

Malnutrition, Poverty and Intellectual Development

File
Children

Research into childhood nutrition reveals that a poor diet influences mental development in more ways than expected. Other aspects of poverty exacerbate the effects

by J. Larry Brown and Ernesto Pollitt

The prevalence of malnutrition in children is staggering. Globally, nearly 195 million children younger than five years are undernourished. Malnutrition is most obvious in the developing countries, where the condition often takes severe forms; images of emaciated bodies in famine-struck or war-torn regions are tragically familiar. Yet milder forms are more common, especially in developed nations. Indeed, in 1992 an estimated 12 million American children consumed diets that were significantly below the recommended allowances of nutrients established by the National Academy of Sciences.

Undernutrition triggers an array of health problems in children, many of which can become chronic. It can lead to extreme weight loss, stunted growth, weakened resistance to infection and, in the worst cases, early death. The effects can be particularly devastating in the first few years of life, when the body is growing rapidly and the need for calories and nutrients is greatest.

Inadequate nutrition can also disrupt cognition—although in different ways than were previously assumed. At one time, underfeeding in childhood was thought to hinder mental development solely by producing permanent, structural damage to the brain. More recent work, however, indicates that malnutrition can impair the intellect by other means as well. Furthermore, even in cases where the brain's hardware is damaged, some of the injury may be reversible. These new findings have important implications for policies aimed at bolstering achievement among underprivileged children.

Scientists first investigated the link between malnutrition and mental performance early in this century, but the subject did not attract serious attention until decades later. In the 1960s increasing evidence of undernutrition in indus-

trial nations, including the U.S., along with continuing concern about severe malnutrition in developing countries, prompted researchers to examine the lasting effects of food deprivation. A number of studies in Latin America, Africa and the U.S. reported that on intelligence tests children with a history of malnutrition attained lower scores than children of similar social and economic status who were properly nourished. These surveys had various experimental limitations that made them inconclusive, but later research has firmly established that undernutrition in early life can limit long-term intellectual development.

Worry over Brain Damage

For many years, scientists considered the connection between nutrition and intellectual development to be straightforward. They assumed that poor nutrition was primarily a worry from conception to age two, when the brain grows to roughly 80 percent of its adult size. In this critical period, any degree of malnutrition was thought to halt the normal development of the brain and thereby to inflict severe, lasting damage.

Gradually, though, investigators recognized that the main-effect model, as we have termed this view, was too simplistic. For instance, the emphasis on

HEALTHY BREAKFAST provided to schoolchildren helps them avoid malnutrition and its attendant problems. A growing consensus indicates that meeting nutritional requirements throughout childhood is essential to full intellectual development. The program providing food to this kindergarten in Central Falls, R.I., is funded by the National School Breakfast Program.



STEVEN LEHMAN SABA

the first two years of life proved somewhat misguided. Brain growth in that period is not always terminated irreversibly in undernourished children. Rather it may be put on hold temporarily; if diet improves by age three or so, growth of the brain may continue at close to a normal pace. Conversely, injury to the brain can occur even when a child suffers malnutrition after the first two years of life—a sign that providing adequate nutrition throughout childhood is important to cognitive development. Focusing exclusively on the first two years of life is thus inadequate.

Furthermore, although severe underfeeding in infancy can certainly lead to irreparable cognitive deficits, as the

main-effect model predicts, the model cannot fully account for intellectual impairment stemming from more moderate malnutrition. This flaw became apparent in the 1960s, when researchers showed that mildly undernourished children from middle- or upper-income families (whose nutrient deficits stemmed from medical conditions) did not suffer the same intellectual troubles as did mildly underfed children in impoverished communities. If poor nutrition impaired cognition only by structurally altering the brain, the two groups should have performed alike. Something else had to be at work as well. In other words, factors such as income, education and other aspects of the environ-

ment could apparently protect children against the harmful effects of a poor diet or could exacerbate the insult of malnutrition.

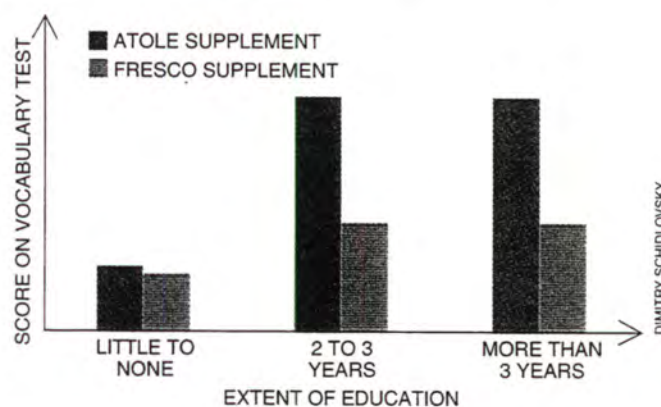
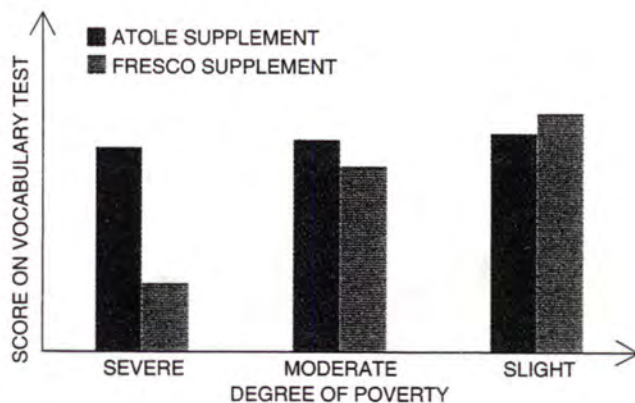
No Energy to Learn

In the 1970s research by David A. Levitsky and Richard H. Barnes of Cornell University helped to clarify how malnutrition might hinder cognitive development in ways other than injuring the brain. Levitsky and Barnes studied rodents to examine the effects of malnutrition. Levitsky concluded that the malnourished animals performed less well on tests of mental ability, such as maze running, not because they suf-



Effects of Poverty and Malnutrition: The Guatemalan Project

In a project carried out by the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama, children and young adults in Guatemala who had received nutritional supplements in infancy were studied to assess the influence of early diet and poverty on later intellectual development. Subjects, including the boys at the right, were given a battery of cognitive tests. Individuals who regularly consumed a highly nutritious supplement called Atole before the age of two performed at about the same level on most tests, such as tests of vocabulary skills, regardless of economic status (*bottom left*). But the performance of those given a less nutritious supplement called Fresco varied with poverty level. Evidently, good nutrition early in life can help counteract the destructive effects of poverty on intellectual development. Among individuals who had more than two years of formal education, those who consumed Atole scored significantly higher than those who received Fresco (*bottom right*)—an indication that poor nutrition in infancy can subsequently undermine the benefits of schooling. —E.P.



ferred brain damage but mostly because, lacking energy, they essentially withdrew from contact with their peers and the objects in their environment. In addition, mothers coddled the less mobile infants, further hindering their growth and independence.

By extrapolation, the findings implied that cognitive disability in undernourished children might stem in part from reduced interaction with other people and with their surroundings. This fundamental shift in understanding produced increased optimism about the prospects for remediation; if decreased social interaction was partly at fault for cognitive impairment, then social and

intellectual remediation could presumably help make up for deficits in the youngsters' experiences.

Although the new ideas were compelling, scientists did not have much human evidence to buttress the changing views. A recent study by one of us (Pollitt) and several collaborators adds strong support to the notion that malnutrition affects intellectual development in part by compromising many different aspects of a child's development. The research also provides added insight into how poor diet and economic adversities during childhood combine to impede intellectual functioning later in life. Pollitt's collabora-

tors included Reynaldo Martorell of Emory University, Kathleen S. Gorman of the University of Vermont, Patrice L. Engle of California Polytechnic State University and Juan A. Rivera of the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama.

The project was an extensive follow-up of Guatemalan children who were studied by other scientists many years earlier. In 1969 the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama, with the help of various U.S. government agencies and private foundations, began a massive effort to examine the value of nutritional supplements in preventing the health problems of malnutrition. For



GUATEMALAN VILLAGE (above) was one of four towns where children and pregnant women received nutritional supplements.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARGARITA DE MARTINEZ INCAP

COGNITIVE TESTS given as part of the Guatemalan project assessed the participants' abilities in areas such as vocabulary, reading comprehension, general knowledge and arithmetic.

eight years, residents of four villages in Guatemala received one of two nutritional supplements. When this phase of the study was being planned, researchers felt that protein was the most important nutrient missing from diets in developing countries. Therefore, project workers looked specifically at how children would respond to added protein in their diets. The mothers and children in two of the villages received a high-protein supplement called Atole (the Guatemalan name for a hot maize gruel). Inhabitants of the other two villages—who constituted the control group—received Fresco, a sweet, fruit-flavored drink, which contained no pro-

tein. Both supplements provided vitamins and minerals as well as calories; Fresco provided a third the calories of Atole.

When the study began, all pregnant women, and all children under the age of seven in the villages, were invited to participate. During the course of the study, children under seven who moved into the villages and women who became pregnant were also asked to join the project. More than 2,000 children and mothers participated between 1969 and 1977. Regular medical exams of the children revealed that both supplements improved the health of the participants, but Atole performed more impressively. For instance, in all four villages, the rate of infant mortality decreased. But in the villages that received Atole, infant mortality decreased 69 percent, whereas in villages receiving Fresco, the rate went down by just 24 percent. Also, only Atole improved growth rates in children under three.

Gains in Guatemala

In the follow-up study, carried out in 1988 and 1989, Pollitt and his colleagues visited the villages to assess how these early nutritional supplements affected intellectual development over the long term. More than 70 percent of the original participants—by then, ranging in age from 11 to 27 years old—agreed to take part in the follow-up. In particular, the team's analysis concentrated on the group of roughly 600 people who were exposed to Atole or Fresco both prenatally and for at least two years after birth. These adolescents and young adults took literacy, vocabulary and reading comprehension tests, a general knowledge exam, an arithmetic test and a standard nonverbal intelligence test. The researchers then determined how education and economic status (measured by house quality, father's occupation and mother's education) correlated with test scores.

The subjects who received Atole in early life performed significantly better on most tests of cognition than those who received Fresco. The strongest effects of Atole were observed among those at the low end of the social and economic ladder: these children performed as well as the more privileged children in their villages [see box on these two pages]. Atole thus served as a kind of social equalizer, helping children from low-income families achieve at the same level as their slightly more economically advantaged peers within the village. But the children of this study all lived in extreme poverty and did not perform at the same level as,

say, a child from a middle-income household in a more prosperous area of Guatemala. Hence, adequate nutrition by itself could not fully compensate for the negative effects of poverty on intellectual growth.

In addition, Atole appeared to have increased the advantage of education. With every additional year of schooling, the differences in achievement between the adolescents who received Atole and those who consumed Fresco increased. This result indicates that poor nutrition can essentially negate some typical benefits of education. In separate but related studies, Pollitt and his collaborators, working in Peru, and Sally Grantham-McGregor of the University of the West Indies, working in Jamaica, have demonstrated that learning capabilities are affected by how recently one has eaten. So breakfast every day before school is indeed important, particularly among children at risk for undernutrition.

The better long-term effects in the Atole group can largely be explained by the differences in the children's motor skills, physical growth, and social and emotional development. The youngsters who received Fresco in their early life suffered more physical disadvantages—a slower rate of growth and a slower rate of recovery from infection, for example—compared with those who received Atole. Because development was hindered, these children also learned to crawl and walk slightly later on average than the infants who received Atole. Pollitt and his colleagues speculate that for the infants who took Fresco, this limitation delayed the acquisition of the cognitive skills that children develop when they explore their social and physical environment.

Furthermore, because these undernourished toddlers remained small for their age, adults might have tended to treat them as if they were younger than their actual age. Such a response would very likely slow cognitive development, if the toddlers were not challenged—to talk, for instance—in the same way that other children their age were. Children who consumed Atole, in contrast, avoided malnutrition, grew up faster and were presumably exposed to more challenges in their social environment. Of course, the results do not rule out the possibility that the Fresco recipients may have suffered some degree of brain damage that impeded their later functioning. The findings, however, imply that additional factors, such as the child's social environment, played a major role as well.

The results in Guatemala are also consistent with the prevailing understanding of the interactions between poor

nutrition, poverty and education. Nutritional supplements combat the effects of poverty, but only somewhat. A well-nourished child may be better able to explore the environment, but an impoverished community may offer little to investigate. And although schools can provide much of the stimulation children need, early malnutrition can undermine the overall value of education. Most important, this study demonstrates that poor nutrition in early childhood can continue to hinder intellectual performance into adulthood.

Because the early planners of the Guatemalan study chose to examine protein, these results emphasize protein's importance to intellectual growth. The supplements also included calories, vitamins and minerals; consequently, their role should be taken into account, but

the arrangement of this particular study makes isolating the effects difficult.

Other work links essential vitamins and minerals to mental ability. For example, in one study in West Java, Pollitt and his colleagues showed a close association between iron-deficiency anemia (the most common consequence of malnutrition) and poor mental and motor skills in children. The researchers gave iron supplements to babies between 12 and 18 months old who were suffering from iron-deficiency anemia. The mineral significantly improved the infants' scores on mental and motor skills tests. Sadly, children with iron-deficiency anemia are more susceptible to lead poisoning, which produces its own set of neurological disorders that interfere with proper cognition. Consequently, poor children face a double

jeopardy: they are more likely to be anemic and more likely to live where lead poisoning is widespread.

Correcting and Preventing Impairment

Studies such as the one in Guatemala have prompted many scholars, including one of us (Brown), to suggest that when the social and economic aspects of a child's environment cannot be easily changed, providing adequate nutrition during infancy and later will at least lessen the cognitive deficits engendered by poverty. Nutritional supplements cannot by themselves reverse the long-term adverse effects of earlier undernutrition, however. The ideal would be to provide additional support, such as tutoring, opportunities to develop new social skills and guidance

Avoiding Malnutrition

Opinions on what constitutes malnutrition—and recommendations for avoiding the problem—have been refined over time. Early studies considered lack of protein to be the most troubling deficiency in the diets of underfed children, especially in developing countries. Ingested protein is broken down into amino acids, which are then

recycled to build the specific proteins needed by the individual at any given time. Proteins form many structural elements of the body and carry out most cellular processes. By the 1970s, though, investigators had begun to worry about calories, too. When faced with a lack of calories, the body breaks down amino acids for energy instead of using them to make new proteins.

In more recent years, nutrition research has emphasized that shortages of vitamins and minerals—particularly vitamin A, iodine and iron—contribute to significant health problems. Vitamin A is important for good vision, bone growth, tooth development and resistance to infection. Iodine, which tends to be scarce in developing countries, is needed for proper operation of the central nervous system. Iron is a constituent of hemoglobin, which transports oxygen to tissues. Iron also helps the body fight infections; levels of the mineral are low in diets of many poor children in the U.S. Hence, most investigators now believe malnutrition is best avoided by a diet that supplies enough protein, calories, vitamins and minerals to ensure normal growth. Some standard guidelines for optimal nutrition in children are listed below. —J.L.B.



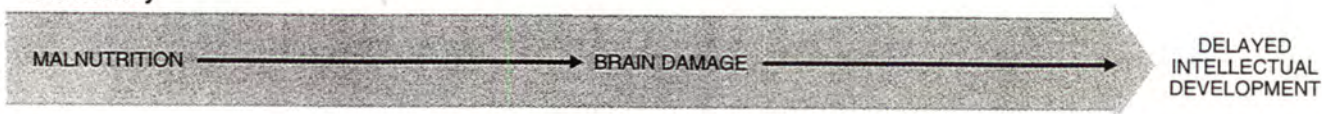
DIETARY requirements for children can be met by eating several servings a day from each of five food categories.

