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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION
SEPTEMBER 9, 1995

Good morning. As a candidate, I pledged to end welfare as we know it. As President, I've been doing everything in my power to keep that promise. For more than 15 years, first as Governor of Arkansas, and later as your President, I felt it was critically important to fix our broken welfare system. It has been a long time coming, but finally the Senate is taking up this issue. It's about time. The American people have waited long enough for change.

Over the last two-and-a-half years, my Administration has worked hard for real welfare reform that honors the values most Americans hold dear: the values of work, responsibility, and family. We have put tough child support enforcement at the center of the national debate. In fact, my Administration collected a record level of child support in 1994 -- \$10 billion -- and I signed a tough Executive Order to crack down on Federal employees who owe child support.

We have also cut through red tape to speed up welfare reform around the country by approving experiments in a record 34 states. Through these experiments, 7 million recipients around the country are now being required to work, pay child support, live at home and stay in school, or earn a paycheck from a business that pays them with money that used to be spent on food stamps and welfare.

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

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

Real welfare reform is also about family. That means putting in place the toughest possible child support enforcement. It means requiring teen mothers to live at home, stay in school, and turn their lives around -- not punishing children for the mistakes of their parents.

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

Let me be clear: some differences still remain. But I am confident we can close the gap, find common ground -- and soon. Just look at how far we have come. Not so long ago, some conservatives were talking about putting young children in orphanages and many opposed spending money on child care to give welfare mothers a chance to work and be good parents. And not so long ago, many liberals opposed requiring welfare recipients to work. We have reached consensus on these issues. Now we need to go the final mile.

We have stood at the brink of welfare reform before. But, for too long, the American people have been frustrated by demands for ideological purity and politicians who put their personal political ambitions first. Millions of people who are trapped in the system and millions of taxpayers who pay the tab for it have suffered as a result. We cannot let that happen again. This is the time to deliver for the American people -- not pander to extremists who have held us back for too long. We must not let welfare reform die at the hands of ideological extremism or presidential politics, or budget politics. If welfare reform gets caught up in the whirlpool of the budget debate, we run the risk that it might drown.

This is an historic moment. For 30 years, under both Democratic and Republican leadership, we have been saddled with a broken welfare system. Now we have a chance to reach common ground. Senators owe it to the people who sent them to Washington not to let this opportunity slip away by doing the wrong thing or failing to act at all. The American people have waited long enough. Next week, let's end the old system that fosters dependence and let's give the American people a new one based on work, responsibility and family.

Thanks for listening.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS TO THE NATION
JULY 8, 1995

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

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

After a generation of debate, we have a chance finally to do what's right for the taxpayers who pay for a failed welfare system and for the people who are trapped by it.

But in recent days, we've seen unsettling signs that progress could fall to gridlock. This week, Republican leaders said that a threat from the far-right in their party could keep them from passing a welfare reform bill this year. A handful of Senators are threatening to hold welfare reform hostage to their own political ends. They're threatening to block a vote on any bill that doesn't cut off all help to children whose mothers are poor, young and unmarried. I think their position is wrong -- and I am not alone. Republican and Democratic governors strongly oppose Washington telling them to throw children off the rolls simply because their parents are under age 18. And the Catholic Church has said that doing this would lead to more abortions.

The approach of these Senators would hurt innocent children for the mistakes of their parents -- without really reforming welfare. And their threat to block action on welfare reform adds insult to injury.

I know there are also some on the far left who oppose welfare reform and don't share the overwhelming American consensus that everyone who can work must go to work. Their resistance to welfare reform is as deeply offensive to core American values as is the insistence on the far right of using welfare reform to preach their view of morality.

I ran for President to bring new opportunity to the American people and to demand more responsibility in return. That's what

I call the New Covenant, and welfare reform is crucial to these efforts. We are at an historic moment. The failure to pass welfare reform this year would be a disservice to the American people. Welfare reform should not become another victim to the politics of gridlock. Republicans and Democrats alike have a responsibility to bring real change to Washington. A bipartisan majority in the Senate is prepared to vote for a welfare reform bill with time limits and real work requirements -- and without moralistic dictates that will do more harm than good.

