vetoes or gridlock. But we are just kidding ourselves if we pass welfare reform without child care. So let's figure out how to do it. We don't want more child neglect. We don't want more latch key children. And we don't want welfare women staying home, drawing welfare because they can't find child care. So let's open our eyes and see the real world. We need jobs for mothers and we need help for their kids during the day when they are at work. It's that simple.

President William J. Clinton  
Radio Address to the Nation  
July 1, 1995  
(taped June 30, 1995)

Good morning. I hope you're waking up to a long holiday weekend. It feels good to put the workplace behind for a while and spend time with family and friends -- even better, to know that when the holiday is over, you can return to work.

We should think about that on this 4th of July: Going to work makes you self-sufficient; it makes you and yours truly independent. Unfortunately, millions of Americans don't have that independence; they're dependent on welfare.

The vast majority of these Americans dream the same dreams that truly independent Americans do. They want to go to work and do right by their children. You just can't overestimate the lift that the dignity of work gives to self-esteem and family life.

So our challenge is to find a way to move these Americans from welfare to work. Several months ago, I asked the Congress to send me a welfare reform bill by July 4th, so we could celebrate Independence Day by helping people move from dependence to independence.

But Congress missed my July 4th deadline. I'm disappointed, and I'm not alone; most Americans, without regard to party, agree that we must end welfare as we know it. The time to do it is now, and I still have great hope we can do it without regard to party.

I've devoted years to working on ways to reform welfare; as Governor of Arkansas I helped a Republican President and a Democratic Congress draft the bipartisan welfare reform bill of 1988. I have seen what works and what doesn't. That's why I support a bold plan proposed in the Congress by Senators Daschle, Breaux and Mikulski. This bill is a genuine effort toward a bipartisan agreement.

Too many of the bills in Congress are weak on work and tough on children. Our bill is tough on work and good for children. It imposes time limits for welfare recipients; strict work requirements; the toughest possible child support enforcement; and provides more flexibility for the states.

One of the best things about our plan is that it gives people the child care they need to go to work. The only way for people to be both good workers and good parents is for them to have adequate child care. If we want parents to go to work and become independent of welfare, we have to make sure they can find good, clean, safe places for their children to stay during the day.

What troubles me most about what many in Congress are proposing is that they are trying to save money by cutting child care. I want to save money too. But we have to do it the smart way. Cutting child care will make it harder for people to get off and stay off welfare. It will cost us far more than it saves in the long run.

We should want the same thing for people on welfare that we want for all Americans: the chance to build strong families and to make the most of their own lives. The very name of the welfare program says it all: Aid to Families with **Dependent** Children. Children are by nature *dependent*. The point of welfare reform is not to punish children but to help their families become independent so children can depend on their own parents, and not the government.

That's why I oppose the effort by a few in Congress to block welfare reform unless it cuts off all help to children whose mothers are poor, young and unmarried. I believe we must discourage teen pregnancy, but not by hurting babies. We should require teen mothers to live at home, stay in school and turn their lives around so they -- and their children -- stay off welfare for good.

I want to work with Congress on welfare reform. But I am determined to do everything I can to move ahead. My Administration has already put 29 states on the road to ending welfare as we know it, with waivers to free them from cumbersome federal rules and regulations. Today, I am pleased to announce that Virginia will become the latest state to receive a waiver.

The Virginia plan requires people on welfare to go to work; it makes it possible to send money now spent on welfare and food stamps to employers to subsidize jobs in the private sector, and it helps people get child care.

I want a bipartisan welfare reform bill. I don't want filibusters and vetoes and gridlock. But we are just kidding ourselves if we pass welfare reform without child care. We don't want more neglected children. And we don't want more welfare parents drawing welfare because they can't find child care. We can do better than that. It is time to get to work to give millions of Americans a new Independence Day.

Thanks for listening.

draft, 6-29, 3:30 p.m.

President William J. Clinton  
Radio Address to the Nation  
July 1, 1995  
(taped June 30, 1995)

Good morning. I hope you're one of the millions of Americans waking up to a long holiday weekend today. It feels good to put the workplace behind for a little while and spend time with family and friends -- even better, to know that when the holiday is over, you can return to work.

We should think about that on this 4th of July: <sup>going to work every day</sup> (That job) makes you self-sufficient; it makes you and yours truly independent. Unfortunately, millions of other Americans don't have that independence; they're dependent on welfare.

I can tell you that the vast majority of these Americans dream the same dreams that truly independent Americans do. They want to go to work and do right by their children. You just can't overestimate the lift that the dignity of work gives to self-esteem and family life.

So the challenge is to find a way to move these Americans from welfare to work. Several months ago, I asked the Congress to send me a bipartisan welfare reform bill by July 4th, so we could celebrate Independence Day by helping people move from dependence to independence.

And as we do, we'd be helping our nation become more independent, too -- from spending on programs that don't reflect the values and priorities of the American people. Very simply, we need to reform welfare if we're going to balance the budget -- something I am committed to achieving within 10 years.

But the leaders in Congress missed my July 4th <sup>deadline</sup> (target) and an opportunity to move on this important work. I'm disappointed, and I'm not alone; most Americans, without regard to party, agree that (welfare as we know it must end.)

I've devoted years to working on ways to reform welfare; as Governor of Arkansas I helped a Republican President and a Democratic Congress draft the bipartisan welfare reform bill of 1988. I have seen what works and what doesn't. To be successful, welfare reform should be tough on work and good for children, not weak on work and tough on children. We need time limits for welfare recipients; strict work requirements; child care for children whose parents go to work; the toughest possible child support enforcement; and more flexibility for the states.

These elements come together in a bold plan I support in the Congress, which was proposed by Senators Daschle, Breaux and Mikulski. This bill is a genuine effort toward a bipartisan agreement. (Let me emphasize that welfare reform must grow out of

It



draft, 6-29, ~~9:30 p.m.~~

President William J. Clinton  
Radio Address to the Nation  
July 1, 1995  
(taped June 30, 1995)

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But the leaders in Congress missed my July 4th deadline and an opportunity to move on this important work. I'm disappointed, and I'm not alone; most Americans, without regard to party, agree that we must end welfare as we know it. The time to do it is now, and I have great hope we can do it without regard to party.

I've devoted years to working on ways to reform welfare; as Governor of Arkansas I helped a Republican President and a Democratic Congress draft the bipartisan welfare reform bill of 1988. I have seen what works and what doesn't. That's why I support a bold plan proposed in the Congress by Senators Daschle, Breaux and Mikulski. This bill is a genuine effort toward a bipartisan agreement.

Our bill is tough on work and good for children, not weak on work and tough on children. It imposes time limits for welfare recipients; strict work requirements; [child care for children whose parents go to work;] the toughest possible child support enforcement; and more flexibility for the states.

Unfortunately, the current Republican House and Senate bills don't do enough to help move people from welfare to work. And they're just too tough on children. They would cut child care that people on welfare need to go to work. This approach has been called mean -- and I think it's short-sighted. It will make reform harder, and more expensive in the long run.

To do this right, we need to help people get the child care they need so they can be both good parents and good workers. It's called Aid to Families with Dependent Children for a good reason: Children by definition are dependent. The point of welfare reform is not to punish children but to help their families become independent so children can depend on their own parents, and not the government.

After all, we want to reform welfare so families have to tools to make good lives for themselves as all working families try to do. Let's remember that at the core of welfare reform is the realization that it has hurt America's families. That's why we can't allow the extremist measures proposed by some, which would not only cut off child care, but also all help to children whose mothers are poor, young and unmarried, even though the Catholic Church has said that such a measure would lead to more abortions.

We all agree that teen pregnancies must be discouraged, but that should be done by cutting young people off, but by requiring teen mothers to live at home, stay in school and turn their lives around so they can stay off welfare for good.

I wish Congress wouldn't hold welfare reform hostage, but that won't stop me from doing what I can do for reform. My Administration has already put 29 states on the road to ending welfare as we know it, freeing them from cumbersome federal rules and regulations through waivers. Today, I can announce that Virginia will become the latest state to receive a waiver.

The Virginia waiver requires work for people who can work; it allows money now spent on welfare and food stamps to go to an employer to subsidize a private sector job; and it helps people get the child care they need.

I still believe we can reform welfare the right way for all America. I want to work with both parties to make that happen, so we can give millions of Americans their own Independence Day. That's what the American people demand and deserve.

Thanks for listening.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Embargoed for Release  
Until 10:06 A.M.  
Saturday, December 10, 1994

December 8, 1994

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE NATION

The Oval Office

5:36 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. Earlier this week, I signed the GATT agreement, the most far-reaching international trade pact in our history. And this weekend in Miami, we in the United States are hosting the Summit of the Americas, where the leaders of 34 countries have gathered to promote trade in our own hemisphere.

This Summit of the Americas, and GATT, and everything we've done to expand international trade is really about opening up foreign markets to America's goods and services, so that we can create high-wage jobs and new opportunities for our people here at home.

But despite all the progress we've made, despite the fact that we have over 5 million new jobs in the last 22 months, the biggest expansion of trade in history, we've had more new construction jobs this year than in the last nine years combined, and we've had a year of manufacturing job growth for the first time in a decade. In spite of all that, millions of hardworking people are still out there killing themselves, working longer hours for lower pay, paying more for health care -- or losing their health coverage than ever before. More and more Americans, even in this recovery, are worried that they could lose their job or their benefits at any time.

There's less disposable income for most working Americans than there was just a decade ago. Many people can't even imagine being able to afford a vacation anymore, let alone send their children to college. And I'm talking about hardworking Americans, who play by the rules; they're tired of watching their earnings benefit people who don't.

There's no greater gap between mainstream American values and modern government than we find in the welfare system. The welfare system was set up for all the right reasons -- to help people who had

fallen on hard times temporarily, to give them a hand up for a little while so they could put their lives back in order and move on. And it still works that way for an awful lot of people.

But for millions and millions of people, the system is broken badly, and it undermines the very values -- work, family and responsibility -- that people need to put themselves back on track. The people who are stuck on welfare permanently will be the first to tell you that if we're going to fix it, we have to return to those values, and we have to put them front and center. People who have worked their way off of welfare, after being afraid they'd be on it forever, will be the strongest in saying, we've got to put work, family and responsibility back into the system.

We have to change welfare so that it drives people toward the freedom of work, not the confines of dependence. Work is still the best social program ever invented. Work gives hope and structure and meaning to people's lives. And we won't have ended welfare as we know it, until its central focus is to move people off welfare and into a job so that they can support themselves and their families.

We have to change welfare so that it strengthens families and not weaken them. There is no substitute -- none -- for the loving devotion and equally loving discipline of caring parents. Governments don't raise children, parents do. There's some people out there who argue that we should let some sort of big, new institution take parents' place, that we should even take children away from parents as we cut them off welfare, even if they're doing a good job as parents, and put the children in orphanages. Well those people are dead wrong. We need less governmental interference in family life, not more.

We have to change the welfare system so that it demands the same responsibility already shouldered by millions and millions of Americans who already get up every day go to work and struggle to make ends meet, and raise their children. Anyone who can work should do so. Anyone who brings a child into this world ought to take responsibility for that child. And no one -- no one -- should get pregnant or father a child who isn't prepared to raise the child, love the child and take financial and personal responsibility for the child's future.