FOOD CATEGORY	SERVINGS PER DAY	SERVING SIZE*		
		AGE 1 TO 3 YEARS	4 TO 6 YEARS	7 TO 10 YEARS
WHOLE-GRAIN OR ENRICHED BREADS, CEREALS, RICE, PASTA	6 OR MORE	1/2 SLICE BREAD OR 1/4 CUP RICE OR NOODLES	1 SLICE BREAD OR 1/2 CUP RICE OR NOODLES	1 TO 2 SLICES BREAD OR 1/2 TO 1 CUP RICE OR NOODLES
VEGETABLES	3 OR MORE	2 TO 4 TBSP OR 1/2 CUP JUICE	1/4 TO 1/2 CUP OR 1/2 CUP JUICE	1/2 TO 3/4 CUP OR 1/2 CUP JUICE
FRUITS	2 OR MORE	2 TO 4 TBSP OR 1/2 CUP JUICE	1/4 TO 1/2 CUP OR 1/2 CUP JUICE	1/2 TO 3/4 CUP OR 1/2 CUP JUICE
LEAN MEATS, FISH, POULTRY, EGGS, NUTS, BEANS	2 OR MORE	1 TO 2 OZ	1 TO 2 OZ	2 TO 3 OZ
MILK AND CHEESE	3 TO 4	1/2 TO 3/4 CUP MILK OR 1/2 TO 3/4 OZ CHEESE	3/4 CUP MILK OR 3/4 OZ CHEESE	3/4 TO 1 CUP MILK OR 3/4 TO 1 OZ CHEESE

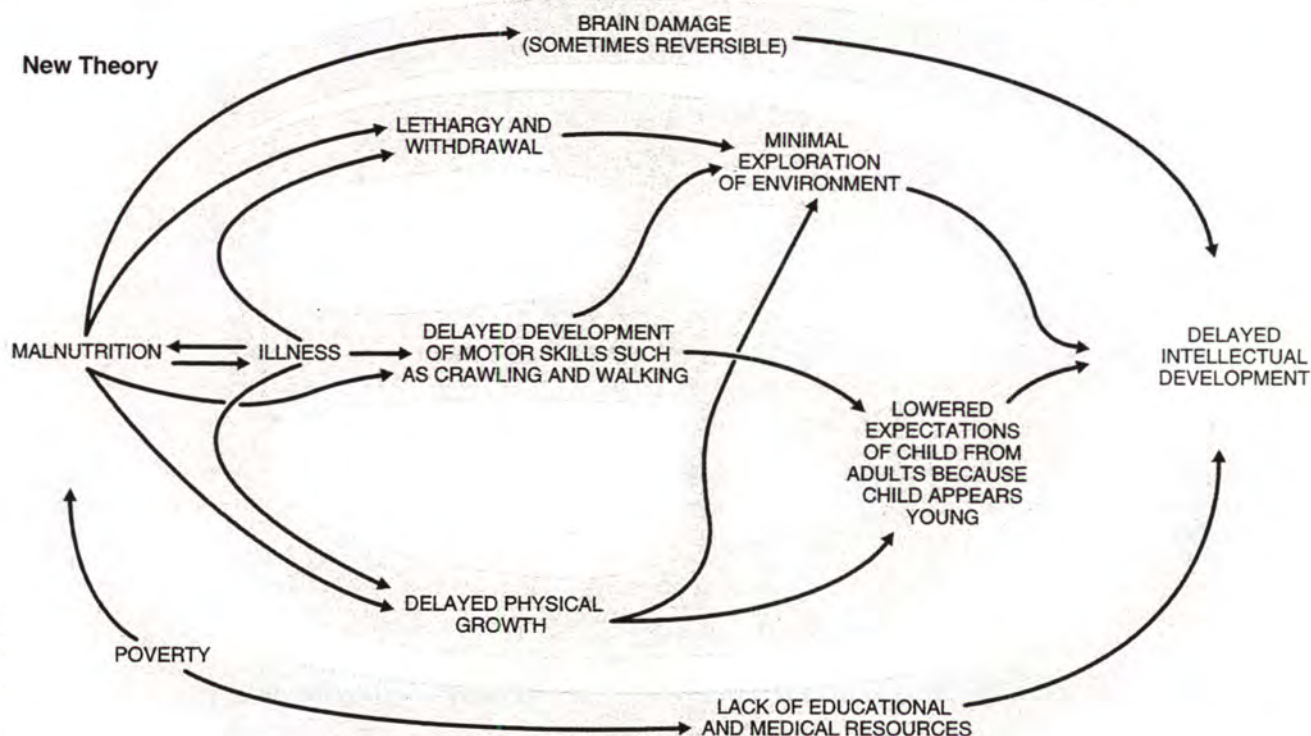
* Data from "Growth and Nutrient Requirements of Children." P. M. Queen and R. R. Henry in *Pediatric Nutrition*, edited by R. J. Grand et al. Butterworth, 1987

LISA BURNETT

Old Theory



New Theory



MALNUTRITION HINDERS COGNITIVE ABILITIES through several interacting routes, according to recent research. Early models of malnutrition considered cognitive deficiencies to result only from damage to the brain (*top*). Now scientists also believe (*bottom*) that malnutrition alters intellectual de-

velopment by interfering with overall health as well as the child's energy level, rate of motor development and rate of growth. In addition, low economic status can exacerbate all these factors, placing impoverished children at particular risk for cognitive impairment later in life.

from an involved parent or another concerned adult. Recent studies have shown that enriched education programs for children in economically impoverished communities can often ameliorate some of the problems associated with previous malnutrition.

To have the best chance at being useful, such intervention should be comprehensive and sustained. Most undernourished children face persistent challenges that can exacerbate the effects of underfeeding. They frequently live in areas with substandard schools and

with little or no medical care. Their parents are often unemployed or work for very low wages. And the children may suffer from illnesses that sap energy needed for the tasks of learning.

On balance, it seems clear that prevention of malnutrition among young children remains the best policy—not only on moral grounds but on economic ones as well. The U.S., for example, invests billions of dollars in education, yet much of this money goes to waste when children appear at the school door intellectually crippled from undernutri-

tion. The immediate expense of nutrition programs and broader interventions should be considered a critical investment in the future. Malnutrition alters educational preparedness and, later, workforce productivity, making it an unacceptable risk for its victims as well as for a nation's strength and competitiveness. Steps taken today to combat malnutrition and its intellectual effects can go a long way toward improving the quality of life—and productivity—of large segments of a population and thus of society as a whole.

The Authors

J. LARRY BROWN and ERNESTO POLLITT have collaborated for several years on the policy implications of childhood nutrition. Brown, director of the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy at Tufts University, is also professor of nutrition and health policy at the School of Nutrition Science and Policy and at the School of Medicine. Pollitt is professor of human development in the department of pediatrics at the School of Medicine at the University of California, Davis, and is also a member of the Program of International Nutrition.

Further Reading

NUTRITION AND BEHAVIOR. Edited by Janina R. Galler. Plenum Press, 1984.
THE EFFECTS OF IMPROVED NUTRITION IN EARLY CHILDHOOD: THE INSTITUTE OF NUTRITION OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND PANAMA (INCAP) FOLLOW-UP STUDY. Edited by Reynaldo Martorell and Nevin S. Scrimshaw. Supplement to *Journal of Nutrition*, Vol. 125, No. 4S; April 1995.
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNDERNUTRITION AND BEHAVIORAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDREN. Edited by Ernesto Pollitt. Supplement to *Journal of Nutrition*, Vol. 125, No. 8S; August 1995.

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Remarks by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton at the Child Health Day Dinner

Thank you very much. I am honored and greatly appreciate that award.

I want to add my thanks to Dr. Wynder for his lifetime of devotion to improving health for all Americans, young and old. I am delighted to be anywhere with my friend, Dr. Koop, whom I admire so much and who I only wish would be more heated in terms of our policy about children and health.

I am pleased to be here with Cokie Roberts and with all of you who care about this foundation and its mission.

I think though, that Dr. Koop, who you know is quite outspoken on the need for weight control and healthy eating and all that goes along with it, is probably behind the fact that none of you have eaten tonight, and it will probably delight him if no one does. But I will try to speed through my portion, so that for those of you who haven't eaten all day, you can get about that business.

I also want to thank our two young students, who are here with us, for their participation. I was very proud of you both. You did very, very well. I have seen Cokie Roberts interview lots of people, and she didn't stump you, and she didn't in any way get to you—you just really responded well. I was very impressed.

I want to add just a word or two about this occasion and about what we are up against in our efforts to try and improve health for children.

I want to begin by informing this foundation that the President has named today, October 2, 1995, as Child Health Day, continuing the tradition started so many years ago. And he has called upon all Americans to deepen their commitment to protecting children and taking the necessary steps to meet our obligations to them and to our nation's future.

Now I must say, that as we gather here tonight, it seems that there are fewer and fewer people who share your commitment to these goals.

We are, as you know, in the midst of a great debate, taking place primarily in Washington, but being felt and carried on throughout our country, that will affect the future of every child we know.

It is a debate filled with statistics and policy statements, budget numbers and sound bites. But behind

the charts and graphs and the position papers, it is really a debate about our core values as Americans—what we believe in, how we define ourselves as a people, and how we envision our future.

Throughout our past, we have thought of ourselves as an American family. A family whose greatest priority was our children. Now the reality did not always match the rhetoric—we know that. There were abuses going back to colonial times.

But at least there was a stated commitment to one's own children and to those common investments that would help in the nurturing of all children.

A family was committed to helping particularly those who were most vulnerable among us—so they, in turn, could help themselves.

You know if a member of our own family falls sick, we call a doctor. If a family member is hungry, we help find a meal. When a family member is poor, we try to provide training and schooling and a job. And when a family member is disabled, or very old, we help provide care and assistance.

For decades, this has been the American way: to put people, and especially children, first. And because we have adhered to that American way, the American Dream has stayed alive for generation after generation and our country has remained the strongest on earth.

But today, we are losing that sense of ourselves as an American family. We are allowing ourselves to be torn apart, divided, put in competition with each other over our resources.

As our larger family is undermined, so are individual families who are the backbone of our country.

Most parents in America are working as hard as they can to be good parents. I have met with working mothers and fathers throughout our country, and I know what they are doing every day to put food on the table, to make it possible that the mortgage or the rent is paid, to cover the medical bills, and to instill an ethic of work and responsibility in their children.

It is not easy, and I only wish that all of us in this ballroom tonight and settings like this across the country would just take a little more time to see and to hear what the lives of so many Americans are like today.

Now of course, parents bear the primary responsibility

ity for their children, and they should. They have to provide the care, nurturing, love, and discipline that every child needs.

But as the National Council of Catholic Bishops said in a pastoral letter in 1991 entitled *Putting Children First*, "No government can love a child, and no policy can substitute for a family's care." But "government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social, and economic stresses of caring for children."

So let's not fool ourselves. National policies—whether they are about education, health care, work, or welfare—are mirrored every day in the lives and experiences of our children.

And government can and, I would argue, should play an invaluable role in safeguarding the interests of children and their families.

Unfortunately, a crusade is now underway to abandon America's historic commitment to children.

A few months ago, the President warned that Congress was about to wage a full-scale war on the children of America. Well, it might have sounded extreme at the time, but the evidence is in and he was right.

There are many cruel examples I could talk about. But since we are here today to reflect on the state of children's health, I would like to say a few words about one program in particular.

The social safety net known as Medicaid is being dismantled at breakneck speed. It is being dismantled with very little discussion and no real dialogue. Decisions are being made in haste—not only about who pays for health care in America—but about who gets health care and who doesn't.

We are all for balancing the budget. And we are all for giving states greater flexibility to administer programs.

But as the President has said many times, there is a right way and a wrong way to get our economic house in order.

The wrong way is to cut health care coverage for millions of children and older Americans with disabilities to finance a \$245 billion tax cut for the wealthiest Americans.

Let's not confuse flexibility with budget cuts that affect real people and will make their lives even harder.

Medicaid is the primary source of health coverage for nearly one out of four of all children in America—and one out of three children under the age of 3. More than half of these children live in families with working parents.

These are children, remember, who are eligible for Medicaid, not the children who live in working families who make just too much money over the line to be ineligible. These are parents who are not receiving welfare checks.

Medicaid is the primary source of health coverage for

millions of children who are disabled or who suffer from chronic illnesses.

Medicaid is the primary source of health coverage for 9 out of 10 children with HIV and AIDS.

Medicaid is the primary source of prenatal and maternal health care for low-income women. There is no way, Dr. Wynder, we can ever improve on our efforts to provide prenatal care for pregnant women if we do not have the safety net known as Medicaid or if we turn over Medicaid to the states and give them the option of cutting coverage, which, indeed, they will be forced to do.

Medicaid is an important source of coverage for older Americans living in extreme poverty or with serious disabilities, and it is the largest insurer for over two-thirds of nursing home residents.

Last week in the Congress, it was not only decided in one committee that every regulation currently affecting nursing homes would be eliminated, but that the spouse of a person who goes into a nursing home will be expected to sell his or her home and car.

Imagine if you will, if you were living on a small pension and your husband had a small pension, and you had your Social Security so that you were able to make it, but you had no room to spare. Suppose one of you was diagnosed with Alzheimer's disease or had a stroke, and without Medicare and Medicaid coverage for home health care, a nursing home became the only option available to you. It would mean selling your own home and selling your assets. Perhaps you could go live with a relative, a child, but if the child lived in a different state, with different rules under the state flexibility governing such programs, whether or not you could make that move would be up in the air.

So obviously, as of now, Medicaid is a lifeline literally—for millions of children and families.

Ripping apart this lifeline, knocking the props out from under the safety net, is not the American way.

It is not the American way to deny infants the shots they need to stay healthy. In one of the few areas where our children's health actually improved on the report card, we are vaccinating more children—in part because we have Medicaid coverage and much more vaccine that is being made available at lower cost so that doctors are able to do that. Both of those programs are in jeopardy.

It is not the American way to do much of what will be the unintended consequences of these changes that will deny treatment to children who are disabled or desperately ill and punish hardworking parents whose family health coverage vanishes with a job change.

Cutting \$182 billion from the Medicaid program will force families to make grim choices—between health care for their children and nursing home care for their parents, between education and vaccinations, between food and prescription drugs.

As the debate continues in the weeks ahead, I hope

that policymakers, wherever they are, begin to think about these issues not as partisans, but as parents.

We should not get so wrapped up in these ideological battles that we forget we all have an obligation to the well being of our children.

We know how we feel when our own child is sick. We know how much we care and what we would do in order to get our child the treatment that child needs. As parents, we try to plan ahead. We try to make sure our children get the shots they need. We try to avoid their being exposed to illness and injury.

But suddenly, when it comes time to legislate and make policy, parents turn into partisans and good instincts retreat.

Would we ever say as parents that only one of our four children could go to the doctor, or get a vaccination, or have a hearing test? Would we ever say as parents that we have to cut back on care for our children to pay for our parents in the nursing home?

We would do whatever it took—keep driving the old car, not put the addition on the house and stay crowded, cancel the vacation. But that becomes more and more difficult when there are very few ways to obtain the resources that are needed.

We are doing as a society things we would never do

as parents. We are ratcheting back the medical care our children need and we are violating our most sacred duty and value: caring for our young.

So why can we even think about legislating in a way we would not approve of as parents and restricting medical care for children as national policy?

We should not. We owe more to our children, but beyond that, we are better than that. We do not need to do this.

There are many other options available. We should not permit ourselves to be locked into ideological or partisan positions that will do such grave damage, not only to the poor and vulnerable among us, not only to the safety net, but to the quality of our life together.

So as we ponder this latest report card, we can only hope that we will not permit actions to be taken that next year will move us from a "D" to an "F".

It might only be a grade on a piece of paper put out by a foundation, but it will mean changes in the lives of literally millions of American children and families. Some changes could very well be irreparable.

Let's call ourselves back to our better selves, our better instincts, and try again to act like we all are: members of the American family.

Thank you very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 11, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND CONFERENCE

The Washington Hilton
Washington, D.C.

1:52 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen; distinguished members of the Children's Defense Fund board; Secretary Reich and Secretary Riley -- did you see the way Secretary Reich rushed out when they said the President of the United States? (Laughter.) That's not true; I pushed him through the door so I could get a laugh out of it. (Laughter.)

