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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13836
Folder ID Number: 13836-009

Folder Title:

Deadbeat Dads--Fond Du Lac, Wisconsin 9/30/92 [OA 7581] [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	23	1	5

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Background Report	Re: Bill Clinton and child welfare issues. (3 pp.)	n.d.	~~P-5~~	
02a. Fax	Deborah Steelman to Dennis Ross, Re: Bill Clinton and child welfare issues. [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (4 pp.)	09/18/92	~~PRM~~	
02b. Fax	"Children in Bill Clinton's Arkansas." [Open Upon Deed of Gift - March 16, 2015] (1 pp.)	09/18/92	~~PRM~~	
03. Background Report	Re: POTUS trip to Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; personal telephone numbers redacted. (1 pp.)	09/24/92	(b)(6)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Deadbeat Dads - Fondulac, WI 9/30/92 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML1798
OA/ID Number: 07581
Date Closed: 12/9/2004
FOIA/Sys Case #: S
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Curt, Here are the Wisconsin crime stats you wanted**:

VIOLENT CRIME IN THE STATE OF WISCONSIN

Murder: 655

Forcible Rape: 3,469

Robbery: 16,001

Aggravated Assault: 19,022

NOTE: Total violent crime in Wisconsin has increased by nearly 3% from the first six months of 1991 to the first six months of 1992.

VIOLENT CRIME IN THE CITY OF FOND DU LAC

Murder: one

Forcible Rape: 32

Robbery: 24

Aggravated Assault: 293

NOTE: Total violent crime in Fond du Lac has doubled from the first half of 1991 to the first half of 1992. Most of the increase has resulted from an increase in aggravated assault.

** All numbers are calculated from July 1, 1989 - June 30, 1992.

Don Jones, BD

→ Question of the Day in
yesterday's newspaper
(photo of answers)

9/10 said they are better
off today than last year
at this time.

— Fordham Reporter

Barley@home → 608 257-0884

A Green Bay Packers won against
Pitt. on Sunday.
Steelers

→ very big deal)

All \$ Bill

dynamic duo

coming to Madison tomorrow!

state capital

also going Milwaukee

✓
(Smith/Aarhus)
Draft Two
September 28, 1992
REFORM

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ~~WELFARE REFORM~~ PROJECT KIDS
FOND DU LAC, WISCONSIN
WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 30, 1992

Thank you for that introduction. It's great to be here in Fond du Lac. Earlier today I asked Barbara if she had any ideas about how I could be a big hit in Wisconsin. She said: "Maybe you could borrow Robin Yount's bat." //

Actually, I have something in common with your baseball team. We're both in a tough race. If Phil Garner has any suggestions for me, I'm all ears. My best to the Team That's Made Milwaukee Famous. //

Over the last 3 and 1/2 years, America has helped win the peace abroad. A wall falls in Berlin. From Panama to Kuwait, those enslaved are now free. The Cold War is over -- and freedom won. //

Today, I want to talk about winning the peace at home -- for our families, in our homes, and in our communities.

It involves two tasks crucial to my Agenda for American Renewal. The first is giving money to the taxpayer -- not government. The second is upholding individual responsibility through our system of law. //

The first task -- like the second -- is as much philosophical as political. My opponent measures government

TO: STEVE PROVOST
FROM: CURT SMITH
SUBJ: WISCONSIN

Carol and I have talked with several people in Wisconsin. Here are a couple local graphs that should work re. the Fond du Lac speech.

"I'm glad to be in a State whose football team, the Packers, smashed its opponent [the previously unbeaten Steelers] last Sunday. Just goes to show how sweet victory can be when you're the underdog storming from behind." //

"I'm especially pleased to be here the day before both Democratic candidates come to Wisconsin. Believe me: This is not the last time our ticket will lead the election parade." //

"I see banners here recalling how Fond du Lac County is the birthplace of the Republican Party. / How appropriate. / Look at this crowd. Our campaign has been born again." //

"Yesterday, the Fond du Lac Reporter asked people, 'Are you better off than you were a year ago?' Nine out of ten said yes. I'm glad to be back in one of America's greatest -- and obviously smartest -- states." //

Child abuse reports
Last 10 yrs.

1979 - 6895 reports
1989 - 15,879 "

Arkansas Gazette

Scully → SkyPager

9916 - 8958



Republican
National
Committee

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

DATE: _____
TO: Carol
FAX NUMBER: 456-6218
FROM: Dan
NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 5

IF ALL PAGES ARE NOT RECEIVED, PLEASE CALL (202) 863-8666

DOCUMENT= 813 OF 2170 PAGE = 1 OF 9
ACCESS # AG413255
HEADLINE Welfare of children at stake //Group says DHS slow in investigating abuse
Byline: Scott Morris
DATE 06/26/91
SOURCE THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE (AG)
Section: NEWS
Page: 1A
(Copyright 1991)
RE AR

The weapons are extension cords and irons and baseball bats, and the victims are the most vulnerable Arkansans an escalating number of children for whom the sanctuary of home has become the scene of abuse.

The number of child abuse reports in Arkansas is up 130 percent in the last 10 years, from 6,895 in 1979 to 15,879 in 1989. That increase has left the state struggling to keep up with its duty to protect the children, agency officials and advocates say.

One advocacy group, the San Francisco-based National Center for Youth Law, contends that Arkansas which has four fewer abuse

investigators today than it did in 1980 hasn't met the pace. The center is preparing a lawsuit to force the state Department of Human Services to improve its efforts to defend battered youngsters.

"If parents treated these children the way in which the department treats them, they would be charged with abuse and neglect," said William Grimm, an attorney for the center.

After investigating Arkansas's child-protection system for more than a year, the center contends that DHS is too slow in investigating abuse allegations, that it doesn't effectively monitor children in foster care and bounces youngsters from one foster home to another, causing more damage than it prevents.

Gov. Bill Clinton called Grimm's charge "a cheap political shot."

"The truth is, if parents treated kids right, we wouldn't need this {child welfare} division at all," Clinton said last week.

Dr. Terry Yamauchi, DHS director and a pediatrician, acknowledged that the child-protection system is flawed, but maintained that it is better than Grimm alleges.

"I think we could find hundreds of children that we've done better for by our services," Yamauchi said.

But Yamauchi and his administrators conceded the system is overburdened and expressed frustration with chronically tight budgets.

"No one likes to admit that we have a problem with abused children," he said. "I don't want to say it's been swept under the table or anything like that, but it has not had high priority. It has never been funded to the extent we thought it should be."

Despite the soaring number of abuse reports cases, the amount of money spent on dealing with such cases has only barely risen in at least the five years. Spending on foster care has actually declined.

Earlier this year, the Division of Children and Family Services, which is responsible for child-abuse investigations and foster placement, lost its bid to win a large increase in state money.

Meanwhile, two gruesome cases focused public attention on the

Division of Children and Family Services last year.

Steven Earl Walters, 4, died in February 1990 of head injuries that prosecutors said resulted from a blow to the head. The boy's father and stepmother eventually were convicted and sentenced to prison. Two DHS workers had investigated allegations Steven was abused but had taken no action. They were fired; a third employee was suspended.

DHS also came under fire for the way it handled the case of Daniel Toric, who was left with neighbors when his mother moved out of state. Toric, then 6, was systematically beaten and had to have his leg amputated below the knee after it was scalded last year. The woman with whom Toric was living and her son were convicted of first-degree battery in March. Daniel's mother said a DHS worker approved leaving the boy with the woman.

In the wake of those highly publicized cases, the Division of Children and Family Services which is responsible for investigating child abuse reports, arranging foster care and providing support to families pleaded with lawmakers for more money and 240 more employees.

"It takes people to help people," said Larry Meyer, the division's assistant director for administrative services. "We can't put {clients} in a room with a computer and a laser gun."

But Clinton expressed skepticism that simply increasing the division's staff would help. The General Assembly did give DHS an additional \$2 million each of the next two budget years, but the money is being held in reserve. It will be spent only after a panel

of national experts recently appointed by Clinton complete a review of the child welfare system and make recommendations for improving it.

Central Arkansas Legal Services and the National Center for Youth Law, whose investigation was requested by Arkansas lawyers familiar with the child-welfare system, argued at the time that DHS needed at least a \$12 million budget increase to meet its responsibilities. When their proposals were rejected, they pledged to sue.

Grimm said that the center, which previously sued the Maryland Department of Human Resources and the Los Angeles County foster care system, couldn't compare Arkansas's child welfare system with others in the nation.

But, he said, "To me, it's somewhat astounding and disturbing that a system that is as small as Arkansas's is as bad for children and parents as it is."

Grimm's complaints and the agency's responses:

DHS doesn't investigate child abuse reports "promptly or thoroughly." He told of a case in which a mother of two young children fought with her boyfriend, began to drink and set fire to

her residence while the four-year old was at home. The boy ran to his grandmother, who reported the case to DHS. Despite that complaint and others by the mother's aunt, who reported that the children were bruised, hungry and often inappropriately clothed DHS hasn't investigated, Grimm said.

He wouldn't name the family, and Pat Page, the division's assistant director of field operations, said that made it impossible to respond about the specific case. But she said some people who report child abuse think nothing is done because DHS doesn't always call them back.

Overburdened DHS child abuse investigators receive too little

training and support, resulting in high turnover. Untrained workers are forced to make "life and death" decisions "on the spur of the moment," Grimm said.

The division employs 231 "family service workers" today, down from 235 in 1980, about half the number Page said it needs. Children and Family Services faces a 44 percent turnover rate, compared to about 6 percent for DHS as a whole.

The family service workers, who bear the brunt of child abuse investigations and foster care placements, will earn between \$17,524

and \$29,883 annually beginning July 1 for a job that requires them to be on call virtually around the clock.

Most workers handle 25 to 30 cases, Page said, even though the agency's goal is 12 investigations per employee. In other states, the average work load per investigator varies from 10 cases to 30 cases, according to the American Public Welfare Association in Washington.

A lack of so-called "therapeutic foster homes," in which adults are trained to handle children with special physical or emotional problems, has forced the state to consign many children to residential psychiatric treatment facilities that provide more intensive services than they need, Grimm said.

Page agreed that the state needs more of these highly trained foster parents and said DHS is trying to recruit more into the program.

The traditional foster-care system, which handles "ordinary" children who have been removed from their homes for one reason or another, needs improvement, according to Grimm. Parents get little training, the state doesn't meet its legal obligation to monitor foster children and siblings are often separated and bounced from

home to home, he said.

The center is investigating reports that one 15-year-old has been moved more than 40 times in four years. In another case, he said, a 16-year-old victim of sexual abuse has been moved 11 times in the 13 months she's been in foster care.

Page agreed the division needs to do a better job of recruiting and training foster parents. She said the department has recognized it must improve foster-care monitoring, but she rejected assertions that siblings are often separated and moved haphazardly through the system. She said that 106 of the 157 sets of two siblings in foster care in March were together, although she conceded that larger groups of siblings are harder to keep intact.

Frequent moves while sometimes required because a child proves too difficult for foster families are discouraged, she said. Only 224 of the children in foster care in April had moved in the preceding three months, Page said.

Confronted with a mounting work load and a nearly flat budget, Page and Meyer said it might be time to consider whether the agency should cut back.

"It may be that we've defined our goal too broadly," Page said.

However, Yamauchi, who shares Clinton's skepticism that adding staff will solve the agency's problems, balked at the idea of cutting services.

"I'd like to see us be able to provide all of the services because I still think that they are needed," Yamauchi said. "It's going to be hard for anyone to tell us which ones to cut."

Clinton, meanwhile, expressed frustration that the National Center for Youth Law, wouldn't respond to his request to identify an

effective state child-welfare system that could be copied in Arkansas.

"I said, 'OK, then let me ask you something else. If we spend all of this money you want us to spend, every last penny, cite me a state that has done that where the incidence of child abuse and neglect has gone down,' " Clinton said.

The reply?

"Dead silence," he said.

End of Story Reached

success by how much of your money he can take. I measure it by how much of your money you get to keep. //

Recently, I laid out a specific, comprehensive agenda for America, to create the world's first \$10 trillion economy. It rests upon this firm belief: We must spend less / regulate less / and tax less. //

I believe higher taxes would be the Mount St. Helen's of the U.S. economy. Well, guess what? My opponent has a plan to unleash that volcano. //

Let's begin with his record. As Governor, Bill Clinton raised the gas tax, and even taxed mobile homes and cable TV. He raised and extended the sales tax, including a tax on baby formula, vegetables, and other groceries. / When you're deciding which candidate to support -- I think that's food for thought. //

This year, he's off again -- proposing at least \$150 billion in new federal taxes -- plus at least \$220 billion in new spending. / He says, ~~"Don't worry -- I'll get it from the rich -- people who make over \$200,000 -- the top 2 percent."~~ Well, we've heard this song before. Bill Clinton's definition of rich is anyone who works for a living. The truth is his plan is a Billy-club blow against working families everywhere. //

Maybe my opponent should remember what John Adams said. He said -- and I quote: "Facts can be stubborn things."

The fact is that to get the money he needs for his plan -- the \$150 billion he's promised in new taxes -- Bill Clinton would have to get his money from individuals with taxable income over

✓
TN
speeches

NO!
(not a quote)

\$36,600. His message to working Americans would be a paraphrase of a famous TV commercial: For all you do, this tax increase is for you. //

And that's ~~the~~ just the start of his campaign to hurt the middle class. Governor Clinton hasn't said how ~~he'd~~^{he'll} get the hundreds of billions of dollars more to pay for all his campaign promises. / Well, remember the old saying. "When you hunt ducks, you go where the ducks are." He's hunting for ways to pay for all his promises -- and he's going to go after the middle class for the same reason Slick Willie Sutton robbed banks: Because that's where the money is. //

✓
TN
speech { Don't take my word for it. Listen to the newspaper from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, practically in his back yard. Here's what it says: "If Congress followed the example Bill Clinton has set as Governor of Arkansas, it would pass a tax program that would hit the middle-class hardest." End-quote.

Many
speech { That Pine Bluff paper isn't bluffing. Let me cite an example. Let's say you are a third-grade teacher -- making about \$22,000 a year in taxable income. Bill Clinton could be telling you to give another \$430 a year to the tax man. I say you ought to be able to use it to pay for your kid's education, or pay the mortgage on the house -- not send it back to the IRS. //

My opponent is addicted to taxes. I have a hunch on Election Day you're going to show him a cure. I think you'll support the man who says government must be responsible -- just as individuals must be responsible. / In that spirit, let me

talk about an area close to my heart. Our need for a child support system that demands responsibility from parents -- that treats our kids as people to be loved, not pawns to be discarded.

No one knows this better than the people in this crowd. Earlier I met ^{with} several families helped by Wisconsin's Children First program -- a project which lets a judge require parents to join the workfare program or be forced to pay child support.

I want to congratulate those of you here who have gone through this program -- and are making payments on time. You're getting to know your children better. You should be feeling better about yourselves. You're making your family proud -- your community proud -- and you're doing right by your kids.

Yet not everyone is as responsible.

Think about the single mother here in Wisconsin struggling to keep the kids fed and clothed on her modest salary. ^{while} Meantime, her children's father is at the airport in Detroit airport: Can't wait to begin his European vacation. He could be a year or a decade behind in child support. Doesn't matter. It's hard -- maybe impossible -- to touch him because he's over state lines.

That's wrong -- and I think it's time the long arm of the law can easily reach over that state line ... tap that deadbeat dad on the shoulder ... and say loud and clear: Time to pay up, buddy. Cough up the cash, or we'll send you to the slammer.

When the system lets parents short-change their kids -- it's time to change the system. In 1990, fathers were absent from 10 million families. Today, only ^{58%} ~~half~~ of absent parents are ordered

Hanns

Hanns
to pay child support -- and of those required to pay, barely half do on time in full. / Only one in ⁴/₅ absent parents cover kids' health care expenses -- often skipping payments by skipping town. And each year \$5 billion in court-ordered child support fails to reach their families. / We need to change these "stubborn facts" -- and we need to change them all. /

Hanns
Since I took office, we've made a good beginning. We have identified 50 percent more of the fathers of the kids of single mothers -- and increased by 40 percent the cases of child support collections, and annual state collections by \$2.3 billion.

Hanns
We have also acted to make it easier for States with creative reforms to get the Federal waivers they need. Wisconsin was the first State to take me up on my offer and ask for such a waiver -- and we quickly granted it. I remembered how Wisconsin's previous reform efforts -- begun by the Reagan-Bush Administration -- had produced a new welfare result: Success.

Gail W.
In 1990, Wisconsin was the only State which had its welfare caseload drop. Contrast that with another State to the south of here. Its Governor fiddled -- actually, played the saxophone -- while Arkansas' welfare program burned. //

✓
Tell
Maybe you've seen my opponent's TV ad. If so, you know why they call him slick. In it he talks about cutting welfare rolls in Arkansas -- about moving 17,000 people -- and I quote -- "from welfare rolls to payrolls." / Here's the catch. The ad refers only to people leaving welfare rolls -- not joining them. By

Scully
that yardstick, I've moved over a million people from welfare to work in the last three years.

Sec. Asst. Martin Gary
HHS
Green Pg. 605-632
BO Tell
Talk about "stubborn facts." Since Bill Clinton was elected Governor in 1983, Arkansas welfare rolls have increased by 19 percent -- 13 percent faster than the national average; and food stamp rolls are up 26 percent in the last three years alone. My point isn't that Arkansas is one of the poorest states in the country -- it's that under Bill Clinton, Arkansas has fallen further behind. Under my opponent, in any given month the number of people on welfare has soared from 60,000 to 75,000.

Compare that welfare tale of woe, to Wisconsin's tale of progress. Governor Thompson has shown what real reform can mean. Just look at the first six months of Children First -- where child support collection for those in the program soared 28 percent in Fond du Lac County and 145 percent in Racine County. I look forward to the program starting in seven other counties. For their part, I challenge other States to follow Wisconsin's lead.

Now for our part. Today I am proud to announce a Federal comprehensive child support enforcement strategy to complement state efforts. Its goal: To see that absent parents pay child support -- no matter where they live.

Our initiative is called Project KIDS. It will help change the child support system -- and help that system change America.

Our plan requires withholding salaries from absent parents. It will help track down absent parents -- especially when they

change jobs -- and hit delinquent parents by alerting the IRS to the fact that they owe support.

We will make more absent parents pay kids' health care -- and make non-paying parents ineligible for many Federal benefits. We will require all States to recognize and enforce other States' child support orders. In addition, we will require legal organizations who receive funding from the Legal Services Corporation to devote 10 percent of their services to assist eligible mothers who need legal help to collect child support payments. /

Scully
✓
✓

If you want more, try this.

No payment -- no passport. Forget that skiing in Switzerland -- or yachting in Belize.

No payment -- no new professional licenses. ~~If you're not paying, you won't even keep your existing license.~~

No payment -- no loans. Dead-beat parents won't qualify for FHA home loans, guaranteed student loans, or any other Federal loan guarantee. And to those who talk of glass houses and throwing stones -- think again: Our initiative makes the Federal government a model employer. We will require up-to-date employer records and immediate payroll withholding.

Within the next few weeks,
~~And this week,~~ I expect to sign a bill sponsored by my friend Congressman Henry Hyde that will make it a crime for a parent to intentionally avoid paying child support by crossing state lines.

Dead-beat parents should know that they can run, but they can't hide. If they don't meet their responsibility to provide spousal and child support -- we'll make sure they do.

We're setting ambitious goals -- but we must reach them, and we will. / Only tough policies can confront child neglect / child abandonment / nonpayment of spousal support -- problems that hurt our families and the Family called America.

They should look to these parents here today who show that Wisconsin cares about its families.

I mean to protect those who need it most. As you in Wisconsin are -- as the rest of America must. Thank you for your example to the Nation. Please join me with Project KIDS. And may God bless the United States of America.

#

10. DRELL
FR ALIXE

Comments on Wisconsin "Welfare Reform" speech:

-- Don't bill it as welfare reform. Bill it as "Ensuring Every Child's Future" or some equivalent. The speech has very little to do with welfare; lots of middle class families suffer wife and child abuse and nonpayment of child support.

-- The opening two pages sound insincere. Women aren't as taken as men with macho phrases like "pay up buddy". Women want to be sympathized with. Talk more about the actual crime of abuse and nonpayment, what it feels like to a mother scraping by with her children while Dad is with a new girl or buying the fancy car. Use the statistics. Abuse and nonpayment of child support are serious crimes. Treat them as more than a test of macho oratory.