That's why welfare reform must include a national campaign against teen pregnancy, and the toughest possible enforcement of our child support laws, along with the requirement that people on welfare will have to get off of it and go to work after a specified period of time. It also means that if you're going to require that, there has to be a job there for them, and support for people who are working to raise their children in the proper way.

I've worked on this welfare reform issue for 14 years, since I

first became Governor of my state. I've worked with other Governors, with members of Congress from both parties, but most importantly, with people on welfare and people who've worked their way off of it. I know that most people out there on welfare don't like it a bit, would give anything to get off, and really want to be good, hardworking citizens and successful parents.

There are a lot of ideas out there for reforming welfare -- some are really good, and some are just political attention getters. Since I became President, I've worked hard on this. I've already introduced welfare reform legislation in the last session of Congress. We've also given 20 states relief from cumbersome federal bureaucracy rules, so that they can pursue welfare reform on their own. We've done that for more states than the previous two administrations combined.

There's still some disagreement about what we ought to do, but everybody agrees that the system is badly broken and needs to be fixed. It's a bad deal for the taxpayers who pay the bills, and it's a worse deal for the families who are permanently stuck on it.

Two days ago, after meeting with governors from both the Democratic and Republican Parties, I announced that we're going to host a national, bipartisan working session on welfare reform at the White House in January. I call for this session as a first step in an honest and forthright discussion about America's welfare system and how to fix it. It's not going to be easy, but our responsibility to the American people is to put aside partisan differences, and to turn our full attention to the problems at hand. The American people deserve a government that honors their values and spends their money wisely, and a country that rewards people who work hard and play by the rules; working together, that's what we can give them.

Thanks for listening.

END

**Remarks  
Pool Spray  
Welfare Reform Meeting  
June 14, 1995**

Last night, I addressed the nation about my plan to balance the budget by cutting spending that no longer makes sense and giving the American people a government that reflects their priorities and values.

No part of government cries out more for this new cut-invest-and-save approach than our failed welfare system. Over the last two years, we have worked hard to reform welfare -- by introducing the most sweeping welfare reform plan ever put forward by any President; by giving 29 states waivers to reform their own welfare systems without federal red tape; and by breaking the record for child support collections through tough enforcement.

Today, I am joining with Senate Democrats to support a bold welfare reform plan that ends the current welfare system by putting work first. As I've said all along, welfare reform ought to be about helping people earn a paycheck, not a welfare check. Senator Daschle and his colleagues have developed a plan that has tough work requirements and real time limits, and gives states the tools and incentives they need to move people to work.

The current Senate bill still falls far short on work: According to the Congressional Budget Office, only six states out of 50 would succeed in moving people from welfare to work under that bill. Welfare reform should not be a race to the bottom; it should be a race to independence. The Daschle plan saves money, protects children, and is serious about work -- and that's what welfare reform is all about.

This is not and must not be a partisan issue. I call on Republicans to work with us to reach agreement on a real, bipartisan welfare reform bill, and to send it to me by July 4th so we can celebrate Independence Day by helping people move from dependence to independence.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

Office of the Press Secretary

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For Immediate Release

April 18, 1995

**PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT**

The East Room

9:01 P.M. EDT

**THE PRESIDENT:** Good evening. Please be seated.

Good evening. Ladies and gentlemen, before we begin the press conference, I want to express on behalf of Hillary and myself our profoundest condolences to the families and to the loved ones of the eight Americans who were killed in the crash of the Air Force plane in Alabama last night.

Tonight I want to talk about welfare reform. But before I do, I'd like to take just a minute to put welfare reform into the context of what is going on now in the United States Congress. Before the Easter break, the House of Representatives produced a flurry of ideas and proposals. Some of them were good. Some need work. Some should be rejected. My job is to work with people of good faith in both parties, in both Houses, to do what is best for America.

I was not elected to produce a pile of vetoes. And the Congress was not elected to produce a pile of political issues for the next election. My philosophy is that we have to go beyond this kind of politics-as-usual, the old debate about whether there should be more government or less government. I think we need a better and different government that helps people who are helping themselves, one that offers opportunity but demands responsibility.

I have some common goals with the new Republican majority in the Congress. They say they want to reduce the deficit and the size of government. I support that. My administration has

reduced the deficit by \$600 billion and is reducing the size of government by over 250,000 people. In fact, if it were not for the interest we have to pay on the debt run up between 1981 and 1992, our government's budget would be in balance today. Let me say that again, because I don't think the American people know that. If it were not for the interest we have to pay this year on the debt run up between 1981 and 1992, our government's budget would be in balance today.

The Republicans say that they want to be tough on crime. Our Crime Bill is tough on crime, and I want to work with them to build on that. The Republicans are supporting the line item-veto, and so am I. I worked hard to get a version of the line item-veto passed through the Senate, and I look forward to working with them, actually getting agreement in both Houses and having a line item-veto come into law.

As we look ahead, the issue is, what are we going to do on the outstanding matters? I have commented at length on them before the newspapers editors, but let me say again, I want us to show responsibility and common sense and decency. Do we need to cut regulation, as they say? Of course, we do. But we don't need to undermine our commitment to the safety of our skies, or the purity of our water and air, or the sanctity of our long-term commitment to the environment. Do we need to be tough on crime? Of course, we do, but we don't need to repeal the commitment to 100,000 police officers or the assault weapons ban. Do we need to cut taxes? I believe we do, but not as much as the House bill provides. I think the tax cuts should be targeted to the middle class and to education so we raise incomes and growth for America over the long run.

Now let's talk a little about welfare. That's an issue that the Republicans and I, and the Congress -- congressional Democrats should be able to agree on. They say we should end welfare as we know it. That's a commitment I made in 1992 and again in 1993 and 1994. Welfare reform is surely an example where all the people ought to be able to get together in the Congress to have reform.

We all know what we need. We need time limits for welfare recipients. We need strict work requirements. We need very tough child support enforcement. We need more flexibility for the states.

That's what our administration has been working on for more than two years now. We already have freed 25 states from cumbersome federal rules and regulations so they can pursue welfare

reform on their own. Tonight we're cutting red tape for two more states -- for Montana and Missouri -- one state with a Republican governor, one state with a Democratic governor -- both committed to require people on welfare to go to work within two years. That's the same time limit I called for when I ran for President and that I called for last year.

Most people are in agreement on this. The question is, what are we going to do about it in Washington. In 1994, I introduced the most sweeping welfare reform ever presented to Congress. In 1994, Senator Dole, Senator Gramm, Senator Brown, and Senator Packwood cosponsored a pretty good bill. In 1994, Speaker, then-Congressman, Gingrich and 162 of the 175 House Republicans sponsored a bill that was an awful lot like mine. All of these bills were based on the same idea: The fundamental goal of welfare reform is to move people into the work force and to make them independent.

But the bill that passed the House of Representatives, supported by the House Republicans, in my opinion, is too weak on work and too tough on children. It saves a lot of money in the short run, but at great damage to our long run interests -- promoting responsible parenting and working to promote independence.

The only way to save money over the long run is to move people from welfare to work and to ensure that they have the skills to keep jobs and to stay independent. And it's wrong to cut children off just because their mothers are minor. After all, a child is a child, a baby is a baby. Whether they're white or black or brown, whether they're born in or out of wedlock, every child deserves a chance to make a good life.

Surely we should not punish children for the mistakes of their parents. Instead, we ought to give them a chance to become independent, full participating citizens, not part of the welfare population.

Let me say again, this does not have to be partisan issue. I know that there are some here in Washington, for example, who want to fold this whole welfare reform issue into the broader budget debate. If you put it into the budget process, as those of you who live here know, it can be buried in a pile of other issues. And then there will no need for a bipartisan consensus on welfare reform. But welfare reform is too important for that kind of Washington game. It should be open. It should be bipartisan. And we should get on with it right away.

I want to challenge Congress to pass a bipartisan welfare reform bill and put it on my desk by July the 4th, so that we can celebrate Independence Day by giving Americans on welfare the chance, the opportunity, the responsibility, to move to independence.

Q Mr. President, Senator Dole has threatened to block Dr. Foster's nomination as Surgeon General from reaching a vote, or going to the Senate floor. I have a two-part question. Are you going to the mat to fight for it? Are you going to withdraw it? And do you think that abortion, which is still lawful in this country, will be a litmus test in presidential politics?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I'm going to the mat for the nomination. Whether abortion is a litmus test in presidential politics is up to the voters. Dr. Foster is a good man with a good record as a family doctor, as someone who has helped thousands of mothers to give birth to their children, and as an academic, and as someone who has supported policies that are pro-family and pro-child. He is qualified. He should be confirmed. He should not be caught up in any kind of politics -- presidential or otherwise.

Q Mr. President, two countries with which the United States has important relationships, Russia and China, want to sell nuclear technology to Iran over your objections. Can you explain why Russia, in particular, would want to give this technology to a neighboring country that intelligence agencies say is determined to acquire nuclear weapons? And do you think that when you go to Moscow that you will be able to persuade Mr. Yeltsin to cancel the sale?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, as you know, I cannot explain why Russia would do it since I don't believe that it's in their interest to do it. I don't think it's right, and I don't think it's in their interest. If you ask them, I think they would say that they had a prior contractual obligation to do it, and they believe that the level of nuclear technology in the power plants is so low that it won't lead to the development of a nuclear weapon. I believe that's what they would say. I think that's what the Chinese would say. But I disagree with them, and we're continuing to work with them.

The United States and our people have benefitted greatly from this new engagement we've had with Russia and for our attempts to promote the nonproliferation agenda. There are nuclear weapons -- large numbers of them now -- being destroyed in Russia, weapons from Russian and the states of the former Soviet Union that had them before. And we are destroying weapons. For the first time, there are no Russian nuclear missiles pointed at the United States. So we

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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Embargoed For Release  
Until 10:06 A.M. EDT,  
Saturday, April 15, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATION

The Roosevelt Room

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. This weekend all across our country, Christians and Jews are gathered with their families to celebrate Easter and Passover. For them and for every American, Hillary and I wish that this season of faith and renewal will also be a time of hope.

In a few weeks Congress will return from their own Easter recess and begin to sift through all the bills passed by the House and, in some cases, those passed by the Senate, too. A lot of that work is good. A lot of it I campaigned on in 1992 -- spending cuts, the line-item veto, paperwork reduction, tougher criminal sentences and greater flexibility for the police to do their jobs. These things are also consistent with actions already taken by our administration to cut the deficit, the size of government, the burden of regulation, to tighten enforcement on child support and college loan repayments, and to give more support to Head Start and affordable college loans, national service, and family leave.

But a lot of these proposals, these new ones, go too far -- cuts in education and job training, undermining environmental protections, undermining our efforts to put 100,000 new police on our streets, legislation to permit the sale of assault weapons, and penalties for going into court to assert your rights as a citizen. I'm concerned that important issues will be lost in all the welter of detailed legislative proposals Congress has to consider. So I want to tell Congress and the American people what my priorities are.

There are three areas that I assign the highest priority. They're my "must" list. First is welfare reform. We must pass a bill that reforms the welfare system and restores mainstream values of work and family, responsibility and community. We must demand work and responsibility by setting definite time limits for welfare recipients and enforcing strict work requirements. We must promote family and responsibility by passing the toughest possible child support enforcement, including our plan to deny driver's licenses to parents who refuse to pay their child support.