My dear friend, Marian Wright Edelman, as usual, your introduction has left me nothing to say. (Laughter.)

I will say this: I know a lot of people will come here and tell you how much they appreciate people who are children's advocates; not very many people appreciate it enough to marry one -- and I did. (Laughter and applause.) I also have savaged the ranks of the CDF board. My wife had to resign because she was married to a presidential candidate. And then Donna Shalala had to resign because I gave her a job. (Laughter.) Which on Sunday, she'd probably rather swap for being chair of the Children's Defense Fund board.

I am delighted to be here. I look out on this crowd and I see many old friends that -- you know, a lot of people ask me what it's like to be President. And I don't know if I can explain it, but it is different. (Laughter.) And the other day -- people either want to walk around on tippy-toe or take a baseball bat and whack your head off. There seems to be nothing in between. And the other day Hillary had a number of people into the White House on the first floor to some sort of meeting. And I got off on the floor and I had to go someplace else. And all of a sudden, all these people were there. And walked out into this crowd and I started shaking their hands. And the guy who was with me said, "Oh, Mr. President, I'm so sorry that you had to deal with all those people." I said, "That's all right, I used to be one." (Laughter.)

I hope I will be again some day. (Laughter.)
Meanwhile, I'm going to depend on you and the American people to keep me just as close to humanity as I possibly can.

I've just come from a remarkable event in Maryland with a number of members of the Congress who are friends of the Children's Defense Fund. We were there -- Secretary Reich was there with me; we flew back. And we were at a plant that belongs to Westinghouse. It used to be a defense plant and it is increasingly becoming a domestic technology plant. And we went there to announce an economic conversion program to try to help more people who are losing their jobs from military cutbacks either in the private or the public sector find new opportunities moving toward the economy of the 21st century. (Applause.)

This is a very important thing. We've been reducing defense since 1985, and no nation would so reduce one sector of its economy that provided so many high-wage, high-growth jobs that was on

MORE

the cutting edge of new technology. No other nation would ever have done what we've done with no clear strategy but what to do with all those resources, all those people, to try to help to build our economic base. So we will continue to reduce defense, as we must, but we're trying to plan for the future of those people and those incredible resources.

I saw military technology turn into an electric car that will drive over 80 miles an hour and which may hold the promise of ending our dependence on foreign oil and cleaning up our atmosphere. I saw a police car with a computer screen with visual imaging developed for defense technology, which can now be used immediately to transmit to police officers who have it pictures of missing children immediately while they're in their car. (Applause.) I saw a plane with radar technology which just came back from dealing with the difficult incident in Waco, Texas; and another plane -- defense technology -- another plane with a different sort of technology now which can be put on all of our commercial air flights to detect wind shears, which is one of the major causes of airline misfortunes now among commercial airlines.

I say all this because -- everybody says, well, that's a great idea, and it's self-evident, and why haven't we been doing this. But it is simply reflective of a problem we have had in this country for some time, which is that we have undervalued the importance of increasing the capacity of our people. We have talked a lot about a lot of things in America, but when you strip it all away and you look at where we have been sort of out of sync with many other countries and with where we have to go in the future, it is clear that on a broad range of areas, we have simply undervalued the importance of making a commitment to the idea that we don't have a person to waste, that everybody counts, and that what you can do affects not only your future but mine as well. (Applause.)

These, of course, are the arguments that the Children's Defense Fund has been making since its inception in its struggles to get a better deal for America's children. They have become far more important arguments in the last decade.

In 1985, a remarkable thing happened, a thing altogether laudatory in our country: our senior citizens became less poor than the rest of us -- a thing we can be proud of. People used to have to live in absolute agony wondering what would happen to their parents. You still do if you have long-term care problems. But most elderly people now, because of Social Security and supplemental security income and Medicare, can look forward to a security -- and because of the pension reforms of the last several years, can look forward to a security in their later years that 10 or 20 or 30 years ago was utterly unheard of. And it is really a testimony to the far-sightedness of our country.

However, at the same time, in the same decade, we began to experience a new class of poor people who were dramatically undervalued. They were little children and their poor parents -- usually their single poor parents. And they had no advocates in many councils of power. If it hadn't been for the Children's Defense Fund and a few others who walked with them through life, many of the good things which have been done would not have been done, and all the things which were done were not enough to reverse the trends of the 1980s when the elderly became less poor and the children became more poor.

Now, because many of you in this room have continued this fight, and because of the decisions the American people made in the last election, we once again have a chance to invest in the hopes and the dreams of our children. (Applause.)

I have asked the United States Congress to embrace a program that recognizes, as was said earlier, that we have two big deficits in this country. We have a huge budget deficit, but we also have a huge investment deficit. It was a cruel irony of the last 12 years that we not only took the government debt from \$1 trillion to \$4 trillion, with annual deficits now in excess of \$300 million projected for the next few years unless we change it, but we found a way in all of that to actually reduce our investment in our future at the national level.

How could it happen? Well, it happened because of a big military buildup, it happened because of a big tax cut early, it happened because health care costs have been completely out of control, it happened because an underperforming economy didn't produce many revenues. But it happened also because there were not enough people who said we must constantly invest in the most important thing in a modern society -- the capacity of the people to be healthy and strong and good.

So you have all these anomalies. The United States, the world's strongest economy, has the third worst record in the Western Hemisphere for immunizing its children against preventable childhood diseases. The United States, a country that has dominated the economy of the world for the last half a century, has higher rates of adult illiteracy and school dropout and dysfunction among adults than most of its major competitors, and the highest rate of incarceration of any country in the world -- something we rank first in.

That bespeaks our inability to make the diversity of our country a source of strength instead of weakness, and to deal with the stark dilemmas of poverty in ways that at least give the children a chance to do better. Well, now we have a chance.

The good news is we know a lot about what works. We've known for years through clear studies that, though not perfect, Head Start and WIC and immunizations really do make a difference. We know that if you give children a better life and you strengthen their families, you make the economy stronger and you free up money to be spent on things like that economic conversion program I just visited today.

We know that if we focus on people and their capacities, it really does work. That's why I was really pleased that the first bill I signed was the Family and Medical Leave Act because it will, even to those who oppose it, make their businesses more productive, not less, by securing family life and making it possible for people to be good parents. (Applause.) That's why the long-term economic plan and the short-term economic stimulus I asked the Congress to embrace includes funds to put our people first for 700,000 summer jobs for young people; for the beginnings of summer Head Start programs where they don't exist; for beginning to set up the infrastructure of immunization where it isn't so that we can start to do the work that has to be done.

We have simply got to invest in our people in ways that work. Marian has already said it, but I will reiterate -- this budget if funded by the Congress, will fully fund Head Start and WIC -- (applause) -- will create a network of immunization efforts which will permit us to finally immunize our little children against preventable childhood diseases. (Applause.) Something that will save, over the long run, ten bucks for every dollar we put into it. How do you explain -- I mean, how can you possibly justify to anybody, that our country with the power of its economy, that produces the vast majority of vaccines produced anywhere in the world, is better only than Bolivia and Haiti in this hemisphere in immunizing our children?

And you know, you have to have a certain core of immunization to make sure that there will be no outbreak of diseases. We are dangerously, perilously close to falling below that core of immunized children in many different areas. This is a big deal, folks.

So I hope that we will have this attitude now, that we ought to invest as we cut the deficit. The plan that I presented to the Congress reduces the deficit dramatically, has 150 specific budget cuts, starts with an example from the White House staff. We cut the staff in the next fiscal year 25 percent below the staffing levels that I found when I came. We cut \$9 billion out the administrative costs of federal agencies. And I mean they're real cuts; they're going into the budget. They cannot be escaped. (Applause.)

I'm glad you're clapping for that, you know, because the people that are attacking me act like anybody that wants any money from the government just loves all that bureaucracy you have to put up with. I know better. (Laughter and applause.)

We also raised some tax money. I saw the proof of an article by David Stockman coming out in a magazine soon which talked about how the clear problem is that the tax base of this country was dramatically, fundamentally and permanently eroded in 1981; that Social Security's about the same percentage of gross national product today it was back in 1981.

So we have to raise some more money if we want to reduce the debt. But we also try to reverse the investment gap in things that you didn't come here to talk about, like transportation and clean water and better sewage systems, and things that will strengthen the environment and put people to work and increase our productivity. (Applause.) And things like community development operations to add jobs to high unemployment areas; in national service, which Marian mentioned, and in other areas that will increase the capacity of people to work, to grow, to learn, to flourish.

Now, there are people, believe it or not, who, number one, don't want to pass a stimulus package at all because they say the economy's great. That's because most people in Washington are employed. Talk to them about that, will you. (Laughter.) And who think that this program would be even better if it didn't have any new investment at all.

Now, to be fair to those people, there are basically three lines of attack -- you're going to the Hill; I want you to know I need your help. I need your help because there are a lot of people without jobs, there are a lot of people without adequate jobs. Most of the new jobs created in this last round -- 365,000 last month -- hallelujah, that's great. But more than half of them were part-time jobs that don't have health care benefits for the kids and the families. (Applause.)

You need to know what they are saying -- the people against whom you must argue. They will say, number one, we can cut the deficit even more if we just didn't have any investment. Or if we didn't take -- pass any of the President's spending programs, we could cut the deficit as much and raise taxes less.

The problem with that argument is those people think there is absolutely no difference between putting another child in Head Start and keeping somebody working in an agency when the job is no longer needed and can be phased out, in supporting a regulatory apparatus that has long since lost its justification, in funding a pork barrel project that can't possibly be justified. In other words, these people think anything the government spends is equally

bad. Educating a kid to go to college is the same as continuing the subsidy for sheep or any other program. No difference. Government spending is government spending is government spending. There is no difference.

Now, do you believe that in your own lives?

Q Noooo.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I mean, in your lives. If you take home a check every month, is it the same whether you spend it on making a house payment, making a car payment, saving money for your child's education, or just paying for an extra helping at dinner? Of course not. There are distinctions in the relative impact of how you spend your pay, how your business invests its money, and how your government invests your money. And so when people tell you there's no difference, tell them that's wrong. (Applause.)

And then there is a crowd that say, well, these programs don't really make any difference; Head Start doesn't work and there's no proof Head Start works. Now, this is an interesting argument. (Laughter.) These people say -- most of those who think there's no proof Head Start works still believes trickle-down economics did. (Applause.)

Until I proposed phasing in the full funding of this program, many of those who themselves objected had previously voted to expand it. To be fair, President Bush praised Head Start at every turn. A few years ago, Senator Dole introduced his own legislation to expand it. Sure, there are serious criticisms rooted in the fact that this is now not a new program. There are people who say it's not evenly good across the country. That is true. There are people who say it could be managed better. That's true. There are people who say that cognitive improvements don't always last more than two years after children stop attending, depending on where they are. That's true.

One big deal is how strong the parents' involvement really is. There are those who say -- (applause) -- there ought to be more school-based programs or more home-based programs, and we've worked hard on that at home. All that's true. That is not an excuse not to fully fund Head Start. (Applause.)

Our program will serve more children, but it will also strengthen the quality of Head Start and put some flexibility back into the program so that it can meet the needs of the different communities that are served. But those who choose to ignore the overwhelming evidence of the program's success have an obligation to tell us why more children with high self-esteem and better grades and better thinking skills and better predictable long-term performance is such a bad idea. I think it's a great idea. (Applause.)

But we must, in fairness to the criticisms, become our own most severe critics. That's where you come in, because all of you live out there where these programs work. You could give a better criticism of what's wrong with most of these public programs than those who don't want to fund them. Most of you could. So tell them you know it is up to us to be our own most severe critics.

I just asked the Vice President to review every program in the government; come back to me in six months with all kinds of other things that we can stop doing or that we can modify, or that we can push back to people at the grassroots level. If we who believe in government don't have the courage to change it, we cannot expect those who don't to help us in our efforts. (Applause.)

And this is just the beginning. Just two days ago I asked Secretary Shalala to draft a new child welfare initiative to

combine family support and family preservation services -- (applause) -- to do more to build on the work of Senator Rockefeller and Congressmen Matsui and Congresswoman Shroeder; and to do more for families at risk, especially those at risk of foster care placement, even as we try to strengthen our efforts to enforce child support enforcement for those who have been abandoned by one parent. (Applause.)

Now, there is a third argument against this effort. There are those who say, yes, Head Start's a good deal; WIC is a good deal; the immunization's a good deal; and, yes, we ought to invest as opposed to consume. There is a distinction to be drawn in the way this money is spent and investment is better -- investment in our children, our future. But we still ought not to do it because we need even more deficit reduction.

And let me say, that is an argument you must treat with respect. We have gone from a \$1-trillion deficit to a \$4-trillion deficit in 12 years. We have imposed a crushing burden on the present, and a bigger one on the future. And if you think about it, it's really an income transfer. Now that we're spending 15 cents of every dollar you pay the government -- most of you are middle class people -- and we spend 15 cents of every dollar you pay the government paying interest on the debt. Those bonds are largely held by upper income people. So there are now a lot of liberals in the Congress who are rethinking their old positions on things like the mechanisms by which we move to balance the budget on the theory that we're spending all this money having an income transfer from middle-class taxpayers, lower-income taxpayers, to people who hold the bonds because we didn't have the discipline to run our budgets better.

And if we don't do something about the deficit -- we just keep on spending like we are -- by the end of the decade, your annual debt will be \$653 billion a year. The interest service will be about 22 cents of your tax dollar. Twenty cents on the dollar of every dollar in America, public and private, will go to health care. So we have to change.

But my answer to those who say, well, let's just don't invest because this deficit is such a big problem, is, number one, we got into this mess over 12 years, and we have more than four years to get out of it. (Applause.) Number two, we are reaping the benefits of the clear and disciplined and determined effort that the congressional leadership has now agreed to make with me to bring the deficit down. We have interest rates at very, very low rates. We have the stock market back up.

People say, hey, this thing is going to work. All of you can now look at whether you should refinance your home or your car. Businesses should refinance their debt. If we get all this debt refinanced in the next year, that will add \$80 to \$100 billion back in our economy. We are reaping the benefits of a disciplined program to reduce the deficit today. But if we do not also at the same time recognize that for 12 years we have ignored our obligations to invest in our jobs, in our people, in our education, if we don't do that we will pay for that neglect tomorrow, just like we're paying for yesterday's neglect today. We can do both things. (Applause.)

There's another argument you need to make -- and I'm speaking for my wife now, as well as for me -- which is that if you just cut out all these programs that we believe in, if you just cut them plumb out, you'll still have an increase in the deficit again, starting in about five years, because of the explosion in health care costs. The real, ultimate answer to the deficit problem is to bring health care cost in line with inflation and provide a decent system of health care for all Americans. (Applause.)

And we can do that. So, with discipline, with a willingness to both cut and tax, with a willingness to reduce consumption expenditures and increase investment in our future, we

can do the things that we have to do. But we can't walk away from any of our challenges and expect the results America needs. If we walk away from the health care challenge, it doesn't matter what they do on all these other cuts, you'll be swallowed up in debt five or six years again -- if we walk away from the health care challenge.

If we walk away from the challenge to raise some more revenues and cut the spending we must, we'll lose control of our economic destiny even if we spend more money on the programs you want. You'll be raising and educating healthier, more well-educated kids to a weaker economy.

But if we reduce the deficit and we forget about the fact that in the world we live in, the only thing that really counts is people, every factory can be moved overseas. Three trillion dollars in money crosses national lines every day. Everything is mobile except us; we're here, we don't want to move. (Laughter.) All we've got's each other now in America. (Applause.)

That's what we've got. And if we ignore that, we don't think those little kids that live in the Mississippi Delta, in my home state, many of whom never see a dentist the whole time of their childhood, need a better shot in life because of us as well as them; if we don't believe that those kids that are sitting out there in the barrios in Los Angeles, in the black community, in the Hispanic community, in the Asian-American community, waiting for the resolution of the Rodney King trial only because it stands for everything else that ever happened to them -- (applause) -- not because of the trial but because of what it stands for -- if we don't think that we need to prove that a county like Los Angeles County with people from 150 different racial and ethnic groups can live together and learn together and grow together and if they play by the rules can have the right to earn a decent living, and we don't think that effects the rest of us, we haven't learned very much in the last 12 years. (Applause.)