-- Do not use the terms traditional and broken when referring to types of families. Many women are proud of the job they do as single mothers and are insulted when they are referred to as "broken." And in many cases -- especially violent fathers -- they are better off; the family may be "fixed" by his absence. Barbara Bush phrased it just right in her convention address: we want to help all families. Families under stress, women who have been beaten, children who have been abused or neglected -- need to be embraced by all of us, wrapped up in the family of our communities. Focus on the Dad -- the abusive or abandoning Dad -- as broken. He's the guy who left the brightest joy in the world behind -- his child.

-- Where is the foster care stuff? The Clinton record on foster care would be the best lease in the whole speech. Without it, the news is hard to find (CSE has been a fairly routine component of the Administration's child related announcements. Even though this announcement is tougher, it isn't earth shattering.) Clinton's foster care situation exposes him as a fraud:

- Children have died in foster homes in Arkansas (please check this -- Arkansas Gazette did big series).
- Children have been shunted from home to home over 40 times in four years in Arkansas.
- The ACLU sued Arkansas for negligence in the administration of its foster care system.
- Arkansas program had to be taken over by a federal commission (please check this also.)

-- Women will not believe that any Governor capable of tolerating this situation cares about kids. For many voters, tired of what they see as lies from both campaigns, this could be the best example of Clinton's past finally catching up to him.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB ZOELLICK

FROM: STEVE PROVOST *SP by SP*

RE: Tomorrow's Speeches

Upon reflection, my problem with the insults about Governor Clinton's draft record is that it will drag the media away from his middle-class tax increase, which matters more to the voters. Plus, it is rather heavy-handed.

MASTER

Presidential Remarks

Bristol, TN
Sept. 28, 1992
8:00 p.m.

(Thank you's and acknowledgements)

It's great to be in Big Orange Country.

May I say a special thank you to your entertainment this morning -- the Volunteer High School Marching Band.

This campaign, like every campaign, is about a simple question: what kind of America do we want -- for the young people here today?//

I'll tell you what kind of America I want. I want an America that is a military superpower and the greatest economic superpower in the world -- revered for our jobs and our workers.

I have laid out my Agenda for American Renewal -- a specific, comprehensive, integrated agenda for America, ~~the~~ to create the world's first \$10 trillion economy.

*Wash Times
Mike Hedges* I believe I am uniquely qualified to lead America into this new world economy. My opponent's international experience consists of leading demonstrations in a foreign country against his own government. I want to use my experience to lead America -- to open new foreign markets because that is the way we create new jobs.//

If our nation is going to compete, we must make changes here at home.

Small business will create 2/3rds of the new jobs in the new economy. Governor Clinton promises small business higher taxes

X X X X
and more red tape -- I promise small business relief -- from taxation, regulation and litigation.//

I say pass term limits -- and give Congress back to the people.

These are just some of my ideas -- some of what I'm fighting for.

I'm proud of my record, and I'll stand by it in November. But if Candidate Clinton wants to talk about the past, I say okay -- let's look at what's been going on in Arkansas. The people of Arkansas are decent and hard-working. But the more you know about the Governor the more you know that he's wrong for America.

We want to take back our streets from the crackheads and the criminals.//

Candidate Clinton talks tough, but listen to this. In Arkansas, the average criminal serves just one-fifth of his sentence -- then he's let back out on the streets.

Compare that to our federal prisons today. The average inmate serves 85 percent of his sentence. When it comes to crime, I'm not much for leniency and compassion. If you steal a car or beat an elderly woman -- you ought to go to jail. I say you shouldn't be let out, until you're eligible for a birthday salute from Willard Scott.//

But don't ask me whose tough on crime. Ask the police in Little Rock, Arkansas. The cops who know Bill Clinton best, have endorsed me -- as the best candidate for President of the United States.//

Paul
McNulty
Paul
McNulty

Ark record
Springfield
9/22/92

It's the same thing on every issue. Governor Clinton says he's for civil rights, but Arkansas doesn't have a basic civil rights law. He says he's for a clean environment, but the Institute for Southern Studies ranked Arkansas 50th -- dead last -- in environmental policies. Bill Clinton says he's for high tech -- but Arkansas has been falling behind in high school. Seventy-five percent of their graduates spend their first year of college in remedial education.

Remarks
Springfield
9/22/92

Harvest
Foods

As Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton raised and extended the sales tax, including a tax on ~~baby formula~~ ^{stet} vegetables and other groceries. He raised the gas tax, and even taxed mobile homes and cable T.V.

Now, Governor Clinton says he's seen the light. In this campaign, he's proposing at least \$150 billion in new taxes -- plus at least \$220 billion in new spending. But don't worry, he says -- I'll get it all from the rich -- people who make it over \$200,000 -- the top 2 percent.

Train
Speech

David
Tell
"No"

people?
Delete
every

But here's the truth. To get the money he needs for his plan, the \$150 billion he's promised in new taxes, Governor Clinton would have to get his money from every individual with taxable income over \$36,600. That's just the start of his tax campaign against the middle-class. Governor Clinton hasn't said how he'll pay for any of his new programs. He'd need hundreds of billions dollars more to pay for all his promises. [So he'll have tax collectors working overtime, to go after every working man and woman in America.]

Governor Clinton has not come up with enough revenues in his tax plan to pay for all his new programs.

4

There's an old saying. "When you hunt ducks, you go where the ducks are." (By the way, Governor Clinton raised duck hunting fees in Arkansas.) Bill Clinton is hunting for ways to pay for all his promises -- and he's going to go to the middle class -- because that's where the money is.//

Don't take my word for it, listen to the newspaper from his own back yard, The Pine Bluff Commercial. Here's what they say: "If Congress followed the example that Bill Clinton set as Governor of Arkansas, it would pass a program that hit the middle-class the hardest."

Now, I don't think that Pine Bluff paper is bluffing. Let me give you one example. Let's say you are a third grade teacher -- with about \$22,000 a year in taxable income. Governor Clinton could have you fork over another \$430 bucks a year to the tax man. And I say you ought to be able to use that money to pay for your kid's education, or pay the mortgage on the house, not send it back to the IRS.//

Now, when I add up all Governor Clinton's promises and point out the truth -- he says, "hey, forget my record. Forget the facts. I'm a different kind of Democrat."

But what's different about him? George McGovern -- Bill Clinton ran Texas for him in '72. He learned his liberalism there. Jimmy Carter -- Bill Clinton's wearing the same moderate costume. At least Carter believed it. Michael Dukakis -- Bill Clinton nominated him, and praised the Massachusetts Miracle -- right before the Massachusetts economy collapsed.//

New York Times
Sept 26, 1992, Sect 1,
Page 7

5

Bill Clinton is trying to sell you a line about some so-called "Third Way" to help the economy. You and I know there's a right way and a wrong way. We don't need a President who invents a third way to avoid choosing.

(Bill Clinton is good at this smooth talk. That's how he convinced a good hearted Colonel in the Arkansas ROTC to get some less sophisticated boy to take his place in the draft line. (At least I agree with my opponent on one military topic -- he had no business being an officer in the United States Army.)

Then there was Bill Clinton's principled stand on both sides of the Gulf War -- when he said -- "I guess I would have voted with the majority if it was a close vote, but I agree with the arguments the minority made."

Aug
17, 1992
Acceptance
Speech

One day Bill Clinton tells the people of Arkansas he'll never run for President, the next (year) he announces his campaign. One day he says he's for the North American Free Trade Agreement, then says ~~that he hasn't~~ ^{When I have a definitive opinion, I'll say so.} "I haven't made up my mind yet." One day Bill Clinton says the middle-class deserves a tax break, the next day he's plotting new ways to hit the middle-class to pay for all his programs.

Enid, OK
9/17/92

If Bill Clinton ever became President -- and he won't -- we'd have to replace the American Eagle -- with a chameleon.

Bill Clinton wants you to believe America will be better if you turn full control of your paycheck over to the crew that already runs the Congress -- he wants the tax and spend

Star Trib
April 10, 1992
Page 17A

government planners to have total control over the Executive Branch, too.

They tried this when President Ford faced difficulties, and you ended up with inflation of ^{12.5%}~~(8%)~~ -- and rising interest rates -- and a misery index over 21 percent.

It took years to wring inflation and high interest rates out of the American economy. Our workers and businesses paid the price.

At this time in our history, I don't think we can take the risk.

You see, I've been in the Oval Office, I've faced the tough decisions.

I've made some mistakes and I've admitted them.

But I believe I've been a good leader -- willing to make the tough calls -- I'm a leader whose ideas are right for America.

I stand before you today, asking for your vote so I can get on to fix what's broke in this country.

America changed the world, and I know it's time to change things at home, too: health care reform, job training, term limits, tax relief for small businesses -- and all the rest of my Agenda to create jobs and make America an economic superpower in the '90s.

If you want someone who has a statistic for every problem -- cast your vote for the other guy.

But if you are looking for a leader of experience, a leader of ideas, a leader who shares your values, a leader who

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understands that America's real strength is not in government, but in places like Bristol -- than I know I can count on your support -- on November 3rd.

Thank you very much. God Bless the United States of America.

To: Carol Annhus

From: money for
DAVID Tell

Date: 9-29-92

Re: Welfare

v5189 r p 3exec Ad Watch-Clinton

Clinton/ads

09-09 12:18p

Details of Welfare Reform Ad

WASHINGTON (AP) - Here are details of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's campaign ad calling for changes in the nation's welfare system.

Title: "Second Chance-D."

Time: 30 seconds.

Creator: Clinton ad team headed by Frank Greer.

Text (Clinton): "I have a plan to end welfare as we know it - to break the cycle of welfare dependency. We'll provide education, job training and child care, but then those who are able must go to work, either in the private sector or in public service. I know it can work. In my state, we've moved 17,000 people from welfare rolls to payrolls. It's time to make welfare what it should be - a second chance, not a way of life."

Key images: Clinton facing camera. Promises of improvement under Clinton's plan periodically appear in writing on the screen: "End welfare as we know it," "Provide education, training and child care" and "Those who are able must go to work."

Goals: Seeks to reinforce Clinton's image as a moderate and preempt Republican efforts to portray him as part of the Democratic Party's traditional liberal base. Attempts to cast Clinton as an innovative and experienced governor who has successfully coped with the welfare issue.

Analysis: The claim that 17,000 people have moved "from welfare rolls to payrolls" comes from the Arkansas Department of Human Services. The department says it represents individuals who have moved off food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children and into jobs.

G0005 r p polar AR-Clinton-Ad-Figures, Ark Bjt,660

09-09 3:53p

A Look At Clinton's Welfare Claim

19.6 inches

rfjwstffonfls

An AP News Analysis

By RON FOURNIER

Associated Press Writer

LITTLE ROCK (AP) - Bill Clinton's new ad says Arkansas moved 17,000 people from welfare to jobs, and his campaign said Wednesday that he cut welfare rolls in Arkansas.

The statements are not patently false, but Clinton and his presidential campaign failed to mention some important points that show Arkansas' welfare reform might not always live up to its name: Project Success.

Clinton, a leader in the welfare reform effort nationally since 1988, began Project Success in his own state in 1989. The work-training program is designed to get jobs for people on food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children, then move them off the programs.

His campaign released a one-page Department of Human Services summary of the program to support the 17,000 figure. According to DHS, 17,277 AFDC and food stamp recipients moved into jobs and off welfare under Project Success since July 1989.

Jerry Evans, who compiled the summary for DHS, said the list does not double-count recipients. If a person moved off of AFDC and food stamps under the program, they were counted only once, he said.

But Evans said the agency has no way of knowing how many of the 17,277 people returned to welfare after getting jobs. "We're working on a computer system that would allow us to track the recipients," he said Wednesday.

Technically, a recipient could be counted as one of the 17,277 success stories but could be back on the public dole now, he said.

He said the agency also does not know how many people have been in Project Success since 1989. "We can't tell you right now what percentage of people in the program have been successfully moved," he said.

The ad, which is running in 10 states, fails to mention that the food stamp and AFDC rolls have grown since Project Success was started.

DHS figures show that there were 23,793 AFDC cases in September 1989, and there were 26,236 cases in July 1992.

The food stamp caseload grew from 81,793 cases in September 1989 to 103,027 in July 1992, figures show.

"Project Success has helped. Has it solved the problem? Of course not," said Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos.

He said Clinton has successfully moved people off of welfare rolls while President Bush has ignored the problem.

Clinton led a major effort by the nation's governors in 1988 to restructure the nation's welfare laws. The result was the Family Support Act of 1988 which required welfare recipients to move toward independence through education, training and work. The act was based on a proposal adopted by the National Governor's Association in 1987, when Clinton chaired the group.

A statement released by the campaign blames Bush for increased poverty rates, higher welfare rolls and fewer jobs nationally.

The statement also says Clinton "cut welfare rolls" in Arkansas. Stephanopoulos said campaign records show welfare rolls have dropped 14 percent in Arkansas since 1979, Clinton's first

clinton/welfare
clinton/ads

862-0590

7

year in office.

Stephanopoulos apparently was referring to the AFDC program. The program shrank from 29,321 AFDC cases 1979 to 26,236 cases in July 1992, according to DHS.

But the campaign failed to mention that the Medicaid and food stamp rolls have ballooned under Clinton.

According to DHS, there were 73,254 food stamp cases in June 1979, compared to 103,027 in July 1992. DHS says there were 258,705 people eligible for Medicaid in the 1979 fiscal year, compared to 369,926 in the fiscal year that ended June 30.

Kenny Whitlock, director of the DHS division that oversees the programs, said Arkansas' programs have grown slower than the national average.

"We're still better off than most states," he said.

BACKGROUND

Research Office

BUSH
QUAYLE
92

Clinton's Welfare Reform Record

Though Bill Clinton campaigns as a crusading welfare reform innovator, and promises to "end welfare as we know it," his actual platform calls for nothing beyond what Federal law already requires. He has said different things to different audiences on what is a central question in the welfare reform debate -- presidential waivers to permit further state-level experimentation, as pioneered by President Bush. And he has made grand, false claims about the ineffective Arkansas welfare program he supervises -- using statistics from a predecessor program actually established by Republican Governor Frank White. After Clinton's 12 years in office, Arkansas now suffers a state welfare bureaucracy whose administrative costs have ballooned by 3,000 percent since 1983, and poverty that places the state at or near the bottom of the country in nearly every meaningful category.

Hollow Promises

- On the presidential campaign trail, Clinton makes sweeping promises of radical welfare reform: "My national economic strategy will strengthen families and empower all Americans to work. It will break the cycle of dependency and end welfare as we know it." Specifically, Clinton claims he would provide current welfare recipients with up to two years of education, job training, and child care, after which "those who can work will have to go to work" in the private sector or in guaranteed public service jobs -- or lose their benefits ("Putting People First: A National Economic Strategy").
- But Joe Klein, writing in *New York* magazine ("Profile in What?" 3/16/92), cites no less an authority than Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan to the effect that *everything* Clinton proposes on welfare has already been written into Federal law by the Family Support Act of 1988 -- a law Clinton helped draft and lobbied for as a representative of the National Governors Association.

Campaigning by Applause Meter

- Clinton has been evasive on what is currently the nation's central welfare reform question: presidential waivers to permit additional state experimentation.
- Clinton has had two contradictory opinions this year about the New Jersey law denying additional welfare payments to mothers who have more children. During the New Hampshire primary campaign (WMUR-TV debate, 1/19/92), he opposed the law: "I would not sign that bill. What I would do is make welfare reform work. I would spend more money on education and training for these mothers. I agree with Senator Kerrey, give them health care. Make sure they have child care. Require them to go to work when they can, and if, after the education program is completed and they haven't gone to work after a certain amount of time, provide public service employment.... There's no point in hurting the kids. What you want to do is liberate the mothers."

- Speaking in New Jersey several months later, however, Clinton said "There are some very good things" in the state's new law. "If New Jersey passes a package of laws that requires a waiver from existing Federal welfare statutes to implement the whole package, I would be inclined to give the state a waiver to implement that. Because I like a lot of the other things in the package, and because it is true that the average working family doesn't get an increase in income when they have an increased number of kids." Also during this appearance, Clinton compared California's proposed welfare revisions unfavorably to New Jersey's and strongly implied he would not approve California's waiver (*New York Times*, 5/23/92)

Failure in Arkansas: Project Success

- Of Clinton's pledge to "end welfare as we know it," *U.S. News and World Report* (4/20/92) says "judging from his record, such promises should be taken with more than a grain of salt." The magazine labels Clinton's welfare platform "unconvincing," and reports that his Arkansas programs "aren't as great as he claims."
- Clinton *has* claimed great things about "Project Success," passed in 1987 as his state's version of legislation required by the Family Support Act. All able-bodied Arkansas welfare recipients are required to participate in the program unless they have a child under a year old (Federal law permits exemptions for mothers with children 3 and under). Recipients who refuse to participate lose their benefits. Participants theoretically receive transitional education, job skills training, day care, transportation, and Medicaid health care services. Those deemed qualified for the job market are required to look for work and document their contacts.
- At the National Rainbow Coalition forum on January 25 this year, Clinton claimed that Project Success "has been evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research [Corp.] as one of the three or four best programs in the United States, not because it is oppressing the poor, kicking the poor around, but because it is instrumental in liberating the poor." In fact, MDRC has never reviewed Project Success -- nor has any other independent group or agency.
- MDRC did perform an evaluation of the Arkansas WORK program, an 8-county demonstration project begun in 1982 by Clinton's predecessor, Republican Governor Frank White. Clinton expanded the WORK program statewide in 1985, and used it as the model for his own 1987 proposals. The MDRC study tracked 1,100 AFDC recipients during WORK's pilot stage, and found that after 9 months, only 3 percent of enrollees had tried a workfare job. After three years, MDRC found that welfare rolls had been reduced by just 7 percentage points in the experimental group and that the proportion of recipients who had ever worked was boosted by just 5 percentage points (*U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).
- State officials report that since Project Success was formally inaugurated in July 1989, Arkansas's total welfare caseload has increased -- 10 percent by August 1991, and 12 percent by this April. Analysts from Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, the agency

that will formally evaluate Project Success, say they cannot yet determine how well the program is functioning from available statistics. Official results have not been released (*Arkansas Gazette*, 6/24/91; *U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).

- State officials also report that funding shortages make the program's enrollment requirements largely toothless. In March 1992, only 4,092 of Arkansas's 26,858 AFDC families were "active" in Project Success (*U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).
- And despite Clinton's claim that welfare reform works if you "apply sanctions to enforce it," Arkansas's sanctions are, as Clinton employees acknowledge, also toothless. In 1991, the state dropped an average of just 203 cases a month (less than 1 percent of all those on AFDC), numbers which are already inflated because new welfare families replace those who leave the rolls. Actual monthly benefits cutbacks come to just \$30 or \$40 dollars, and when asked if such a sanction is sufficient to encourage compliance with the program, one Arkansas official admits: "probably not" (*U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).

Arkansas: Still Poor and Mismanaged After All These Years

- Despite a major, Clinton-engineered reorganization at the Arkansas Department of Human Services, the state's largest agency and the one responsible for welfare, administrative costs have grown by more than 3,000 percent since 1983 (state budgets, 1983 and 1991).
- Clinton's frequent mid-year budget problems were once so severe that he publicly resisted Federally-imposed tax changes designed to relieve the poor. In 1986, a new Federal law prohibited Arkansas (and any other state) from charging a sales tax on items bought with food stamps. The law required that this regressive and punitive practice be abolished in Arkansas's next legislative session, no later than October 1987. Clinton initially cancelled an otherwise planned special legislative session specifically to avoid losing revenue from the food stamp tax. He then decided to go ahead with the special session -- but only after his lawyer found a loophole in the federal statute through which only a *regular* session (not specials) would trigger the exemption requirement.

On April 14, 1987 -- 2,190 days after he became governor -- Clinton finally exempted food stamps from his sales tax and complied with Federal law. But the bill he signed made clear that the change was to take effect on the last possible day: October 1. And it also included an automatic revocation if Federal law should change: "The tax exemption provided by section 11 of this Act shall expire if the exemption becomes no longer required for full participation in the food stamp program and the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children" (*Pine Bluff Commercial*, 2/8/86; *Arkansas Democrat*, 2/7/86; *Arkansas Gazette*, 4/11/86; Arkansas Act 1033, approved 4/14/87).

- Nearly 1 in 5 Arkansans lives in poverty. A full 19.8 percent of all Arkansas residents live below the poverty line -- up from 19 percent in 1980, and one of the four worst state averages in the country (*Arkansas Gazette*, 9/20/91 and U.S. Bureau of the Census). The *Arkansas Gazette* (9/22/91) cites a 1991 study finding that more than half the state's black residents -- 53 percent -- live in poverty.