We must also give the states more flexibility, building on the work I've already done by giving states freedom -- 25 of them -- from federal rules so they can find new ways to move people from welfare to work. At the same time, we have to uphold our values of community and responsibility by avoiding proposals that punish children for their parents mistakes.

Recent proposals by a number of senators for welfare reform that don't penalize children born to teenage mothers are certainly a step in the right direction. And the House of Representatives has adopted all my proposals for tougher child support enforcement. I appreciate these efforts. We have to keep on working, however. All the proposals are still too weak on work and on helping people to move from welfare to work. We can and must work

together to pass a welfare reform bill that I can sign into law this year. Delaying reform any further would be a betrayal of what the American people want.

Second on my "must" list are tax and spending cuts --the right kind in the right amount for the right people. These tax cuts must be directed at the right people, that is, the middle class Americans who need them to help them build a successful future. And they must be fully paid for by spending cuts. Tax cuts must include a deduction for the cost of college or other education after high school.

Then Congress and I need to work together to go beyond the \$600 billion of deficit reduction we've already enacted. And I've already proposed another \$80 billion in cuts on top of paying for all the tax cuts that I have proposed for the cost of education after high school for helping people with raising children and for an IRA which can be withdrawn from tax free for the cost of education or health care, first-time home buying or caring for an elderly parent.

We've also worked with Congress on \$15 billion of further cuts. And I am ready to do more. But we have to focus on our twin deficits -- we have a budget deficit and an education deficit. And we cannot cut one at the expense of the other.

The third thing I want to do is to build on last year's crime bill, not tear it down. We should all be open to new proposals for tougher penalties and more support for our police, but they must not be a cover for cutting back on our commitment for 100,000 new police officers on our street, or for repealing the assault weapons ban that would put our police and our citizens more at risk. If that happens, I'll veto it.

More police on the street is the single most effective crime-fighting tool we know of. And assault weapons have no place on our streets. Last year's bill did ban assault weapons in the future -- 19 of them -- whose only purpose is to kill people. But it also, for the first time, gave legal protection from government meddling to over 650 kinds of hunting and sporting weapons.

Congress must send me a bill that doesn't scale back or repeal the efforts so I can sign it and it can become law. There is too much to do in crime to play politics with it or to go back.

Real welfare reform, tax and spending cuts that reduce both the budget deficit and the education deficit, and more steps to fight crime, not to back up on the fight -- those are my top priorities. The first 100 days of this Congress produced a blizzard of ideas and proposals. The next 100 days must get down to the hard task of passing bills that command majorities in both Houses, bills that will help to build a stronger America, bills that I can sign into law.

In the coming months, we have an historic chance to make progress on the issues of great concern to all Americans. Let's get on with it.

Thanks for listening.

END

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 20, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
BY SATELLITE TO U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

11:15 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Mayor Rice. And I want to begin by congratulating Mayor Ashe on a great year as president. I have enjoyed working with you very much. And I look forward working with you, Norm, in the year ahead.

I also want to say hello to some of my old friends in Miami. I see Mayor Daley and Mayor Clark are there. I understand that Secretary Brown and Secretary Cisneros are also both with you today.

Let me say before I go forward that I noticed in one of the previous sessions you had that it was suggested that we don't need the Department of Housing and Urban Development anymore. Let me say that I think Henry Cisneros and his whole team have done a magnificent job, and I don't think we want to send Andrew Cuomo to the beach just yet. I hope you agree.

I also want to thank all of you for giving me this chance to speak with you today. I'm very proud that our administration has worked in an unprecedented partnership with our cities, our communities, and especially our mayors. You make real budgets. You deal with real problems. You know the real concerns of our people as we try to restore the American Dream. I'm looking forward to our continued cooperation. And I want to keep focused on the real problems our country faces.

You have heard in the previous speakers who have appeared before you strands of the great debates now going on in Washington and throughout our country. There are those who say that our primary problems are personal and cultural, not economic and political. There are those who say that the biggest problems we face are due to the fact that the federal government has too much authority, and more ought to be given to the state and local level.

Well, I have to say to you that I'm glad to have these debates. I was making these arguments long before this presidential election season; indeed, long before I became a candidate for president in 1992, when I was a governor, working on the values problems we face, like teen pregnancy and youth violence and all kinds of personal irresponsibility in our society. You and I know that unless people do the right things themselves that we can't solve the problems of our society.

And I was calling for a devolution of responsibility back to local and state governments long before I ever ran for President. So these are not just issues of a political season for me. But let's keep our eyes on what we have to do in terms of the real problems that you deal with every day. We do have a values crisis in this country. We need to exalt responsibility and work and family and community. We need to be less violent, less irresponsible and less divisive.

We do have an economic problem in this country. We've got years of stagnant wages and people who are working hard and being

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punished for it. We need to grow the middle class and shrink the under class and empower people to make the most of their own lives.

We've got a governmental problem in this country. We need a government for the 21st century that is less bureaucratic and more entrepreneurial and more oriented toward partnerships where more is done at the grass-roots level.

Now, I believe all that. But the question is, what are we going to do about it? And if we use a lot of rhetoric to divide the American people again and to divide the problems we face in terms of values as against economics, and national against local, instead of recognizing that what we need is to face these issues and all their aspects and we need a real hard-nosed partnership, then we'll be in trouble. After all, the problems you face every day are the very reasons I ran for President. I believe we had to empower our people and our communities to meet the demands of change at the grass-roots level where people live.

Now, there are some in Washington who believe we can make government work just by juggling programs from the federal bureaucracies to the state bureaucracies. You and I know that the right way is to give local governments, community organizations and individual citizens and their neighborhoods the tools they need, the resources they need to improve their own lives.

In 1992 I laid out an agenda to send power, capital and, most important of all, hope to the people who are working hard to make the most of their communities and their own lives. We still have a good ways to go, but I am proud that we have kept that commitment.

Look at what we have already achieved together: We created the empowerment zones and the enterprise communities, awarding tax incentives and grants to spur economic growth in 105 communities that also supports good values. We're creating a network of community development banks and financial institutions to lend, invest, provide basic banking services in places that need the most to the people who can do the most to change the social conditions we all want to change.

We passed final regulations for the Community Reinvestment Act to help our banks and thrifts make good loans and investments, to help people rebuild our troubled communities. The SBA established one-shop -- one-stop capital shops to distribute \$3 billion in loans and investments for small and minority businesses over the next five years. We fought to save the community development block grants and our economic plan in the face of huge opposition.

Now, those are the things that we have done together -- just some of the things we've done together. Now it's up to us to continue a partnership to create jobs, raise incomes, lift living standards and improve the values and the strength of our communities. We can do that, and we have done that, working with the new Congress.

I have supported and signed into law, for example, the bill to minimize the unfunded mandates that tell you what to do without giving you the resources to do it. I was proud to do that. But I also want you to know that I vetoed the rescission bill in part because of the cuts that affect you directly. For example, the Congress in this rescission bill would cut grants to cities that have already been obligated to make our water safer. These grants were already committed, the letters had gone out. To cut them now would be worse than an unfunded mandate, it would be a defunded mandate. And I don't intend to let that happen.

Another reason I vetoed the rescission bill is because the Congress had cut the community development financial institutions and added language which made it almost impossible for them to operate. I am proud that we've already awarded one large bank in Los Angeles and we've got more work to do on that front. We shouldn't turn back now from a proven commitment that will bring free enterprise to the most distressed areas of our country.

Now, we have to approach a new budget. And as we do it, I want to continue to work together with you to seize this opportunity to build a stronger future for all of our people, to do it in a way that supports our economic interest and our values, and works to reform the government and give you more responsibility.

For the first time in a long, long time the leaders of both political parties now share the will to balance the federal budget. That's an important issue, and I want to talk about it just a moment.

We know that that requires some tough calls. But if we can balance the budget, it will mean in the years ahead there will be more money to invest in our people, in our cities, and in our future, and less money that has to be spent just paying interest on yesterday's debt. The difficult task ahead is for us to have the will necessary to do it and to cast partisanship aside so that we can get the job done in a way that helps instead of hurts the long-term prospects of our people. We need a budget that balances debts and credits, but also keeps our values in balance. That's what our responsibility as leaders demand.

We faced that challenge together in the first two years of our administration, when we cut the deficit by a trillion dollars in seven years and still were able to invest in the tools that our communities and our people have to have to compete and win in the global economy. The work now has to go on.

Now, with that in mind, last week I outlined my plan to eliminate the deficit in 10 years. My plan cuts federal spending by \$1.1 trillion, on top of the \$1 trillion in deficit reduction enacted in our '93 budget plan. This new budget does not raise taxes. It is disciplined, it is comprehensive, and it is serious. It won't be easy, but we need to do it -- and we can.

Our plan proves that you can balance the budget and still invest in things that will keep America strong and growing, like education, health care, research and technology.

To accomplish these goals we have to focus on five basic priorities. First, we've got to help people make the most of their own lives. That means, while we cut the deficit we should increase investment in education, not cut it. Second, we have to control health care costs, but we should do it by strengthening Medicare, saving Medicaid -- reforming them -- not by slashing services for the elderly. We can maintain benefits by cutting costs through genuine reform, including cracking down on the substantial amount of Medicaid fraud and abuse and giving more incentives for more efficient and cost-effective ways of delivering care.

Third, we need to cut taxes, but for the middle class, not for the wealthiest Americans who don't really need it. Fourth, we can save money by cutting welfare, but we have to do it in a way that saves enough for investment to move people to work. The congressional proposals are too tough on children and too weak on work. We need to be tough on work and supportive of children.

And in that regard, I want to thank all of you there who, in the spirit of bipartisanship, have come out in support of our efforts to achieve real welfare reform that moves people from welfare

to work. The bill that was recently introduced in the Senate by Senators Daschle and others achieves that objective, and those of you who are supporting it, I am very grateful for that. We can save funds, but we have to save enough to invest in people, to empower them to end welfare as we know it; not just to cut people off and not worry about the consequence to the children.

The fifth principle is to balance the budget in 10 years, not seven. Now, we could do it in seven as some in Congress want, but there's no reason to inflict the amount of pain that would cause or to run the risk of recession. A highly respected economic group out of the Wharton Business School recently estimated that one of the Republican budgets would actually cause a recession, driving unemployment to 8.6 percent and delaying balancing the budget by two years anyway.

Now, in spite of all this, don't let anybody fool you. Balancing the budget in 10 years will require real cuts; it will cause real pain. We can and we should discuss where those savings should be found. We have to decide about whether the savings should come out of programs like the community development block grants, which I know are very important to you and which I have strongly supported. I still believe in them very strongly. But let me be straight with you. If we don't cut the community development block grant, then there will have to be some cuts in some other programs that you and I care about.

We have to do that if we're going to bring the budget into balance. But let me say again, we should do this -- we should do this. We never had a huge structural deficit before the 12 years before I became President, before the years between 1981 and 1993. And I'll tell you how big the problem is. Right now, today, our budget would be in balance today if it were not for the interest we have to pay on the deficit run up between 1981 and 1993 in January. So we have got to turn this around. We cannot continue something that we only started 12 years ago.

But I want to remind you there is a big difference between my plan and the congressional plans. It's the difference between necessary cuts and unacceptable pain. It's the difference between a deficit reduction plan that goes to balance budgets and still invest in our future and one that cuts off our future. It's the difference between one that will reduce the deficit in ways that will promote long-term growth and one that will reduce the deficit in ways that risk a severe, near-term recession.