And so I ask you to do this: I ask you to go to the Congress and ask them to support this program. And go with respect, because I promise you most of these people are trying to come to grips with the dilemmas of this time. And they have gotten one big message; that is that we made a horrible mistake to let the deficit get out of hand like we did in the last 12 years. And they deserve respect for getting that message. And they now have a President who will take the lead and fade some of the heat for the unpopularity of the decisions which have to be made. Go with respect for that. Say you had to do that and we respect that. (Applause.)

But remind them that out in the country where you live, bringing down the deficit is important if it gives people jobs and raises people's incomes, and if there are people out there who can seize the opportunities of the future. And what you represent is the future. You represent the needs of the people who will not be able to perform even with a sensible economic policy unless we do better in health care, in education, and in dealing with the needs of our poorest children. That is what you represent. None of this other stuff will amount to a hill of beans unless we put the American people first in all of these decisions.

That is the message I plead with you to bring to the Congress. (Applause.) Thank you, and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

2:20 P.M. EST

Peter Goldberg

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AN ADVOCACY AGENDA FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Presented to

INSTITUTE ON FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

**CLEVELAND, OHIO
DECEMBER 16, 1994**

Presented by:

**PETER B. GOLDBERG
President and
Chief Executive Officer
Family Service America**

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

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EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE SURGEON GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, DR. JOYCELYN ELDERS, WAS IN CLEVELAND TO GIVE A SPEECH. IN HER REMARKS, DR. ELDERS QUOTED A WONDERFUL GREEK SAYING THAT GOES AS FOLLOWS: "A SOCIETY GROWS GREAT WHEN OLD MEN PLANT TREES UNDER WHOSE SHADE THEY KNOW THEY WILL NEVER SIT."

IN SIMPLE AND ELOQUENT TERMS, THAT SAYING FRAMES THE MESSAGE ABOUT OUR FUTURE THAT I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU THIS MORNING.

BUT SO MUCH FOR ELOQUENT SAYINGS AND GREEK PROVERBS. THIS IS THE 1990'S AND WE'RE A HERE-AND-NOW, GET-TO-THE-BOTTOM-LINE SOCIETY. SO, HERE THEN IS A CRASSER WAY OF MAKING THE SAME POINT. IN CLEVELAND TODAY, CHILDREN MAKE UP 26.9% OF THE POPULATION, BUT THEY REPRESENT 100% OF YOUR-AND-OUR FUTURE.

I WISH I COULD STAND UP HERE AND REPORT TO YOU ABOUT THE ROSY FUTURE WE ALL CAN CONFIDENTLY PREDICT FOR OUR CHILDREN, GRANDCHILDREN, AND THEIR CHILDREN. I CAN'T. IT WOULD BE DISHONEST, OR AT LEAST DECEIVING.

THE REALTY IS THAT WE'RE IGNORING THE WARNING SIGNS. WE'RE RUSHING INTO OUR FUTURE WITH A SET OF BLINDERS ON, ALMOST AT TIMES, SEEMINGLY OBLIVIOUS TO SOME PROFOUND SOCIAL PROBLEMS WHICH SURROUND US.

IN A RATHER PROFOUND STATEMENT SOME EIGHT YEARS AGO, U.S. SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, A REMARKABLY CLAIRVOYANT COMMENTATOR ON POVERTY ISSUES FACING THIS COUNTRY, ISSUED HIS WARNING THIS WAY: "THE UNITED STATES MAY BE IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING THE FIRST SOCIETY IN HISTORY WHERE CHILDREN ARE MUCH WORSE OFF THAN ADULTS. IT IS TIME WE REALIZED," MOYNIHAN NOTED, "THAT WE HAVE

A PROBLEM OF SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL CHANGE UNLIKE ANYTHING WE HAVE EXPERIENCED IN THE PAST. AND," HE SAID, "WE ARE COMPLETELY IGNORING IT."

THE REASON WE NEED TO COMMIT OURSELVES TO AN ADVOCACY AGENDA FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES THAT IS STRONGER THAN EVER BEFORE, IS BECAUSE OUR RECENT HISTORY IS DEMONSTRATING THAT A RISING TIDE IS NOT NECESSARILY LIFTING ALL BOATS. IN A PERIOD OF RELATIVE PEACE AND PROSPERITY, THERE ARE TOO MANY FAMILIES, TOO MANY CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN LEFT BEACHED ON THE ISLANDS OF POVERTY AND DESPAIR.

INDEED, OURS IS A SOCIETY OF ASTONISHING WEALTH AND POWER. IN THE 49 YEARS SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, WE HAVE BUILT AND, FOR THE MOST PART SUSTAINED, AN ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL POWERHOUSE THAT FEW EVER COULD HAVE IMAGINED. OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT AND GROSS NATIONAL INCOME ARE AT LEVELS WHICH NO ONE WOULD HAVE

DARED TO PREDICT WHEN WE WERE KIDS. OUR NATIONAL STANDARDS OF LIVING FOR MOST—NOT ALL—AMERICANS ARE PHENOMENALLY HIGH.

NONETHELESS, IN 1993, THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS LIVING IN POVERTY CLIMBED PAST 39 MILLION, THE MOST SINCE 1961. TWELVE MILLION AMERICANS ARE HYPERPOOR; THAT IS, THEY ARE LIVING WITH INCOME LEVELS BELOW ONE-HALF THE OFFICIAL POVERTY LINE.

THE POVERTY RATE FOR CHILDREN IN THIS COUNTRY IS ABOVE 20%, AND THE POVERTY RATE FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN AND HISPANIC CHILDREN IS TWICE THAT. IN FACT, DURING THE COURSE OF THIS SPEECH, MORE THAN 50 BABIES WILL BE BORN INTO POVERTY, AND A DOZEN BABIES WILL BE BORN TO MOTHERS WHO HAD LATE OR NO PRENATAL CARE.

THE UNITED STATES RANKS FIRST IN THE WORLD IN TERMS OF PROVIDING MILITARY AID TO FOREIGN

GOVERNMENTS AND 19TH WITH RESPECT TO DEATH RATES OF CHILDREN YOUNGER THAN FIVE.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS THE HIGHEST INCARCERATION RATE OF ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD, HOMICIDE IS STILL THE LEADING CAUSE OF DEATH AMONG YOUNG AFRICAN AMERICAN MEN, VIOLENT CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN HAVE JUMPED 50% SINCE 1975, AND SPOUSE AND CHILD ABUSE CONTINUE TO RISE AT ALARMING RATES.

THE EPIDEMIC OF VIOLENCE IN AMERICA IS SIMPLY HEARTBREAKING. ACCORDING TO THE CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND, EVERY TWO DAYS, TWENTY-FIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN—THE EQUIVALENT OF ONE SCHOOL CLASSROOM OF KIDS—ARE SHOT TO DEATH.

IN HER 1994 REPORT ON THE STATE OF AMERICA'S CHILDREN, MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN QUOTES ROBERT F. KENNEDY, SPEAKING HERE IN CLEVELAND ON THE NIGHT

OF MARTIN LUTHER KING'S ASSASSINATION. KENNEDY TALKED ABOUT "THE MINDLESS MENACE OF VIOLENCE IN AMERICA WHICH . . . STAINS OUR LAND AND EVERY ONE OF OUR LIVES. . . . NO ONE," KENNEDY TOLD YOU HERE IN CLEVELAND, "NO MATTER WHERE HE LIVES OR WHAT HE DOES CAN BE CERTAIN WHO WILL SUFFER FROM SOME SENSELESS ACTION OF BLOODSHED. AND, YET IT GOES ON AND ON AND ON IN THIS COUNTRY OF OURS."

KENNEDY WAS SADLY PROPHETIC. SINCE HIS SPEECH IN 1968, MORE THAN 800,000 AMERICAN MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN HAVE BEEN KILLED BY GUNS. THAT'S ROUGHLY TWICE THE ENTIRE POPULATION OF CLEVELAND THAT HAS BEEN WIPED OUT BY GUNSHOT. IN THE 12 YEARS BETWEEN 1979 AND 1991, 50,000 AMERICAN CHILDREN DIED FROM GUNSHOTS; THAT'S MORE CHILDREN WHO DIED FROM FIREARMS IN AMERICA IN TWELVE YEARS THAN AMERICAN SOLDIERS WHO DIED IN VIETNAM.

HEALTH CARE IS ANOTHER ARENA IN WHICH OUR CITIZENS ARE INCREASINGLY DIVIDING INTO WINNERS AND LOSERS. OVERALL, OUR PROGRESS IN HEALTH CARE RESEARCH, HEALTH CARE TECHNOLOGY, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW MEDICINES IS SIMPLY REMARKABLE. IF WE PURSUE HEALTHY LIFE STYLE HABITS, WE CAN LIVE LONGER THAN EVER BEFORE. PRETTY SOON, YOU WILL HAVE TO BE 105 YEARS OLD TO EVEN DESERVE HONORABLE MENTION FROM WILLARD SCOTT ON THE TODAY SHOW!

BUT, NOT EVERYONE IS PARTAKING IN THIS GLOWING ASPECT OF THE AMERICAN DREAM. TOO MANY AMERICANS DON'T HAVE HEALTH INSURANCE, INCLUDING EIGHT MILLION AMERICAN CHILDREN, WHO HAD NO HEALTH INSURANCE AT ALL IN 1992. AND, WHILE MOST OF US LIVE LONGER, OUR INFANT MORTALITY RATE IS UNCONSCIONABLY HIGH.

AS A NATION, WE RANK 31ST IN THE PERCENTAGE OF LOW BIRTH WEIGHT BABIES, PLACING US BEHIND COUNTRIES SUCH AS TURKEY, IRAN, AND ROMANIA.

I COULD PLUNGE FORWARD WITH A LITANY OF EVEN MORE STATISTICS—BUT, YOU SEE THE STATISTICS—AND, EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THE FACES BEHIND THE STATISTICS EVERY DAY.

SO, WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES, "WHAT'S GOING ON HERE?" HOW CAN A COUNTRY THAT IS EXPERIENCING SUCH EXTRAORDINARY GROWTH AND WEALTH BE, AT THE SAME TIME, HARBORING SUCH AN EXTRAORDINARY BREADTH AND DEPTH OF SOCIAL FAILURE? DOES THE GREEK PROVERB, WHICH JOYCELYN ELDERS CITED, HAVE ANY RELEVANCY TO MODERN AMERICAN LIFE? ARE WE APPROPRIATELY INVESTING IN OUR FUTURE?

I WOULD LIKE TO ARGUE THIS MORNING THAT THE STATISTICS I'VE SHARED WITH YOU SUGGEST THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FAMILY AND CHILDRENS SERVICES' FIELD, WHO SHARE OUR VISION OF A HEALTHY SOCIETY BUILT ON STRONG FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES, ARE LOSING THE COMMUNICATIONS AND ADVOCACY WAR. WE HAVE FAILED TO NURTURE THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT TO ADVOCATE FOR, INDEED DEMAND, MORE AND MORE EFFECTIVE INVESTMENTS TOWARD STRENGTHENING FAMILIES AND HEALTHY FAMILY LIFE.

MANY MIGHT ATTRIBUTE THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY, VIOLENCE, INADEQUATE ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE AND SO ON DOWN THE LINE TO THE FAILURE OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. I THINK THAT IS A COP-OUT.

WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES WHO ELECTS OUR NATIONAL LEADERS? THE ANSWER, OF COURSE, IS SOME 85 MILLION ELIGIBLE VOTERS, ONLY HALF OF WHOM EVEN

BOTHER TO VOTE IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND EVEN FEWER THAN THAT IN OFF-YEAR ELECTIONS, LIKE THE ONE LAST MONTH.

IN TOTAL, AMERICANS PAY NEARLY ONE TRILLION DOLLARS A YEAR IN FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL TAXES. THE DETERMINATION OF HOW THESE FUNDS ARE SPENT IS MADE BY OUR PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS, THE FIFTY GOVERNORS AND STATE LEGISLATURES AND THE THOUSANDS OF MAYORS, COUNTY EXECUTIVES AND LOCAL LEGISLATIVE BODIES—ALL OF WHOM ARE ELECTED BY US!

IF WE ARE UNHAPPY WITH THE VISION, OR THE VALUES EXPRESSED IN THE PROGRAM, POLICY, AND FUNDING DECISIONS OF OUR ELECTED LEADERS, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO DO MORE THAN WHINE ABOUT IT. IF WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE DIRECTIONS THAT PUBLIC POLICY SEEMS TO BE TAKING, THEN WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WE HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN COMMUNICATING A

DIFFERENT SET OF VISIONS AND VALUES TO A SUFFICIENTLY LARGE SEGMENT OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

WHAT I AM SUGGESTING IS THAT THE WORLD IN WHICH WE DELIVER FAMILY AND CHILDRENS' SERVICES HAS CHANGED. WE CANNOT SIT BACK PASSIVELY AND EXPECT THE ADMIRATION OR FUNDING WE THINK WE DESERVE FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR OR THE PRIVATE SECTOR, JUST BECAUSE WE USED TO GET IT BEFORE.

THE REALITY IS THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN WASHINGTON AND IN COLUMBUS IS GOING TO HAVE MORE AND MORE OF AN IMPACT ON WHAT YOU CAN OR CANNOT DO IN YOUR LOCAL PROGRAMS IN CLEVELAND THAN EVER BEFORE.

IN PARTICULAR, THE NEXT TWO YEARS ARE SHAPING UP TO BE A TREMENDOUS BATTLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. THERE IS A BATTLE ABOUT TO BEGIN OF COMPETING PHILOSOPHIES OF

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL POLICY ALTERNATIVES THAT IS HERCULEAN IN ITS NATURE.

THE LOOMING DEBATES ON FEDERAL BUDGET PRIORITIES AND STATE TAX AND SPENDING POLICIES WILL HAVE GREAT IMPACT ON OUR PROGRAMS AND THE PEOPLE WE SERVE.

THE WELFARE REFORM DEBATE IS BOUND TO SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT MANY OF US.

WE STILL DON'T KNOW WHETHER WE WILL EMPHASIZE PROGRAMS TO PREVENT CRIME OR THE BUILDING OF MORE HOUSES OF INCARCERATION.

AND, THE END OF THE STORY OF HEALTH CARE REFORM HAS YET TO BE WRITTEN.

SO, I SAY AGAIN THAT WE CAN EITHER SIT BACK PASSIVELY AND WATCH THE PASSING SHOW AND HOPE

FOR THE BEST, OR WE CAN CHANGE THE WAY WE PERCEIVE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND DO OUR BUSINESS AND TRY TO INFLUENCE WHAT HAPPENS TO US AND THE FAMILIES AND CHILDREN WE SERVE.

IN MY OPINION, WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THE CHANGES THAT ARE TAKING PLACE IN AMERICAN SOCIAL THINKING AND, IN SOME CASES, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO CHANGE WITH THE CHANGING TIMES. IN ALL CASES, I WOULD ARGUE, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO FIGHT FOR OUR CAUSES HARDER THAN WE HAVE EVER HAD TO DO. IF WE SIT ON THE SIDELINES WHILE EVERY OTHER CAUSE IS OUT THERE TRYING TO SHAPE PUBLIC SECTOR AND PRIVATE SECTOR PRIORITIES, WE DO SO AT OUR OWN PERIL AND WE RISK CONSIGNING OURSELVES TO THE PERIPHERY.

IF WE ARE EVER GOING TO EFFECTIVELY MANAGE THE CHALLENGES OF CHANGE THAT ARE FLUNG AT US DAILY, THEN IT IS CLEAR TO ME THAT WE OUGHT TO BECOME

PARTICIPANTS IN THE PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS, DELIBERATIONS, AND DECISIONS THAT LEAD TO CHANGE. IN EFFECT, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BECOME EFFECTIVE PUBLIC ADVOCATES FOR OUR PROGRAMS AND PUBLIC ADVOCATES FOR THE PEOPLE WE SERVE. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GREAT PUBLIC DEBATES OF OUR TIME. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BECOME LOBBYISTS FOR OUR CAUSES!