Welfare

Campaign Platform

Clinton cites his welfare reform expertise in his presidential campaign, but until Vice President Quayle began criticizing the lack of family values promoted by Democrats and liberal media, it had not been a centerpiece of rhetoric or platform. During a May 21, 1992 speech, Clinton criticized both President Bush and the Democrats while proposing a family policy that he said goes beyond the inadequate responses of the Republican and the Democratic parties. "'Family values' can't simply be a Washington code word for Beltway Republicans who really mean 'You're on your own' -- or Beltway Democrats who want to spend more of your tax money on programs that don't embody your values. If family values are going to mean something, we must offer a third way."¹ Clinton presented himself as a public official who has "worked on family issues harder, longer, than anyone else running for president."² Clinton's proposals for family values include:³

- Rewarding work and family by expanding the earned income tax credit to guarantee a working wage to lift above the poverty line anyone with a family who's working full time.
- Creating a system of training and vouchers for daycare and medical coverage for children so that families can return to the dignity of a job.
- Cracking down on deadbeat parents with national child support enforcement.
- Passing the Family and Medical Leave Act.
- Fully funding Head Start.
- Creating a full sense of personal responsibility and concern for the consequences of behavior.

Quayle apparently forced Clinton's return to the "personal responsibility" theme (a favorite since 1986) in his May speech. During the January 19, 1991 WMUR-TV debate in New Hampshire, Clinton said he would not sign legislation similar to the recently signed New Jersey law denying additional welfare payments to non-working mothers who have more children. In May 1992, however, Clinton flip-flopped on the New Jersey law when he gave tacit approval. "I have mixed feelings about the New Jersey thing," said Clinton. "I don't want to hurt children. On the other hand, people in the workforce don't get more money when they have extra babies."⁴ According to Clinton, as president, he would sign a federal waiver allowing the state to impose the law, primarily because he supports the more positive, less controversial segments that encourage welfare recipients to earn and save money. Said Clinton, "I have mixed feelings about it, but I'd give them the chance to try it."⁵ Until Quayle, however, welfare reform was not a subject Clinton mentioned much on the stump unless pushed.

When questioned, Clinton refers to Project Success, Arkansas' version of the 1988 Family Support Act, which Clinton played a part in drafting. Project Success is one of the tools Clinton has used to revamp welfare in Arkansas. On the campaign trail, Clinton says he would "put an end to welfare" with a two-year lid on benefits. Simply put, he would give the needy all the Project Success-type training they need, along with the responsibility to get and keep a job or perform public service.⁶

Project Success

In February 1986, Clinton praised three success stories of his state's experimental Work Program, in which welfare recipients in Arkansas learn how to look for a job in exchange for their welfare benefits. Clinton and Human Service officials praised the Work Program, saying it had cut Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) expenditures by \$1.7 million a year, reduced the number of cases by 5.8 percent, and since its inception in October 1982, assisted more than 3,700 participants in gaining full-time employment. The focus of the program was to move welfare recipients into the work force. In an effort to lessen the disincentive for welfare recipients to get jobs from fear of losing health insurance, Clinton asked the federal Health Care Financing Administration, which oversees the Medicaid program, to extend Medicaid coverage for an additional five months for those program participants who lose AFDC eligibility because of employment.⁷

In December 1986, Clinton announced he would present a comprehensive welfare-reform bill during the 1987 state legislative session. Based almost exclusively on the National Governor's Association (NGA) welfare-reform bill, and the Work Program already in place, Clinton said the bill would require all people receiving public assistance to participate in educational and job-training programs that would make them more qualified and effective as parents and employees. The bill also required fathers, when they're in the home, to "take a job, be available to take a job or be available for public service work," Clinton said.⁸

Project Success, Clinton's 1987 proposal, is Arkansas' version of the welfare-reform programs required by the federal Family Support Act of 1988. Clinton, then NGA chairman, was a major proponent of federal welfare reform. In Arkansas, all able-bodied welfare recipients are required to enter the program unless they have a child younger than 1 year old. The state's standards for participation are tougher than those required under the federal act, which allows exemptions for mothers with children age 3 and under. Welfare recipients who refuse to participate are penalized by a cutoff of benefits.⁹

Project Success allows participation in any of several components: education classes, including literacy courses or adult education classes aimed at a high school equivalency degree or more advanced schooling; job training, including classes at vocational-technical schools or private career colleges; a work experience program where participants receive state jobs to help them learn a skill; and a "job club," where participants learn job-hunting skills such as filling out applications, writing resumes and getting through a job interview. Participants deemed educated or skilled enough to be in the job market are required to look for work and document their job contacts.¹⁰

Effectiveness

Despite Clinton's hyping of the results of Project Success, it has come under some criticism. In speeches, Clinton cites some impressive statistics, saying 200 to 300 people each month are taking jobs and leaving the welfare rolls after going through Project Success. In fall 1990, some legislators were openly skeptical of the idea of hundreds of welfare recipients moving through the program and into permanent jobs each month. An analyst from Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, an agency that will analyze Project Success, said he could not tell how the program is doing from available statistics.¹¹

State records do show that in March 1991, 275 welfare cases and 357 food stamp cases were closed out for Project Success participants who got jobs. But the DHS cannot supply statistics on how many participants end up back on the rolls for AFDC after short periods as wage earners. The numbers also show that, despite Project Success, the state's total welfare caseload has increased since the program began in July 1989.¹²

To blunt the criticism regarding how many participants returned to AFDC rolls after short periods as wage-earners, the DHS randomly selected 437 of the 4,364 AFDC participants who moved off welfare in 1990. DHS reported that 72 percent of those participants were still employed in August 1991. Department officials reported the program saved more than \$11 million in payments from AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid in 1990. Most Project Success graduates found jobs in factories, and the overall average starting salary was \$4.25 an hour.¹³ "We're not taking people off the welfare rolls as fast as they're getting on, but this [Project Success] is putting a dent into it," said DHS Director Dr. Terry Yamauchi.¹⁴ Despite these claims, AFDC recipients increased from 24,000 in July 1989, to 26,400 in August 1991, a 10 percent increase. But Arkansas is below the national average, which shows an 18 percent increase between July 1989 and April 1991.¹⁵

Recipients unwilling to follow DHS guidelines lose their welfare benefits. DHS statistics show that for every 100 people in Project Success who get a job, between 50 and 75 lose their benefits. However, benefits are revoked only for those in the program. Children still receive benefits. In 1991, the average AFDC payment was \$193.62 a month. Food stamp payments average about \$167 a month.¹⁶

National Governors Association

In 1986, as chairman-elect of the National Governors Association (NGA), Clinton relayed governors' concerns regarding President Reagan's 1987 budget. The budget would sharply reduce federal spending on Medicaid, and Clinton estimated that Arkansas' Medicaid spending would rise by 20 percent to compensate for the proposed cuts. Moreover, the governor said he warned Reagan that, "you'll be shooting yourself in the foot" by scaling back Medicaid while trying simultaneously to require welfare mothers to take jobs. Despite reservations, Clinton generally endorsed the President's welfare-reform plan and thought there was "a bipartisan consensus" that it should be adopted.¹⁷

In February 1987, the NGA introduced its welfare reform proposal to administration and congressional leaders. Clinton helped write the proposal, which is widely thought to have been based on the work of the American Public Welfare Association, a bipartisan group representing 50 state human service departments. The proposal greatly expanded education and training programs for welfare recipients and made enrollment in such programs mandatory for most recipients. NGA officials estimated that the plan initially would require about \$1 billion (which Clinton called a "modest increase")¹⁸ in additional spending, with 85 percent coming from the federal government. The governors argued that government would ultimately save money as welfare recipients found jobs and no longer needed public assistance. The governors also promoted long-term proposals to extend welfare eligibility to two-parent families, and to establish minimum benefit levels nationwide. Those proposals would cost far more to implement -- probably \$3.6 billion annually, admitted NGA officials.¹⁹

President Reagan endorsed three key components of the NGA welfare-reform proposal, but declined to say whether he supported the governors' request for \$1 billion annually to implement the proposal. According to Clinton, Reagan agreed that education and job programs for welfare recipients should be expanded; that all recipients except those with children under age 3 should be required to enroll in such programs; and that all states should require recipients to sign contracts spelling out their rights and responsibilities. But Reagan opposed the governors' long-term proposal for a national "family living standard" that would guarantee minimum benefits levels and uniform eligibility rules across the country. Reagan indicated that he opposed an increase in federal spending on welfare programs.²⁰ When presenting the welfare-reform proposal to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, Clinton expressed a reluctance "to ask Congress to frontload the program with a lot of costs with all the problems you have up here."²¹

In April 1987, speaking before the Senate Finance Committee, Clinton said he had "no problem" with establishing a federal-state matching rate in which the federal share of funding the educational and training programs would be 60 percent, and the state's 40 percent. Clinton stressed that priorities should be to first "beef up" education and training requirements, then extend Medicaid coverage and daycare services to recipients making the transition into the work place, then raise benefits.²²

In October 1987, the NGA welfare-reform bill was delayed by Congress when it failed to be admitted as part of a House reconciliation bill. Although the vote was close, critics voted against the reconciliation bill because spending provisions in addition to welfare reform, including increases in Medicaid and food stamps, were added to the bill. In addition to participation of able-bodied welfare recipients in work or education programs, the House included welfare benefits for two-parent families and financial incentives for states to meet a minimum benefit level. Clinton and the NGA originally recommended that these additions be included, but because of money constraints, decided to push for the main work/education provision of the program, and include other provisions after the program showed some success. With the new additions, the price tag for welfare reform rose from \$1 billion to \$2.5 billion.²³

By November 1987, the welfare-reform bill was back in the Ways and Means Committee, and Clinton was lobbying for its passage. By December 1987, Clinton was

praising the House for passing the reform bill and urging the Senate to do the same.²⁴ Less than a year later, President Reagan signed the Family Support Act into law, and praised the governors for their efforts.²⁵

Welfare in Arkansas

As early as 1985, Arkansas' Department of Human Services (DHS) attracted criticism. To combat growing complaints from inside and outside the department, in March 1985 Clinton signed legislation reorganizing the DHS. The bill abolished some parts of the agency, and created divisions to cover specific services delivered through the DHS.²⁶ The 1985 reorganization was intended to decentralize the massive agency by establishing county offices as the gateway to the department's services, and, according to Clinton, "to meet the needs of the people in a more efficient and comprehensive way."²⁷ At the same time, the agency director was given sweeping new powers intended to stem interdepartmental turf battles.

In September 1988, the Bureau of Legislative Research released an assessment of the 1985 reorganization. Findings of this study indicated that since the reorganization, progress had been made in Director authority, and ability to deliver service to clients. However, major problems were noted in administrative support divisions. Task force reports indicated that the needs of programmatic divisions were ignored by the administration, as well as the need for administrative systems to be aids in helping program managers make policy decisions. A large portion of those surveyed indicated understaffing remained a problem, and that there were too many supervisors giving instructions to those persons responsible for servicing clients.²⁸ Critics and some legislators contend that the reorganization accomplished little beyond expanding a bureaucracy that was already too big. Clinton himself has suggested that a fine-tuning of the 1985 reorganization might be in order.²⁹

Budget problems loomed within the DHS. In 1986, Clinton actually blamed part of the fiscal problems on the federal government's decision to not allow Arkansas (or any other state) to charge a sales tax on items bought with food stamps. Clinton complained that he could not call a special session of the General Assembly because if he did so, the state would be forced to immediately eliminate the sales tax on food stamps, which cost the state an additional \$5 million to \$7 million in lost revenue. A *Pine Bluff Commercial* report on a Clinton press conference announcing the budget cuts stated:

"He said he does not plan to call the legislature into special session. Were he to do so, he said, the economic difficulties could become more severe because a federal provision says the state sales tax on food stamps must be removed as soon as the legislature is in session at any time prior to October, 1986, which is the time when the tax is to be removed anyway. The action will cost the state \$5 million to \$7 million a year, Clinton said."³⁰

The *Arkansas Gazette* report on the same press conference attributes the same comments to Clinton. An April 11, 1986 *Arkansas Gazette* reiterates Clinton's unwillingness to eliminate the extremely regressive tax until the last possible moment allowed by federal law. The *Gazette* reported that according to state officials "a federal law that Governor Bill Clinton said two months ago would make him hesitant to call a special session is no longer a concern. Joan Robbers, Mr. Clinton's press secretary, said that the governor's attorney had reviewed the federal legislation and determined that a regular session, but not a special session, would cause the state to have to meet an earlier deadline for removing those taxes." Clinton actually had his lawyers find a loophole in the federal legislation so that he could continue taxing poor people's food stamps.

Budget woes for the DHS continued. In the 1987 budget, the DHS, whose percentage of state general revenues had been shrinking during the 1980s, requested substantially more money for the following two fiscal years than Clinton recommended for legislative approval. Human Services requested \$264,542,986 in fiscal 1987-88 -- a 13.5 percent increase over state funding for fiscal year 1986-87, and \$274,148,236 in fiscal 1988-89, a 17.7 percent increase. Clinton recommended the legislature approve general revenues of only \$228,520,412 for the department during the first year of the biennium, and \$239,980,512 the second year. In spite of protests from Ray Scott, then director of the department, Clinton's lesser amount prevailed. "With all due respect to the governor," said Scott, "there's no way I can run a 1988 Department of Human Services program on a 1987 budget."³¹ Scott explained that the biggest problem facing the department was the lack of state dollars. According to Scott, when the state fails to provide 25 cents for human services, it loses 75 cents in matching money it could get from the federal government.³²

Mental Health

Throughout 1986, the DHS was caught in controversy. In February, at the Benton Services Transition Unit, a mentally disabled client died while being physically restrained by four employees. At first his family was told he choked on bubble gum, but a later medical finding showed he died of mechanical suffocation caused by compression. In June, the attorney general's office released a report of its investigation into the death, which officials said indicated no criminal liability. However, the report indicated employees should be disciplined for "errors in judgment" in using restraint.³³ In July, nine organizations, representing thousands of handicapped Arkansans, called for changes in programs that provide care for the physically and mentally disabled. The groups threatened legal action.³⁴

The department also came under scrutiny by the federal Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA), which decides whether institutions for the developmentally disabled and the mentally ill, as well as hospitals, meet federal standards and thereby qualify for Medicaid and Medicare reimbursements. In July, HCFA decided that the state hospital no longer qualified when it decertified the psychiatric hospital and stripped Medicaid and Medicare reimbursements because of deficiencies in medical record keeping and treatment plans. HCFA also threatened to strip reimbursements to

the Benton Services Transition Unit, the Booneville Human Development Center and the Alexander Human Development Center for deficient treatment plans. The institutions, however, corrected deficiencies and passed their subsequent HCFA inspections.³⁵

Conclusion

Clinton's record in welfare reform will be attributed to the success or failure of Project Success, which was originated by the American Public Welfare Association, and molded into current federal law by the Family Support Act of 1988. National reviews on Project Success and its counterparts are inconclusive. According to *Governing* magazine, Project Success is a hindrance to states that already had ambitious welfare-to-work programs in place. By that assessment, Clinton claims of the programs' success indicate a lack of initiative in the first three quarters of his tenure as governor.

Critics have long accused Clinton of a lack of interest in human services. That assessment holds credence in view of the constant controversy with which the DHS seems to be embroiled. The DHS has been a target for law suits. The Mental Health Division came under scrutiny in 1986, and more recently the state's Department of Children's Services has been attacked for being unable to protect abused and neglected children (covered in the Children paper). Clinton critics agree that social services have been understaffed and underfunded. In recent years, Clinton has blamed the Reagan-Bush policies of the 1980s for reducing federal funds. But in FY1987-88, 67.3 percent of the DHS funding came from the federal government, up .3 percent from FY1986-87.³⁶

According to 1991 U.S. Census Bureau statistics, Arkansas remains a poverty state; only three other states have higher percentages of poor. Nearly one out of five Arkansans lives in poverty. Nationally, more than 13 percent of the country's residents live below the poverty line. In Arkansas the percentage is 19.8 percent, up from 19 percent in 1980.³⁷

June 19, 1992

- ¹*Washington Post*, Clinton Proposes 6-Point Program to Aid Families, 5/22/92.
- ²*Washington Post*, Clinton Proposes 6-Point Program to Aid Families, 5/22/92.
- ³Family Values Speech, Cleveland, Ohio, 5/21/92.
- ⁴*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Clinton on Women's Issues: Both Liberal and Not so Liberal, 5/23/92.
- ⁵*Ibid*
- ⁶*Philadelphia Inquirer*, Job training is key to Clinton's welfare reform, 5/7/92.
- ⁷*Arkansas Gazette*, Project for AFDC recipients to begin Work Program, 2/22/86.
- ⁸*Arkansas Gazette*, Governor promises welfare reform bill, 12/14/86.
- ⁹*Arkansas Gazette*, Welfare project gets folks jobs, 6/24/91.
- ¹⁰*Ibid*
- ¹¹*Ibid*
- ¹²*Ibid*
- ¹³Project Success Jobs Survey Data, Department of Human Services, 10/14/91.
- ¹⁴*Arkansas Gazette*, 72% who left welfare in '90 still at work, 10/9/91.
- ¹⁵*Arkansas Democrat Gazette*, Clinton builds on welfare idea, 11/11/91.
- ¹⁶*Ibid*
- ¹⁷*Arkansas Gazette*, Governors tell fears to Reagan, 2/25/86.
- ¹⁸*Arkansas Gazette*, NGA panel endorses reforms, 2/23/87.
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- ²⁰*Arkansas Gazette*, 2/24/87.
- ²¹*Arkansas Gazette*, Armed with president's support, 2/25/87.
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- ²³*Gazette Washington Bureau*, Clinton to continue efforts on welfare, 10/30/87.
- ²⁴*Gazette Washington Bureau*, 12/17/87.
- ²⁵Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1988.
- ²⁶*Arkansas Gazette*, Reorganization bill signed, 3/15/85.
- ²⁷*Ibid*
- ²⁸Study of the 1985 reorganization of the DHS, 9/20/88.
- ²⁹*Arkansas Gazette*, Social services still troubled, 2/22/91.
- ³⁰*Pine Bluff Commercial*, 2/8/86. (Marty's Fiscal Budget Paper)
- ³¹*Arkansas Gazette*, Clinton's budget not enough, 11/19/86.
- ³²*Ibid*.
- ³³*Arkansas Gazette*, Tumultuous time has some bright spots, 12/21/86.
- ³⁴*Arkansas Gazette*, Reform programs for state's disabled, 7/12/86.
- ³⁵*Arkansas Gazette*, Tumultuous time has some bright spots, 12/21/86.
- ³⁶DHS Operating Budgets, 1986-87 & 1987-88.
- ³⁷*Arkansas Gazette*, 1 of 5 Arkansans in poverty, 9/27/91, Census Bureau.

Welfare Statistics

Total Expenditures for Dept. of Human Services¹

1982	172,462,077.
1983	177,059,881.
1984	190,513,812.
1985	201,569,912.
1986	236,895,080.
1987	261,112,325.
1988	259,130,620.
1989	270,602,042.
1990	295,397,213.
1991	306,193,835.

Federal Funding to the Arkansas Dept. of Human Services²

1987	67% (of total DHS budget)
1988	67.3%
1989	67.5%
1990	66.4%
1991	67.5%

AFDC Monthly Average Per Family³

1980	\$144.50
1981	135.90
1982	124.27
1983	127.61
1984	150.55
1985	164.40
1986	178.42
1987	184.8

AFDC Monthly Average Per Recipient⁴

1980	\$ 50.30
1981	47.96
1982	43.47
1983	45.08
1984	53.02
1985	55.76
1986	60.47
1987	63.05

Average Number of Families Receiving AFDC Monthly^s

1978-79	29,321
1979-80	29,335
1980-81	29,573
1981-82	25,501
1982-83	22,281
1983-84	22,383
1984-85	21,990
1985-86	22,488
1986-87	22,843
1987-88	23,585

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE PROGRAM?

- Goal of Gov. Thompson's welfare reform is to ensure that both parents fulfill financial responsibilities to their children
 - in 1991, for every \$1 spent to collect child support, \$6.68 was collected in child support payments,
 - WI ranked 2nd in states for collecting child support from those obliged to pay it (WI is 32.5%, behind Vermont's 32.6%. National rate is 18%, 1990 data),
 - still, estimates show WI children were owed \$927 million in uncollected child support payments in 1990.
- CF motivates Non-Custodial Parents (NCPs) to pay by:
 - providing job training through required community service (unpaid) and
 - case management and monitoring to ensure NCPs attend job placement, pay child support, or face jail sentence.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR THE CF PROGRAM?