I am going to fight to avoid cutting education, hurting people on Medicare, undermining critical investments in our communities. It would be wrong to sacrifice those investments just to meet a seven-year deadline when we can get the job in 10 years. It would be wrong to cut in those areas that will help our people restore the American Dream, raise our incomes so that we can give a tax cut to people who don't really need it.

One of our most important challenges is to make sure that the American people feel more secure in their homes and neighborhoods as well. And therefore, I thank you again for joining me in the fight against crime and the fight for the crime bill last year. Without your support we could not have possibly passed it, especially given the bitter opposition of some members of Congress to the assault weapons ban and to giving cities the flexibility that you need in the prevention funds.

I know some of you had conflicting opinions and different needs when it came to our plan to provide 100,000 new police officers. But I believe we have a national crisis on crime because we don't have enough police officers on the street. Over 30 years we've watched as the violent crime rate tripled and our police

departments only increased by 10 percent. Now we've found the funds to pay for police in the right way. We cut unnecessary government at the national level and sent the savings to our communities for more police officers. That is the kind of bargain the American people deserve. The philosophy behind that was to do what could be done to reduce crime.

But I would also remind you, under our plan, we gave localities enormous flexibility in spending the prevention funds because you know what works at the local level. It is ironic today that there are those who are trying to dismantle our national commitment to put 100,000 police on the street in the name of giving you more flexibility when less than a year ago they were saying that giving you more flexibility would lead to widespread abuse in the spending of federal money.

The truth is that a lot of these programs to give you more flexibility, from welfare to crime, are really just ways to cut spending that invests in our future and our economy and our security. If we'll adopt my budget plan, we can give you more flexibility and still do those things and balance the budget. Behind all of these initiatives -- or not just shuffling from federal to state bureaucracy, but trying to empower our people directly -- is the philosophy we are using to help our people meet the demands of the global economy in their own lives.

Some still say, as I said -- let me just give you one example, finally -- that we ought to trust the federal government to train our workers. We've got about 70 or 80 different training programs. Then there are some that say, no, let's give all these programs to state government. But I say, we shouldn't empower one bureaucracy over another.

In the future, in every one of your cities, the ability of the American people who live there to do well in the global economy will depend upon our ability to directly empower individual Americans, to directly empower them to make the most of their own lives, including having a lifetime right to constant re-education and training.

So let me talk with you, finally, today about an effort that we're making now that would give people those most important tools they need to build better lives. It is central to the rebirth of your cities. If you have more people who can get good jobs and who can earn higher incomes, then so many of the problems that you face, so many of the problems you face will be lessened.

So here's how I want our people to get those jobs and to keep them in this global economy that is always demanding more and more of them. I want to do something that's modeled on the G.I. Bill. Fifty years ago, as World War II was coming to an end, our country created the G.I. Bill that gave a whole generation of Americans the education to create an unprecedented prosperity. What I have proposed today is a G.I. Bill for America's workers -- to help a whole new generation of Americans secure decent lives and decent incomes for themselves and their families.

The principle is simple: Education and training can no longer stop at high school. We've all got to keep on learning to keep pace with the dynamic global economy. And the best way to make it happen is to put the power directly in the hands of individual Americans who have to do the learning. Today there is a confusing maze of 70 -- at least 70 -- job-training programs sponsored by the federal government. What we want to do is to consolidate them into a single grant and that grant will have but one purpose -- to put money directly into the hands of people who need it.

Through our School-To-Work initiative, we'll continue to help high school students or graduates who want further training get that in order to compete. Through our skilled grants we'll help the worker who has lost a job who is grossly under-paid and under-employed to take the responsibility to get a new leg up in the global economy. We also want to make it easier and cheaper for workers to get loans to build on their education. That means expanding, not cutting, Pell Grants and direct student loans. And it means the right kind of tax cuts -- not tax cuts for people who don't need them, but tax cuts for middle-income Americans who can use the money to invest in their training and their children's education. We propose a tax cut for the cost of all post-high-school education.

Now, these things will make opportunity real for more Americans, and make opportunity real for more of your cities. The G.I. Bill for America's workers will make it possible for more and better jobs for people who live in your communities, and will help attract jobs and expand your economic base.

You think about it. If everyone considering investing in your communities knew that every person who wanted a job could get the job training in a direct voucher from the federal government which could go to your community colleges to get the kind of training they need, that would help us to do what you need to do. We want to make you a full partner in designing a system of adult education and job placement. That will mean that community colleges, which are the new life-blood for so many of your citizens, will be even stronger and, more importantly, will mean that you will be able to use this as a tool to develop your own economies.

I believe this approach will play a major role in our goal, our common goal to restore the American Dream. I'm pleased that this morning in The Los Angeles Times there was an article that I hope you've all had a chance to read, written by Al From, the president of the Democratic Leadership Council, a Democrat; and by Jack Kemp, the former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, a Republican. Here's what they say about our G.I. Bill.

They say -- quote -- "It offers an all-too-rare opportunity for members of Congress of both parties to discard partisan squabbling and cooperate on a measure that can help hard-working Americans acquire the skills they need to lift their incomes. The needs of this great country of ours demand that all of us, Democrats and Republicans alike, ask ourselves the question: Can we make it work? The correct answer is: We must."

I could not have said it better. Al From and Jack Kemp, the Republicans and the Democratic mayors out there who are listening to me today, just remember, as we balance the federal budget, as we help all Americans prepare for a bright future, we have got to seize this moment of great opportunity. We've got to put our national priorities above party politics and put the American people first.

That's what I was trying to do when I had that conversation in New Hampshire with the Speaker of the House the other day.

This is a moment of immense promise. We can renew the American Dream. But we have to work together, and we have to avoid trying to divide our people by false choices. Good economics, sound values, strong communities, a government that works -- that's what we really need, and I will work with you to achieve it.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

MAYOR ASHE: Mr. President, we are genuinely pleased and warmed by your remarks. And we have three questions that we would

like to pose to you. First, I will ask a question as President, and then Mayor Daley, the Vice President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors; and then Paul Helmke, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee for the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

Our bipartisan Conference of Mayors has endorsed Senator Daschle's bill that gets at the real issues of welfare reform. We support the greater accountability, but we also need training, child care, and job creation. Can you tell us what the prospects are for the real welfare reform this year? And how can we as mayors make a difference since we may feel the effects of some of the draconian measures that are going on?

THE PRESIDENT: I think the prospects for real welfare reform really depend upon whether the Senate Republicans, or at least the block of moderate Republicans who understand these issues, will work with the Democrats on something like the Daschle bill.

You know, there is a hard core in the Senate who are demanding that there be no welfare reform bill unless all aid is cut off to unmarried mothers and their children born out of wedlock, even though the Catholic Church, the National Governors Association, your group, everybody I know says that that would be unfair to children.

If the rest of the Republicans will leave that block and join with Senators Daschle and Breaux and Mikulski and the others who are on this bill, we could work out a bill that would make a real difference.

And let me say, one of the important things, I think, about the Daschle bill is that it really heavily emphasizes the importance of child care. As I look back over the time that has elapsed since, as a governor, I worked on the welfare reform bill of 1988, if you ask me what its single biggest shortcoming was, I would say that we should have done more in child care.

And if we do what I have suggested here -- and I think a lot of the Republicans want to do this -- and we take all these various training programs and put them into a big block and let unemployed workers access them, then that could help to provide the training money for an awful lot of people on welfare who want to move to work; so that if the Daschle bill itself or any future amplification of it that could have bipartisan support in the Senate, could really focus on child care, I think we could get a welfare reform bill that is tough on work and good for children, instead of the other way around.

So I would urge all of you -- especially the Republican mayors -- you have a lot of allies in the Republican Party in the Senate; welfare reform ought to be a bipartisan issue. If we could get a good bill out of the Senate, I feel confident that we could have a bipartisan majority in the House that would vote for it as well if we could get it out of the conference committee.

So that is what I would implore you all to do. This is a huge deal for the United States. And the Daschle bill is an opening, an outreach for a genuine bipartisan compromise that doesn't just dump a lot of money back on the states and localities -- excuse me, a lot less than you used to have in a way that would lead to people being cut off with nothing good happening.

MAYOR DALEY: Mr. President, we all as mayors want to thank you for standing with us on the issues of crime and violence. You have heard not only from mayors, but the police chiefs and citizens of what we in the cities have been trying to do to fight crime.

From your kept promise, and you've done this, providing over 100,000 new cops, signing the Brady Bill, signing the assault weapons ban, you have been there to help us in our efforts to both fight and prevent crime. And your Department of Justice has done an excellent job in implementing the cops program in last year's crime bill.

Given the uncertainty in Congress over the future of crime legislation, how can we work together with you in your administration to assure that the funding is there on as flexible a basis as possible for our policing and our prevention efforts?

THE PRESIDENT: I think, Mayor, what you have to do is to, again, emphasize in the Senate where this is being debated and ultimately in the conference committee that we need to have more flexibility for the cities, but that it is unacceptable, at least for me and I hope for many of you, to come off of our commitment on 100,000 police.

I have watched many panels and I've seen a lot of your mayors on C-Span. You know, I actually get to watch you as well as you watching me, and I know that some of the mayors believe that we've been too firm on the police requirements because some cities have already increased their police forces and can't take maximum advantage of this. But I have to tell you I think there is a national interest in increasing the police forces of this country by about 20 percent. And, after all, this crime bill was funded by a reduction in the national employment -- people in the federal government.

On the other hand, I have been strongly in favor of absolutely maximum flexibility for you in other aspects of the crime bill and would be in favor of even more flexibility in other aspects of the crime bill as long as we don't undermine our commitment to 100,000 police. If we can get more flexibility in the other areas of prevention and imprisonment, I would be in favor of it. I will work with you to do anything I can in that regard.

MAYOR ASHE: Thank you, Mr. President. The next questioner is Paul Helmke, Mayor of Fort Wayne.

MAYOR HELMKE: It's good to have the opportunity to talk to you again, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you.

MAYOR HELMKE: We all realize that regardless of whether the budget's balanced in seven years or 10 years there's going to be less money coming to cities from the federal government. We believe strongly that the issue of flexibility beyond just the crime bill is important to us in terms of helping us find efficiencies at the local level.

In January, Speaker Gingrich spoke to us about a contract with cities. I know that the Vice President has talked to some of our officers with some of his ideas on flexibility and opportunities for efficiency at the local level. I'm curious as to your thoughts with regard as to how we can find more efficiencies, more flexibility and work together with both sides of the aisle as well as officials at the federal level, the local level to help cities as we go through this process so we can meet the human needs that are very real in all of our cities.

THE PRESIDENT: First of all, Paul, let me say that I think that we have to do this. I didn't give you any specific numbers in my remarks, but let me tell you that even with a 10 years balanced budget plan, if you don't cut education and if you have a tax cut much smaller than the ones contemplated by either the Senate or the House, it would still require about a 20-percent overall cut

in other discretionary spending because we're all at about the same place on where we think defense ought to be.

Now, that's over a 10-year period -- for my budget at least. What I think we need to do here is, before this budget is actually passed in the fall, or in late summer, but probably be in the fall, we need to know before the budget is passed what the new arrangements with our cities will be.