A few days ago, in a speech at Georgetown University I said that our leaders have to stop looking only for political advantage and start looking for common ground. I challenged our leaders to do four things: First, we need more conversation and less combat. So, let's settle our differences on welfare reform without resorting to legislative trench warfare designed to stop real reform at any cost.

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

Third, we ought to look at our problems with a view to the long-term. Moving people from welfare to work will save a lot more money in the long run than throwing children off the rolls. We're never going to end welfare unless people have the training and child care to be good workers and good parents.

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

The only way this country can meet the profound challenges of a 21st century global economy is if we all pull together. We don't have a person to waste. That's why welfare reform is so critical. We can't afford to filibuster away our future. So I say to those in Congress who have joined me in demanding responsibility from people on welfare -- you have a responsibility too.

Don't place pride of party ahead of our national pride. Don't pander to the far right or the far left. Let's not let politics stand in the way of making work and responsibility a way of life for the next generation.

Thanks for listening.

Date: 09/08/95 Time: 08:29

Prospects Improve for Welfare Reform Passing the Senate

WASHINGTON (AP) Conservative Republicans are claiming a breakthrough in their drive to rewrite the party's welfare bill to deny higher benefits to mothers on welfare who have more children, improving its prospects for passing the Senate.

The deal was struck Thursday in a closed-door meeting of Senate Republicans, whose differences over illegitimate births helped stall debate earlier this summer on the party's welfare overhaul, its marquee social issue.

Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, and other conservatives had pushed hard for a family cap a policy to end the automatic increases in cash benefits that mothers on welfare in most states receive when they give birth to another child.

Gramm said Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., his rival for the GOP presidential nomination, had agreed that single mothers should be denied ``more and more cash ... for having more and more children on welfare.''

Under the compromise, states would be allowed to decide whether to give these families in-kind benefits, such as vouchers for diapers and formula, to care for their youngest children, Gramm said.

Anti-abortion forces had sought the vouchers, based on their fears that ending support would encourage more abortions.

Gramm said the bill would reward states that reduce rates of out-of-wedlock births without increasing the number of abortions. He said the legislation seeks to dismantle the federal welfare bureaucracy as it shifts programs for the poor to the states in lump sum payments known as block grants.

Dole was not nearly as specific, telling the Senate only, ``I think most of the differences have been resolved on our side because we've tried to base our bill on three principles: creating a real work requirement, returning authority to the states and restraining welfare spending.

``We think these are the principles that are necessary if we're going to provide the dramatic reform, to provide hope and opportunity to the Americans in need.''

Gramm said the agreement improves chances the Senate will pass welfare reform, possibly by next Wednesday.

``This is a major breakthrough,' he said in an interview. ``If we can hold these provisions on the floor and prevent amendments that simply commit us to more welfare, I think we're going to have a very important bill. ... I think we're going to pass this bill.''

Gramm said his dispute with Dole on welfare ``is now over'' although one sticking point remains: whether teen-agers who have children out of wedlock should be given their own welfare check, as some conservatives have demanded.

The negotiations over the family cap marked the Senate's second day of debate on the GOP legislation, which would trim spending on food stamps and other welfare programs by \$70 billion over the next seven years and give states vast new powers to design and operate their own programs for the poor.

In the first vote since the debate began, the Senate rejected a Democratic alternative, 54 to 45, almost along straight party lines. One Democrat, Sen. Max Baucus of Montana, rejected his party's bill, while one Republican, Sen. Frank Murkowski of Alaska, did not vote.

Even as their own plan was defeated, Senate Democrats were united in their attacks on the GOP legislation, which they call the ``Home Alone'' bill, because it does not guarantee child care for the single mothers on welfare who would be required to work.

``We can't expect mothers of babies and preschool children to work if they have no safe place to leave their children. That's just common sense. Any welfare reform plan that ignores the need for child care is a recipe for failure,'' said Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D.

But Dole was equally critical of the Democratic plan.