- NCPs who are delinquent in child support and don't work full-time.

HOW DOES THE PROGRAM WORK?

- The court orders delinquent NCP into program
- A case manager performs assessment and monitoring
 - training handled through JOBS programs
 - child support payments handled by local child support agencies.

PROGRAM SUCCESS IN FIRST YEAR

comparing NCPs in program 6 mths before/after referral
January-October 1990. Source: OPB Study 5/91.

	<u>Racine</u>	<u>Fond' Lac</u>
Number of clients paying child support	+94%	+44%
Total child support collections	+145%	+28%

REQUIREMENTS

- NCP must pay child support 3 consecutive months, or complete 16 weeks of community service (job training).

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF CF PROGRAM

- A welfare reform initiative by Gov. Thompson
 - part of Welfare Reform Act of 1987,
 - first began in 1990,
 - originally a pilot program in 2 counties (Fond du Lac/Racine),
 - 7 additional counties applied for expansion in 1993.

COST OF PROGRAM?

- 100% state funded, each county reimbursed \$200 per client.
- Current state funding:
 - \$80,000 for 400 clients in Racine,
 - \$12,000 for 60 clients in Fond du Lac,
 - \$178,000 for 890 clients in expansion (7 counties),
 - \$270,000 total program funding for 1992-93.
- Some counties have contributed own resources to expand their programs.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES
HSS-32 (8/89)

STATE OF WISCONSIN

FACSIMILE**COVER
MESSAGE**

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September 24, 1992

Memorandum

TO: Richard Darman
Dennis Ross
Andrew Carpendale
Steve Provost

FROM: Tom Scully
Gail Wilensky

Attached is a draft press statement on a Child Support Enforcement Initiative. We are also putting together a more detailed backup booklet for release with the proposal.

We have also attached a summary of Clinton's record on Child Support. Although he has not come out for a "package", his record is very strong. We threw in everything we could think of that was reasonable -- and almost all of the proposals Clinton has supported at some point. Nevertheless, we think it is a strong, positive package that will get a good reception

- press releases - personal, & anecdotal.
- cover letter
- Schuler's legacy.
- outline - 2 press - 3 pages
- quick bio -
- 107 pages Total
- ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~file~~

DRAFT

For Immediate Release

September , 1992

Title Options:
[Child Support Enforcement Initiative]
[Project KIDS: Keep Irresponsible Dads Supportive]
[Project Pay-Up]

FACT SHEET

The President announced today a new comprehensive child support enforcement strategy to ensure that absent parents pay child support, no matter where they live. The President's initiative will:

- Require wage withholding for absent parents. Universal employer income withholding would be required, and payroll withholding would follow absent parents from job to job. The W-4 would be updated to include information on child support responsibilities.
- Overdue child support will become tax liabilities. Delinquent absent parents would face stiff penalties and delinquent payments would be treated as tax liabilities, collectible by State and Federal Internal Revenue Services. Payments collected would go directly to custodial parents.
- Recognize all child support orders in all States. Require all States to recognize and enforce child support orders established in other States. Place jurisdiction for child support disputes in the State where the child resides. This will prevent fathers from avoiding payment by moving to another State, and speed up enforcement of interstate orders.
- Cover health services in child support orders. Absent parents would be required to cover children under their employer's health plan when coverage is available at reasonable cost.
- Non-paying parents ineligible for all Federal benefits. Any parent who is delinquent in child support payments could not qualify for any new Federal benefits. Existing benefits will be garnished in the amount of the award and sent directly to the custodial parent.
- Keep up with absent parents. Mothers or custodial parents will get better access to existing records to track down absent parents, and new information will be kept to track down "deadbeat dads" when they change jobs.

- No payment / no passport. Deadbeat parents could not qualify for a passport, and existing passports could be withdrawn.
- No payment / no professional license. Deadbeat parents could not have State professional licenses issued or renewed.
- No payment / no Federal loans or loan guarantees. Deadbeat parents could not qualify for FHA home loans, guaranteed student loans, or any other Federal loan guarantee.
- Make the Federal government a model employer. Require up-to-date employer records and immediate payroll withholding .

The Problem

Federal child support enforcement (CSE) services have improved significantly over the last three years, but the entire system needs major improvement. Children deserve economic support from both parents and aggressive steps to improve compliance.

Fathers were absent from 10 million families in 1989, according to a 1990 Census report.

Only half of absent parents are under order to pay child support. Of those required to pay, only half pay on time, in full.

Only one in eight absent parents cover their children's health needs.

Absent parents can often avoid paying child support by moving to another State and exploiting uncoordinated legal processes.

\$5 billion in court ordered child support fails to reach families each year. Back payments due to families from prior years total \$15 billion to \$20 billion.

Accomplishments So Far

Family income. In the first three years of this Administration (through 1991), Annual State child support enforcement collections increased by \$2.3 billion, from \$4.6 billion in 1988 to \$6.9 billion in 1991.

Paternities. There were 460,000 paternities established for children of single mothers in FY 1991, a 50% increase over 1988.

Cases with collections. Child support agencies had 2.6 million cases with child support collections in FY 1991, a 37% increase over 1988.

The President's Comprehensive Child Support Enforcement Proposal

The President's proposal will go after absent parents who renege on their responsibilities to support their children. The President's proposal will:

- Require wage withholding for absent parents. All paychecks will be subject to withholding to pay child support immediately. Today, the President directed the Treasury Department to modify the W-4 form so fathers must tell new employers how much child support to deduct from their salaries and where to send the payment. The President proposes that employers use the new W-4 information to start wage withholding with the first paycheck and forward a copy of the form to the child support agency. Absent parents who do not receive paychecks will pay through automatic bank draft or other automatic means whenever such avenues are available.
- Overdue child support will become tax liabilities. The President today directed the Internal Revenue Services to set up a special CSE-funded team to help States collect child support from evasive, absent parents who abandon the support of their children. Legislation would empower States to add overdue child support to State and Federal tax debts. Absent parents would be advised in October how much extra to add to their tax payments. The State and Federal IRS's would collect the past due amounts, and send the money directly to the custodial parents, without deducting any administrative costs.
- Recognize all child support orders in all States. States will use long-arm statutes to speed up cases where the child and absent parent live in different States. When the home State of the child has jurisdiction, it will retain continuing, exclusive jurisdiction as long as the child lives there. The absent parent's State will not issue a conflicting order or try to modify the child's State order. The child's State will be empowered to obtain an absent parents' financial information and order wage withholding anywhere in the country. Absent parents who move to another State for the purpose of avoiding paying child support will be subject to Federal criminal penalties.
- Cover health services in child support orders. The President's plan will enable more children to get health coverage when available to absent parents at reasonable cost. Currently, only 40 percent of court orders include health coverage, with only about a third of those orders being obeyed. Today, the President directed the Secretary of Health and Human Services to issue rules that make it a legal presumption that health coverage will be included in support orders when available at reasonable cost. Legislation will give States stronger tools to enforce medical support.
- Non-paying parents ineligible for all Federal benefits. Absent parents who are delinquent on child support must negotiate and keep current with a

repayment plan or they will be disqualified from receiving any new Federal benefits. When new Federal beneficiaries are under a repayment plan, or existing beneficiaries are delinquent, the full amount due will be deducted from the benefit and sent to the custodial parent.

- Keep up with absent parents. Today, the President directed the Department of Labor to help find absent parents in other States by giving child support enforcement agencies complete access to its interstate wage data network. Recent limited use of this network has found it to be the best existing aid to finding delinquent parents who hide in other States. This network will be supplemented with the new W-4 tracking system that will have more timely information.
- No payment / no passport. Upper income absent delinquent parents should not be able to move to another country, or leave temporarily, to avoid child support enforcement proceedings. Nor should they enjoy international vacations when they owe the money to their children. Absent parents owing past due child support would not be eligible for passports. Existing passports would be withdrawn from those owing large amounts.
- No payment / no professional license. Absent parents who are behind on child support payments would not get normal professional licenses. They would receive temporary licenses that would expire in six months if they do not catch up on child support payments.
- No payment / no Federal loans or loan guarantees. Deadbeat absent parents are, by definition, bad credit risks -- they do not pay their debts on time. Absent parents must catch up on child support payments to receive any Federal loan or loan guarantee, including FHA home loans, student loans, and others. Non-payment will also be reported to credit agencies and will jeopardize access to private credit as well.
- Make the Federal government a model employer. The proposal will make the Federal government a model for other employers to follow. When the absent parent reports a child support obligation on the W-4, a Federal agency will contact the proper child support enforcement agency so it can start wage withholding in the first pay period. Federal agencies and the military will update more regularly the information used to search for absent parents and initiate wage withholding actions. The Office of Child Support Enforcement's Parent Locator Service will get enhanced authority, including on-line access to data needed to help States verify social security numbers more quickly.

The President's plan also includes a wide range of other management improvements, examples of which are improved review of State Child Support Enforcement (CSE) programs, closer connections between CSE and income support programs, faster paternity determination, awards for local CSE office performance, etc.

The President's 1996 goals for the Federal child support enforcement program

- **Support orders.** Require 75 percent of absent parents to pay child support, up from 50 percent.
- **Collections.** Collect in full, on time from 75 percent of absent parents, up from 50 percent.
- **Health coverage.** Get health coverage from half of absent parents, up from one in eight.
- **Paternities.** Establish paternity for 2 of every 3 children born to single mothers, up from one in three.

The President's proposal incorporates best practices from States, recommendations from the U.S. Commission on Interstate Child Support, and a focus on Federal leadership. The President's proposal will help children whose parents try to elude paying support, mothers who must seek support from absent parents in other States, and children who need health coverage. It will also make payment easier for those absent parents who want to pay in full, on time.

Clinton did support the Workplace Fairness Bill in 1991 but has had problems with fairness for women in his own state government.³⁷ (See Sexual Discrimination) Beyond supporting this legislation in 1991 and the ERA, it is not at all clear exactly what Clinton has done to ensure equal pay for women. The lack of civil rights legislation in Arkansas certainly hurts women who are subject to inequity in pay and general discrimination.

Welfare Reform and Women: Clinton's welfare reform ideas also appear to be reforms that would ride on the backs of poor women: e.g., after flip flopping, Clinton finally admitted that he would deny additional welfare benefits to women who had more children.³⁸ He has also said that mothers should have to work for their welfare checks after two years.³⁹

→ **Child Support:** Bill Clinton has consistently worked to create better child support enforcement procedures. In fact, it could be said that some of Clinton's numerous reforms in Arkansas have gone too far. "You almost can't come up with a penalty for child support, for people who won't pay it, that I think is too harsh. So many people think they can bring children into this world and leave them for the government to raise. Governments don't do it nearly as well as people do."⁴⁰ Clinton has suggested using the IRS and reporting "dead beat dads" to credit agencies.⁴¹ He also endorses the idea of having a national "deadbeat databank."⁴²

Beyond the Child Support Commission established in 1976 Clinton has supported child support legislation every session in Arkansas since he became governor.⁴³ Child support has also evolved into a campaign policy topic which Clinton often brings up. Tough child support enforcement fits into Clinton's thinking about the role of government and of the individual: "There will have to be a greater emphasis on personal responsibility on the part of the people who benefit from government programs, like welfare reform and child-support enforcement programs."⁴⁴ *Newsweek* reported, "To promote responsible parents, Clinton proposes tough new 'deadbeat dad' laws to force the payment of child support."⁴⁵ "We ought to say to our working people, we want to help you raise your children, but if you run off and leave your children, we're going to have the toughest system of child support this country's ever seen so that you have to take care of your children."⁴⁶ Child support is also an issue which is intertwined with welfare and poverty issues for Clinton: in 1987, the *Arkansas Gazette* reported that Clinton claimed the "welfare began as a program to help widowed women but has evolved into a child-support program."⁴⁷

In 1991, the National Commission on Children (Clinton is on this commission) suggested that the "government set up a trial program to provide a guaranteed minimum support payment if a parent can't pay."⁴⁸ Clinton raised the issue of child support in his announcement speech: "We should insist on the toughest possible child support enforcement. Governments don't raise children, parents do. And when they don't their children pay forever and so do we."⁴⁹ While speaking to the National Women's Political Caucus in 1991, Clinton claimed that it was impossible for him to conceive of a child support law he would not support.⁵⁰

In the Colorado democratic presidential debate in February 1992, in remarks to the DLC in May 1992, in addressing the American Newspaper Publishers Association in May 1992, Clinton consistently calls for the toughest, uniformed system of child support possible.⁵¹ After the Los Angeles riots and in the discussion of family values, Clinton commented that, under the Republicans, the country had "a laughable system of child support enforcement."⁵² In May 1992, Clinton offered two suggestions of the kinds of child support legislation he would like to see implemented: "releasing the names of 'deadbeat fathers' to credit-rating agencies if they do not make court-ordered payments, and instituting a national collection system, administered by the Internal Revenue Service."⁵³

- **Child Support Legislation:** In 1986, Clinton wanted a federal mandate requiring that states' child support enforcement laws state that child support cases are handled in a speedy manner.⁵⁴ In 1991, Clinton endorsed a bill which helped to identify fathers of illegitimate children and force them to pay child support.⁵⁵ That same year, Clinton supported a bill which required employers to automatically deduct child support payments from paychecks -- the current law in Arkansas at that time was to garnish wages only when child support payments were late.⁵⁶ In 1988, Clinton designated a "Child Support Week" with advertising stressing the importance of paying child support.⁵⁷ In 1990, Dr. Elders, Director of the Arkansas Department of Health, introduced the idea of automatically deducting 17 percent of unwed fathers' paychecks for child support, and endorsed putting the social security numbers of the parents (married or not) on birth certificates.⁵⁸ As of 1991, social security numbers were put on birth certificates in order to crack down on "deadbeat dads" -- Dr. Elders had suggested in 1990 that this law be made tougher by adding the 17 percent automatic deduction as well.⁵⁹ In 1991, Clinton signed a law which adjusted child support payments based on income changes of 10 percent or more.⁶⁰ Also in 1991, Clinton explained: "In our state, we passed a law this year which says if you owe more than \$1,000 in child support we'll report your name to every credit agency in the state. We don't think people should borrow money until they take care of their children, and that ought to be the law in America."⁶¹

- **Problems with Enforcement in Arkansas:** While Clinton has spoken and legislated a great deal on the issue of child support, he has had some administrative problems with actually implementing his tough laws. In 1986, the Pulaski County Child Support Unit had so many problems that a county court had to decide whether to allow the county to remain responsible for child support enforcement services or to turn the responsibility over to the state. The problems seemed to revolve around the acquisition of a computer system needed for child support enforcement and the fact that the unit had received many complaints about the way it was being run. While Ray Scott (the Director of the Human Services Department) and Clinton said that the unit would stay under direction of the county, Walt Patterson, Deputy Director for Human Services' Economic and Medical Services, told the press that the unit would be given to the state to control. Ray Scott said that he would not explain all the problems of the unit to the media.⁶²

The court offered a resolution urging Clinton to allow the state to "assume enforcement responsibilities until the standards meet state and federal requirements."⁶³ The Pulaski County Quorum Court explained that the necessity of the resolution was because of a substandard staff, a lack of accountability regarding pending casework, and complaints from mothers about "the way their child support cases had been handled by the unit" — i.e., inadequate services. Despite the resolution, the Governor's Commission on Child Support Enforcement decided to defer action on a resolution asking that the contract for the county unit not be renewed — instead, the commission decided to simply monitor the unit's progress.

Despite Clinton's rhetoric regarding the success of Arkansas' child support enforcement legislation, Arkansas has had more problems with enforcement besides the Pulaski unit. In 1987, State Representative Jodie Mahony rallied support for child support legislation by pointing out that Arkansas ranked 44th in the nation for the "amount of child support payments collected compared to the amount spent to collect them."⁶⁴ According to the Arkansas Department of Human Services' chief counsel, Debby Nye, the amount of child support collected in 1989 was a record for Arkansas but "only 52 percent of the 82,000 cases handled by the [state's child support] unit have produced court orders for child support payments and an average of 52 percent of those under such orders fail to pay in a given month."⁶⁵

Women's Rights

National Civil Rights Bill: Clinton strongly supported the National Civil Rights bill of 1991. While attacking the administration on the subject of quotas, Clinton stated: "I tried to say we were against quotas to expose what I thought was a bogus attack on the civil rights bill by the administration. I still believe it was a bogus attack. It's clearly part of a national Republican strategy to keep suffering white working people in the Republican camp by frightening them into believing that blacks and Hispanics and women want their jobs or promotions."⁶⁶ "I'm for the civil-rights bill because 70 percent of new entrants into the job market will be women and minorities, and we need a system of fairness."⁶⁷ At the National Women's Political Caucus in July 1991, Clinton said that he supported the civil rights bill because, "You know that the main purpose of the bill will be to provide more protection for women in the workplace" and that the "main impact" of the civil rights bill would be on women.⁶⁸

Equal Rights Amendment: At the end of 1978, Clinton said that he was "genuinely undecided" on whether the deadline for ratifying the ERA should have been extended.⁶⁹ By 1979, however, he sent his top aide to testify in favor of the resolution, and AP reported that Clinton considered the ERA one of the most important pieces of legislation to come before the legislature. In the 1979 legislative session, the Arkansas General Assembly considered, and rejected, a resolution calling for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.⁷⁰

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IDEA:

Speech by the President during the last few days of September to preempt potential Clinton events on National Children's Health Day (October 5), or National Children's Day (October 11).

- 1) Raise inadequacy of Arkansas program prior to Clinton's children's speeches.
- 2) Redefine Bush Administration in terms of family policy not family values. *

CONTEXT:

- 1) Clinton is vulnerable.

- Governor Clinton was sued by the ACLU for his government's negligence in administering the foster care system -- placing children in as many as 40 different homes in four years. Hopeless foster care -- literally being without family -- is a prime contributor to mental illness and criminal behavior among children.

- Clinton was a member of the National Commission on Children and did not attend a single meeting. /// *

- 2) "Family Values" is now a negative because the connotation of the phrase has moved from the hopeful message that every child deserves a stable home in which to learn honesty, integrity, and selflessness, to the idea that Republicans are a party of intolerant 1950's throwbacks.

- Silence on the topic allows the damage to spread -- dinner table conversations all over the country reinforce our negatives. //
- Replacing purely rhetorical ideology with concrete examples of how government helps or fails children and what the consequences are for the public can hit Clinton where it hurts and regain some of our own lost ground. //

- 3) The Bush Administration efforts on behalf of children include a coordinated campaign to focus government and national attention on the problems of child abuse and neglect.

- For the first time in history eight cabinet members have agreed to join together in the fight against maltreatment of children in this country.
- Secretary Sullivan reorganized HHS to improve child welfare and adoption programs ///
- We brought together representatives from all segments of society throughout

every region in the country to join with us in combatting child abuse and neglect.

- We have proposed legislation to enable states to more easily spend their federal funds on preserving families.
- We have created family service centers to support the families of our head start children.
- We have increased child support payments by \$3 billion. //
- We secured passage of the largest child care program in history. //
- We more than doubled funding for the head start program and increased enrollment by 73 percent.
- We created a major new infant mortality initiative designed to cut in half the rate of infant mortality in 15 of our hardest hit communities.
- We developed an initiative to address the urgent needs of young minority males.

4) The press is attuned to the vast weaknesses in local foster care systems and has not yet begun to assume righting these wrongs is a federal responsibility. Child welfare appears to be one area where the press recognizes local leadership is responsible. See attached.

POSSIBLE BACKDROPS:

Presidential visit with the 5 children profiled earlier this year in made-for-TV movie and People magazine who fought to stay together as a family in spite of being bumped from foster home to foster home. //

Speech to Loudoun County caseworkers and other model communities delivering effective services, who specialize in finding previously unknown family connections for foster youths who would otherwise be placed haphazardly around the community.

MESSAGE:

1) Every child deserves a stable home in which to learn honesty, integrity, and selflessness.

2) Foster care can provide such a home, but too often bureaucracies lose children (1 out of 4 children in D.C.'s foster care system is "lost"), transfer children too frequently, and make too little effort to find the child's stable relatives. //

3) Discussion of Arkansas situation.

4) Discussion of the consequences for children and our future: mental illness, criminal behavior.