Now, let me just give you one example. I would like to preserve the community development block grant program. If we can, I have proposed it to be continued at the present level of funding in 1996. The Senate budget resolution proposes to cut it in half.

What I think we ought to do -- and I know -- by the way, I wanted to compliment Secretary Cisneros. He has been waging a very strong fight within our administration to try to make sure that the cuts come in other areas and the community development block grant program is preserved at its present level. We could do that.

You might argue that we could even increase it if some of the other categorical programs were folded into it so that if we are going to go forward here, maybe some new purposes should be added to it. I am open to all that. I want to reduce regulation. I want to increase your flexibility, not just for the cities, but for all local units. We just announced a 40-percent cut in the regulations of the Department of Education, for example. Most of you don't run your own school districts, but some of you do, and that will be important to you.

We are moving in the right direction here. But I think we have got to be willing, before this budget is passed, to sit down with the cities and, in fairness, also with the states and the counties, and try to design what the new agreement will be about this money and how it's going to be funded. And I think there are great opportunities for you to get some more flexibility and for you to determine how we ought to do it. And I am more than willing to go forward with you on that basis.

MAYOR ASHE: Mr. President, we thank you very much for giving us this opportunity, and we will take the challenge to respond and open up a dialogue that really moves this country forward in the interest of cities and the people that we represent.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Mayor Rice, Mayor Daley, Mayor Helmke, thank you all. I appreciate your good work.

END

11:45 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

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Embargoed For Release  
Until 10:06 A.M. EST  
Saturday, January 28, 1995

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE NATION

The Roosevelt Room

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. I want to talk to you today about the New Covenant I discussed in the State of the Union. My mission as President is to restore the American Dream to all of our people. In the new economy of the 21st century, that requires a New Covenant between the people and their government, and among the people themselves.

This is something I've been talking about for many years, since I ran for President. The New Covenant is grounded in an old idea that all Americans have not just a right, but a responsibility to do the hard work needed to rise as far as their talents and determination can take them, and to give something back to their community and to their country in return.

Opportunity and responsibility -- they go hand in hand. We can't have one without the other; and we can't have a strong community without both. We've worked hard to create more economic opportunity for our people in the last two years, bringing the deficit down, investing in education and new technology, expanding trade. We've gotten more than 6 million -- or almost 6 million new jobs, the fastest growth in 10 years and the lowest combined rate of unemployment and inflation in 25 years. That's good news.

But America's still got a lot of problems. There are still interests of people and values of people that are not being furthered. And there's really no better example of the need for us to build a New Covenant together than the failed welfare system. Today's welfare system doesn't provide enough opportunity, and it certainly doesn't require enough responsibility. It's a system so badly broken that it undermines the very values -- work, family and responsibility -- people must have to put themselves back on track. We've got to return those values front and center.

Our job in government is to expand opportunity, not bureaucracy, and then to empower people to make the most of their own lives. We must not ask, and government should not provide, what we really must do for ourselves.

I've worked on this issue of welfare reform for a very long time now, since I first became governor of Arkansas over 15 years ago. I know there are a lot of different ideas about what we should do. But everyone agrees the system is broken and it needs to be fixed. I'm committed to making welfare what it was meant to be -- a second chance, not a way of life. I'm committed to making sure

that the only goal of the welfare system is to help people get off of it, into a job where they can support themselves and their families. I believe we should give people the opportunity to move from dependence to independence, providing job training and child care if that's what they need for up to two years. At the same time, we must demand that people accept responsibility for themselves. After two

years, anyone who can work must work. And if a parent doesn't pay child support, that person should be forced to pay. People who have children must be prepared to take responsibility for them.

We should require work and responsibility, but we shouldn't cut people off just because they're poor or young or unmarried. We should promote responsibility by requiring young mothers to live at home with their parents or in appropriate supervised settings, and to finish school; but we shouldn't put them and their children on the street. I don't believe we should punish people because they happen to be poor or because of past mistakes. And absolutely, we shouldn't punish children for their parents' mistakes. All of us have made our mistakes, and none of us can change our yesterdays. But every one of us can change our tomorrows. That's what welfare reform should be all about.

And one more thing -- Washington doesn't have all the answers. In fixing welfare, as on so many other issues, we have to shift resources and decision-making back to states and local communities. The welfare system shouldn't be centralized in Washington, dispensing services through large bureaucracies. We've got to shift more responsibilities back to the citizens of this country.

We've made a good start on this over the last two years. We've already given 23 states the right to slash through federal rules and regulations to reform their own welfare systems. Last year we introduced the most sweeping welfare reform plan ever presented by an administration. Today, at the White House, I'm hosting an all-day working session on welfare reform including governors, members of Congress, Democrats and Republicans, people on welfare and people who have worked their way off. I'm determined to work with all of them to pass welfare reform, and I hope we can make some progress today.

This is a complex and sometimes divisive issue. But if we put partisanship aside, we can come together and solve it around some simple and important values -- moving from dependence to independence; from welfare to work; from childbearing to responsible parenting. Let this be the year we end welfare as we know it. And let it also be the year we are all able to stop using this issue to divide America. That should be our commitment. The American people deserve nothing less.

Thanks for listening.

END

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON  
WELFARE CONGRESSIONAL MEETING  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
JUNE 14, 1995**

I'd like to thank Senators Daschle, Moynihan, Breaux, and Mikulski for coming here this morning, and for their continued leadership on welfare reform.

Last night, I addressed the nation about my plan to balance the budget by cutting wasteful spending and giving the American people a government that reflects their priorities and values.

I said that welfare reform is one of my five key priorities. Today, I would like to say more about the welfare reform I support.

The key to real reform is to help welfare recipients move to work, and to give them the means to do so. Work must be the central priority of welfare reform. We can -- and should -- save money by cutting welfare, but we must provide the job training, job placement, and childcare to help people get off welfare and get into jobs. If we try and save money simply by cutting people off, we won't save money in the long run, and we certainly won't solve the welfare problem.

And there is no justification for hurting children by cutting off their welfare benefits simply because their mothers are young or unmarried.

I endorse the welfare reform plan written by Senators Breaux, Daschle, and Mikulski. It provides for a time limit for welfare recipients. It has incentives to get them into jobs. It helps them get the childcare they need so they can hold down those jobs. It makes states continue their efforts to help move welfare recipients into the work force. Our welfare reform plan is designed to solve the welfare crisis -- not to sweep it under the rug.

Welfare reform must be a bipartisan effort. The Senate majority cannot pass a bill without the help of Democrats. Welfare reform cannot become the law without my signature. This bill meets my test for real welfare reform, and that's why I'm backing it: It saves money, protects children, and is serious about work. Those are the conditions for the type of welfare reform I want, and members of my party will support.

I hope all Members of Congress, from both parties, will work with us to get this job done. Thank you.

# Business Leaves the Lobby And Sits at Congress's Table

By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

A1

WASHINGTON, March 30 — It all began with a routine E-mail message: Staff workers of the Senate Judiciary Committee were invited to attend a briefing on the latest version of a Republican bill that would bring far-reaching changes in the nation's health and environmental laws.

But the aides, mostly Democrats, were dumbfounded at the scene that unfolded on Wednesday in the committee's hearing room. Seated at the head table beside the staff director, Larry Block, and answering many of the questions about the complex legislation were three lawyers from Hunton & Williams, a Richmond, Va., law firm that has an extensive Washington practice representing dozens of electric utilities before environmental regulators and in court.

Over the next hour, the lawyers outlined the provisions of a bill drafted by Republican staff members in close consultation with various industry representatives, including Hunton & Williams. Several times, participants said, Mr. Block appeared to defer to the three lawyers about exactly what the bill meant.

The measure gives industries new grounds to challenge regulations in court, and it imposes complex procedural requirements on Government regulators, forcing them to calculate the costs and benefits to society of most Government rules with more than a \$50-million economic cost.

It is not unusual for Congressional aides to consult lobbyists, discreetly as they shape legislation; it happens every day. But seldom in the past have Congressional staff members so openly and publicly embraced legislative outsiders with extensive interests in the outcome.

Republicans in the House and Sen-

Continued From Page A1

ate, who campaigned on a slogan of getting Government off the back of business, are unapologetic about the access they are affording industry lobbyists to the legislative process. They insist privately that it is little different from the opportunities offered to civil-rights groups, gun-control advocates and labor unions when Democrats controlled Congress.

Just a few weeks earlier, the committee called one of the firm's lawyers, Turner T. Smith Jr., to testify about the bill. He praised its provisions for taking regulators to court, saying: "Only the potential for judicial oversight and correction will focus the mind of a reluctant bureaucrat."

Henry V. Nickel, who with Mr. Smith and George C. Freeman Jr. of Hunton & Williams, spoke to the Judiciary Committee aides, confirmed that his firm, among other industry lobbyists, had advised Republican staffers as they drafted the bill in recent weeks. But he said in an interview that the briefing of the Judiciary Committee was simply a "good-faith" effort by Republicans to explain the bill to Democrats "from the perspective of the kind of people the Republican staff had talked to."

A spokesman for the Judiciary Committee, Jeanne Lopatto, said the lawyers were invited to the briefing as "recognized experts in the field of regulatory reform."

Hunton & Williams is outside counsel to Phillip Morris Companies, the tobacco giant, according to proxy statements, and is lobbying Congress on behalf of the utility industry and an amalgam of other companies, including at least one chemical concern. Mr. Smith said the firm had been hired by about 15 companies to lobby on the bill. He declined to identify them.

"I don't think there's any problem with asking business's advice," said David Vladek, director of the Washington-based Public Citizen Litigation Group, "but this incident betrays the fact that this is a bill by big business, for big business, and of big business."

Congress is now considering several bills that would fundamentally change the way regulations are written, touching off a frenzy of business lobbying. While it is by no means clear that the bill before the Judiciary Committee will be enacted, senior members of both parties say it is likely some form of regulatory over-

## Special Pleadings

A periodic look at lobbying.

haul will pass. Any company with a toehold in Washington, from the industrial giants to small businesses, is trying to make sure that whatever bill finally emerges protects its financial interests.

The legislation before the Judiciary Committee was introduced by Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the majority leader, and refined by Senator Orrin G. Hatch, Republican of Utah, and Senator Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa. Another bill introduced by Senator William V. Roth Jr., Republican of Delaware, imposes more modest requirements on regulators, and has won support from Democrats and Republicans.

Hunton & Williams clients include the Edison Electric Institute, the utility industry's largest trade association, which frequently challenges the Environmental Protection Agency's rules in court.

A few months ago, the firm was in Federal court in Washington on behalf of 73 electrical utilities and their three national trade associations, trying to derail a lawsuit brought by the American Lung Association. The suit asks the agency to toughen the air-quality standard for smog on the ground that the existing rules fail to protect public health. The lung association says that passage of the bill before the Judiciary Committee would make it much more difficult for the E.P.A. to change those rules.

Gregory Wetstone of the Natural Resources Defense Council said the Judiciary Committee bill also gave the utility industry several opportunities to roll back existing environmental protections. Under various rules, the E.P.A. has set standards that protect the health of people in a community who face the greatest risks from particular pollutants, like the elderly or asthmatics. Under the bill, Mr. Wetstone said, those safeguards would remain in place only if the agency could show that savings from reduced medical costs, for example, were greater than the cost of the safeguards.