``They call their bill `Work First.' We don't happen to share that view. We think it is weak on limiting welfare dependency and weak on state innovation and weak on savings and weak on real reform,'' he said.

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Week Ending Friday, July 14, 1995

The President's Radio Address

July 8, 1995

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A few days ago, in a speech at Georgetown University, I said our leaders have to stop looking only for political advantage and start looking for common ground. I challenged our leaders to do four things: First, we need more conversation and less combat. So let's settle our differences on welfare reform without resorting to legislative trench warfare designed to stop real reform at any cost. Sec-

ond, when we do differ, we ought to offer an alternative. When the vast majority of Americans and Members of Congress agree on an issue like welfare reform, a small minority shouldn't be able to get away with "just say no" politics. Third, we ought to look at our problems with a view toward the long-term. Moving people from welfare to work will save a lot more money in the long run than throwing children off the rolls. They'll be in trouble, and they'll cost us a lot of money in the long run and a lot of our national life as well. We are never going to end welfare unless people have the training and child care to be good workers and good parents. And finally, we shouldn't just berate the worst in America, we ought to spend more time concentrating on the best. That's what I have done, by giving 29 States the freedom from burdensome Federal Government regulations so they can lead the way in helping to find new ways to end welfare.

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

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

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks at the Opening of Session I of the Family and Media Conference in Nashville, Tennessee

July 10, 1995

Thank you very much. I thought it might be nice to stop by here after having done my primary duty, which was delivering the soup to Mrs. Gore. [Laughter] I'm delighted to be here, Governor, Mayor, Senator, Members of Congress. To Representative Purcell

and the other distinguished members of the Tennessee Legislature who are here, Dr. Erickson, and to all of you, let me say that I came here primarily to listen. And I find that I always learn a lot more when I'm listening than when I'm talking, so I will be quite brief.

I want to say a few things, however. First, I want to thank Al and Tipper Gore for their lifetime of devotion not only to their family but to the families of this State and this Nation, as manifested by this Family Reunion, the fourth such one, something they have done in a careful and sustained way. It's already been mentioned twice that Tipper has worked on the whole issue that we're here to discuss today for many, many years, never in the context of politics but always in the context of what's good for families and what we can do to move the ball forward for our children and for our future. And I think this country owes them a great debt of gratitude. And I'm glad to be here.

Secondly, I'd just like to frame this issue as it appears to me as President and as a parent. I gave a speech at Georgetown a few days ago in which I pointed out that the world in which I grew up, the world after World War II, was basically shaped by two great ideas: the middle class dream, that if you work hard you'll get ahead and your kids can do better than you did; and middle class values, that of family and community and responsibility and trustworthiness, and that both of those things were at some considerable risk today as we move out of the cold war into the global economy and the whole way we live and work is subject to sweeping challenge.

The family is the focus of both middle class dreams and middle class values, for it is the center around which we organize child rearing—our country's most important responsibility—and work. And how we work determines how we live and what will become of us over the long run.

We have seen enormous changes in both work and child rearing in the last several years. We know now that a much higher percentage of our children live in poverty, particularly in the last 10 years, even as we have a percentage of elderly people in poverty going below that of the general population

**Welfare Reform Daily Talking Points
Thursday, September 7, 1995**

WORK FIRST IS REAL REFORM

Today, the Senate continues debate on welfare reform, voting on the Democrats' "Work First" plan -- endorsed by President Clinton as real reform. Yesterday, President Clinton sent a letter to Senate leaders expressing strong support for "Work First," which has all the necessary elements to get the job done: "Now we need to pass a welfare reform bill that ends the current welfare system altogether and replaces it with one that puts work, responsibility, and family first," the president emphasized.