4) Agenda for the future: Provide the family experience to every American child; for a loving, permanent family which best provides our children the protection, nurturing and instruction they require to survive and flourish. Build around our children and families a "family-friendly" environment -- that is best provided by genuine, vital nurturing "communities of concern." Only such a family-friendly, community-based approach will ensure our most precious national resource -- our children -- are awarded the priority they deserve.

To accomplish this goal we need to:

- continue to move the issue of child abuse and neglect to the forefront of the nation's consciousness;
- strengthen neighborhoods so people are connected to each other;
- provide support and respite to families under stress;
- teach young parents to care for and nurture their children;
- provide safe, caring permanent homes for children who must be separated from their parents; and
- reorganize local programs serving children into a coherent, resilient, encompassing web of support and services.

D.C. Foster Children Are Missing

Sampling of Cases Shows 'Absconders'

By Keith A. Harriston
Washington Post Staff Writer

One of every four foster children is missing, and about one in 10 is in an unlicensed or crowded facility, according to a sample of 107 cases reviewed by city officials over the past week.

Those missing children—officially called "absconders"—had been ordered into the custody of the District by a judge because of neglect or abuse, and subsequently placed in group or shelter homes, city officials said yesterday.

The results of the court-ordered review came during a hearing before a federal judge who last week threatened to appoint an outsider to oversee foster care if the District didn't move quickly to implement changes in the system.

U.S. District Judge Thomas F. Hogan declined to take that step yesterday, citing Department of Human Services progress in hiring more social workers and consultants to help place children in adoptive homes.

But Hogan warned the city to have an accounting for the missing children as soon as possible.

"It's an alarming situation, obviously, with children missing," Hogan said. "Somebody's got to take steps to find them. This is something that must be worked on as much as possible in the immediate future."

Lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union, which filed a class-action lawsuit against the department claiming the long-troubled foster care system threatened the well-being of children, said the unaccounted-for children caused them serious concern.

"It may be these children are runaways, it may be they are in the streets, they may be in detention centers," said Christopher Dunn, an ACLU lawyer. "We do not believe management in the department knows where the children are."

Foster Children Missing

FOSTER, From C1

26 missing children, including cross-checking names with other city agencies. The number of absconders found in the sample is of concern, but not unusual, officials said.

"There is no reason to believe that the department does not know where those children are," said Beverly J. Burke, deputy corporation counsel. "They could be at their homes. It is unfair to say that they are wandering the streets."

A 1991 national study by the National Association of Social Workers indicated that one out of five teenagers in homeless shelters or runaway youth shelters had fled from foster care facilities.

DHS officials also said in court yesterday that they have hired a consultant who will develop by Aug. 31 a plan to place children in adoptive homes. Currently, more than 500 children who are wards of the District are waiting to be adopted.

The review that uncovered the missing children is one of a number of ongoing case reviews aimed at straightening out the District's foster care program.

The 107 cases are among 343 DHS is reviewing to determine whether the children are living in unlicensed or crowded facilities.

Record keeping had been so bad that for years the city had no idea how many children were actually wards of the District of Columbia. An earlier case review that found the number of active cases was about 1,600 instead of the reported 2,500.

That review also revealed that the city may have erroneously paid \$1 million annually to foster homes where children no longer lived.

Later yesterday, after the court hearing, DHS officials said a review of the 1,625 children in foster care as of July 15 showed 42 absconders—only 16 more than were found in the 107 cases. The typical runaway is about 17 years old, officials said.

When children are reported missing from a group home or a shelter, DHS and the police are contacted. Any search for the individual is left to police, city officials said.

A new computerized ward tracking system for the foster care program should be operational by Jan. 15. That system, city officials and ACLU lawyers said, will go a long way toward helping DHS keep accurate records about the number of children in foster care and where they are.

It also will enable the department to determine quickly who is getting foster-care checks and how much they are getting each month. City officials said they are recruiting more foster parents and inspecting and licensing more foster homes.

Washington Post

Children in Bill Clinton's Arkansas

Department of Human Services Suit

- The division of the Arkansas Department of Human Services (DHS), of which the Department of Children and Families (DCFS) is a part, was sued in the summer of 1991 by the Central Arkansas Legal Services and the National Center for Youth Law. The suit alleged -- with official finding to back up the charge -- that Arkansas, under Clinton, has mistreated and failed to protect its foster, neglected, and abused children. Children have died through state agency neglect, and in 1990 Clinton's own officials reported that Arkansas children were in "imminent peril" due to "frequent and widespread" state government failures.²⁵
- The class action suit against Clinton alleged his officials withheld health care from abuse victims, assigned foster children to as many as 40 homes in four years, separated families carelessly, and ignored child handicaps.²⁶ Clinton's response? He convened a panel of experts, who issued recommendations nearly identical to similar task force reports during the 1980s. Clinton held a special session, increased funding for the program, and settled the lawsuit, but it now appears that the state is trying to renege on its agreement in federal court. (Chronology page 3)

Children's Statistics

- Deaths from child abuse in Arkansas have risen from five in 1987 to nine in 1988 and to fourteen in 1989.²⁷
- The number of child abuse reports in Arkansas is up 130 percent from 6,895 in 1979 to 15,879 in 1989.²⁸
- A 1990 American Humane Association report showed the rate of child abuse in Arkansas to be more than 35 percent higher than the national average.²⁹ //
- The Center for the Study of Social Policy, a Washington, D.C. think tank, ranks Arkansas at or near the bottom of nearly every significant category: 45th out of 51 in the well-being of children (down from 43rd in 1991); 45th in low-weight babies; 49th in child death rates; 47th in teen violent death rate; 45th in single teen births; 47th in children in poverty; and, 42nd in percent of children in single-parent families.³⁰

Child Care

- In 1985, Clinton said that the federal government "frankly couldn't afford" to provide adequate day care.³¹ Now, as presidential candidate, Clinton has moved decidedly to the left saying he wants to "create a child care network as complete as the public school network."³² Not sure which position Clinton would take as president? Clinton's records demonstrates a distinctly tax and spend attitude:
- In March 1988, Clinton advocated that the federal government and the states form a partnership to provide numerous child care services.³³
- Yet in 1987, Clinton tried to tax child care by removing it from the list of services exempt from the state sales tax, asking that it be subjected to a 2 percent tax.

HHS NEWS

Revised
DRAFT

Carol - Research 11/12

#224

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Larry Dye
(202) 401-9215

will release tomorrow 9/30

The Department of Health and Human Services announced today that a record \$619,683,482 has been collected for past due child support from over 933,000 federal tax returns so far in 1992. This represents an increase of 14 percent over last year at this time.

"Every parent owes it to his or her child to provide support, and we should intervene vigorously wherever a parent is failing to meet this obligation," HHS Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, M.D., said in citing the newly released figures. "The higher collections we have achieved reflect the President's commitment to secure parental support for our children."

The tax return collections are part of an estimated \$7.8 billion in support payments for children to be obtained through HHS' Child Support Enforcement program in FY 1992. This total, up from \$7.8 billion in 1991, aids more than 5 million children.

"Parents simply must understand the impact of non-support on their children," Secretary Sullivan said. "We would rather see parents voluntarily honor their responsibility to their children. But we will continue to use any method available to us to obtain what is rightfully owed to a child."

Since the beginning of the Federal Income Tax Refund Offset program in 1981, over \$3.9 billion has been collected. Under the program, State Child Support Enforcement agencies report names of

- More -

parents who are delinquent with their support payments and the overdue amount to the federal Office of Child Support Enforcement. These persons are notified in writing of the amount which would be withheld to cover their child support debt and of the procedures to contest if they believe the action is in error. Parents who have been notified of a potential offset may have their names deleted from the list by paying the full amount due, or at state option, by entering into an agreement to make periodic payments.

"Child support is a message to a child. Payment of support says you care, non-payment says you don't," said Jo Anne Barnhart, assistant secretary for children and families. "Parents need to realize that their child support is more than a matter of dollars and cents, it is about the well-being and the future of their children."

Parents whose children receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children and have unpaid child support of \$150 or more may have their federal income tax refunds withheld. Approximately 697,000 parents in this category were affected. Through July 1992, over \$449 million was collected, an increase of nearly \$70 million or 18 percent from last year's collection. These collections are used to reimburse state/local governments for the public assistance previously provided to the families. For non-AFDC families, an accrued debt of \$500 can activate an offset. Approximately 236,000 families in this category benefited this year and, over \$169 million was collected on their behalf, a jump of over \$46 million or nearly 38 percent from the same time period last year.

- More -

The Federal Income Tax Refund Offset Program can help identify the location, the employer and the assets of parents not meeting their legal and moral obligation to their children so that further enforcement action can be taken.

For a processing cost of only \$4.65 per case, the most recent average tax offset was \$718 for non-AFDC cases. The average collection for AFDC cases was \$645 per case.

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Revised
DRAFT

224

HHS Dan Casse

→ 1991 - child support
collxns nationwide
were at an all-time
high.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 24, 1992

Smith
Washers
Provost
Bershowitz

MEMORANDUM

TO: JOHN KELLER
KATHY SUPER
STEVE PROVOST

FROM: GARY FOSTER *GF*

SUBJECT: SITE SURVEY FOR WISCONSIN AND NEW JERSEY

Attached are the site surveys for The President's trip to Wisconsin and New Jersey on Wednesday, September 30. Once Kathy has the sites "scrubbed", implementation can begin. Obviously the theme for Wisconsin will be drawing on crime, concentrating specifically on women and children as victims. New Jersey will revert to a stump speech on the economy/jobs and Clinton's tax record, wrapping that in the Florio record. We would prefer to use the toast lectern for the New Jersey event, as we do not have a head-on camera angle.

Also, we don't want to start New Jersey any earlier than 5 p.m. (the later the better for them).

ATTACHMENTS

cc: Bob Zoellick
Margaret Tutwiler
David Bates
Tim McBride
David Demarest
Ede Holiday
Karen Groomes
Andrew Carpendale
Speechwriters

September 23, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO: GARY FOSTER
FROM: DOUG DUVALL
SUBJECT: SURVEY REPORT FOR NEWARK, NEW JERSEY
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

PROPOSED EVENT SCENARIO:

The President will travel from Washington, D.C. to Newark, New Jersey on the afternoon of September 30th. Upon arrival at Newark International Airport the President will participate in an endorsement of the Policeman's Benevolent Association. The PBA has a membership of approximately 1000. The event will be held in front of Air Force One upon arrival or at the Airport Marriott. The President would then motorcade 15 minutes to downtown Newark where he will get an endorsement from the Heavy and General Construction Laborers' Local 472 Union. The President would address their members and families at their headquarters. Following remarks, the President would motorcade back to Newark International for his departure back to Washington.

PROPOSED EVENT SITES:

At the time of this survey, Bill Palatucci, New Jersey Executive Director for Bush Quayle, was unable to make contact with the leadership of the Policeman's Benevolent Association. I was told, however, that it would not be a problem to have the event at the airport upon arrival. Their membership is close to 1000 but the number of people able to attend the event would likely be less. Bill Palatucci recommended the Airport Marriott if the airport should not be appropriate. We could also open up the arrival and invite local Republicans to supplement the PBA.

The Heavy and General Construction Laborers' Local 472 Union is located on the corner of Raymond Blvd. and Fillmore in Newark. The Union has a membership of 7000 construction workers. There are also 133 employees within the headquarters building. The Union is located in the heart of a predominantly Portuguese neighborhood.

The President is due to be introduced on stage at 5:00 pm. Ray Tissiare (pronounced "Tish-ear"), Business Manager, would prefer the event be held as late as possible due to the fact that his members work well into the afternoon. His people need time to get off their jobs early and travel to downtown Newark for the event. He was pleased with the 5:00 time slot, but would prefer one even later if possible.

The President would arrive at the main entrance of the Union and proceed directly inside to Mr. Tissiery's office for a brief hold. There are two conference rooms along the main hallway for senior staff holding rooms. The President would then be escorted downstairs to the Union Hall for the endorsement rally. Mr. Tissiery would likely whip up the crowd and introduce former Gov. Kean. The President would be announced into the room by Gov. Kean from an off stage announce position behind the dais.

The Union Hall is approximately 50 feet wide and 150 feet deep. It should hold a standing crowd of at least 2000. The press platform could be placed at a 45 degree angle toward the stage left side of the dais. This would block the least amount of crowd and provide the media with a separate entrance. The ceiling in the hall is not very high, but it should be adequate for lighting. The filing center could be at the Union's Professional Service Building, 66 Somme Street, a block away from the event site.

A banner for the event could read, "A Salute to the American Worker" or "Building New Jersey's Future Today". Their official banner which reads, "Construction Laborers Local 472", would also give the appropriate message.

It would also recommend for the President to enter or depart the event by going through a portion of the crowd. Mr. Tissiery assured me that this would be an excited and supportive group. They are hard working, blue collar, union employees who would be wearing blue jeans and T-shirts. It would be an excellent media opportunity for the President to walk into the crowd in front of the press platform.

Mr. Tissiery is a Republican Eagle and has supported the President and former Gov. Kean for years. He seems quite cooperative and understands the nature of a presidential event. He was recently reelected to another term as President. Due to the time of the event, he feels confident he can turn out an enthusiastic crowd.

Mr. Tissiery thinks this will be a great opportunity for the President to capitalize on Clinton's labor record. Mr. Tissiery says Clinton "has no labor record...his record stinks." Mr. Tissiery would like the event to be held later in October so he has more time to generate the crowd.

However, Clinton will also be in New Jersey that day for a fundraiser. While the President has visited New Jersey a number of times in recent months, Clinton has only been to the state for fundraising purposes. Having the labor endorsement on that date would not only contrast the candidates' visits, but also link Clinton with the unpopular Governor, Jim Florio. Mr. Tissiery admits that construction jobs have not been as plentiful as they would like, but he attributes most of that to the policies of Gov. Florio and not President Bush.

CONTACTS:

Bill Palatucci, Executive Director - BQ, 908/245-5005
Mary Warner, Special Events

Mr. Richard Tissiery, Business Manager, Heavy and General
Construction Laborers' Local 472,
201/589-5050 office 201/589-0582 fax

September 24, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR GARY FOSTER

FROM: PAT MIZELL

RE: THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO FOND du LAC, WISCONSIN
SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

The President would travel to Fond du Lac, Wisconsin to meet with families and address an audience regarding welfare reform.

Wisconsin has been able to implement a series of welfare reform initiatives through the granting of waivers by President Bush. As a result, Wisconsin was the only state in the nation to see its welfare caseload drop in 1990. In the last four years, these programs have helped some 60,000 people leave welfare for work.

The Children First program is a pilot project which allows a judge to require a noncustodial father (dead-beat dad) to join the CWEP (unpaid workfare) program or start to pay child support. When faced with the prospect of working everyday for free...

- 1) Many of the fathers decide to take a paying position instead and make child support payments;
- 2) Many others report previously undisclosed unemployment and start paying child support; and
- 3) Some of the fathers are enrolled in training programs to gain the skills needed to support themselves and their families.

As a result of this low cost initiative, child support collections were up 145% in Racine County and 28% in Fond du Lac County in the first six months.

Governor Thompson is prepared to announce the expansion of Children First to seven more counties. The President's speech could offer his vision for welfare reform and reiterate his support for Wisconsin's effort. The President could salute the single mothers who have successfully left the welfare rolls and honor some fathers who are now supporting their families. The President could also highlight other individual Wisconsin welfare reform success stories.

PROPOSED EVENT SITE:**Fond du Lac County Veterans Memorial Park.**

This is a park located across the street from the Fond du Lac Courthouse. The park contains a natural theater, with the courthouse as a backdrop. Opposite the courthouse are old-fashioned main street buildings, which would provide a good cutaway photo.

There is a tree where a head-on press platform should go, and therefore, the press platform will need to be angled stage-right of the President. There is a sloping grass area that would be a suitable place for the press platform, but due to the sloping nature of the area, a press platform will probably need to be constructed and built into the grass, so it can be leveled. There is a natural dais, which stands approximately 2-1/2 feet high. The sun angle will be to the right of the President, and therefore, outdoor lighting will be needed to take out shadows on the opposite side of the President's face.

In the county building, there is a row of meeting rooms, H, F, and G, which could provide an area for the President's smaller meeting with beneficiaries of the children's first program. There are also meeting rooms in the county building which could provide for a press filing center.

EVENT SCENARIO:

The President would arrive at the Osh Kosh, Wisconsin Airport and proceed via motorcade to Fond du Lac. Drive time is approximately 20 minutes. The President would arrive at the Fond du Lac City County Government Center, and after greetings, would proceed to meeting rooms H, F, and G (the walls are collapsible and become one room), and begin participation in a meeting with local beneficiaries of the Children First program. The President could briefly address the small gathering, listen to stories regarding the program, and take questions from the participants. This would be a press pool coverage-only event. Upon conclusion of the smaller meeting, the President, accompanied by the family participants in the meeting, would walk across the street to the Veterans Memorial Park, and be introduced onto the dais. The President would give remarks, which should include recitals of some of the success stories with the Children First program. Upon conclusion of remarks, the President would proceed directly to the motorcade for boarding and depart to the Osh Kosh Airport.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Background Report	Re: POTUS trip to Fond du Lac, Wisconsin; personal telephone numbers redacted. (1 pp.)	09/24/92	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Deadbeat Dads - Fondulac, WI 9/30/92 [3]

Date Closed: 12/9/2004
FOIA/SYS Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

OA/ID Number: 07581

MR Case #:
MR Disposition:
Disposition Date:

Appeal Case #:
Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

BACKGROUND:

M. Anita Anderegg is the County Executive of Fond du Lac County. She is the highest elected county official. She is an ardent supporter of the President, and is the decision maker with respect to use of the county facilities and the park. She has approved use of the park and the county building for the event. Her office number is (414) 929-3155; her home number is [REDACTED] P-6, (b)(6)

Scott Jensen is the BQ' 92 ED. His office number is (414) 821-1992; his home number is [REDACTED] I was also assisted by Mark Block, who works on the campaign. His number is (414) 821-1992. P-6, (b)(6)

The Fond du Lac Bush/Quayle Chairman is Al Timm. His office number is (414) 921-9009; his home number is [REDACTED] P-6, (b)(6)

Please note that there are flagpoles on the rear of the natural dais, upon which a banner could be suspended.

Fond du Lac
Veteran's Park
and Courthouse

Courthouse

Meeting Rooms

Sun
←

Natural
Dais

Potus
X

Flagpoles

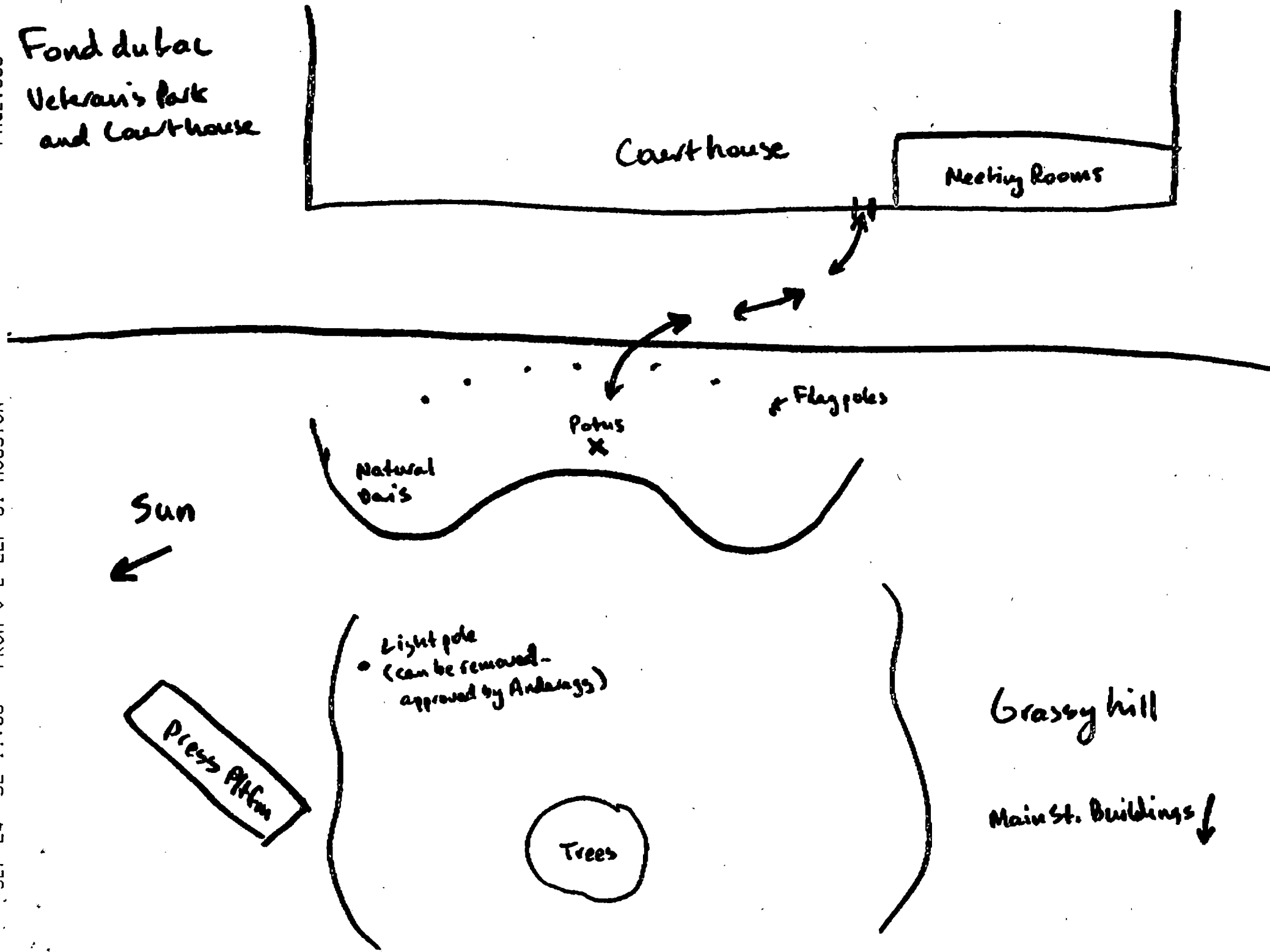
• Light pole
(can be removed -
approved by Andarags)

Press Platform

Trees

Grassy hill

Main St. Buildings ↓



THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 28, 1992

**The President's Agenda for American Renewal:
Combatting Violent Crime**

FACT SHEET

The President today proposed actions to:

- Combat carjackings;
- Strengthen child support enforcement;
- Provide additional protection for victims of sexual and domestic violence;
- Reduce violent gang activity;
- Protection for the elderly; and
- Increase penalties for criminal use of firearms.