Mr. Nickel said that if the bill were law today, industries might well use it to challenge a pending E.P.A. rule requiring companies to install more sensitive air monitors. Altogether, he said, American industries will have to spend billions of dollars to comply with this rule.

Continued on Page A26, Column 5

# Clinton Warns Florida of Peril in Congress

By DOUGLAS JEHL

TAMPA, Fla., March 30 — President Clinton took his campaign against the House Republican juggernaut to the legislators and people of Florida today, urging them to take a critical look at proposals he said would work against the fast-growing state.

The appeal was the most comprehensive yet in the President's effort to draw the line against the crime and welfare measures already approved by the House of Representatives. The bills would consolidate Federal spending into block grants, but Mr. Clinton warned that the approach could hurt the states that need it most.

"For the growth states of this country, it can be a trap," the President warned a joint session of the Florida Legislature in Tallahassee this morning. "So watch it, read it, look at the fine print, and stick up for your interests."

As Mr. Clinton repeated the appeal to students at a community college here, White House officials made clear that it would be a recurrent theme in the weeks ahead as they try to build opposition to the measures before the Senate takes them up after the Easter recess.

In programs involving crime and

welfare, the block grants for the states under the House-approved measures would be subject to strict conditions. The money for food stamps, poverty assistance and other programs would not increase even if the number of poor people increased, while money for anti-crime programs would be provided in full only to those states who im-

## *Tailoring a White House counterattack to the concerns of a fast-growing state.*

posed the strict limits on prison terms set by the House.

The anti-crime legislation represents an attempt to revise the measure that Mr. Clinton pushed through Congress last summer. It would eliminate a provision that the White House said would provide for 100,000 police officers across the country, a step that Mr. Clinton has already said would force him to veto the new bill if it is embraced by the Senate.

To reinforce that message, the President today arranged for 14 sheriff's deputies from Escambia

County near Pensacola to look on as he spoke to the legislature. All of them had been hired under a grant from last year's measure, and Mr. Clinton pointed them out to his audience as evidence of what the Republicans would strip away.

"That's what you get for your money," Mr. Clinton said as the uniformed officers stood to acknowledge the legislators' applause. Under the Republican-backed measure, states and municipalities would be allowed greater flexibility in spending the Federal anti-crime funds, and they could choose to build prisons or even install street lights instead of hiring the police officers that the President said should be a top priority.

In winning the Presidency in 1992, Mr. Clinton narrowly failed in his quest for Florida's electoral votes, but his aides say he still believes he can win here in a rematch in 1996. To underscore his ties to the state, Mr. Clinton spent Wednesday night in a guest room in Governor Lawton Chiles' official residence in Tallahassee.

He was to travel on tonight to a Democratic National Committee fundraising dinner at a private residence in Palm Beach, where he was scheduled to spend the night before flying to Haiti early Friday morning.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**Office of the Press Secretary**

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**For Immediate Release**

**April 18, 1995**

**PRESIDENT CLINTON MOVES FORWARD ON WELFARE REFORM, ADDING MISSOURI AND MONTANA TO LIST OF STATES WITH WELFARE WAIVERS**

Today, President Clinton continues his efforts to end welfare as we know it by granting two more states -- Missouri and Montana -- the flexibility to reward work over welfare. Like previous welfare reform efforts, these states will use the freedom from federal rules to reward work, make welfare a transitional system, demand personal responsibility, and strengthen child support enforcement.

As a former governor, the President recognizes states as the nation's laboratories. In two years, this Administration has approved 30 welfare demonstrations in 27 states, granting waivers to governors of both parties for a variety of reform efforts. In an average month, the welfare demonstrations cover approximately 6.3 million people, representing 45 percent of all recipients.

The themes of work, responsibility and family are consistent messages and goals of the state demonstrations. Some are targeting specific approaches, while others are experimenting with many program components. Some are testing projects in a single county, while others are ambitiously undertaking statewide efforts. All are using incentives and sanctions with the primary goal of moving people into work. States are also making important strides in increasing child support collections, requiring teenage parents to live at home and stay in school, and demanding parental responsibility.

Welfare reform demonstrations granted under President Clinton's leadership have begun to move toward a new welfare system. As President Clinton has said, "We won't have ended welfare as we know it until its central focus is to move people off welfare and into a job so that they can support themselves and their families." National reform, embodying the principles of work and responsibility and building on the success of state demonstrations, will truly offer hope and opportunity for millions of families and children.

Since January 1993, the Department of Health and Human Services has approved welfare demonstration projects in Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

A map of the country highlighting states granted waivers to begin reforming welfare is attached, as are fact sheets on Missouri and Montana and their recently approved welfare reform programs.

# State-Welfare Reform Demonstrations



 **Clinton Administration**

As of April 18, 1995

 **Previous Administrations**

★ **Demonstration Also Approved in Previous Administrations**



## MISSOURI

"Missouri Families - Mutual Responsibility Plan" requires AFDC recipients to sign and fulfill a self-sufficiency agreement that establishes a plan for work and a two-year time limit on benefits. An additional period of up to two years may be allowed under certain circumstances.

Individuals who are not self-sufficient by the end of the time period must participate in job search or work experience programs. Those who have received AFDC benefits for 36 months or more and have completed their agreement by leaving AFDC will not be eligible for further AFDC benefits, with good cause exceptions. Children's benefits are not affected.

Minor parents must, with some exceptions, live with their parents or guardians. If they attend school full-time, they may keep all employment income. In some counties, non-custodial parents who volunteer for the state's JOBS program can receive a credit against child support arrearages.

For two-parent families where at least one parent is under 21, the limit will be waived on the number of hours the principal wage earner can work. The resource limits will be increased for all families, and they may own one automobile, without regard to its value.

1993 AFDC cases 89,906, demonstration covers 90% of caseload.

Missouri's application was received in two parts, on August 15, 1994, and January 30, 1995, and was approved on April 18, 1995.



#### MONTANA

Montana's "Families Achieving Independence" has three components: Job Supplement Program, AFDC Pathways Program, and Community Services Program.

The Job Supplement Program helps at-risk families avoid becoming welfare dependent by providing a one-time payment of as much as three times the monthly AFDC payment the family would otherwise be eligible to receive. Child support collections will also be passed directly to the custodial parent.

Other AFDC applicants must enroll in the AFDC Pathways component and sign a Family Investment Agreement that limits benefits to 24 months for one-parent families and 18 months for two-parent families, with exceptions. Income disregards and asset limits have been raised, and recipients must participate in JOBS; comply with child support enforcement provisions, and obtain medical screenings and immunizations for their children. Adults who do not leave AFDC by the end of the time limit must enroll in the Community Services Program and perform 20 hours of community work per week. Children's AFDC benefits are not time-limited, and they will continue to be eligible for Medicaid and food stamps.

All participants must also choose between a reduced Medicaid benefit package and a partial premium payment towards a private health insurance policy. Full Medicaid coverage will be provided on an emergency basis when certain services are needed for employment purposes.

1993 AFDC caseload 11,738, demonstration covers 75% of caseload.

Montana's application was received April 19, 1994 and approved on April 18, 1995.

## More Than Half the Nation Enacting Welfare Reform Under the Clinton Administration

The Clinton Administration has approved 30 demonstrations in 27 states, launching welfare reform for thousands of families in half of the states, more than the two previous Administrations combined. In an average month, the welfare demonstrations cover approximately 6.3 million people, representing 45 percent of all recipients. All of the waivers which we have granted build on many of the central principles of President Clinton's vision for welfare reform, including:

PRINCIPLE	DESCRIPTION	STATES APPROVED
<b>Work</b>	<i>Eighteen states</i> are helping people move from welfare to work, from receiving welfare checks to earning paychecks, by increasing education and training opportunities and creating public/private sector partnerships.	<i>18</i> - Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Indiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin, Wyoming
<b>Time Limited Cash Assistance</b>	<i>Fourteen states</i> are making welfare a transitional support system, rather than a way of life, by providing opportunity, but demanding responsibility in return.	<i>14</i> - Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, Wisconsin
<b>Child Support Enforcement</b>	<i>Twelve states</i> are strengthening child support enforcement and sending a clear message that both parents must be responsible for their children.	<i>12</i> - Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin
<b>Making Work Pay</b>	<i>Twenty-Three states</i> are providing incentives and encouraging families to work not stay on welfare, so they can achieve and maintain economic self-sufficiency.	<i>23</i> - California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming
<b>Parental Responsibility</b>	<i>Twenty states</i> are promoting parental responsibility by encouraging education, or limiting benefits for families who have another child while on AFDC.	<i>20</i> - Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming

# THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 8, 1995

## STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today, my Administration has approved a bold plan for welfare reform in Delaware that promotes work, requires parental responsibility, and protects children. Delaware is the 28th state welfare reform experiment to be freed from federal rules and regulations under this Administration. Under Governor Tom Carper's leadership, Delaware will impose a time limit on benefits, provide job training opportunities, increase child support enforcement, and require teenage mothers to live at home and stay in school.

In particular, I am pleased that Delaware joins 14 other states in requiring welfare recipients to sign personal responsibility agreements which is a contract for work, in order to receive assistance. These contracts were an important part of the welfare reform legislation I sent Congress last year, and are essential to real reform that moves people from welfare to work. Personal responsibility is at the heart of welfare reform, and personal responsibility contracts must be part of any national welfare reform plan.

I will continue to work with Congress to enact welfare reform legislation that includes real work requirements and the incentives and resources for states to move people from welfare to work. Welfare reform must be tough on work and on parents who walk away from their responsibilities -- not tough on children.

**REVISED**

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 Schموke. 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 55 restless governors happy is no easy task.

[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.

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 for 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 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. Our percentage of low-birthweight

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:

**EITC** -- tax cut for working families earning less than \$27,000 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 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. Over the next several years, more than 20 million students will benefit. **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 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

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.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 30, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

The East Room

9:58 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. First, I want to welcome you back to the White House. For those of you who were here last night, Hillary and I enjoyed having you; it was a great dinner and we enjoyed the conversation and the entertainment and the fellowship.

There are two or three things I'd like to speak about this morning before turning the microphone over to Governor Dean and Governor Thompson and the Vice President. First, let me thank the executive committee for its vote yesterday on our stabilization measure for Mexico. And let me urge the NGA as a whole to support that executive committee recommendation.

The United States has a lot at stake in Mexico. We have hundreds of thousands of jobs that are tied to the success of the Mexican economy. It is now our third largest trading partner -- several billions of dollars a year. Our future cooperation and our ability to manage some very significant immigration problems could be affected by what is going on there, and the efforts that we are making to cooperate on the drug issue could obviously be affected by what is going on there.

I want to emphasize that the stabilization initiative is not a gift, not a loan, not a bailout; it is a loan guarantee. We are cosigning a note. We'll have good collateral. We're doing it because it's in the interest of the United States. I worked on it extensively this weekend, and I realize that it's not politically popular back home, it's a rather complex issue, but it is clearly in the interest of American workers, American businesses and the United States as a whole. So I thank the executive committee for your vote, and I hope the NGA as a whole will follow the recommendation of the executive committee.

The second thing I'd like to talk about is, very briefly, is the commitment that I made two years ago to have a better, stronger partnership with the states, to regulate less, to empower more, to try to push more responsibilities down to the state

and local level. The Vice President will say a little more about that, and then tomorrow at the NGA I'll have a chance to speak in greater detail.