- o **"Work First" is real reform.** As President Clinton stated in his letter to Senator Dole, "I strongly support and urge you to pass the welfare reform bill sponsored by Senators Daschle, Breaux, and Mikulski that is before the Senate today. Instead of maintaining the current broken system that undermines our basic values, the Daschle-Breaux-Mikulski plan demands responsibility and requires people to work. The 'Work First' bill will cut the budget by moving people to work, not by asking states to handle more problems with less money, and shipping state and local taxpayers the bill."
- o **Real work requirements.** "I support the 'Work First' plan because welfare reform is first and foremost about work," the president wrote yesterday. "We should impose time limits and tough work requirements, and make sure that people get the child care they need to go to work. We should reward states for putting people to work, not for cutting people off. We will only end welfare as we know it if we succeed in moving people from welfare to work." Adequate child care funding is especially critical to helping single parents find jobs -- and keep them.
- o **A true partnership with the states.** The "Work First" plan makes states partners in welfare reform -- instead of giving them more problems and less resources. In contrast, as the *Washington Post* notes today, "it's easy to include a provision in a bill labeled 'maintenance of effort' as Mr. Dole clearly has, by allowing states to count all sorts of extraneous expenditures as meeting this 'maintenance of effort' requirement and having this requirement expire in a couple of years." States should be rewarded for putting people to work -- not for cutting them off. As the president wrote yesterday, "states have a responsibility to maintain their own efforts to move people from welfare to work, so that we can have a race to independence, not a race to the bottom."
- o **A call for bipartisan reform.** Yesterday, President Clinton repeated his call for a strong bipartisan welfare reform bill that gets the job done: "The dignity of work, the bond of family, and the virtue of responsibility are not Republican values or Democratic values. They are American values -- and no child in America should ever have to grow up without them. We can work toward a welfare reform agreement together, as long as we remember the values this debate is really about."

Welfare Reform Daily Talking Points
Friday, September 8, 1995

CRITICAL ELEMENTS OF REAL WELFARE REFORM

Yesterday, despite united Democratic support, the Senate defeated the "Work First" plan offered by Senators Daschle, Braaun, and Mikulski. Today, Democrats will offer parts of that proposal separately, in an effort to make the flawed Dole bill what it should be: a plan to move people from welfare to work. As the president has said, at least two critical elements are essential for real welfare reform: real maintenance of effort requirements that make states partners in moving people from welfare to work and child care provisions that make it possible for single parents to move into jobs -- and stay there.

- o **Child care is key.** Democrats -- and many Republicans -- agree that child care is essential to real welfare reform. To enable people to move from welfare to work, we must provide child care assistance for welfare recipients moving to self-sufficiency. But the Dole bill would eliminate the guarantee for child care assistance that people need in order to move from welfare to work. The Republican bill "is so deficient in child care that it makes the bill totally unworkable," Senator Dodd emphasized at a news conference yesterday with Senator Kennedy and other Democrats. "We can't go cheap on this issue."
- o **The right incentives for states.** States should be rewarded for moving people onto private payrolls -- not for simply cutting them off the welfare rolls. But the Dole bill, even as amended, fails to give states a real stake in moving people from welfare to work. As the *New York Times* notes today, "the [Dole maintenance of effort] amendment is a sham. It purports to require states to maintain current spending on programs for low income families. But the amendment is riddled with loopholes and will not, in fact, force any state to give up a dime." Under the Dole bill, the *New York Times* warns, "states will be tempted to drop benefits and raise eligibility, in part to avoid attracting an influx of the poor from neighboring states."
- o **No conservative mandates.** As the press reports today, an issue that continues to divide Republicans is the denial of aid to teen mothers and their children. -- Our position is clear: cutting off aid to teen moms would do nothing to move them towards self-sufficiency, and it would only punish children for their parents' mistakes. As President Clinton has said, "I want to discourage teen pregnancy. We have to do that -- but not by hurting innocent babies. We should require teen mothers to live at home, stay in school, and turn their lives around -- so they and their children stay off welfare for good."
- o **A basis for bipartisan reform.** The Administration believes that real welfare reform must require work, promote parental responsibility, and protect children. As the president wrote to Senate leaders this week, "I support the 'Work First' plan because welfare reform is first and foremost about work. We should impose time limits and tough work requirements, and make sure that people get the child care they need to go to work. We should reward states for putting people to work, not for cutting people off. We will only end welfare as we know it if we succeed in moving people from welfare to work."