In addition, the President pressed for action on proposals he has made in the past to:

- Implement a workable death penalty provision for especially horrible murders, such as those committed by terrorists, assassins, and drug lords; and
- Implement habeas corpus reform to short-circuit an endless series of appeals.

Fundamental Principles

Five principles underlie the President's proposals:

- A primary purpose of government is to protect citizens and their property. Americans deserve to live in a society in which they are safe and feel secure.
- Those who commit violent criminal offenses should, and must, be held accountable for their actions.
- Our criminal justice system should seek the swift and certain apprehension, prosecution, and incarceration of those who break the law.

- Success in accomplishing our criminal justice system goals requires a sustained, cooperative effort by a coalition of Federal, State, and local law enforcement officials.
- Law enforcement is a necessary foundation for economic growth and community revitalization.

I. Combatting Carjacking

The President proposed making "carjacking" -- the forcible theft of a motor vehicle -- a Federal crime. Carjackers would face sentences of up to 20 years. If the offense involves kidnapping, attempted murder or attempted kidnapping, or results in serious bodily injury, the carjacker could face life imprisonment. Those convicted of a carjacking in which a death results could be sentenced to death.

The President proposed that the Attorney General and the Secretary of Transportation convene an interagency task force to study the effectiveness of anti-theft devices or other methods of deterring or preventing carjacking. He also proposed to permit States to use Federal law enforcement grants for anti-carjacking programs.

II. Strengthening Child Support Enforcement

The President proposed measures to improve enforcement of child support orders and provide legal assistance to economically disadvantaged parents seeking to collect child support payments. The proposal:

- Makes failure to meet child support obligations, in certain circumstances, a Federal crime. Under the President's proposal, non-custodial parents:
 - who intentionally leave the State to avoid child support payments, or
 - who have been delinquent for more than one year or who owe more than \$5,000 on their child support payments for a child living in another Statecould be imprisoned for up to six months. Second and subsequent offenses would carry penalties of up to two years in prison;
- Requires States to honor child support orders entered

in other States and to enforce them as if such orders were issued in that State;

- Allows a court to require full payment of child support obligations as a condition for probation or supervised release from Federal prison; and
- Provides legal assistance to mothers who need help collecting child support payments. Legal organizations receiving funding from the Legal Services Corporation must devote not less than ten percent of their services to assisting eligible mothers who need legal help to collect past due child support payments.

III. Reducing Sexual and Domestic Violence

The President proposed measures to address the problems of sexual and domestic violence, including:

A. Increasing Penalties for Sexual Abuse

The President proposed to increase penalties for sex crimes, by:

- Authorizing the death penalty for murders committed in the course of a sex offense;
- Making a second or subsequent Federal sex offense subject to twice the maximum penalty for a first offense;
- Increasing penalties for many sex crimes committed against victims under the age of 16 by broadening the definition of "sexual act" with respect to such crimes; and
- Directing the United States Sentencing Commission to increase penalties for the most serious sexual assault cases and for sexual offenders with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) who knowingly risk infecting their victims.

B. Protecting Victims

The President proposed to strengthen protections for crime victims by:

- Making it a Federal crime to travel across state lines to commit spousal abuse, violate a protective order or stalk a victim;

- Authorizing pretrial detention for serious sex offense cases where prosecutors show that no other measures can reasonably assure that the defendant will not flee or pose a threat to the safety of others;
- Requiring HIV testing of those accused of sex crimes and disclosure of the results to the victim of the crime, and authorizing HIV testing of victims at government expense; and
- Directing the Attorney General to establish a National Task Force on Violence Against Women to recommend measures for combatting violence against women.

The President proposed to create new rights for sexual assault victims and new rules of conduct for lawyers who defend those accused of sexual violence, including:

- The right to bring a civil suit against the person who committed a Federal sexual offense;
- Mandatory restitution by the defendant of the victim's losses and expenses as a result of the crime, expanded to include reimbursement for lost income, child care, transportation and other expenses due to participating in the investigation and prosecution of the offense; and
- The right for victims of sexual assaults and other violent crimes to speak at sentencing.

The President also proposed to reform the Federal Rules of Evidence to permit courts to admit evidence that the defendant had committed similar acts in the past, and to exclude evidence intended to show that the victim invited the attack.

IV. Combatting Gang Activity

A. Creating an "Anti-Gang RICO" Law

The President's proposal creates a new Federal offense providing severe penalties for crimes committed by street gangs. This "Anti-Gang" RICO law will enable Federal prosecutors to prosecute entire criminal gangs, just as the existing criminal RICO law has allowed the prosecution of entire organized crime families. Anti-gang RICO

will carry tough mandatory minimum sentences, including:

- For a leadership role in any gang crime, 15 years; and
- For a murder or attempted murder, 20 years, with the possibility of life imprisonment or the death sentence.

B. Increasing Penalties for Serious Juvenile Offenders

These include:

- Prosecuting serious juvenile offenders as adults;
- Significantly raising the penalties for drug-related crimes near schools, near public housing projects or involving minors;
- Creating a new RICO crime for employing a minor in the commission of a violent crime or serious drug trafficking offense;
- Retaining for law enforcement use the records of serious juvenile offenders; and
- Sentencing adult armed career criminals to a mandatory minimum 15 years in prison for a third violent or serious offense, by fully taking into account serious drug offenses committed by them as juveniles.

V. Providing Additional Protection for the Elderly

Under the President's proposal, the Sentencing Commission is directed to ensure that the sentencing guidelines for Federal crimes adequately take into account an elderly victim's vulnerability and result in sentences sufficiently severe to deter violent crime and fraud against the elderly.

VI. Combatting Criminal Use of Firearms

The President proposed to deter criminal use of firearms by

creating new Federal crimes involving firearms and steeply increasing penalties for existing firearms offenses.

A. Creating New Criminal Offenses

The President proposal:

- Creates a new Federal crime for smuggling firearms into the United States for criminal purposes, punishable by up to ten years in prison;
- Creates a new Federal crime for stealing firearms or explosives, punishable by up to ten years in prison;
- Introduces new penalties for conspiracy to commit any Federal firearms crime; and
- Broadens the offense of possessing or dealing in stolen firearms.

B. Stiffening Prison Sentences

The President proposed to sharply increase penalties for criminal use of firearms, including:

- Doubling the mandatory minimum penalty for using a semiautomatic gun in any violent Federal crime from five years to ten years, and for a second offense of using explosives to commit a felony from ten years to twenty years;
- Requiring a five year prison term for possession of firearms or explosives by those previously convicted of violent felonies or serious drug crimes;
- Increasing penalties for interstate gun trafficking, causing it to be punishable by up to ten years in prison;
- Doubling the penalties for knowingly making a false and material statement to a licensed firearm dealer while purchasing a firearm, from five years to ten years;
- Imposing a mandatory five year penalty for use of firearms in counterfeiting or forgery; and

- Imposing a prison term of up to ten years for stealing firearms or explosives from a licensed firearm dealer.

In addition, any Federal criminal possessing a firearm in violation of the terms of his supervised release or who fails to pass a mandatory drug test would be sent back to prison.

102D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 1241

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

AUGUST 6, (legislative day, AUGUST 5), 1992

Received; read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

AN ACT

To amend title 18, United States Code, to provide penalties for willful refusal to pay child support, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Child Support Recovery Act of 1992".

SEC. 2. FAILURE TO PAY LEGAL CHILD SUPPORT OBLIGATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after chapter 11 the following:

1 **"CHAPTER 11A—CHILD SUPPORT**

 "Sec.

 "228. Failure to pay legal child support obligations.

2 **"§ 228. Failure to pay legal child support obligations**

3 "(a) OFFENSE.—Whoever willfully fails to pay a past
4 due support obligation with respect to a child who resides
5 in another State shall be punished as provided in sub-
6 section (b) of this section.

7 "(b) PUNISHMENT.—The punishment for an offense
8 under this section is—

9 "(1) in the case of a first offense under this
10 section, a fine under this title or imprisonment for
11 not more than 6 months, or both; and

12 "(2) a fine under this title or imprisonment for
13 not more than 2 years, or both, in any other case.

14 "(c) RESTITUTION.—Upon a conviction under this
15 section, the court shall order restitution under section
16 3663 of this title in an amount equal to the past due sup-
17 port obligation as it exists at the time of sentencing.

18 "(d) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

19 "(1) the term 'past due support obligation'
20 means any amount—

21 "(A) determined under a court order or an
22 order of an administrative process pursuant to
23 the law of a State to be due from a person for
24 the support and maintenance of a child or of a

1 child and the parent with whom the child is liv-
 2 ing; and

3 “(B) that has remained unpaid for a pe-
 4 riod longer than one year, or is greater than
 5 \$5,000; and

6 “(2) the term ‘State’ includes the District of
 7 Columbia, and any other possession or territory of
 8 the United States.”.

9 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of chapters
 10 at the beginning of part I of title 18, United States Code,
 11 is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter
 12 11 the following:

“11A. Child support 228”.

13 **SEC. 3. DISCRETIONARY CONDITION OF PROBATION.**

14 Section 3563(b) of title 18, United States Code, is
 15 amended—

16 (1) by striking “or” at the end of paragraph
 17 (20);

18 (2) by redesignating paragraph (21) as para-
 19 graph (22); and

20 (3) by inserting after paragraph (20) the fol-
 21 lowing:

22 “(21) comply with the terms of any court order
 23 or order of an administrative process pursuant to
 24 the law of a State, the District of Columbia, or any
 25 other possession or territory of the United States,

1 requiring payments by the defendant for the support
2 and maintenance of a child or of a child and the
3 parent with whom the child is living; or”.

4 **SEC. 4. CRIMINAL CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT.**

5 (a) AMENDMENT OF THE OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL
6 AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968.—Title I of the Omni-
7 bus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (42
8 U.S.C. 3711 et seq.) is amended—

9 (1) by redesignating part P as part Q;

10 (2) by redesignating section 1601 as section
11 1701; and

12 (3) by inserting after part O the following new
13 part:

14 **“PART P—CRIMINAL CHILD SUPPORT**
15 **ENFORCEMENT**

16 **“SEC. 1601. GRANT AUTHORIZATION.**

17 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Director of the Bureau of
18 Justice Assistance may make grants under this part to
19 States, for the use by States, and local entities in the
20 States to develop, implement, and enforce criminal inter-
21 state child support legislation and coordinate criminal
22 interstate child support enforcement efforts.

23 “(b) USES OF FUNDS.—Funds distributed under this
24 part shall be used to—

1 “(1) develop a comprehensive assessment of ex-
2 isting criminal interstate child support enforcement
3 efforts, including the identification of gaps in, and
4 barriers to, the enforcement of such efforts;

5 “(2) plan and implement comprehensive long-
6 range strategies for criminal interstate child support
7 enforcement;

8 “(3) reach an agreement within the State re-
9 garding the priorities of such State in the enforce-
10 ment of criminal interstate child support legislation;

11 “(4) develop a plan to implement such prior-
12 ities; and

13 “(5) coordinate criminal interstate child sup-
14 port enforcement efforts.

15 **“SEC. 1602. STATE APPLICATIONS.**

16 “(a) IN GENERAL.—(1) To request a grant under
17 this part, the chief executive of a State shall submit an
18 application to the Director in such form and containing
19 such information as the Director may reasonably require.

20 “(2) An application under paragraph (1) shall include
21 assurances that Federal funds received under this part
22 shall be used to supplement, not supplant, non-Federal
23 funds that would otherwise be available for activities fund-
24 ed under this part.

1 “(b) STATE OFFICE.—The office designated under
2 section 507 of title I—

3 “(1) shall prepare the application required
4 under section 1602; and

5 “(2) shall administer grant funds received
6 under this part, including, review of spending, proc-
7 essing, progress, financial reporting, technical assist-
8 ance, grant adjustments, accounting, auditing, and
9 fund disbursement.

10 **“SEC. 1603. REVIEW OF STATE APPLICATIONS.**

11 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Bureau shall make a grant
12 under section 1601(a) to carry out the projects described
13 in the application submitted by an applicant under section
14 1602 upon determining that—

15 “(1) the application is consistent with the re-
16 quirements of this part; and

17 “(2) before the approval of the application, the
18 Bureau has made an affirmative finding in writing
19 that the proposed project has been reviewed in ac-
20 cordance with this part.

21 “(b) APPROVAL.—Each application submitted under
22 section 1602 shall be considered approved, in whole or in
23 part, by the Bureau not later than 45 days after first re-
24 ceived unless the Bureau informs the applicant of specific
25 reasons for disapproval.

1 “(c) DISAPPROVAL NOTICE AND RECONSIDER-
2 TION.—The Bureau shall not disapprove any application
3 without first affording the applicant reasonable notice and
4 an opportunity for reconsideration.

5 **“SEC. 1604. LOCAL APPLICATIONS.**

6 “(a) IN GENERAL.—(1) To request funds under this
7 part from a State, the chief executive of a local entity shall
8 submit an application to the office designated under sec-
9 tion 1602(b).

10 “(2) An application under paragraph (1) shall be con-
11 sidered approved, in whole or in part, by the State not
12 later than 45 days after such application is first received
13 unless the State informs the applicant in writing of spe-
14 cific reasons for disapproval.

15 “(3) The State shall not disapprove any application
16 submitted to the State without first affording the appli-
17 cant reasonable notice and an opportunity for reconsider-
18 ation.

19 “(4) If an application under paragraph (1) is ap-
20 proved, the local entity is eligible to receive the funds re-
21 quested.

22 “(b) DISTRIBUTION TO LOCAL ENTITIES.—A State
23 that receives funds under section 1601 in a fiscal year
24 shall make such funds available to a local entity with an
25 approved application within 45 days after the Bureau has

1 approved the application submitted by the State and has
2 made funds available to the State. The Director may waive
3 the 45-day requirement in this section upon a finding that
4 the State is unable to satisfy the requirement of the pre-
5 ceding sentence under State statutes.

6 **"SEC. 1605. DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS.**

7 "The Federal share of a grant made under this part
8 may not exceed 75 percent of the total costs of the project
9 described in the application submitted under section
10 1602(a) for the fiscal year for which the project receives
11 assistance under this part.

12 **"SEC. 1606. EVALUATION.**

13 "(a) IN GENERAL.—(1) Each State and local entity
14 that receives a grant under this part shall submit to the
15 Director an evaluation not later than March 1 of each year
16 in accordance with guidelines issued by the Director and
17 in consultation with the National Institute of Justice.

18 "(2) The Director may waive the requirement speci-
19 fied in subsection (a) if the Director determines that such
20 evaluation is not warranted in the case of the State or
21 local entity involved.

22 "(b) DISTRIBUTION.—The Director shall make avail-
23 able to the public on a timely basis evaluations received
24 under subsection (a).

1 “(c) ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS.—A State and local en-
 2 tity may use not more than 5 percent of the funds it re-
 3 ceives under this part to develop an evaluation program
 4 under this section.

5 **“SEC. 1607. DEFINITIONS.**

6 “‘For purposes of this part, the term ‘local entity’
 7 means a child support enforcement agency, law enforce-
 8 ment agency, prosecuting attorney, or unit of local govern-
 9 ment.’”.

10 (b) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents
 11 of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets
 12 Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3711 et seq.) is amended by strik-
 13 ing the matter relating to part P and inserting the follow-
 14 ing:

 “PART P—CRIMINAL CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT

 “Sec. 1601. Grant authorization.
 “Sec. 1602. State applications.
 “Sec. 1603. Review of State applications.
 “Sec. 1604. Local applications.
 “Sec. 1605. Distribution of funds.
 “Sec. 1606. Evaluation.
 “Sec. 1607. Definitions.

 “PART Q—TRANSITION—EFFECTIVE DATE—REPEALER

 “Sec. 1701. Continuation of rules, authorities, and proceedings.”.

15 (c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—Section
 16 1001(a) of title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe
 17 Streets Act of 1968 (42 U.S.C. 3793(a)) is amended—

18 (1) by redesignating the last three paragraphs
 19 sequentially as paragraphs (7), (8), and (9); and

1 (2) by adding at the end the following new
2 paragraph:

3 “(10) There are authorized to be appropriated
4 \$10,000,000 for each of the fiscal years 1994, 1995, and
5 1996 to carry out projects under part P.”.

 Passed the House of Representatives August 4,
1992.

Attest: DONNALD K. ANDERSON,
Clerk.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 3087

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk for Mr. Mitchell, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows: The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], for Mr. MITCHELL, proposes an amendment numbered 3087.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 4, strike lines 9-12 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(4) IDENTIFICATION OF UNCONTAMINATED PROPERTY.—(A) In the case of real property owned by the United States that: (1) is or has been used as a military installation and on which the United States plans to or has terminated military operations, pursuant to a base closure law, including The Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990 (10 U.S.C. 2687 note), Title II of the Defense Authorization Amendments and Base Closure and Realignment Act (10 U.S.C. 2687 note), Section 2687 of title 10, United States Code, or any provision of law authorizing the closure or realignment of a military installation enacted on or after the date of enactment of this Act; or (2) is not used as a military installation and on which the United States plans to terminate Federal government operations, other than military operations,"

On page 6, following lines 6 add "or" and the following new clause:

"(viii) a completed preliminary assessment and site investigation if such document provides information equivalent to that which would be included in clauses (i-vii)."

On page 6, strike lines 20 and insert in lieu thereof:

"(C) In the case of property on which the United States is terminating military operations as described in paragraph (A) identification and concurrence required under subparagraphs (A) and (B) shall be made 18 months after the military installation is selected for closure pursuant to a base closure law or 60 days after the Environmental Protection Agency approves a remedial investigation/feasibility study, whichever is later. In all other cases the identification and concurrence required."

On page 7, add the following new sentence at the of line 4:

"The head of the department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States, may sell or otherwise transfer any parcel of real property identified under subparagraph (A) 180 days after submitting a request for concurrence under subparagraph (B)."

On page 7, following line 20, insert the following:

"(E) The head of the department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States with jurisdiction over the real property subject to this subsection may sell, lease, or otherwise transfer any right, title, or interest to the real property identified under subparagraph (A) without regard to whether the real property is or has been listed as a site on the National Priorities List."

On page 7, line 21, strike "(E)" and insert in lieu thereof: "(F)".

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 3087) was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment of the amendment and third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read a third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass?

So the bill (H.R. 4016), as amended, was passed.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. WARNER. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate insist on its amendment, request a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses and that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees.