But we have worked not simply to reduce the size of the federal government -- although we have by over 100,000 already -- not just to reduce the burden of regulation, although we have in banking and interstate trucking and number of other areas; not just to reduce the cost, although we did; last year was the first time in 25 years when the Congress voted to reduce both domestic and defense spending, obviously, except for Social Security and the health care programs -- but also to try to move more responsibility to the states.

In the last two years, our administration, for example, granted more waivers in the area of health care and welfare reform than in the previous 12 years combined. And we want to do more of that. We also have worked very hard to try to help work through problems that have existed in the past with specific governmental agencies, and we want to do more of that. And as I said, the Vice President will have more to say about that.

We are strongly supporting the move to get unfunded mandates legislation passed in the Congress and are encouraged by the work that was done in the United States Senate where, as I remember, the bill passed 86-10 last week, after a really open and honest discussion of all appropriate amendments. The legislation is now moving through the House. I think there are about 100 amendments pending, but I think they will move through it in a fairly expeditious way, just as the Senate did.

With regard to the balanced budget amendment, it has passed the House, it is now in the Senate. I will say again what I've said all along here. It seems to me that the state legislators, the people and the governors have a right to know what is entailed in the time line if the effort is made. And I would hope that we would continue to take that right-to-know position. You have a right to know what happens, you have a right to know what happens if we protect Social Security, you have a right to know what happens if we protect Social Security and Medicare, you have a right to know what happens in the details of this.

We have cut \$600 billion-plus off this deficit. I am going to give a budget in early February to the Congress which will take over \$140 billion more in cuts. We have eliminated 100 programs, we have cut hundreds and hundreds of others. I want to keep bringing this deficit down, but I think we ought to all go into a change in the fundamental document of this country with our eyes wide open and knowing that the consequences are.

The third thing I'd like to talk about, briefly, is welfare reform. For those of you who were present at the Saturday meeting, I want to thank you again for being there. It reminded me very much of the process that we went through in 1987 and 1988 when

we had a Republican president and a Democratic Congress, and a bipartisan group of governors. And we worked in '87 and '88 toward the passage of the Family Support Act.

I thought it worked then; I think it will work now, if we all work in good faith. We agreed that welfare has to be reformed; that the most important thing is to change it from a system which fosters dependence to one that fosters work and independence; that we ought to support education where it is needed; and that we ought to support responsible parenting.

We agreed that, as we try to put more of the operational decisions back to the state and local level, there must be some strong national steps taken on child support enforcement, because so many of those orders are multi-state in their impact, and because we are doing such a bad job as a country now, in collecting child support which should properly be paid to children.

We agreed that there must be more state and local flexibility; we agreed that there ought to be an effort to reduce teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock pregnancy, generally. Governor Carper gave a very moving presentation of what is going on in Delaware, and as you know, I announced in my State of the Union that we would make a national effort on this which we'll have more to say about in the next few days.

We did not reach final agreement on the questions of how the partnership should be structured; what the implications of a block grant would be; and what, in specific terms, the national interest is in preserving the welfare of the children of this country. I have to say that I basically am in favor, as I always have been, of maximum flexibility for the states; I was a strong supporter of the Community Development Block Grant Program, for example, when I served as a Governor. But we do have a national interest in protecting the welfare and the possibilities of our children.

In 1985, for the very first time in our history, at least since we've been keeping such statistics, the elderly became less poor than the rest of the population because of the cost of living adjustments and Social Security; because of supplemental security income; because of Medicare. That is something I think we're all proud of.

The flip side of that is that the poverty population itself has stayed the same, or has actually increased, and almost all the poor now are little children, and their not very well educated parents by in large. So we do have a national interest in the welfare of these children and in changing the welfare system so that it promotes responsibility and lifts people up, without punishing children who were not the cause of the problems that they face in life. That, it seems to me, is the dividing line that we have to be animated by as we try to forge this new partnership. I'm excited about it; I think we can do it.

We must pass welfare reform this year and it has got to be real, meaningful, different and better and broader than anything we've ever done before, and it ought to give you a great deal of flexibility out of -- if nothing else, out of a sense of sheer simple humility that no one has all the answers to deal with these difficult riddles that threaten the stability of our families and the future of our kids.

So I am encouraged by where we are, I thank you again for the Executive Committee resolution on Mexico. We are going to work with you to further the partnership between the states and the federal government, and we must pass welfare reform this year, but it ought to be the right kind with the right results.

END

10:06 A.M. EST

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

14-Apr-1995 02:40pm

TO: (See Below)

FROM: Christopher J. Mustain  
Office of Mgmt and Budget, LRD

SUBJECT: Presidential Veto Threat

Attached is an excerpt from the President's interview on Thursday:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 13, 1995

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT  
BY  
WOLF BLITZER AND JUDY WOODRUFF  
OF CNN

The Roosevelt Room

11:40 A.M. EDT

Q Well, let's talk welfare reform, which, of course, is an issue very close to your heart. You have said you want to end welfare as we know it. The House version is apparently unacceptable to you -- the Republican version passed in the House.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you want to see a veto? If the Senate passes the House bill, I'd be happy to veto.

Q Well, the Senate looks like the Republicans are now suggesting they would take out some of the more, what you would consider, onerous provisions of the House bill, but still give the states block grants to reform welfare as the states, the governors, want to do it. The Republican governors, that is. Is that something you would accept?

THE PRESIDENT: No, but I think that they deserve credit

for making some progress. You know, the Catholic bishops basically pointed out that the House bill could actually be a pro-abortion bill, could encourage abortion, it was so hard on children and it was so weak on work. Now, the provisions proposed by these three Republican governors that the Senate is looking at gets out a lot of the stuff that tough on children and unfair to them. And that's good, and they deserve credit for that. It's still weak on work. And it's still unfair to the states that have huge growing populations of young children.

So this block grant proposal as it is written would put unbearable burdens on states, not necessarily -- this is not a partisan issue, but the block grant proposal as written I think would be unfair to states like Texas and Florida, for example, and maybe very beneficial to states with static or declining welfare roles.

Q Just to nail it down -- so this Republican version

in the Senate that is now being discussed, you would veto that?

THE PRESIDENT: All we know about it is what we see in the papers. I believe that it is an improvement over the House bill. But it's got a long way to go. We need to be -- what the American people want is to see people who are on welfare going to work and succeeding as workers and parents.

Now, what they've done that's good is they've adopted all my tough child support enforcement provisions. And I applauded the House for doing it. Line for line, they did it. I appreciate that and it's good. The Senate now says, well, we're not going to be tough on children, we're not going to be -- in effect, having a pro-abortion policy or at least brutal to children policy. That's good. They deserve credit.

Now let's work on the work, and let's don't be fair to the states that have bigger problems than some other states. The states -- this proposal -- I am for much, much, much more flexibility to the states. Keep in mind, it was our administration -- not the two previous administrations, but ours -- that has given half the states the freedom to get out from under the federal rules to do what they want on welfare. But we have to do it in a way that is fair to all the states. So my concern about the block grants is that it won't be fair to all the states.

Q Just wrapping up this segment -- on abortion, an issue you just raised -- you have said repeatedly you would like to see abortion safe, legal and rare. What have you done to make it rare?

THE PRESIDENT: One of the things I've done to make it rare is to push very strongly for more adoptions, and for cross-racial adoptions. One of the things that the Republicans and I agree on, although we may have some minor differences about how to do it, is that we should not hang adoptions up for years and years and years when there are cross-racial adoptions involved. If parents of one race want to adopt a child of another, they shouldn't be delayed and hung up by a lot of bureaucratic red tape. I think that is very important.

The other thing I think we have to do is to make it clear to people that if they have children they will be able to raise them in dignity. I have tried to improve the lives of women and little children, and support people who do bring children into this world -- to say, okay, if you've got a child, even if you bore the child out of wedlock, you ought to have access to education and child care and medical care. And then you ought to get off welfare and go to work. I think if people see that they can bear children and still succeed in life, and if they understand that if they want to give the children up for adoption that they can do that and know it would be done in a ready and proper way, I think those two things can really work to reduce abortions.

The other thing I think we have to do to reduce abortion is to keep campaigning against teen pregnancy. And we have worked very aggressively in this administration on anti-teen pregnancy campaigns. So those are three things we've done to try to make abortion more rare.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 17, 1995

PRESS BRIEFING

BY

SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES DONNA SHALALA

The Briefing Room

4:07 P.M. EST

SECRETARY SHALALA: Thank you very much. I did once ask my Lebanese grandfather why it was I had an Irish last name. He said just tell people there was an Irish crusader that went to Lebanon and messed up. (Laughter.)

I'm here to talk about the President's radio address, which you'll be getting copies of shortly. It's on child support enforcement which is a very critical part of his own recommendations on welfare reform.

The Republican bill does now have part of our recommendations on child support enforcement. In fact, if the President's recommendations were put in place we're releasing today numbers that indicate women and children would be able to get \$24 billion over a 10-year period -- that's \$24 billion that they're not now getting that we would be able to collect in child support enforcement.

The last piece that we want this bipartisan effort on child support to put in place is license -- professional licenses, driver's licenses. We believe that it's extremely important that these licenses are part of the enforcement activities that states are able to use to make sure that deadbeat parents take the responsibilities.

If the license piece was put in place, it would account for \$2.5 billion that would be able to be collected over a 10-year period of time. Just to give you a feel for the impact on welfare payments alone, go back to my original number, which was \$24 billion collected over 10 years if we put all the child support enforcement in place that the President has recommended -- \$4 billion of that would go for people that are currently being paid by the welfare system in the United States.

That tells you two stories: First, that there is a significant amount of money that would not be expended on welfare in this country -- \$4 billion -- if we had child support enforcement in place; and second, that there's \$20 billion in addition to that out there for people who aren't on welfare that aren't getting enough money for their families.

So child support enforcement, which the President is talking about, is not simply an issue of welfare reform. It's an issue for hundreds of thousands of people over the next 10 years, particularly children, and mothers with very young children that aren't getting proper support because parents aren't taking their responsibilities. We believe that all four -- all five pieces of child support should be put in place -- streamlining the paternity establishment system; new hire reporting, so when an employer hires someone they send in the information so we can track someone, particularly those who change jobs regularly to escape child support;

MORE

uniform interstate child support laws that are very important because of deadbeat parents that escape across state boundaries; computerized statewide collections; and, finally, the license piece, driver's licenses, professional licenses.

When Maine sent a letter to all 20,000 people, deadbeat parents, they got a very high percentage of them to come in because the letter said, you have the following professional licenses, you have a driver's license; that is now in jeopardy unless you walk in the door and get up to date in your child support payments.

The details of this are in the President's address, which you'll get shortly; that is, listing all the pieces that we'd like in child support. The important points here are that there's a lot of money out there, billions of dollars, that is not now being collected. We have an uneven system. No state is able to do it alone. We need a combination of a national system and beefing up state systems to make sure we collect every dollar.

The fundamental principle here is responsibility -- that both parents take responsibility; that government not be asked to pay when parents have jobs and are simply trying to escape responsibility. And that flows all the way through the President's own welfare reform proposals that we set up last year. The child support piece has been bipartisan, and we hope that we're able to work out the last piece, the licensing piece being put in place.

Q Are the other four parts now in there?