BELIEVE ME, I KNOW THIS IS NOT AN EASY MESSAGE TO DELIVER. STAFF MEMBERS AND VOLUNTEERS IN FAMILY AND CHILDRENS' SERVICES PROGRAMS WANT TO BE PROVIDING SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES WHO NEED HELP. THIS IS WHAT YOU WERE TRAINED AS STAFF TO DO AND WHAT YOU TAKE GREAT SATISFACTION AND FULFILLMENT FROM AS BOARD MEMBERS AND VOLUNTEERS.

I'M AFRAID, HOWEVER, THAT IN THIS EVER CHANGING WORLD OF OURS, YOU CAN'T WISH THE POLITICAL

SYSTEM AWAY. GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS, PUBLIC POLICY, AND ADVOCACY MAY SOUND KIND OF FOREIGN TO YOU, PERHAPS, EVEN A LITTLE DISREPUTABLE. THE TEMPTATION TO AVOID GETTING INVOLVED IN THIS MURKY WORLD OF POLITICS IS STRONG. THE PROBLEM IS THAT IF YOU GIVE IN TO THESE TEMPTATIONS AND AVOID THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, IT'S GOING TO COME BACK TO HAUNT YOU.

SO, I WANT TO REPEAT TWO OF MY EARLIER STATEMENTS IN ORDER TO UNDERSCORE THEIR IMPORTANCE, AND THEN I WANT TO OFFER A FEW THOUGHTS ON WHAT WE CAN DO TO MORE COMPLETELY REPRESENT THE CHILDREN AND FAMILIES WE ARE TRYING TO SERVE. THE TWO EARLIER STATEMENTS ARE THESE: ONE—WHAT HAPPENS IN WASHINGTON AND IN COLUMBUS IS GOING TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON YOUR PROGRAM SERVICES, WHETHER YOU LIKE IT OR NOT. AND, TWO—THE NEXT TWO YEARS ARE GOING TO BE A TREMENDOUS BATTLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

I ALSO WANT TO POINT OUT TO YOU THAT WHAT I AM ABOUT TO SAY CAN BE POLITICALLY NEUTRAL. MY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DEVELOPING ADVOCACY AGENDAS FOR FAMILIES AND CHILDREN CAN APPLY EQUALLY TO THOSE OF YOU WHO BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE BUILDING ORPHANAGES FOR CHILDREN AS IT DOES TO THOSE OF YOU WHO BELIEVE IN FAMILY PRESERVATION; IT CAN APPLY EQUALLY TO THOSE OF YOU WHO BELIEVE IN A SINGLE PAYER SYSTEM OF HEALTH CARE REFORM, A MANAGED COMPETITION SYSTEM, OR NO REFORM AT ALL; IT CAN APPLY EQUALLY TO THOSE OF YOU WHO BELIEVE WE SHOULD END WELFARE AS WE KNOW IT, END WELFARE ALTOGETHER, OR ANY OTHER OPTION.

THE HEART OF MY RECOMMENDATION IS THAT WE DEVOTE MORE OF OUR TIME AND OUR ENERGY AS INDIVIDUALS AND IN THE ORGANIZATIONS WE REPRESENT TO THE PERFECTLY LEGITIMATE FUNCTIONS OF PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS AND ADVOCACY.

IF WE WANT TO CONTINUE MAKING A REAL DIFFERENCE IN STRENGTHENING FAMILIES OR PROTECTING CHILDREN, WE MUST DO A MUCH BETTER JOB IN COMMUNICATIONS. WE MUST GIVE MORE TIME AND ATTENTION TO THIS FUNCTION WITHIN OUR ORGANIZATIONS. WE MUST DO A BETTER JOB, NOT ONLY OF EXPLAINING TO JOHN AND JANE Q PUBLIC WHAT WE DO, BUT WHY WE DO IT. WE MUST BE WILLING TO GO BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF SIMPLY SERVING FAMILIES IN PROGRAMS TO REPRESENTING THEM AND THEIR NEEDS IN THE MORE COMPLEX ARENAS OF PUBLIC DEBATE.

THIS MEANS THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO EDUCATE OUR BOARDS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF COMMUNICATIONS AND ADVOCACY TO THE WORK WE DO. COMMUNICATIONS AND ADVOCACY MUST BECOME PART OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS' MISSIONS. WE MUST BE READY AND WILLING TO ALLOCATE BUDGETS AND STAFF TO THESE FUNCTIONS. AND, WE MUST CONVEY TO OUR

FUNDERS A NEW SENSE OF URGENCY WITH RESPECT TO OUR NEEDS IN THESE AREAS.

AS I SAID EARLIER, WE MUST BE WILLING TO CHANGE THE WAY WE PERCEIVE OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND DO OUR BUSINESS.

IN THIS DAY AND AGE, THE MEDIA IS A KEY WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE TO SHAPE PUBLIC VISION AND VALUES. FOR US TO BE EFFECTIVE LEADERS ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, WE NEED TO LEARN HOW TO BETTER USE AND WORK WITH THE PRINT AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA. WE NEED TO UPGRADE OUR OWN PERSONAL SKILLS AT GETTING OUR MESSAGE ACROSS THROUGH THESE CHANNELS. AND, WE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE CAPACITIES OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS TO WORK WITH AND ASSIST NEWS REPORTS.

AND, JUST AS WE NEED TO BETTER USE THE MEDIA, I THINK WE NEED ALSO TO INCREASE OUR CONTACT WITH

OUR ELECTED AND APPOINTED PUBLIC OFFICIALS. WE NEED TO TESTIFY MORE OFTEN AT LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS. WE NEED TO PARTICIPATE IN MORE COLLABORATIVE POLICY-ORIENTED EFFORTS AT THE STATE AND NATIONAL LEVELS THROUGH VARIOUS STATE COUNCILS AND NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS. WE NEED TO MONITOR THE PUBLIC POLICY DEBATES, WHICH AFFECT OUR PROGRAMS AND CLIENTS AND WE NEED TO VIGOROUSLY SUPPORT THOSE WE FAVOR AND VOICE OUR OBJECTIONS TO THOSE WE OPPOSE. AND, WHILE THERE ARE CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON THE ADVOCACY WORK WE ARE ALLOWED TO DO AS NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THEY ARE NOT UNDULY LIMITING. IN FACT, VERY FEW OF US HAVE EVER TESTED THE LIMITS OF THESE RESTRICTIONS AND, INDEED, MOST OF US ARE HUGGING THE FLOOR LIKE SOME KIND OF GROUND FOG.

LET ME ALSO SAY THIS ABOUT OUR COMMUNICATIONS AND ADVOCACY AGENDAS FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES: I HAVE GREAT CONFIDENCE IN OUR INDIVIDUAL AND

COLLECTIVE POTENTIAL TO PUBLICLY REPRESENT THE NEEDS OF FAMILIES AND CHILDREN. OURS IS A MESSAGE GROUNDED IN VALUES AND VISION THAT HAVE SERVED OUR NATION WELL FOR GENERATIONS. OURS IS A MISSION ABOUT THE FUTURE, ABOUT THE MORAL AND PRAGMATIC IMPERATIVE OF STRENGTHENING FAMILIES. IF OUR MESSAGE SEEMS TO RESONATE LESS WELL WITH THE AMERICAN PUBLIC THESE DAYS, IT IS NOT BECAUSE OF SOME INHERENT FLAW IN WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY. RATHER, IT ONLY REINFORCES THE RECOMMENDATION FOR US TO SPEND EVEN MORE TIME AND DO AN EVEN BETTER JOB COMMUNICATING WHAT WE KNOW, WHAT WE THINK, WHAT WE FEEL AND WHAT WE WANT FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES IN OUR SOCIETY.

AND, UNLESS WE BECOME BOTH SOPHISTICATED AND VOCAL IN THE DELIVERY OF OUR MESSAGE, WE ARE GOING TO GET STEAMROLLED BY THOSE WHO ARE MORE PASSIONATE ABOUT THEIR CAUSES.

GUN CONTROL IS A NEAR PERFECT EXAMPLE. WE KNOW WHAT GUNS ARE DOING TO AMERICAN CHILDREN AND TO AMERICAN FAMILIES. I ALLUDED TO SOME OF THOSE STATISTICS EARLIER. I SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT THERE ARE TOO MANY PROFESSIONALS IN PROGRAMS SERVING TROUBLED CHILDREN OR FAMILIES WHO WANT TO SEE MORE FIREARMS CIRCULATING IN OUR SOCIETY. WE KNOW WE NEED TO GET THE GUNS OFF THE STREETS, OUT OF THE HANDS OF KIDS, AND AWAY FROM TROUBLED INDIVIDUALS. THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT CRIES OUT FOR US TO BE PERSUASIVE, PERSISTENT, POWERFUL, AND HARD HITTING ABOUT. WE NEED TO SPEAK OUT AS ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, ABOUT GUN CONTROL. WE NEED TO USE OUR KNOWLEDGE, OUR EXPERIENCE AND OUR CREDIBILITY IN WAYS WE NEVER REALLY HAVE TRIED BEFORE. HOPEFULLY, WE CAN MAKE A MEANINGFUL DIFFERENCE IN PUBLIC ATTITUDES ABOUT GUN CONTROL; CERTAINLY, WE OUGHT TO GIVE THIS CAUSE OUR BEST AND MOST ENERGETIC EFFORTS—IT'S A WHOLE LOT BETTER THAN

MOANING ABOUT THE PROBLEM OR ASSUMING WE CAN'T INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF PUBLIC DEBATE.

AND, IF YOU ARE WONDERING WHETHER I AM PUSHING US TO AN UNCOMFORTABLE NEW LEVEL OF BOLDNESS, THE ANSWER IS, PERHAPS, SO. I HAVE GREAT ADMIRATION FOR THE WAY TEDDY ROOSEVELT ATTACKED LIFE. ONE OF HIS GREAT SAYINGS WAS THIS: "FAR BETTER IT IS TO DARE MIGHTY THINGS, TO WIN GLORIOUS TRIUMPHS, EVEN THOUGH CHECKERED BY FAILURE, THAN TO TAKE RANK WITH THOSE POOR SPIRITS WHO NEITHER ENJOY MUCH NOR SUFFER MUCH, BECAUSE THEY LIVE IN THE GRAY TWILIGHT THAT KNOWS NOT VICTORY NOR DEFEAT."

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE REASON WHY WE HAVE TO PUSH OURSELVES TO NEW LIMITS, AND THE REASONS WHY WE HAVE TO PURSUE ADVOCACY AGENDAS FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES ARE PAINFULLY SIMPLE: THE PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES ARE

OVERWHELMING OUR ABILITIES TO RESPOND IN TRADITIONAL WAYS, AND WHATEVER SYMPATHY MIGHT EXIST FOR TROUBLED CHILDREN AND FAMILIES IS THREATENED BY A NEW MEANNESS WHICH GROWS OUT OF PUBLIC EXASPERATION WITH THE PROBLEMS WE FACE AND INCREASINGLY LIMITED PUBLIC RESOURCES.

I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE OUTCOME OF THE DEBATE WILL BE. I DO KNOW WE CAN'T BE PASSIVE OBSERVERS. I DON'T KNOW WHAT INFLUENCE WE CAN BRING TO THE TABLE. I DO KNOW THAT WE HAVE MORE POTENTIAL THAN WE COMMONLY THINK.

THERE HAS BEEN NO TIME IN MY EXPERIENCE IN WHICH THE POWERFUL WORDS OF THE CHILEAN POET, GABRIELLA MISTRAL, A RECIPIENT OF THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE IN 1945, HAVE BEEN MORE RELEVANT. I HOPE THIS SHORT VERSE OF HERS CONVEYS THE IMMEDIACY OF THE EFFORTS WE NEED TO BEGIN. HERE IS WHAT SHE WROTE:

**"MANY THINGS WE NEED CAN WAIT
THE CHILD CANNOT
NOW IS THE TIME HIS BONES ARE BEING FORMED
HIS BLOOD IS BEING MADE,
HIS MIND IS BEING DEVELOPED,
TO HIM WE CANNOT SAY TOMORROW
HIS NAME IS TODAY."**

**I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR GIVING ME THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK HERE THIS MORNING.**

**AS WE ARTICULATE SPECIFIC ADVOCACY AGENDAS FOR
CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, WE WILL INVARIABLY BE DRAWN
INTO MESSY SITUATIONS. I PERSONALLY WELCOME THAT,
BUT THAT'S THE SECOND BRIDGE, AND ONE I'M SURE WE
WILL CROSS WHEN WE GET TO IT.**

THE FIRST CONCEPTUAL BRIDGE WE MUST CROSS IS THE ONE I'VE TRIED TO LAY OUT TO YOU TODAY. I URGE YOU TO CROSS IT WITH CONVICTION AND TO RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF THE ADVOCACY FUNCTION AND ITS ABSOLUTE IMPORTANCE TO US, TO OUR PROGRAMS, AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, TO THE CHILDREN AND FAMILIES WE SERVE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

SPEECH1.216

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BOARD ON
**Children and
Families**

*New Findings on
Children,
Families, and
Economic
Self-Sufficiency*

Summary of a Research Briefing

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
INSTITUTE OF MEDICINE

Marian Wright Edelman
Say No to This Welfare 'Reform'

An open letter to the president.

As president, you have the opportunity and personal responsibility to protect children from unjust policies. It would be a great moral and practical wrong for you to sign any welfare "reform" bill that will push millions of already poor children and families deeper into poverty, as both the Senate and House welfare bills will do. It would be wrong to destroy the 60-year-old guaranteed safety net for children, women and poor families as both the Senate and House welfare bills will do.

Both the Senate and House welfare bills are morally and practically indefensible. Rather than solve widespread child deprivation, they simply shift the burden onto states and localities with far fewer federal resources, weakened state maintenance of effort and little or no state accountability. As you well know, these block grants are not designed primarily to help children or to make families more self-sufficient. They are Trojan Horses for massive budget cuts and for imposing an ideological agenda that says that government assistance for the poor and children should be dismantled and cut while government assistance for wealthy individuals and corporations should be maintained and even increased. Do you think the Old Testament prophets Isaiah and Amos—or Jesus Christ—would condone such policies?

If child investments are unfairly and indiscriminately cut by many billions of dollars, there is perhaps some prospect of recouping the money over time when new child suffering becomes apparent; as it did after the Reagan cuts and as it will this time as pending cuts are many times worse. But longer-term and perhaps irreparable damage will be inflicted on children if you permit to be destroyed the fundamental moral principle that an American child, regardless of the state or parents the child chanced to draw, is entitled to protection of last resort by his or her national government. If any piece of the framework or cornerstones of the laws—AFDC, Medicaid, family and child nutrition—is dismantled, we may not get them back in our lifetime or our children's.

We cannot heal our racial divisions or prepare our nation for the future unless we give poor black, brown and white children a healthy and fair start in life. These pending block grants will make that task so much harder. Together with the proposed tax policies, they widen the income gulf between America's haves and have-nots. You have spoken too eloquently and worked too long for children to wipe it out with your signature now.

It is nonsense for congressional leaders to argue

The Children's Defense Fund wants welfare reform. But we want fair reform that does not pick on and hurt children and that provides parents jobs and safe child care. We want reform that prepares our children for the new millennium—not reform that pushes them back to past inequities within and among states.

We want to "end welfare as we know it." But we do not want to replace it with welfare as we do not want to know it. We do not want to codify a policy of national child abandonment.

Reagan correctly said: "Better

Franklin Delano Roosevelt correctly said: "Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the constant omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference." Every president since FDR—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan and Bush—preserved the minimal national guarantee of income assistance for poor children. It is a precedent I hope and trust you will uphold. What was right and compassionate in FDR's day is right today and will be right tomorrow.

The writer is president of the Children's Defense Fund.

From remarks by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott at the Foreign Policy Council in Washington on Wednesday.

The answer, I'm sorry to say, is that it is today fashionable in some influential quarters to flirt with ideas that are isolationist in their potential consequences, if not in their actual intent.