There being no objection, the Presiding Officer [Mr. AKAKA] appointed Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. CHAFEE, and Mr. WARNER conferees on the part of the Senate.

CHILD SUPPORT RECOVERY ACT OF 1992

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 678, S. 1002, a bill to impose a criminal penalty for flight to avoid payment of arrearages in child support; that the committee-reported substitute amendment be deemed agreed to; that any statements with respect to this bill appear at this point in the RECORD; that the bill be read for the third time and passed; and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

So the committee substitute amendment was deemed agreed to, as follows:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Child Support Recovery Act of 1992".

SEC. 2. FAILURE TO PAY LEGAL CHILD SUPPORT OBLIGATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after chapter 11 the following new chapter:

"CHAPTER 11A—CHILD SUPPORT

"Sec.

"223. Failure to pay legal child support obligations.

"§ 223. Failure to pay legal child support obligations

"(a) OFFENSE.—Whoever willfully fails to pay a past due support obligation with respect to a child who resides in another State shall be punished as provided in subsection (b).

"(b) PUNISHMENT.—The punishment for an offense under this section is—

"(1) in the case of a first offense under this section, a fine under this title, imprisonment for not more than 6 months, or both; and

"(2) in any other case, a fine under this title, imprisonment for not more than 2 years, or both.

"(c) RESTITUTION.—Upon a conviction under this section, the court shall order restitution under section 3663 in an amount equal to the past due support obligation as it exists at the time of sentencing.

"(d) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'past due support obligation' means any amount—

"(A) determined under a court order or an order of an administrative process pursuant to the law of a State to be due from a person for the support and maintenance of a child or of a child and the parent with whom the child is living; and

"(B) that has remained unpaid for a period longer than 180 days, or is greater than \$2,500; and

"(2) the term 'State' includes the District of Columbia, and any other possession or territory of the United States."

(b) TECHNICAL AMENDMENT.—The part analysis for part I of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to chapter 11 the following new item:

"11A. Child support 223".

SEC. 3. DISCRETIONARY CONDITION OF PROBATION.

Section 3563(b) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking "or" at the end of paragraph (20);

(2) by redesignating paragraph (21) as paragraph (22); and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (20) the following new paragraph:

"(21) comply with the terms of any court order or order of an administrative process pursuant to the law of a State, the District of Columbia, or any other possession or territory of the United States, requiring payments by the defendant for the support and maintenance of a child or of a child and the parent with whom the child is living; or".

SEC. 4. COMMISSION ON CHILD AND FAMILY WELFARE.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established a commission to be known as the Commission on Child and Family Welfare (referred to in this section as the "Commission").

(b) MEMBERSHIP.—

(1) COMPOSITION.—The Commission shall be composed of 16 members of whom—

(A) 5 shall be appointed by the President, in consultation with the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health and Human Services;

(B) 3 shall be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate;

(C) 2 shall be appointed by the minority leader of the Senate;

(D) 3 shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives; and

(E) 2 shall be appointed by the minority leader of the House of Representatives.

(2) QUALIFICATIONS.—Members of the Commission shall be—

(A) persons who have expertise in family law, children's issues, mental health, and related policies;

(B) persons who have expertise, through research and practice, in laws and policies related to child and family welfare;

(C) persons who represent organizations that seek to protect the civil rights of children;

(D) persons who represent advocacy groups that work for the interests of children;

(E) persons who represent advocacy groups that work for the interests of both custodial and noncustodial parents; and

(F) persons who have conducted extensive research on, or delivered services to, children adversely affected by divorce.

(3) DATE.—The appointments of the members of the Commission shall be made no later than June 1, 1993.

(c) PERIOD OF APPOINTMENT; VACANCIES.—Members shall be appointed for the life of the Commission. Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment.

(d) INITIAL MEETING.—No later than 30 days after the date on which all members of the Commission have been appointed, the Commission shall hold its first meeting.

(e) MEETINGS.—The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairman.

(f) QUORUM.—A majority of the members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum, but a lesser number of members may hold hearings.

(g) CHAIRMAN AND VICE CHAIRMAN.—The Commission shall select a Chairman and Vice Chairman from among its members.

(h) DUTIES.—The Commission shall—

(1) compile information and data on the issues that affect the best interests of children, including domestic issues such as abuse, family relations, services and agencies for children and families, family courts and juvenile courts;

(2) compile a report that lists the strengths and weaknesses of the child welfare system as it relates to placement (including child custody and visitation), summarizes State laws and regulations relating to visitation, and makes recommendations for changing the system or developing a Federal role in strengthening the system;

(3) study the strengths and weaknesses of the juvenile and family courts as they relate to visitation, custody, and child support enforcement and suggest any recommendations for changing these systems; and

(4) study domestic issues that relate to the treatment and placement of children (such as child and spousal abuse) and suggest recommendations for any needed changes, including models for mediation and other programs.

(i) REPORT.—Not later than January 1, 1994, the Commission shall submit to the President and the Congress an interim report, and not later than January 1, 1995, a final report, which shall contain a detailed statement of the findings and conclusions of the Commission, together with its recommendations for such legislation and administrative actions as it considers to be appropriate.

(j) HEARINGS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2), the Commission may hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, take such testimony, and receive such evidence as the Commission considers advisable to carry out the purposes of this section.

(2) BROAD PUBLIC PARTICIPATION.—The Commission shall conduct hearings in various areas of the country, from the inner cities to the suburbs to rural areas, to gather a broad spectrum of information on the issues to be addressed. Parents, children, experts, religious leaders, and public and private agency officials shall be afforded the opportunity to give testimony at such hearings.

(k) INFORMATION FROM FEDERAL AGENCIES.—The Commission may secure directly from any Federal department or agency such information as the Commission considers necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act. Upon request of the Chairman of the Commission, the head of such department or agency shall furnish such information to the Commission.

(l) POSTAL SERVICES.—The Commission may use the United States mails in the same manner and under the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

(m) COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS.—Each member of the Commission who is not an officer or employee of the Federal Government shall be compensated at a rate equal to the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay prescribed for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, for each day (including travel time) during which such member is engaged in the performance of the duties of the Commission. All members of the Commission who are officers or employees of the United States shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as officers or employees of the United States.

(n) TRAVEL EXPENSES.—The members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, at rates authorized for employees of agencies under subchapter I of chapter 57 of title 5, United States Code, while away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission.

(o) STAFF.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Chairman of the Commission may, without regard to the civil service laws and regulations, appoint and terminate an executive director and such other additional personnel as may be necessary to enable the Commission to perform its duties. The employment of an executive director shall be subject to confirmation by the Commission.

(2) COMPENSATION.—The Chairman of the Commission may fix the compensation of the executive director and other personnel without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification of positions and General Schedule pay rates, except that the rate of pay for the executive director and other personnel may not exceed the rate payable for level V of the Executive Schedule under section 5316 of that title.

(p) DETAIL OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.—Any Federal Government employee may be detailed to the Commission without reimbursement, and such detail shall be without interruption or loss of civil service status or privilege.

(q) PROCUREMENT OF TEMPORARY AND INTERMITTENT SERVICES.—The Chairman of the Commission may procure temporary and intermittent services under section 3109(b) of title 5, United States Code, at rates for individuals which do not exceed the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay prescribed for level V of the Executive Schedule under section 5316 of that title.

(r) TERMINATION OF THE COMMISSION.—(1) The Commission shall terminate 90 days after the date on which the Commission submits its final report under subsection (i).

(2) Any funds held by the Commission on the date of termination of the Commission shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury of the United States and credited as miscellaneous receipts. Any property (other than funds) held by the Commission on that date shall be disposed of as excess or surplus property.

(s) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for fiscal years 1993 and 1994 such sums as are necessary to carry out this section.

(2) AVAILABILITY.—Any sums appropriated under the authorization contained in this subsection shall remain available, without fiscal year limitation, until expended.

So the bill (S. 1002), as amended, was deemed read the third time and passed.

BIOTECHNOLOGY PATENT PROTECTION ACT

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 421, S. 654, a bill to amend title 35, United States Code, with respect to patents on certain biological processes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 654) to amend title 35, United States Code, with respect to patents on certain processes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment to strike all after the enacting clause and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

SECTION 1. CONDITIONS FOR PATENTABILITY; NON-OBVIOUS SUBJECT MATTER.

Section 103 of title 35, United States Code, is amended—

(1) in the first unnumbered paragraph by inserting "(a)" before "A patent";

(2) in the second numbered paragraph by inserting "(b)" before "Subject matter"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, a claimed process of making or using a machine, manufacture, or composition of matter is not obvious under this section if—

"(1) the machine, manufacture, or composition of matter is novel under section 102 of this title and nonobvious under this section; and

"(2)(A) the machine, manufacture, or composition of matter, and the claimed process invention at the time it was made, were owned by the same person or subject to an obligation of assignment to the same person; and

"(B) claims to the process and to the machine, manufacture, or composition of matter, are entitled to the same effective filing date, and appear in the same patent or in different patents which are owned by the same person and are set to expire on the same date."

SEC. 2. PRESUMPTION OF VALIDITY.

The first unnumbered paragraph of section 282 of title 35, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the second sentence "A claim issued under the provisions of section 103(c) of this title on a process of making or using a machine, manufacture, or composition of matter shall not be held invalid under section 103 of this title solely because the machine, manufacture, or composition of matter is determined to lack novelty under section 102 of this title or to be obvious under section 103 of this title."

SEC. 3. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall apply to all United States patents granted on or after the date of the enactment of the Act and to all applications for United States patents pending on or filed after such date of enactment, including any application for the reissuance of a patent.

To: Carol Annhus

From: money for
DAVID Tell

Date: 9-29-92

Re: Welfare

v5189 r p 3exec Ad Watch-Clinton

09-09 12:18p

Details of Welfare Reform Ad

WASHINGTON (AP) - Here are details of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's campaign ad calling for changes in the nation's welfare system.

Title: "Second Chance-D."

Time: 30 seconds.

Creator: Clinton ad team headed by Frank Greer.

Text (Clinton): "I have a plan to end welfare as we know it - to break the cycle of welfare dependency. We'll provide education, job training and child care, but then those who are able must go to work, either in the private sector or in public service. I know it can work. In my state, we've moved 17,000 people from welfare rolls to payrolls. It's time to make welfare what it should be - a second chance, not a way of life."

Key images: Clinton facing camera. Promises of improvement under Clinton's plan periodically appear in writing on the screen: "End welfare as we know it," "Provide education, training and child care" and "Those who are able must go to work."

Goals: Seeks to reinforce Clinton's image as a moderate and preempt Republican efforts to portray him as part of the Democratic Party's traditional liberal base. Attempts to cast Clinton as an innovative and experienced governor who has successfully coped with the welfare issue.

Analysis: The claim that 17,000 people have moved "from welfare rolls to payrolls" comes from the Arkansas Department of Human Services. The department says it represents individuals who have moved off food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children and into jobs.

G0005 r p polar AR-Clinton-Ad-Figures, Ark Bjt,660

09-09 3:53p

A Look At Clinton's Welfare Claim

19.6 inches

rfjwstffonfls

An AP News Analysis

By RON FOURNIER

Associated Press Writer

LITTLE ROCK (AP) - Bill Clinton's new ad says Arkansas moved 17,000 people from welfare to jobs, and his campaign said Wednesday that he cut welfare rolls in Arkansas.

The statements are not patently false, but Clinton and his presidential campaign failed to mention some important points that show Arkansas' welfare reform might not always live up to its name: Project Success.

Clinton, a leader in the welfare reform effort nationally since 1988, began Project Success in his own state in 1989. The work-training program is designed to get jobs for people on food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children, then move them off the programs.

His campaign released a one-page Department of Human Services summary of the program to support the 17,000 figure. According to DHS, 17,277 AFDC and food stamp recipients moved into jobs and off welfare under Project Success since July 1989.

Jerry Evans, who compiled the summary for DHS, said the list does not double-count recipients. If a person moved off of AFDC and food stamps under the program, they were counted only once, he said.

But Evans said the agency has no way of knowing how many of the 17,277 people returned to welfare after getting jobs. "We're working on a computer system that would allow us to track the recipients," he said Wednesday.

Technically, a recipient could be counted as one of the 17,277 success stories but could be back on the public dole now, he said.

He said the agency also does not know how many people have been in Project Success since 1989. "We can't tell you right now what percentage of people in the program have been successfully moved," he said.

The ad, which is running in 10 states, fails to mention that the food stamp and AFDC rolls have grown since Project Success was started.

DHS figures show that there were 23,793 AFDC cases in September 1989, and there were 26,236 cases in July 1992.

The food stamp caseload grew from 81,793 cases in September 1989 to 103,027 in July 1992, figures show.

"Project Success has helped. Has it solved the problem? Of course not," said Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos.

He said Clinton has successfully moved people off of welfare rolls while President Bush has ignored the problem.

Clinton led a major effort by the nation's governors in 1988 to restructure the nation's welfare laws. The result was the Family Support Act of 1988 which required welfare recipients to move toward independence through education, training and work. The act was based on a proposal adopted by the National Governor's Association in 1987, when Clinton chaired the group.

A statement released by the campaign blames Bush for increased poverty rates, higher welfare rolls and fewer jobs nationally.

The statement also says Clinton "cut welfare rolls" in Arkansas. Stephanopoulos said campaign records show welfare rolls have dropped 14 percent in Arkansas since 1979, Clinton's first

*Clinton/welfare
Clinton/ads*

862-0590

year in office.

Stephanopoulos apparently was referring to the AFDC program. The program shrank from 29,321 AFDC cases 1979 to 26,236 cases in July 1992, according to DHS.

But the campaign failed to mention that the Medicaid and food stamp rolls have ballooned under Clinton.

According to DHS, there were 73,254 food stamp cases in June 1979, compared to 103,027 in July 1992. DHS says there were 258,705 people eligible for Medicaid in the 1979 fiscal year, compared to 369,926 in the fiscal year that ended June 30.

Kenny Whitlock, director of the DHS division that oversees the programs, said Arkansas' programs have grown slower than the national average.

"We're still better off than most states," he said.

BACKGROUND

Research Office

BUSH
QUAYLE
 92

Clinton's Welfare Reform Record

Though Bill Clinton campaigns as a crusading welfare reform innovator, and promises to "end welfare as we know it," his actual platform calls for nothing beyond what Federal law already requires. He has said different things to different audiences on what is a central question in the welfare reform debate -- presidential waivers to permit further state-level experimentation, as pioneered by President Bush. And he has made grand, false claims about the ineffective Arkansas welfare program he supervises -- using statistics from a predecessor program actually established by Republican Governor Frank White. After Clinton's 12 years in office, Arkansas now suffers a state welfare bureaucracy whose administrative costs have ballooned by 3,000 percent since 1983, and poverty that places the state at or near the bottom of the country in nearly every meaningful category.

Hollow Promises

- On the presidential campaign trail, Clinton makes sweeping promises of radical welfare reform: "My national economic strategy will strengthen families and empower all Americans to work. It will break the cycle of dependency and end welfare as we know it." Specifically, Clinton claims he would provide current welfare recipients with up to two years of education, job training, and child care, after which "those who can work will have to go to work" in the private sector or in guaranteed public service jobs -- or lose their benefits ("Putting People First: A National Economic Strategy").
- But Joe Klein, writing in *New York* magazine ("Profile in What?" 3/16/92), cites no less an authority than Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan to the effect that *everything* Clinton proposes on welfare has already been written into Federal law by the Family Support Act of 1988 -- a law Clinton helped draft and lobbied for as a representative of the National Governors Association.

Campaigning by Applause Meter

- Clinton has been evasive on what is currently the nation's central welfare reform question: presidential waivers to permit additional state experimentation.
- Clinton has had two contradictory opinions this year about the New Jersey law denying additional welfare payments to mothers who have more children. During the New Hampshire primary campaign (WMUR-TV debate, 1/19/92), he opposed the law: "I would not sign that bill. What I would do is make welfare reform work. I would spend more money on education and training for these mothers. I agree with Senator Kerrey, give them health care. Make sure they have child care. Require them to go to work when they can, and if, after the education program is completed and they haven't gone to work after a certain amount of time, provide public service employment.... There's no point in hurting the kids. What you want to do is liberate the mothers."

- Speaking in New Jersey several months later, however, Clinton said "There are some very good things" in the state's new law. "If New Jersey passes a package of laws that requires a waiver from existing Federal welfare statutes to implement the whole package, I would be inclined to give the state a waiver to implement that. Because I like a lot of the other things in the package, and because it is true that the average working family doesn't get an increase in income when they have an increased number of kids." Also during this appearance, Clinton compared California's proposed welfare revisions unfavorably to New Jersey's and strongly implied he would not approve California's waiver (*New York Times*, 5/23/92)

Failure in Arkansas: Project Success

- Of Clinton's pledge to "end welfare as we know it," *U.S. News and World Report* (4/20/92) says "judging from his record, such promises should be taken with more than a grain of salt." The magazine labels Clinton's welfare platform "unconvincing," and reports that his Arkansas programs "aren't as great as he claims."
- Clinton *has* claimed great things about "Project Success," passed in 1987 as his state's version of legislation required by the Family Support Act. All able-bodied Arkansas welfare recipients are required to participate in the program unless they have a child under a year old (Federal law permits exemptions for mothers with children 3 and under). Recipients who refuse to participate lose their benefits. Participants theoretically receive transitional education, job skills training, day care, transportation, and Medicaid health care services. Those deemed qualified for the job market are required to look for work and document their contacts.
- At the National Rainbow Coalition forum on January 25 this year, Clinton claimed that Project Success "has been evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research [Corp.] as one of the three or four best programs in the United States, not because it is oppressing the poor, kicking the poor around, but because it is instrumental in liberating the poor." In fact, MDRC has never reviewed Project Success -- nor has any other independent group or agency.
- MDRC did perform an evaluation of the Arkansas WORK program, an 8-county demonstration project begun in 1982 by Clinton's predecessor, Republican Governor Frank White. Clinton expanded the WORK program statewide in 1985, and used it as the model for his own 1987 proposals. The MDRC study tracked 1,100 AFDC recipients during WORK's pilot stage, and found that after 9 months, only 3 percent of enrollees had tried a workfare job. After three years, MDRC found that welfare rolls had been reduced by just 7 percentage points in the experimental group and that the proportion of recipients who had ever worked was boosted by just 5 percentage points (*U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).
- State officials report that since Project Success was formally inaugurated in July 1989, Arkansas's total welfare caseload has increased -- 10 percent by August 1991, and 12 percent by this April. Analysts from Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, the agency

that will formally evaluate Project Success, say they cannot yet determine how well the program is functioning from available statistics. Official results have not been released (*Arkansas Gazette*, 6/24/91; *U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).

- State officials also report that funding shortages make the program's enrollment requirements largely toothless. In March 1992, only 4,092 of Arkansas's 26,858 AFDC families were "active" in Project Success (*U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).
- And despite Clinton's claim that welfare reform works if you "apply sanctions to enforce it," Arkansas's sanctions are, as Clinton employees acknowledge, also toothless. In 1991, the state dropped an average of just 203 cases a month (less than 1 percent of all those on AFDC), numbers which are already inflated because new welfare families replace those who leave the rolls. Actual monthly benefits cutbacks come to just \$30 or \$40 dollars, and when asked if such a sanction is sufficient to encourage compliance with the program, one Arkansas official admits: "probably not" (*U.S. News and World Report*, 4/20/92).

Arkansas: Still Poor and Mismanaged After All These Years

- Despite a major, Clinton-engineered reorganization at the Arkansas Department of Human Services, the state's largest agency and the one responsible for welfare, administrative costs have grown by more than 3,000 percent since 1983 (state budgets, 1983 and 1991).
- Clinton's frequent mid-year budget problems were once so severe that he publicly resisted Federally-imposed tax changes designed to relieve the poor. In 1986, a new Federal law prohibited Arkansas (and any other state) from charging a sales tax on items bought with food stamps. The law required that this regressive and punitive practice be abolished in Arkansas's next legislative session, no later than October 1987. Clinton initially cancelled an otherwise planned special legislative session specifically to avoid losing revenue from the food stamp tax. He then decided to go ahead with the special session -- but only after his lawyer found a loophole in the federal statute through which only a *regular* session (not specials) would trigger the exemption requirement.

On April 14, 1987 -- 2,190 days after he became governor -- Clinton finally exempted food stamps from his sales tax and complied with Federal law. But the bill he signed made clear that the change was to take effect on the last possible day: October 1. And it also included an automatic revocation if Federal law should change: "The tax exemption provided by section 11 of this Act shall expire if the exemption becomes no longer required for full participation in the food stamp program and the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants and Children" (*Pine Bluff Commercial*, 2/8/86; *Arkansas Democrat*, 2/7/86; *Arkansas Gazette*, 4/11/86; Arkansas Act 1033, approved 4/14/87).