SECRETARY SHALALA: The other four parts are now in there. It has taken a bipartisan effort to do it. They were not in the original Contract. The Democrats were able to build a coalition to get the other four parts in. We're trying now to get the last piece in.

Q Ms. Shalala, wouldn't the license provision be one of those unfunded mandates the President's been railing about and going to sign legislation about next week?

SECRETARY SHALALA: No. Actually, I don't think the states consider it that. There are resources being provided as part of the bill to help the states to beef up their computer systems. So the money is accompanying it. This is a provision that's supported by all the governors. It has long had bipartisan support on the Hill, and it's time that we simply put it in place.

Q Is the administration supporting Representative Nathan Deal's kind of compromise or substitute welfare reform bill? Surely, you want more out of the House vote next week than just this piece. You don't like what the Republicans are likely to pass, right?

SECRETARY SHALALA: I think that we've said repeatedly that we don't intend to issue specific pronouncements this early in the process. What we've done is laid out the President's principles as outlined in his first -- in the bill he introduced last year, that we expect strong work requirements, that we want parental responsibility be part of the bill, that we want a strong teenage pregnancy piece as part of the bill.

All the alternative bills in one way or another address some of the pieces, but we're not taking specific positions on these bills. What we're going to continue to do is to make sure that the President's principles, including tough child support enforcement, are our yardsticks. And we'll be judging the products as they're moving along. We also believe that this is very early in the process.

Q But there is one bill, one Republican bill that right is going to floor, will be voted on. Does that bill meet the President's standards?

SECRETARY SHALALA: It does not at this point in time. It is in the process of being amended. It will be amended on the floor. We've indicated in our own analysis what problems we have in the bill, that it's weak on work, that it's tough on kids, that doesn't have all the pieces in child support enforcement that we want it to have, that it's simply awful to teenagers. And not only we, but pro-life groups, including major leaders of the Catholic Church, have expressed the same strong views about the way in which children are treated in the bill.

But, again, we're early in the process. We're going to fight every step of the way -- on the floor of the House, as bills move from the House and as the Senate begins its deliberations. I testified at length on Friday before Senate Finance. We're a long way away from making a final judgment on individual bills. What we're going to continue to go back to is the principles that the President has laid out.

Q The administration seems to be in a mode of strictly reactive, that you're panicking every time something happens on the Hill, and you've lost the initiative in terms of formulating your own ideas -- and especially in fighting. You have more fights than the President seems to have in terms of fighting for the social programs that have been so inherent over the last 50 years.

SECRETARY SHALALA: I think that the -- I think that's actually unfair, Helen. I think, number one, we've been not reactive. It is true that the Republicans now have the leadership, but we, in fact, laid out and have stuck to the principles. We laid out an extensive bill, a comprehensive welfare reform bill, and then have stuck to those principles.

Everything that has been going on in the committees -- we've worked with the Democrats. We've worked with them as they've offered amendments and offer changes in the bills. But we have a framework which everyone knows about, about what we'd like to get. And the President has articulated that framework over and over again. We've made it very clear that we opposed beating up on kids in this country, cutting them off from access from programs. And it is true that our language is strong. There's no question that our language is strong. But that's because the differences between us and these proposals is so fundamental. And, frankly, it is much easier to lay out the differences between our positions and the Contract positions, because they're so fundamentally different in terms of how we see this country and how we think the national government ought to behave in relationship to children.

Q Secretary Shalala, although, as you say, it's early in the process, is there not a lot of veto bait in the Republican proposal as it stands when you look at the food stamp provision, the school lunch provision, some of the other ideas that they have?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Well, if there's not -- I would not describe it a veto bait. I'd describe us as having very serious problems about those proposals, because they're so tough on kids, because they take away the safety net that we have had consensus on in this country, particularly in relationship to our most vulnerable citizens. And I realize that it's -- it may be clearer in a lead to be able to use the word veto, but we're way beyond that now. What we're talking about is a buildup of a series of actions in that Contract that changes fundamentally the way we talk about the role of government and the way we have defined ourselves as Americans.

Q Are you reluctant -- you're obviously reluctant to say, then, that the President would veto this in its present form?

SECRETARY SHALALA: I'm not reluctant to say, I won't say it.

Q Why not?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Because he hasn't said it to me. Because he hasn't made those kinds of decisions. When he says it to me or to Leon, you'll hear it either from him or from one of us.

He can't make that decision at this point in time. We are so early in the process. And, remember, the Republicans started with one set of things in their Contract they've changed at least five or six times. They're making amendments, they're accepting amendments, they're making changes. So why should we make a decision right now about whether we're going to veto what's there when it's moving in front of our eyes. And in some cases it's moving in directions that we think are positive. We ought to recognize that and keep fighting.

Q As a matter of fact, aren't you really pretty optimistic that the license provisions will get in the bill and get passed?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Well, to the extent that some of these issues are understandable, and to the extent that they're bipartisan, -- Olympia Snowe and Marge Roukema have fought for most of their careers for very strong child support enforcement. The Women's Caucus of the Congress, the bipartisan caucus, has long favored these provisions that have real enforcement and real teeth into them.

Do we have some hope? We hope so. And that's the way we argued for child support enforcement from the beginning when it was left out of the original Republican bills.

Q You've been speaking in rather general terms in saying that the bill is very objectionable. Could you specify one or two provisions that you consider to be among the worst?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Well, I think we object to cutting teenagers off and their children, from cash assistance. We believe that moving from entitlements to block grants is a movement that not only hurts low-income folks, but hurts workers, because entitlements are essentially a safety net for American workers. They have worked well for people who are laid off for short periods of time, who live from paycheck to paycheck. They have protected states economically.

We have objected to cutting back on the programs and setting limits on the resources available, so they actually, while they are increases on the surface, cutting back below the rate of inflation and growth are, in fact, decreases. Whether it's child nutrition -- we object to cutting off national standards in child nutrition, because we believe that those national standards are, in fact, quality assurance systems that have been put in place out of bipartisan consensus over the years to make sure that when we pay for food, it is food that actually improves the nutrition of American children.

We strongly object to rescissions that move on programs that provide services for women and infants -- the WIC program.

Cumulatively, this is an attack on children. It's also an attack on working parents. When you move from -- a lot of people have talked about this in its relationship to poor families, but when you think very clearly through what's happening, if you don't put in

child support enforcement, what you're affecting when you look at the numbers is not simply those on welfare, but working parents that are trying to do the right thing. When you switch from entitlements to block grants, what you're doing is hurting those who work, who play by the rules, who need short-term assistance, that go to get cash assistance or to food stamps because they -- or nutrition assistance of some kind until they can get their next job.

Q Have you calculated how many people would be deprived of cash assistance or food stamps if the move was made to go to block grants?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Yes, we actually -- we have some of those calculations which we can provide, and we've provided them in other sources. And I'll make sure they get to you. The fact is, these bills have moved in front of us. They've been mulling for a while, so we keep upgrading our calculations and we do have some calculations on the numbers. We have calculations on some of the rescission bills, too.

Q The people who don't want to include that last piece and give the states requirement, to put it on the states to require the lifting of licenses, what's the philosophical argument that they make?

SECRETARY SHALALA: I know of no philosophical argument other than leave it to the states. It's the same kind of argument for those who have suggested that -- and this is our most fundamental problem with the welfare bills that are moving up -- they don't have strong enough work requirements.

And when you don't have strong work requirements, and you say, leave it to the states, then look at what the states have done without very strong work requirement. They have very different levels of commitment. And if you really want welfare reform, we're talking about welfare reform for every state, not for one state. And weak work requirements have to be the centerpiece in looking at what they've done. What the President wants is strong work requirements, and that's the centerpiece of his own proposal.

I'll take one more if there is one more.

Q Does the license lifting provision cover press passes? Is that a license?

SECRETARY SHALALA: I think it should. (Laughter.) I mean, it seems to me that's a professional pass. It may cover the engineering licenses.

Q Just for the record, would you define strong work requirements?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Yes. I think that what we've described and what was in the original bill were work requirements that were way below the existing 1988 law. And what the President would like is every eligible person moving into work within a relatively short period of time, and I think the most recent numbers on their work requirements are about 17 percent. Currently, the work requirements are about 11.5 percent, and their work requirements for their first year is below what the current work requirements are. That's not serious.

We get serious when we move over a relatively short period of time the majority of eligible people into work. And when you're talking about very low percentages of work requirements, you're not serious.

Q And a relatively short period of time is how long?

SECRETARY SHALALA: I think a few years, depending on what your funding is. We ought to give the governors a few years to move people, most of the eligible population into work.

Q Like three or four?

Q Two years?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Well; what we want to do is to move everybody by the end of the century into work, and that depends on what resources are available.

Q Do you have the jobs for them?

SECRETARY SHALALA: Well, two kinds of jobs in our bill. First, private sector jobs, and then if private sector jobs are not available, public sector jobs for short periods of time in the transition while they're looking for a private sector job.

Q And who will put the money up for the public jobs?

SECRETARY SHALALA: In our bill, we do.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

4:25 P.M. EST

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**Office of the Press Secretary**

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**For Immediate Release**

**March 23, 1995**

**STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT**

I want to applaud Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives for approving an amendment this afternoon to require states to deny drivers' and professional licenses to deadbeat parents who refuse to pay child support. This tough provision was a central part of the welfare reform plan my Administration introduced last year, and sends a clear signal: No parent in America has a right to walk away from the responsibility to raise their children.

I congratulate the sponsor of the amendment, Rep. Marge Roukema (R-NJ), as well as Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-CT) and other members who have worked across party lines to make tough child support enforcement a central part of welfare reform. With this amendment, the House welfare reform legislation now includes every major child support pillar of our welfare reform plan, which offered the toughest possible child support enforcement measures ever put forward.

These actions on child support enforcement prove that welfare reform can and must be a bipartisan issue. Unfortunately, the House Republican bill still does not offer the kind of real welfare reform that Americans in both parties expect. Welfare reform must be tough on work and tough on deadbeat parents; not tough on children.

I look forward to working with Republicans and Democrats in both houses of Congress to enact real reform that makes work and responsibility a way of life.

**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
**Office of the Press Secretary**

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**For Immediate Release**

**March 24, 1995**

**STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT**

At a time when so many Americans without regard to party agree on the need for welfare reform, it's a shame the House of Representatives could not produce a real welfare reform plan that would promote work and responsibility and attract broad bipartisan support. I am disappointed that instead of joining in a real, bipartisan effort to move people from welfare to work, a narrow partisan Republican majority passed a bill that is weak on work and tough on children.

I am determined to work with Republicans and Democrats in Congress to produce the kind of welfare reform Americans regardless of party affiliation want and expect. To end welfare as we know it, we must be tough on work and tough on deadbeat parents, not tough on children.

I commend the House of Representatives on one part of the bill that enjoyed true bipartisan support — tough measures on child support enforcement, including refusing drivers' and professional licenses to deadbeat parents who refuse to pay child support. The House passed every major child support element of our welfare reform plan, which will enable us to mount the toughest child support enforcement crackdown in history. It is time to demand responsibility from parents who bring children into the world, not let them off the hook and expect taxpayers to pick up the tab for their neglect.

Welfare reform can and must be a bipartisan issue. I look forward to working with Republicans and Democrats in the Senate to pass real welfare reform that will make work and responsibility the law of the land.