Instead, the world is more complex, and therefore so is the case for American engagement and leadership. There is a resurgence of the view that we can no longer afford to bear the burden of world leadership. . . .

... If we do not provide international leadership, then there is no other country on earth that can or will step in and lead in our place as a constructive, positive influence.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1995

Company savings plans not as safe as you think

To an unprecedented degree, your standard of living in retirement will depend on how well you learn to invest. Baby boomers have twice the pension coverage that workers did 40 years ago. But back then, the employees lucky enough to retire with pensions got a monthly income for life with no further effort on their part.

Today, part or all of your retirement funds are probably stashed in a tax-deferred savings plan where you make the investment decisions. Access Research in Windsor, Conn., estimates \$920 billion has accumulated in employer-sponsored 401(k) plans at private companies and 403(b) plans for non-profits and many government workers. Your employer may or may not contribute. Most of the money comes from you.

The only trouble is that your investments usually are limited. Employers know many of their workers aren't experienced investors. So they don't put anything too risky in their plans.

But that conservatism limits the choice available to the better investors, making it harder for them to grow their retirement funds. And ironically, the so-called "safe" choices many companies provide may in fact be the riskiest of all.

Here are the dangers in many tax-deferred savings plans employees should press their companies

Jane Bryant Quinn

Staying ahead



company stock. Any contributions the employer makes to the plan also may be in the form of stock.

Employees often think this stock is "safe" because they know the company so well. Yet they're easily misled by a company's previous success. For example, take IBM. For years, dazzled IBM employees kept huge amounts of their net worth in their company's stock, riding it up to \$174 a share in 1987. Then it fell off a cliff, tumbling to \$41 over the next six years. In the past year, it climbed back to the \$67 range. But that doesn't help employees who were counting on IBM stock to fund their retirements.

Nothing is riskier than committing the bulk of your money to a single stock — especially when your job is tied to that company, too. The worst possible mix of retirement investments is company stock plus a no-growth fixed-interest plan — yet those are the two most popular 401(k) choices today.

What should employers do? Let the employer contribution go to any investment the employee wants, not just to company stock.

RAIL: Short lines aid depressed areas

Continued from Page 1

though he estimates 80 percent of his customers came after he started.

"We're not the story. The industries are the story," he says, waving his hand.

Some clients think differently.

"If we have to choose between moving to a location that has rail and a location that doesn't, we'll choose the one that has it," said Rudy Bond, president of the 21-worker Permatreat Lumber Co., which came to Marion in 1982.

Trucks serving remote areas drop off and pick up cargo for C.O. & E. at Trans Load Inc., a Cartersville rail-side shipping and warehouse business.

"It's possible for us to save 40 percent shipping by rail," said Robert Stone, plant manager of American

"If we have to choose between location that has rail and doesn't, we'll choose the one that has it."

— Rudy Bond, president

Minerals, which employs 55 people in economically depressed Hardin County. Since losing rail service in 1980-81, the chemical company trucks up to a quarter of its production 60 miles to C.O. & E. trains at Trans Load, Stone said.

About 45 percent of America's small railroads are controlled by companies owning two or more of them, such as San Antonio-based RailTex Inc., which has about 25 short lines, said Ed Evert, a consul-

some are on the ragged edge."

With summer winding down, shoppers return to retail stores in force

Reuters

WASHINGTON — Shoppers returned to retail stores as summer ended, pushing up strongly August sales of everything from new cars

ventories. But even excluding cars, August retail sales were a sturdy 0.7 percent higher after a 0.5 percent July increase.

Sinai said the data increase chances for more interest-rate rises because the pace of economic

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BERNARDIN: Cardinal seeks focus on family

Continued from Page 1

on hospital floors while his son was in a coma, Colucci said he was forced to re-evaluate his own priorities.

Support from his employer made it easier to deal with his family crisis.

"To walk away and know that in

two months you can come back and your job will be there takes an amazing amount of stress off your shoulders," Colucci said. "More upper-level executives are starting to realize we've got to make concessions."

Offering flexibility for family needs may be possible for large corporations, but some executives

believe it is unrealistic to expect small-business owners to provide the same "family friendly" options.

"It's great to say it, and I think it's necessary," said Jack Mullins, chief executive officer of Mullins Food Products in Broadview. "A company our size can do it very easily, but a small store like a McDonald's, they cannot do it."



CHILD CARE ACTION CAMPAIGN • 330 SEVENTH AVENUE, 17th FLOOR • NEW YORK, NY 10001-5010 • (212) 239-0138
FAX (212) 268-6515

via fax (202) 456-6244

September 27, 1994

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Assistant to the President, and
Deputy Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House • Room 100, OEOB
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer,

It was a pleasure meeting you at the Child Care Action Campaign benefit at Sotheby's on Sunday night. We are delighted that Mrs. Clinton is interested in meeting with us to discuss an agenda for young children. We agree completely with her that families and society have a responsibility for children, and that is what we would like to discuss. Specifically, we see the possibility for the greatest action in the three components identified by the Governors in Goal One of the National Education Goals: children's health as well as the two environments in which young children are nurtured—their families and their early childhood programs. These include Head Start, pre-K programs and child care. These goals, as you well know, were shaped under the leadership of the President when he was Governor, and Ellen Galinsky had the opportunity to work with him to develop a blueprint for Goal One when he co-chaired the NASBE Task Force on School Readiness.

The issues we want to discuss with Mrs. Clinton are:

- **Health** - How health reform can focus on the needs of young children and how early childhood programs can serve as a link to improving children's health.
- **Family Support** - We need to build stronger connections among family support, family involvement in young children's education and care, and corporate efforts to be more family-friendly in their companies and communities, particularly on behalf of low-income families.
- **Early Childhood Education/Care** - Just as the Head Start Advisory Committee made such a difference in setting an agenda for the expansion and improvement of Head Start, a similar task force should be launched to set a long term agenda for child care. It is critical that this important service promote healthy child development and family support. The timing is right with the establishment of the new Child Care Bureau.

We would be delighted to work with you on developing this agenda. We look forward to hearing from you.

Best wishes,

Ellen Galinsky
Ellen Galinsky
Co-President
Families and Work Institute

Dana Friedman
Dana E. Friedman
Co-President
Families and Work Institute

Barbara Reisman
Barbara Reisman
Executive Director
Child Care Action Campaign



Families and Work Institute

330 Seventh Avenue, 14th floor, NYC, NY 10001 Phone: (212) 465.2044 Fax: (212) 465.8637



FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET
ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
370 L'ENFANT PROMENADE, S.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20447

FAX: (202) 401-4678 CONFIRM: (202) 401-2337

DATE: Sept 26

TO
NAME: Malanne Verwee
OFFICE: Office of the First Lady
PHONE: 456-6266
FAX NO: 202-456-6244

FROM
NAME: Joan Lombardi
PHONE: 401-6947
COVER + 2 PAGES

MESSAGE:

OFFICE
USE
ONLY

TIME SENT:
OPERATOR:

DATE:

TO: Malanne Verveer
Office of the First Lady

FROM: Joan Lombardi
ACF/HHS

RE: Child Care Action Campaign follow-up

DATE: September 26, 1994

Just thought I would let you know that I have heard rave reviews this morning about the First Lady's remarks at the Child Care Action Campaign event last night. I was thrilled to hear she attended. I understand that some folks may have mentioned an interest in talking further about the upcoming child care agenda. We have been meeting with many of the constituency groups around child care issues in general and around the reauthorization of the Child Care and Development Block grant. I have also been talking to the Women's Bureau about how these issues fit into their agenda.

Let me know if you are interested in any follow-up. Thanks!

Carnegie Corporation of New York

437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 371-3200 • Fax: (212) 754-4073

David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President

September 30, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Melanne Verveer

FROM: David A. Hamburg *DAA*

Thank you very much for your call. I enjoyed our conversation as I always do. The notion of a meeting on child health in the United States is an attractive one. Perhaps we can recapture the spirit of our January 1993 discussion in Blair House. Since then, the First Lady and her colleagues have no doubt acquired much insight into child health through their prodigious efforts in behalf of health care reform.

The Carnegie approach during the past decade has taken a broad view of child health, putting it in the context of all factors that influence healthy development during childhood and adolescence. This inevitably relates health to education and to the social environment that powerfully shapes the long-term results of development. Within this framework, we have put our main emphasis on prevention of casualties and promotion of health because of the lifelong consequences that flow from experiences in the early years.

The United States government has very strong capabilities in this field, especially in the Department of Health and Human Services. Foundations can contribute through the scope and flexibility of their action. In the first instance, we do this by adding to dependable knowledge about the problem being addressed. In addition to stimulating and supporting new research, we try from time to time to pull together research from many different sources to make a coherent account--providing an intelligible, credible synthesis of major facets of healthy child development. We try very hard to connect this information with people who could make use of it for constructive social purposes. Although this often means the relevant professions, we deeply believe that it is crucial for the public at large to have

Melanne Verveer
September 30, 1994
Page Two

considerable understanding of ways in which healthy child development can be fostered. This is one of the important contributions the First Lady has already made; she could do even more in the next couple of years.

Foundations also tend to use existing and emerging knowledge for the creation of models or demonstrations that show how the knowledge could be used to solve a problem in the real world. In doing so, we build in feasible measures to evaluate the results, to sort out what is good for whom under what conditions. We try to spot interesting innovations across the country--of course there are a great many--and undertake careful assessment of the best practices available. All that gives foundations the sense of what is possible, the most important frontiers and ways in which we can achieve better results than we are now getting. Thus, foundations can have a stimulating effect upon the nation, but they are simply too small to bring about a truly national transformation of the sort that is needed in view of the serious problems and heavy casualties we are experiencing in childhood and adolescence today. This is where the First Lady's continuing commitment can make an immense contribution.

In light of these considerations, it makes sense to invite to the forthcoming meeting on child health some key people from the United States government and from foundations. I attach a list of reasonable people to invite from the foundation community. I would be glad to discuss these at your convenience. In constructing such a meeting, you will of course have to balance two competing considerations: inviting enough people to get around the contours of these complex problems, and yet not inviting so many that meaningful exchange is impaired. *Jim?*

Various approaches might well be useful over the next couple of years. I will not comment on a legislative strategy since we have no special competence in that field and it appears problematic at best under present circumstances. A strategy focusing on the Executive Branch would permit more options. In the spirit of reinventing government, better ways of using existing funds and human resources can be delineated. This effort is well under way, but it necessarily takes time and would surely benefit from a specific, well-informed focus on child and adolescent development.

Best of all from my perspective would be an educational strategy, using the bully pulpit function of high office. This approach is singularly important in child health because public understanding has a direct and strong bearing on the shaping of healthy lifestyles, as well as judicious use of the health care system and the fundamental uses of education for health.

Melanne Verveer
September 30, 1994
Page Three

Carnegie, like several other foundations, has been particularly interested in building a professional consensus on the base of the best available scientific work, linking independent experts with the policy community, and informing the public as widely as possible. From these efforts, we have sorted out key issues and constructive approaches. What follows is a substantive summary of the issues in child health that could profitably be addressed in the fall meeting and over the next couple of years.

Enclosures

SUGGESTED FOUNDATION INVITEES TO FALL MEETING
ON CHILD HEALTH

Barbara Blum
President
Foundation for Child Development
345 East 46th Street, Suite 700
New York, New York 10017
Tel: 212/697-3150

Karen Davis
President
The Commonwealth Foundation
One East 75th Street
New York, New York 10021-2692
Tel: 212/535-0400

Beatrix A. Hamburg
President
The William T. Grant Foundation
515 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10022-5403
Tel: 212/752-0071

David A. Hamburg
President
Carnegie Corporation of New York
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022
Tel: 212/371-3200

Douglas W. Nelson
Executive Director
Annie E. Casey Foundation
701 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21202
Tel: 410/547-6600

Rebecca W. Rimel
President and Chief Executive Officer
The Pew Charitable Trusts
One Commerce Square
2005 Market Street, Suite 1700
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103
Tel: 215/575-4700

Adele Simmons
President
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur
Foundation
140 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60603
Tel: 312/726-8000

TOWARD HEALTHY CHILD DEVELOPMENT

A WAY OF VIEWING HEALTHY CHILD DEVELOPMENT

The human child is an ancient creature, shaped by many millennia of biological evolution in ways that pose critical requirements for adequate development. These essential requirements simply have to be met if the child is to grow and develop, to thrive and learn and pursue a vigorous, constructive, adaptable life. These requirements have always been difficult to meet; but if met, they provide profound advantages to our species--ways of learning and adapting and creating that are unparalleled in the annals of life on earth.

During their years of growth and development, children need dependable attachments, protection, guidance, stimulation, nurturance, and ways of coping with adversity. Infants, in particular, need caregivers who can promote attachment and thereby form the fundamental basis for decent human relationships throughout the child's life. Similarly, early adolescents need to connect with people who can facilitate their momentous transition to adulthood with sensitivity and understanding. Usually, despite the radical transformations of recent times, such people are within the child's immediate family; if not, they exist to some extent in the extended family. But if these caregivers cannot provide the necessary conditions for healthy development, then others must make an explicit effort to connect children with persons outside the family who have the right attributes and also the durability to do so.

The role of the family as the fundamental unit responsible for the health, education, and general well-being of children is crucial. Whatever has happened to it, it is still the central organizing principle of society. Yet there have been dramatic changes in the structure and function of American families in just a few decades. Some of these changes

represent new opportunities and tangible benefits. Others represent serious jeopardy to the well-being of children--on a large enough scale to pose a major problem for the entire society.

So we must find different ways to meet the essential requirements for healthy child and adolescent development--not only through the family, but also through a set of pivotal institutions that have a strong bearing on the outcomes.

To meet the requirements for healthy child and adolescent development, intervention should start early with family-equivalent functions. The pivotal institutions are schools, churches, community organizations, child care agencies, and the health care system--all augmented by educational functions of the media. A developmental sequence of interventions starts with prenatal care and goes on to preventive pediatric care, parent education, social supports for young families, high-quality child care, and preschool education. The next step is upgrading of the elementary and middle grade school experience as these schools develop partnerships with strong sectors of American society.

PREVENTING THE CASUALTIES OF EARLY LIFE

Many indices show that the United States is suffering heavy casualties during the years of growth and development--in educational failure, poor health, and very high-risk behavior. Generally, these casualty rates are considerably higher than those of other technically advanced democracies.

Within the scientific and professional communities, a remarkable consensus is emerging on the conditions that influence child and adolescent development--and how parents and others can cope with the changes in a competent way. Much has become known about

ways to prevent the damage being done to children. It is crucial now to have well-informed, wide-ranging, multi-faceted public discussions so that constructive decisions can be made by individual families and by policymakers.

What are the essential requirements for healthy child development and the principal opportunities for meeting these requirements? Can we illuminate a developmental sequence of experiences fostering healthy child development and ways of accomplishing this sequence under contemporary American conditions? In what ways can families be strengthened (if necessary) to meet the developmental requirements? What extra-familial influences can strongly help to meet them? For fulfilling the requirements of healthy child development, what motivation, information, skills, and professional services are highly beneficial? For each phase of development, is there a strong scientific-professional consensus on these questions? These questions need to be addressed in informed public discussion guided by responsible leaders. They need to begin at the beginning: our youngest children.

What could be more important than a decent start in life? All the rest depends on this foundation. The first few years provide the opportunity for a decent start. Such a beginning greatly increases the odds of good health, lifelong learning, the acquisition of constructive skills, and the development of valued human attributes including prosocial behavior. In short, the time from conception through the third year has a great bearing on physical, cognitive, emotional, and social development--for better or worse.

If there is not a decent start, opportunities are diminished for constructive development throughout childhood and adolescence. Some of this is reversible later at high cost. Some is not reversible at any cost. If a poor start leaves an enduring legacy of

impairment, then high costs follow. They may show up in various systems: health, education, justice. We call them by many names: disease, disability, ignorance, incompetence, hatred, violence. By whatever name, these outcomes involve severe economic and social penalties for the entire society. So this is a high stakes game we are playing with our children and hence with the future of our nation.