- Nearly 1 in 5 Arkansans lives in poverty. A full 19.8 percent of all Arkansas residents live below the poverty line -- up from 19 percent in 1980, and one of the four worst state averages in the country (*Arkansas Gazette*, 9/20/91 and U.S. Bureau of the Census). The *Arkansas Gazette* (9/22/91) cites a 1991 study finding that more than half the state's black residents -- 53 percent -- live in poverty.

Welfare

Campaign Platform

Clinton cites his welfare reform expertise in his presidential campaign, but until Vice President Quayle began criticizing the lack of family values promoted by Democrats and liberal media, it had not been a centerpiece of rhetoric or platform. During a May 21, 1992 speech, Clinton criticized both President Bush and the Democrats while proposing a family policy that he said goes beyond the inadequate responses of the Republican and the Democratic parties. "'Family values' can't simply be a Washington code word for Beltway Republicans who really mean 'You're on your own' -- or Beltway Democrats who want to spend more of your tax money on programs that don't embody your values. If family values are going to mean something, we must offer a third way."¹ Clinton presented himself as a public official who has "worked on family issues harder, longer, than anyone else running for president."² Clinton's proposals for family values include:³

- Rewarding work and family by expanding the earned income tax credit to guarantee a working wage to lift above the poverty line anyone with a family who's working full time.
- Creating a system of training and vouchers for daycare and medical coverage for children so that families can return to the dignity of a job.
- Cracking down on deadbeat parents with national child support enforcement.
- Passing the Family and Medical Leave Act.
- Fully funding Head Start.
- Creating a full sense of personal responsibility and concern for the consequences of behavior.

Quayle apparently forced Clinton's return to the "personal responsibility" theme (a favorite since 1986) in his May speech. During the January 19, 1991 WMUR-TV debate in New Hampshire, Clinton said he would not sign legislation similar to the recently signed New Jersey law denying additional welfare payments to non-working mothers who have more children. In May 1992, however, Clinton flip-flopped on the New Jersey law when he gave tacit approval. "I have mixed feelings about the New Jersey thing," said Clinton. "I don't want to hurt children. On the other hand, people in the workforce don't get more money when they have extra babies."⁴ According to Clinton, as president, he would sign a federal waiver allowing the state to impose the law, primarily because he supports the more positive, less controversial segments that encourage welfare recipients to earn and save money. Said Clinton, "I have mixed feelings about it, but I'd give them the chance to try it."⁵ Until Quayle, however, welfare reform was not a subject Clinton mentioned much on the stump unless pushed.

When questioned, Clinton refers to Project Success, Arkansas' version of the 1988 Family Support Act, which Clinton played a part in drafting. Project Success is one of the tools Clinton has used to revamp welfare in Arkansas. On the campaign trail, Clinton says he would "put an end to welfare" with a two-year lid on benefits. Simply put, he would give the needy all the Project Success-type training they need, along with the responsibility to get and keep a job or perform public service.⁶

Project Success

In February 1986, Clinton praised three success stories of his state's experimental Work Program, in which welfare recipients in Arkansas learn how to look for a job in exchange for their welfare benefits. Clinton and Human Service officials praised the Work Program, saying it had cut Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) expenditures by \$1.7 million a year, reduced the number of cases by 5.8 percent, and since its inception in October 1982, assisted more than 3,700 participants in gaining full-time employment. The focus of the program was to move welfare recipients into the work force. In an effort to lessen the disincentive for welfare recipients to get jobs from fear of losing health insurance, Clinton asked the federal Health Care Financing Administration, which oversees the Medicaid program, to extend Medicaid coverage for an additional five months for those program participants who lose AFDC eligibility because of employment.⁷

In December 1986, Clinton announced he would present a comprehensive welfare-reform bill during the 1987 state legislative session. Based almost exclusively on the National Governor's Association (NGA) welfare-reform bill, and the Work Program already in place, Clinton said the bill would require all people receiving public assistance to participate in educational and job-training programs that would make them more qualified and effective as parents and employees. The bill also required fathers, when they're in the home, to "take a job, be available to take a job or be available for public service work," Clinton said.⁸

Project Success, Clinton's 1987 proposal, is Arkansas' version of the welfare-reform programs required by the federal Family Support Act of 1988. Clinton, then NGA chairman, was a major proponent of federal welfare reform. In Arkansas, all able-bodied welfare recipients are required to enter the program unless they have a child younger than 1 year old. The state's standards for participation are tougher than those required under the federal act, which allows exemptions for mothers with children age 3 and under. Welfare recipients who refuse to participate are penalized by a cutoff of benefits.⁹

Project Success allows participation in any of several components: education classes, including literacy courses or adult education classes aimed at a high school equivalency degree or more advanced schooling; job training, including classes at vocational-technical schools or private career colleges; a work experience program where participants receive state jobs to help them learn a skill; and a "job club," where participants learn job-hunting skills such as filling out applications, writing resumes and getting through a job interview. Participants deemed educated or skilled enough to be in the job market are required to look for work and document their job contacts.¹⁰

Effectiveness

Despite Clinton's hyping of the results of Project Success, it has come under some criticism. In speeches, Clinton cites some impressive statistics, saying 200 to 300 people each month are taking jobs and leaving the welfare rolls after going through Project Success. In fall 1990, some legislators were openly skeptical of the idea of hundreds of welfare recipients moving through the program and into permanent jobs each month. An analyst from Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, an agency that will analyze Project Success, said he could not tell how the program is doing from available statistics.¹¹

State records do show that in March 1991, 275 welfare cases and 357 food stamp cases were closed out for Project Success participants who got jobs. But the DHS cannot supply statistics on how many participants end up back on the rolls for AFDC after short periods as wage earners. The numbers also show that, despite Project Success, the state's total welfare caseload has increased since the program began in July 1989.¹²

To blunt the criticism regarding how many participants returned to AFDC rolls after short periods as wage-earners, the DHS randomly selected 437 of the 4,364 AFDC participants who moved off welfare in 1990. DHS reported that 72 percent of those participants were still employed in August 1991. Department officials reported the program saved more than \$11 million in payments from AFDC, food stamps, and Medicaid in 1990. Most Project Success graduates found jobs in factories, and the overall average starting salary was \$4.25 an hour.¹³ "We're not taking people off the welfare rolls as fast as they're getting on, but this [Project Success] is putting a dent into it," said DHS Director Dr. Terry Yamauchi.¹⁴ Despite these claims, AFDC recipients increased from 24,000 in July 1989, to 26,400 in August 1991, a 10 percent increase. But Arkansas is below the national average, which shows an 18 percent increase between July 1989 and April 1991.¹⁵

Recipients unwilling to follow DHS guidelines lose their welfare benefits. DHS statistics show that for every 100 people in Project Success who get a job, between 50 and 75 lose their benefits. However, benefits are revoked only for those in the program. Children still receive benefits. In 1991, the average AFDC payment was \$193.62 a month. Food stamp payments average about \$167 a month.¹⁶

National Governors Association

In 1986, as chairman-elect of the National Governors Association (NGA), Clinton relayed governors' concerns regarding President Reagan's 1987 budget. The budget would sharply reduce federal spending on Medicaid, and Clinton estimated that Arkansas' Medicaid spending would rise by 20 percent to compensate for the proposed cuts. Moreover, the governor said he warned Reagan that, "you'll be shooting yourself in the foot" by scaling back Medicaid while trying simultaneously to require welfare mothers to take jobs. Despite reservations, Clinton generally endorsed the President's welfare-reform plan and thought there was "a bipartisan consensus" that it should be adopted.¹⁷

In February 1987, the NGA introduced its welfare reform proposal to administration and congressional leaders. Clinton helped write the proposal, which is widely thought to have been based on the work of the American Public Welfare Association, a bipartisan group representing 50 state human service departments. The proposal greatly expanded education and training programs for welfare recipients and made enrollment in such programs mandatory for most recipients. NGA officials estimated that the plan initially would require about \$1 billion (which Clinton called a "modest increase")¹⁸ in additional spending, with 85 percent coming from the federal government. The governors argued that government would ultimately save money as welfare recipients found jobs and no longer needed public assistance. The governors also promoted long-term proposals to extend welfare eligibility to two-parent families, and to establish minimum benefit levels nationwide. Those proposals would cost far more to implement -- probably \$3.6 billion annually, admitted NGA officials.¹⁹

President Reagan endorsed three key components of the NGA welfare-reform proposal, but declined to say whether he supported the governors' request for \$1 billion annually to implement the proposal. According to Clinton, Reagan agreed that education and job programs for welfare recipients should be expanded; that all recipients except those with children under age 3 should be required to enroll in such programs; and that all states should require recipients to sign contracts spelling out their rights and responsibilities. But Reagan opposed the governors' long-term proposal for a national "family living standard" that would guarantee minimum benefits levels and uniform eligibility rules across the country. Reagan indicated that he opposed an increase in federal spending on welfare programs.²⁰ When presenting the welfare-reform proposal to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, Clinton expressed a reluctance "to ask Congress to frontload the program with a lot of costs with all the problems you have up here."²¹

In April 1987, speaking before the Senate Finance Committee, Clinton said he had "no problem" with establishing a federal-state matching rate in which the federal share of funding the educational and training programs would be 60 percent, and the state's 40 percent. Clinton stressed that priorities should be to first "beef up" education and training requirements, then extend Medicaid coverage and daycare services to recipients making the transition into the work place, then raise benefits.²²

In October 1987, the NGA welfare-reform bill was delayed by Congress when it failed to be admitted as part of a House reconciliation bill. Although the vote was close, critics voted against the reconciliation bill because spending provisions in addition to welfare reform, including increases in Medicaid and food stamps, were added to the bill. In addition to participation of able-bodied welfare recipients in work or education programs, the House included welfare benefits for two-parent families and financial incentives for states to meet a minimum benefit level. Clinton and the NGA originally recommended that these additions be included, but because of money constraints, decided to push for the main work/education provision of the program, and include other provisions after the program showed some success. With the new additions, the price tag for welfare reform rose from \$1 billion to \$2.5 billion.²³

By November 1987, the welfare-reform bill was back in the Ways and Means Committee, and Clinton was lobbying for its passage. By December 1987, Clinton was

praising the House for passing the reform bill and urging the Senate to do the same.²⁴ Less than a year later, President Reagan signed the Family Support Act into law, and praised the governors for their efforts.²⁵

Welfare in Arkansas

As early as 1985, Arkansas' Department of Human Services (DHS) attracted criticism. To combat growing complaints from inside and outside the department, in March 1985 Clinton signed legislation reorganizing the DHS. The bill abolished some parts of the agency, and created divisions to cover specific services delivered through the DHS.²⁶ The 1985 reorganization was intended to decentralize the massive agency by establishing county offices as the gateway to the department's services, and, according to Clinton, "to meet the needs of the people in a more efficient and comprehensive way."²⁷ At the same time, the agency director was given sweeping new powers intended to stem interdepartmental turf battles.

In September 1988, the Bureau of Legislative Research released an assessment of the 1985 reorganization. Findings of this study indicated that since the reorganization, progress had been made in Director authority, and ability to deliver service to clients. However, major problems were noted in administrative support divisions. Task force reports indicated that the needs of programmatic divisions were ignored by the administration, as well as the need for administrative systems to be aids in helping program managers make policy decisions. A large portion of those surveyed indicated understaffing remained a problem, and that there were too many supervisors giving instructions to those persons responsible for servicing clients.²⁸ Critics and some legislators contend that the reorganization accomplished little beyond expanding a bureaucracy that was already too big. Clinton himself has suggested that a fine-tuning of the 1985 reorganization might be in order.²⁹

Budget problems loomed within the DHS. In 1986, Clinton actually blamed part of the fiscal problems on the federal government's decision to not allow Arkansas (or any other state) to charge a sales tax on items bought with food stamps. Clinton complained that he could not call a special session of the General Assembly because if he did so, the state would be forced to immediately eliminate the sales tax on food stamps, which cost the state an additional \$5 million to \$7 million in lost revenue. A *Pine Bluff Commercial* report on a Clinton press conference announcing the budget cuts stated:

"He said he does not plan to call the legislature into special session. Were he to do so, he said, the economic difficulties could become more severe because a federal provision says the state sales tax on food stamps must be removed as soon as the legislature is in session at any time prior to October, 1986, which is the time when the tax is to be removed anyway. The action will cost the state \$5 million to \$7 million a year, Clinton said."³⁰

The *Arkansas Gazette* report on the same press conference attributes the same comments to Clinton. An April 11, 1986 *Arkansas Gazette* reiterates Clinton's unwillingness to eliminate the extremely regressive tax until the last possible moment allowed by federal law. The *Gazette* reported that according to state officials "a federal law that Governor Bill Clinton said two months ago would make him hesitant to call a special session is no longer a concern. Joan Robbers, Mr. Clinton's press secretary, said that the governor's attorney had reviewed the federal legislation and determined that a regular session, but not a special session, would cause the state to have to meet an earlier deadline for removing those taxes." Clinton actually had his lawyers find a loophole in the federal legislation so that he could continue taxing poor people's food stamps.

Budget woes for the DHS continued. In the 1987 budget, the DHS, whose percentage of state general revenues had been shrinking during the 1980s, requested substantially more money for the following two fiscal years than Clinton recommended for legislative approval. Human Services requested \$264,542,986 in fiscal 1987-88 -- a 13.5 percent increase over state funding for fiscal year 1986-87, and \$274,148,236 in fiscal 1988-89, a 17.7 percent increase. Clinton recommended the legislature approve general revenues of only \$228,520,412 for the department during the first year of the biennium, and \$239,980,512 the second year. In spite of protests from Ray Scott, then director of the department, Clinton's lesser amount prevailed. "With all due respect to the governor," said Scott, "there's no way I can run a 1988 Department of Human Services program on a 1987 budget."³¹ Scott explained that the biggest problem facing the department was the lack of state dollars. According to Scott, when the state fails to provide 25 cents for human services, it loses 75 cents in matching money it could get from the federal government.³²

Mental Health

Throughout 1986, the DHS was caught in controversy. In February, at the Benton Services Transition Unit, a mentally disabled client died while being physically restrained by four employees. At first his family was told he choked on bubble gum, but a later medical finding showed he died of mechanical suffocation caused by compression. In June, the attorney general's office released a report of its investigation into the death, which officials said indicated no criminal liability. However, the report indicated employees should be disciplined for "errors in judgment" in using restraint.³³ In July, nine organizations, representing thousands of handicapped Arkansans, called for changes in programs that provide care for the physically and mentally disabled. The groups threatened legal action.³⁴

The department also came under scrutiny by the federal Health Care Financing Administration (HCFA), which decides whether institutions for the developmentally disabled and the mentally ill, as well as hospitals, meet federal standards and thereby qualify for Medicaid and Medicare reimbursements. In July, HCFA decided that the state hospital no longer qualified when it decertified the psychiatric hospital and stripped Medicaid and Medicare reimbursements because of deficiencies in medical record keeping and treatment plans. HCFA also threatened to strip reimbursements to

the Benton Services Transition Unit, the Booneville Human Development Center and the Alexander Human Development Center for deficient treatment plans. The institutions, however, corrected deficiencies and passed their subsequent HCFA inspections.³⁵

Conclusion

Clinton's record in welfare reform will be attributed to the success or failure of Project Success, which was originated by the American Public Welfare Association, and molded into current federal law by the Family Support Act of 1988. National reviews on Project Success and its counterparts are inconclusive. According to *Governing* magazine, Project Success is a hindrance to states that already had ambitious welfare-to-work programs in place. By that assessment, Clinton claims of the programs' success indicate a lack of initiative in the first three quarters of his tenure as governor.

Critics have long accused Clinton of a lack of interest in human services. That assessment holds credence in view of the constant controversy with which the DHS seems to be embroiled. The DHS has been a target for law suits. The Mental Health Division came under scrutiny in 1986, and more recently the state's Department of Children's Services has been attacked for being unable to protect abused and neglected children (covered in the Children paper). Clinton critics agree that social services have been understaffed and underfunded. In recent years, Clinton has blamed the Reagan-Bush policies of the 1980s for reducing federal funds. But in FY1987-88, 67.3 percent of the DHS funding came from the federal government, up .3 percent from FY1986-87.³⁶

According to 1991 U.S. Census Bureau statistics, Arkansas remains a poverty state; only three other states have higher percentages of poor. Nearly one out of five Arkansans lives in poverty. Nationally, more than 13 percent of the country's residents live below the poverty line. In Arkansas the percentage is 19.8 percent, up from 19 percent in 1980.³⁷

June 19, 1992

¹Washington Post, Clinton Proposes 6-Point Program to Aid Families, 5/22/92.

²Washington Post, Clinton Proposes 6-Point Program to Aid Families, 5/22/92.

³Family Values Speech, Cleveland, Ohio, 5/21/92.

⁴Philadelphia Inquirer, Clinton on Women's Issues: Both Liberal and Not so Liberal, 5/23/92.

⁵Ibid

⁶Philadelphia Inquirer, Job training is key to Clinton's welfare reform, 5/7/92.

⁷Arkansas Gazette, Project for AFDC recipients to begin Work Program, 2/22/86.

⁸Arkansas Gazette, Governor promises welfare reform bill, 12/14/86.

⁹Arkansas Gazette, Welfare project gets folks jobs, 6/24/91.

¹⁰Ibid

¹¹Ibid

¹²Ibid

¹³Project Success Jobs Survey Data, Department of Human Services, 10/14/91.

¹⁴Arkansas Gazette, 72% who left welfare in '90 still at work, 10/9/91.

¹⁵Arkansas Democrat Gazette, Clinton builds on welfare idea, 11/11/91.

¹⁶Ibid

¹⁷Arkansas Gazette, Governors tell fears to Reagan, 2/25/86.

¹⁸Arkansas Gazette, NGA panel endorses reforms, 2/23/87.

¹⁹Arkansas Gazette, NGA panel endorses reforms, 2/23/87.

²⁰Arkansas Gazette, 2/24/87.

²¹Arkansas Gazette, Armed with president's support, 2/25/87.

²²Arkansas Gazette, Governor is pleased by progress made on welfare, 4/10/87.

²³Gazette Washington Bureau, Clinton to continue efforts on welfare, 10/30/87.

²⁴Gazette Washington Bureau, 12/17/87.

²⁵Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1988.

²⁶Arkansas Gazette, Reorganization bill signed, 3/15/85.

²⁷Ibid

²⁸Study of the 1985 reorganization of the DHS, 9/20/88.

²⁹Arkansas Gazette, Social services still troubled, 2/22/91.

³⁰Pine Bluff Commercial, 2/8/86. (Marty's Fiscal Budget Paper)

³¹Arkansas Gazette, Clinton's budget not enough, 11/19/86.

³²Ibid.

³³Arkansas Gazette, Tumultuous time has some bright spots, 12/21/86.

³⁴Arkansas Gazette, Reform programs for state's disabled, 7/12/86.

³⁵Arkansas Gazette, Tumultuous time has some bright spots, 12/21/86.

³⁶DHS Operating Budgets, 1986-87 & 1987-88.

³⁷Arkansas Gazette, 1 of 5 Arkansans in poverty, 9/27/91, Census Bureau.

Welfare Statistics

Total Expenditures for Dept. of Human Services¹

1982	172,462,077.
1983	177,059,881.
1984	190,513,812.
1985	201,569,912.
1986	236,895,080.
1987	261,112,325.
1988	259,130,620.
1989	270,602,042.
1990	295,397,213.
1991	306,193,835.

Federal Funding to the Arkansas Dept. of Human Services²

1987	67% (of total DHS budget)
1988	67.3%
1989	67.5%
1990	66.4%
1991	67.5%

AFDC Monthly Average Per Family³

1980	\$144.50
1981	135.90
1982	124.27
1983	127.61
1984	150.55
1985	164.40
1986	178.42
1987	184.8

AFDC Monthly Average Per Recipient⁴

1980	\$ 50.30
1981	47.96
1982	43.47
1983	45.08
1984	53.02
1985	55.76
1986	60.47
1987	63.05

Average Number of Families Receiving AFDC Monthly^s

1978-79	29,321
1979-80	29,335
1980-81	29,573
1981-82	25,501
1982-83	22,281
1983-84	22,383
1984-85	21,990
1985-86	22,488
1986-87	22,843
1987-88	23,585