Progress in child health during this century has been great, yet very uneven. Progress has come from improved social and economic conditions as well as great advances in biomedical science, public health, and pediatric practice.

Preventive Interventions in the First Few Years of Life

As a consequence of efforts to improve the health of children, programs have grown up in a categorical and fragmented manner which often fails to provide comprehensive and integrated services for children. During the past decade, we have mainly been treading water. We need now to formulate a vision of what it would take to fulfill the promise of present knowledge for the health of all our children. To do so, we need to build a consensus on crucial elements:

- 1) Preparation for parenthood through accurate, meaningful education for children and adolescents in schools, in families, and communities.
- 2) Availability of family planning services for all sexually active men and women, including adolescents; this means not only contraception but true planning of families based on knowledge and judgement.

- 3) Prenatal care during all pregnancies, beginning in the first trimester of pregnancy. This should include educational and social support components.
- 4) Obstetrical and prenatal care environments which enhance opportunities for early attachment between parents and infant.
- 5) Optimal nutrition during pregnancy and beyond.
- 6) A stimulating, growth-promoting, health-protective environment in the early years.
- 7) Arrangements for day care for children of working parents as needed--care of high quality to foster development, not custodial in nature.
- 8) Completion of immunizations against all of the preventable diseases for all children.
- 9) Conjunction of child health and social services to minimize the occurrence of disorders such as failure to thrive, developmental attrition, and child abuse.
- 10) Early detection of developmental disabilities and the provision of appropriate services to provide effective care.
- 11) School health services, including early detection and treatment of learning disorders.
- 12) Strengthening of research, not only on the disorders of childhood and adolescence but on developmental biology as well as the development of long-term healthy lifestyles.

Preventive services have been found to be effective and indeed cost-effective. One of the reasons the United States compares so unfavorably with the other established democracies

on measures of health status (infant mortality being a powerful example) is our failure to emphasize primary and preventive care. One of the main contributors to the cost escalation in the health care sector has been the nation's fascination with expensive tertiary care while neglecting investment in prevention. Yet, the knowledge base on preventive interventions has grown.

Many of the causes of damage to children are interrelated and potentially preventable at reasonable cost. One vivid example is prenatal care--now weak or absent for at least a quarter of pregnant women in the United States. Yet prenatal care has a powerful capacity to prevent lifelong damage and is highly cost effective. At its best, prenatal care is a two-generation intervention that helps both children and parents.

High-quality, early prenatal care for all pregnant women is the essential building block for children's healthy development. It should include vigorous outreach efforts to bring poor young women into prenatal care early.

The essential components of prenatal care are medical care, education, and social support services. Education begins with prenatal care because early, effective care protects the vulnerable brain of the growing fetus, thus allowing the child later to develop its full learning capacities; and it makes use of the distinctive motivation of the pregnant mother as well as the young father to strengthen their knowledge and skill in caring for themselves and their prospective baby. Moreover, the educational component of prenatal care can be expanded to include a constructive examination of options for the life course--links to job training, formal schooling, or other education likely to improve prospects for the future of

the young family. In poor communities, young parents need a dependable person who can provide social support for health and education through the months of pregnancy and beyond.

If the United States implements this enlarged vision of prenatal care, every year many thousands of babies could be saved. But save them for what? Further opportunities are needed to foster healthy child and adolescent development. Evidence is accumulating that interventions in the first few years and then in early adolescence can shape a person's lifelong course in healthy, learning, constructive ways:

- o Well-baby care with emphasis on disease prevention and health promotion;
- o Parent education to strengthen competence and build close parent-child relationships;
- o Social support networks in which parents give mutual aid to foster health and education for their children and themselves;
- o Child care of high quality outside the home, especially in day care centers;
- o Preschool education in the Head Start mode; enhanced education in elementary and middle grade schools; and
- o Constructive activities beyond school hours in community-based organizations.

Such interventions have strong potential to prevent damage as reflected in indices of health and education.

Well-baby care oriented to preventing lifelong damage is vital not only for child health but for building parental competence. This care gives well-informed guidance and emotional support to help families attain healthy lifestyles. It provides vital services--for

example, early treatment of ear infections and correction of vision deficits so that hearing and visual impairments do not interfere with education.

Five crucial aspects of high-quality child health care need to be considered. It should be comprehensive, continuous, coordinated, accessible, accountable. These desiderata for poor communities constitute something more than a hypothetical ideal. A concrete example has been of national importance over several decades: community health centers, originally known as neighborhood health centers. They still flourish in various parts of the country despite inadequate funding. They offer a range of medical and support services in the community and have proved their accessibility to low-income populations. Some of these centers have been carefully evaluated, and the evidence of their value is clear.

The most effective preventive medicine for infants is immunization against the common infections of childhood. Clearly the best course to pursue is comprehensive immunization at appropriate times in the earliest years. The administration's bold initiative in this field needs to be widely understood and pursued with long-term commitment.

A substantial amount of research in child development makes clear that intervention programs can help parents become teachers of their own children--at least to make clear to their children the strong value they put on intellectual achievement and constructive human relations. Research has shown that quality day care plus parent education can yield strong results in cognitive and social development during infancy and early childhood in high-risk urban poverty populations. Often the adolescent mothers involved in these intervention efforts benefit as manifested by their going on to higher levels of education; and there is some evidence of beneficial effects on younger siblings. Like prenatal care, this can be a

two-generation intervention--benefiting young parents and their children, even for the entire life span.

The lessons of Head Start have wide applicability. This kind of early stimulation, encouragement, instruction and health care--all with substantial parental involvement--can also be incorporated into a variety of child care settings, and thereby help to reduce casualties. The linkage of health and education is fundamental in these interventions. The basic concepts can be usefully adapted to earlier ages. But Head Start is not best seen as a one-time event--akin to immunization. Rather, it is a valuable part of a development-promotion sequence throughout childhood and adolescence.

Home visiting by human services professionals can be a relatively efficient and effective way of addressing the many needs of poor families with young children. Home visitors can engage family members in solving problems of housing, food, health, child rearing, child development, and family relationships.

Research evaluations of home visiting programs show that they can have beneficial effects on health and well-being, especially for poor adolescent mothers and their families. Families that have had the benefit of home visiting have lower rates of small-for-gestational-age and low-birthweight babies, the babies are healthier at birth, have fewer accidents in the first year of life, are immunized more often, experience less child abuse and neglect, and show improved cognitive performance. These benefits can be long lasting, as demonstrated by the best-studied early intervention programs aimed at preventing damage to disadvantaged children.

Barriers to Health Care for Young Children

Research has clarified five barriers that stand between children and preventive primary health care: 1) Absence of insurance or other source of financing. 2) Capacity problems in the health care system. 3) Services that are not "user friendly". 4) Lack of motivation to seek health care. 5) Serious social disorganization in the community.

Research and field experience suggest that the first barrier--having no source of payment for care--is the most potent one. When children and their families have insurance, they are able to increase their participation in preventive services and health care generally. However, access to health insurance does not level the playing field, particularly for high-risk and/or low-income children and pregnant women. Access to insurance is not equivalent to access to health care, and reducing the financial barrier does not necessarily eliminate the other four.

A wealth of experience gives clues about what to do to improve the health care system, in addition to providing all citizens with a financing source for health care.

Increasing service capacity. There are several clear remedies for increasing the service capacity of distressed communities. They include increasing grant-supported services such as community health centers; supporting the training and deployment of health professionals and mid-level professionals (nurse-midwives, physicians assistants) committed to working in medically underserved areas; and delivering care in unconventional ways and in unconventional settings (e.g. services provided via home visiting, through school-based clinics, or in conjunction with Head Start centers).

Making services more "user friendly". Achieving this goal through broad scale changes in national policy is not easy because the tone and details of services usually are set by leaders at the local rather than at the national level. But standards of performance, training funds, and incentives that emanate from central sources, such as the federal government, can signal attention to these intangibles, and highlight success stories.

Increasing motivation. Raising the level of motivation and information that individuals need to act in their own best interests requires education, social support, and outreach to those who, despite a functioning health care system, still fail to use its most basic offerings, such as immunizations.

Repairing social disintegration. The last barrier, the disintegration of our poorest communities is, of course, one of the most pressing national problems. It has little to do with health or preventive services, and much to do with poverty, discrimination, economic development, revitalization of schools, and the strengthening of families and communities.

EARLY ADOLESCENCE: A CRITICAL AND NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY

Early adolescence (ages 10-15) is a crucially formative and badly neglected period. It is a time of biological upheaval and social transition. There is much exploratory behavior, including very risky behavior that has lifelong significance. Many dangerous patterns emerge during these years: becoming alienated from school and dropping out; starting to smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, and use other drugs; starting to drive automobiles and motorcycles in high-risk ways; not eating an adequate diet or exercising enough; risking

early pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases; and in some ways worst of all, undertaking the use of weapons, even highly destructive ones.

Initially, adolescents explore these new possibilities tentatively. Experimentation is typical of adolescence. Before damaging patterns are firmly established, there is a vital opportunity to prevent lifelong casualties. This opportunity is frequently missed in most communities now--all too often with tragic results.

Preventive Interventions for Early Adolescents

The public policy response to adolescence has been problem specific, often overlooking the underlying needs of adolescents under contemporary conditions. To meet the essential requirements for healthy adolescent development, we must help adolescents to acquire constructive knowledge and skills, inquiring habits of mind, dependable human relationships, a reliable basis for earning respect, a sense of belonging in a valued group, and a way of being useful to others. These basic needs can be met by a conjunction of pivotal institutions: family; school; churches; community-based organizations; the health-care system; and the media.

Interventions in early adolescence include:

- 1) Reforming middle grade schools to create small communities for learning, where stable, close relationships with adults and peers allow for intellectual and personal growth.
- 2) Creating school environments which promote healthy lifestyles, with particular emphasis on a life sciences curriculum.

- 3) Training in life skills including decisionmaking, conflict resolution, and resistance to peer pressure.
- 4) Strengthening social support mechanisms for adolescents by reengaging families with their children's schools, and, where necessary, providing mentors to supplement the family.
- 5) Creating safe havens in community-based organizations after school, when many adolescents are left alone, and where healthy lifestyles could be learned.
- 6) Providing a perception of opportunity and of value to the community for adolescents by engaging them in community service, and work-study programs.
- 7) Making health care services and counseling available in "adolescent friendly" and accessible locations, including school-based or school-linked.

As children experience puberty and emerge into an era in which they feel they should quickly become adults, they in effect ask, "How shall I use my body?" Any responsible education system must answer that basic question with a substantial life sciences curriculum that gives them accurate information about their bodies, including the effects of various high-risk behavior patterns. But information is not enough.

Life skills training can become a vital part of education in schools and community organizations, so that adolescents can learn how to make informed, deliberate and constructive decisions--rather than ignorant, impulsive, and destructive ones. Such training can also enhance their interpersonal skills, their ways of relating decently to others, learning from their experiences, even unpleasant ones, such as how conflicts can be resolved without

violence. Skills can be developed for establishing dependable friendships and participating in supportive problem-solving groups. But even this is not enough.

People need people, especially to weather the inevitable difficulties of growing up, the stresses of education, and the turbulent search for ways to protect our own health and the health of those we care about. To the extent that contemporary families are unable to meet these needs, specially designed social support interventions can be exceedingly helpful.

Thus, the life sciences curriculum linked with life skills training and social support interventions can provide the vital information, skills and motivation necessary to meet the requirements for healthy adolescent development. Moreover, this conjunction of information, skills and motivation for development, indeed for survival, can be provided through the foresight and cooperation of several pivotal institutions that powerfully shape the transition from childhood to adulthood: family, schools, health care system, media, and community organizations that reach out to youth.

But there is still a serious unmet need for accessible health care. It may be at or near the school. In any event, it must be arranged in such a way that adolescents can clearly recognize that the care is available, within reach, and adapted to their distinctive needs.

Education can contribute to the development of healthy lifestyles. Through education in various channels, motivation may be strengthened and sustained, accurate information assimilated, and relevant skills developed. Such education involves not only the schools and health professionals but also the media. Family, churches, and community organizations can contribute as well. In poor communities, a key element in motivation is the perception of opportunity. Without such perception and concomitant hope, there is little incentive to avoid

the immediate pleasures associated with psychoactive drugs and other health-damaging behavior.

Recent school-based and community-wide preventive interventions have been carried out in careful research designs. These focus on cigarette smoking but have made some extension to alcohol and other drugs as well--"gateway" substances. The results are clear: It is feasible to diminish substantially the use of gateway substances in early adolescence. Moreover, this can be done in a way that enhances personal and social competence pertinent to other aspects of adolescent development. In school and out, it is possible to build competence, to earn respect, to construct a friendship group capable of resisting pressure to use drugs, and to delineate a vision of an attractive future and prospects for a decent life. An important part of this in poorer communities has to do with making early opportunities visible to young people before the drug pathway becomes firmly established. Work-study activities are helpful in this regard, along with training in essential, generic employability skills and practical employment counseling.

Nearly one million adolescents between the ages of twelve and nineteen are victims of violent crimes each year, and this has been true at least since 1985. Over all the concerns about adolescent violence hangs the threat of firearms. Yet, there is overwhelming evidence that we can intervene effectively in the lives of young people to reduce or prevent their involvement in violence. For example, research indicates that conflict resolution and mediation programs show positive effects in reducing violence. Assertiveness, taught as a social skill, helps young help learn how to resist unwanted pressures and intimidation, resolve conflicts nonviolently, and make sound decisions about the use of weapons.

Programs which promote healthy and enduring relationships with adults as well as peers, such as mentoring and community-based youth activities, have the potential to provide constructive alternatives to joining violent groups.

Barriers to Health Care for Adolescents

Many adolescents are in need of preventive primary health care and treatment for health problems, yet they are likely to face barriers to these services. There is a growing consensus about these barriers: 1) Lack of health insurance and limitations in coverage. 2) Inadequate information about the availability of services. 3) Health services that may not be appropriate to the adolescent developmental and experiential levels. 4) Scarcity of experienced and well-trained health providers who treat the health problems of adolescents, especially when the adolescents are poor and uninsured. 5) Lack of independent legal access to services. 6) Concerns about parental consent and notification and fear that confidentiality will be breached. 7) Gaps among service systems for adolescents with multiple health problems.

There are numerous examples of promising adolescent health promotion, primary prevention, and treatment interventions, but they have been implemented only sporadically. These promising interventions can provide considerable guidance for program implementation and the continuing design of more effective approaches for adolescents.

OVERCOMING DISADVANTAGE

The problems of children in poverty intensify--indeed dramatically highlight--the problems of modern societies altogether. The poignant dilemma is that great technical advances are associated with massive dislocations--and children are often caught in the crunch, especially in the inner city. Degraded conditions became a breeding ground for disease and violence. So it is clearly in the self-interest of the entire nation to consider the well-being of all our children.

For the child growing up in an area of concentrated poverty, two crucial prerequisites to healthy, constructive development appear to be seriously lacking: secure attachments to dependable and successful adults, and the perception that opportunities exist in the mainstream economy. To the extent that families and communities are eroded, disintegrated, or otherwise weakened under circumstances of persistent poverty and social depreciation, it is necessary to focus on other social support networks--by strengthening the family or by providing substitute experiences that meet these essential needs.

With younger children, social supports have to become a deliberate feature of effective interventions throughout development: in prenatal care, child care, preschool education, after-school and Saturday experiences during elementary years, and in the reform of the middle grade schools. At every level, in some developmentally appropriate way, it is possible to construct parent groups, parent education, outreach to families through indigenous paraprofessionals, and links with professionals as needed for more serious problems. In short, social support networks that sustain effort and hope are crucial for health and education in poor communities.

opportunities, and by strengthening our scientific and professional commitment to tackle these problems over a wide spectrum of constructive approaches.

There is reason to believe that powerful sectors have begun to converge on the problems of children: business, government, clergy, media, science and several professionals including the military. If a broad public consensus emerges on the facts, multi-sectoral leadership continues to grow, and constructive policy options are fully considered, we could see a real transformation in the health and well-being of all our children. The First Lady could provide extraordinary leadership for this great effort. Some possibilities include highlighting promising approaches, mobilizing multiple sectors of society, and examining needed linkages between existing services. The First Lady could do a great deal to educate the public and policymakers. One option would be through a high-level mechanism such as a Council on Children and Families. No doubt she would utilize a variety of opportunities for this vital mission, always conveying to the American people an accurate and inspiring picture of what is needed and what is possible. In this way, she would make a contribution of enduring value.

David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President
Carnegie Corporation of New York

10/5

PARTICIPANTS IN OCTOBER 5th MEETING
(updated on 9/20)

The President
Secretary Shalala
Carol Rasco
Henry Foster
Andrew Young
David Hamburg, Carnegie Corp.
Warren Rudman, Paul Weiss
Charlotte Beres, Ogilvy & Mather
Thomas Kean, Drew University
Jane Fonda
Whoopi Goldberg
Elayne Bennett, Best Friends
Doug Nelson, Casey Foundation
Irving Harris
Marian Wright Edelman
Dick Beattie
Ann Moore, People Magazine
Doug Besharov, American Enterprise Institute
Paul Tudor Jones, Robin Hood Foundation -
Jay Winsten, Harvard School of Public Health
Marge Clark, Advocates for Youth
Marion Howard, Emory University
Kris Moore, Child Trends
Helen Rodriguez-Tria, former Exec. Dir., American Public Health Assoc.
Sister Mary Rose McGeady, Covenant House
Michael Carrera, Children's Aid Society
Sarah Brown, Institute of Medicine
Bill Galston, University of Maryland
Belle Sawhill, Urban Institute
Vivien Stewart, Carnegie Corp.

People who hope to make it -- no answer yet

First Lady
Pat Cloherty
Elizabeth Coleman, Maidenform Inc.

People we're working on

Warren & Suzie Buffett
Michael Eisner, Disney
Louis Sullivan, Morehouse Medical School
Michael Fuchs, HBO
Tom Freston, MTV
John Clendenin, BellSouth
Bob Johnson, Black Entertainment Television

People who want to attend but cannot

Jody Greenstone
David Durenberger
Jeannie Rosoff, Alan Guttmacher Institute
C. Everett Koop
Angela Blackwell, Rockefeller Foundation
Patricia Duff, Revlon Foundation

Key Administration Staff

Alexis Herman
Maggie Williams
Peter Edelman
Jeremy Ben-Ami
Dan Porterfield
Felicia Stewart
Janet Abrams
Debbie Both
Debbie Fine

Oprah Winfrey

140 South Dearborn Street
Suite 1100

Chicago, Illinois 60603-5285
Telephone: (312) 726-8000
Facsimile: (312) 917-0334

THE JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T.
MACARTHUR FOUNDATION
May 30, 1995

Post-It Fax Note 7671		Date 5/30/95	# of pages 2
To MELANNE VERVEER		From ADELE SIMMONS	
Co./Dept.		Co.	
Phone #		Phone # (312) 917-0208	
Fax # (202) 456-6244		Fax # (312) 917-0334	

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

VIA FACSIMILE
(202) 456-6244

Dear Melanne:

This is a long overdue note to follow up on our conversation about children and how Hillary could most effectively take advantage of her position to advance issues relating to children. First, let me say that I think this is an excellent idea. I do not believe that most Americans want to neglect or ignore children, and I have a hard time understanding why we end up with some of the policies that we do. That said, it is an important issue and one that could benefit from thoughtful White House leadership.

I have talked to Dave Hamburg, and our first thought is that we try to bring together some of the people who are most thoughtful in this area -- combining both research and action -- with an agenda that we should work through with you to make sure that it dovetails as much as possible with the issues of greatest concern to Hillary.

I would suggest that no more than 12 people be included, and would be willing to work with you to develop the strongest list.

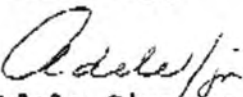
As a start, I would include Julie Richmond, Eleanor Maccoby, Jim Comer, David Hornbeck, Bob Slavin, Lee Schorr (who could help with issues relating to implementation), Marian Edelman, and Sarah Brown, who is working in the area of premature births at the Institute of Medicine.

I could imagine a plan of action emerging from one or two meetings that might involve carefully planned site visits to draw attention in a systematic way to what is working and what is needed, a series of White House events involving children -- and more. I don't want to prejudge the outcome, but once we agree on the agenda, we need to address the question of political will.

Page two

Both Dave and I would be willing to help. Please call or FAX and let me know what more, if anything, you would like me to do. As you know from my letter of May 1, I will be in Washington on June 22 and 23, and could meet with you then if you wished.

Sincerely,


Adele Simmons
President

AS:jm

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

More on the Hiroshima Decision

Eugene L. Meyer ["Air and Space Museum Chief Resigns," front page, May 3] needlessly caricatured my position by reporting that I have "argued that the bomb was dropped in large part for 'atomic diplomacy'—that is, to intimidate the Soviet Union at the outset of the Cold War." I have indeed said that there is strong evidence that this was the position of Truman's secretary of state, James F. Byrnes, who said the atomic bomb would make the Soviets "more manageable." But ultimately, I believe the Hiroshima decision is still a historical mystery story, a tragic tale of missed opportunities. As John J. McCloy, who was assistant secretary of war during World War II, told me for my biography of him, "I feel very strongly that if we had found a way to have politically negotiated surrender, and had not

dropped the bomb, we would today be in a stronger position morally."

Historians continue to argue about why Mr. McCloy's advice with regard to a negotiated surrender was not taken. But the scholars associated with the Historians' Committee for Open Debate on Hiroshima—who represent all schools of thought—agree that this is an issue that should be vigorously debated. Unfortunately, some advocates of "official history" condescendingly think that the American people aren't mature enough to be exposed to all the historical evidence—which is why the Enola Gay atomic bomber is about to be unveiled at the Smithsonian shorn of any history.

KAI BIRD

Co-Chair

Historians Committee for Open Debate on Hiroshima
Washington

Regulation, Not Prohibition

In his op-ed column of May 11 ["One Kingpin at a Time"], George Will admits that attempts to interdict drug supplies are futile ("Sisyphean"). He admits that our policy of prohibition creates irresistible incentives for criminal enterprise. He admits that our policy of unregulated packaging and distribution of drugs results in deaths from overdose. ("One sign of the increased purity is the increasing rate of fatal overdoses.") Then, he endorses the conclusion that our policy is worthwhile "if one arrest is going to prevent a young person from taking narcotics back to a party where another young person might be tempted to step onto the slippery slope to addiction."

Better dead than addicted?

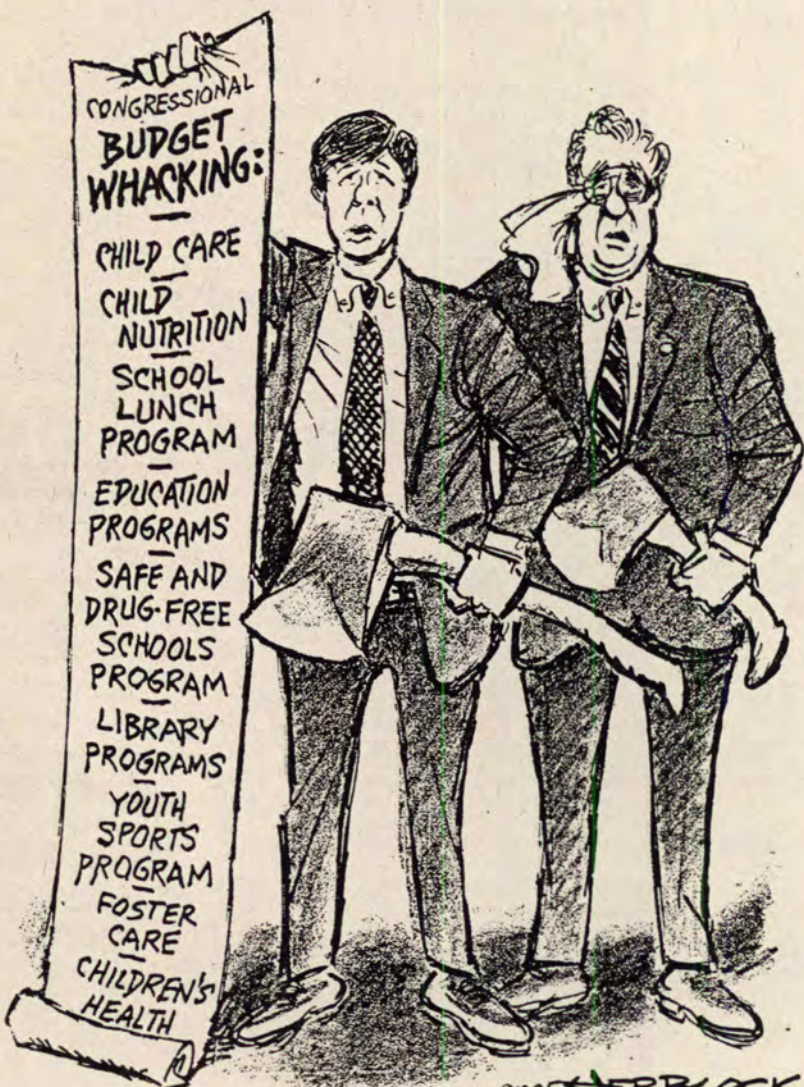
At a time when our representatives are taking a hard look at most federal programs with a view to cutting, the Drug Enforcement Agency is one of the few suggested for increase. Why not take a hard look at this part of the "three-legged stool"? Does prohibition help or hinder the other two legs ("education" and "rehabilitation")?

Would it not be more effective and more economical to replace prohibition with regulation? To replace propaganda with credible information programs? To permit people to seek help without admitting to criminal conduct?

STAN NAMOVICZ

Takoma Park

"WE HAVE TO DO THIS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY'S CHILDREN"



Survivor of the Gulag

The Post's coverage of the 50th anniversary of V-E Day was splendid.

In all the reporting, however, I have seen no mention of the hundreds of thousands of slave laborers taken to the Soviet Union after the war. These laborers consisted mostly of Eastern Europeans, Germans and former Soviet prisoners of war. They were rounded up and sentenced on trumped-up charges from 10 to 25 years in Siberia without any opportunity to defend themselves in court.

The conditions in the gulag (labor camp) were at least as harsh as in the Nazi concentration camps (except, thankfully, for the use of gas chambers). I know. My father, a well-known physician in Hungary, perished there, and I was only 16 years old when he and I were taken. I was sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in the dreaded Kolyma region of far-northern Siberia. All communication to loved ones back home was forbidden. At one point my weight dropped to 38 kilograms (83 pounds).

After Stalin's death, I and most of the foreigners were sent back to our country of origin.

A few months ago, 50 years after my capture in Budapest, I received a letter from the Russian Supreme Military Court. It says that my arrest and my father's arrest was a mistake. It says that the sentences given are null and void.

At least half of the prisoners in the gulag never returned.

GEORGE Z. BIEN
Fairfax

Sheik Noorudin's Shrine

The Post's report on the tragic destruction of Sheik Noorudin's shrine at Charar-e-Sharief in Kashmir ["Ancient Shrine in Kashmir Destroyed in Fight Between Indian Forces, Rebels," news story, May 12] was marked by a remarkably accurate map of the region and a balanced in-depth account of the incident.

However, John Ward Anderson and Molly Moore did not mention that Sheik Noorudin is also widely revered by Hindus, who refer to him as Nand Rishi. In the late 14th century, the Sheik-Rishi not only translated the Holy Koran into Kashmiri but also founded a well-known Hindu Priestly Order. Naturally, the razing of his shrine has caused much anguish to both Hindus and Muslims of India.

In addition, a number of independent, credible sources have stated that the rebels included a significant number of Pakistani and Afghan nationals.

RAJESH KADIAN
Great Falls

THE WASHINGTON POST
FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1995

JUDY MANN

AID: The Unkindest Cut of All

George Ferris, chairman and chief executive of the Washington investment firm of Ferris, Baker and Watts Inc., has been connected with American foreign aid efforts since 1960, when he was sent by the U.S. government to help develop Taiwan.

He has worked closely over the years with the U.S. Agency for International Development, and was troubled by its lack of effectiveness. In 1990, when President Bush asked him to head a commission on the management of AID, he jumped at the chance.

In spring 1992, the commission issued a series of recommendations for changes to promote efficiency and get better results from foreign aid dollars. One recommendation was that AID be folded into the State Department; that proposal is part of both the House and Senate foreign aid bills that President Clinton vowed Wednesday he would veto. Those bills call for deep cuts in foreign aid spending: a 34 percent cut in the development and population programs, taking spending from \$1.3 billion to \$858 million in the next two fiscal years, on top of a 20 percent cut already in place over the last two years.

Ferris says Congress is going after a problem that doesn't exist anymore. After a day-long briefing by AID administrator Brian Atwood in January, he and three other commission members are convinced that the majority of their recommendations for AID reform have been acted upon—and what hasn't been done, Congress needs to do. But merging AID with State isn't one of them anymore. "They've reduced the number of countries. They've stripped out layers of management. They've installed modern management systems and, most important, they've increased accountability. Israel and Egypt are the only big-ticket, highly publicized government programs that lack oversight and accountability."

He goes on to say that the \$3 billion in the current budget for aid to Israel and the \$2.1 billion in aid to Egypt are essentially political funds and ought to be shifted over to State or the Department of Defense. Those funds were pledged under the Camp David Accords to remain in effect through 1996, and AID has no control over how they are spent or what developmental policies the countries follow. Other countries that receive assistance are pushed to develop policies that will encourage capital growth and democracy. And that, Ferris points out, serves U.S. economic interests as well as political interests by promoting stability and open markets.

"We know of no agency that has increased its effectiveness to the degree that Brian Atwood has brought about change and reform in AID in the last two years. What has been accomplished in AID in the last two years should serve as an example for other departments and agencies of the federal government," he said in an interview.

"Brian Atwood is in effect leading the reform that is much needed in the federal government, and he certainly should be given the opportunity to continue it. If AID is merged into State at this time, we are very fearful it will be lost."

Neither the House nor the Senate has distinguished itself in evaluating the foreign aid program. The 500-page Senate bill sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) was delivered to the four affected agencies—State, AID, the U.S. Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency—24 hours before hearings on it were to be held. Agency heads were given scant chance to testify. Politics is heavily in play: At pre-hearings, the Republicans featured former secretaries of state James Baker and Lawrence S. Eagleburger, who endorsed proposals to fold the three agencies into State. Back in 1992, when Baker was secretary of state and had the power to merge AID into his department, he testified in no uncertain terms against the idea. So what's changed? That's not hard to figure out.

Ferris and members of his commission (four Republicans and one Democrat), who have monitored the dramatic changes at AID since 1990, were not called to testify.

A senior AID official says that conditions are particularly strained between foreign aid officials and the freshmen members of Congress. "We can see committee chairmen, but not to get in to see a freshman member has been pretty frustrating."

Huge cuts in AID medical programs that fend against infectious diseases aren't going to be real popular right now with another Ebola outbreak in Zaire. The level of intelligence and thought that has been brought to those two Republican bills was characterized nicely Wednesday by Nils Dualaire, a top AID official and the administration's highest-ranking international health expert. The bills, he said at a news conference, could have been introduced as "dumb and dumber." Unfortunately, there's nothing remotely funny about them.

kids

To: First Lady's staff

From: Melissa Ludtke
Public Policy Fellow
Radcliffe College

Re: Follow-up memo to conversations with the First Lady
about children/family issues

March 28, 1995

This memo is a compilation of ideas discussed during several meetings I've had with the First Lady, and a suggestion about a strategy I am proposing for her continuing involvement in issues impacting the lives of U.S. children and their families.

During our meeting in February, Hillary and I talked for quite a while about the media's increasing interest in the coverage of children's issues. I shared with her a report done by the Casey Journalism Center for Children and Families; it shows that during the past five years some 35 or so newspapers and news services have added children and/or family beats to their coverage. We talked about how a lot of these reporters now covering children/family issues are eager, because of wanting to develop their beats, to find "serious" news stories to justify and enhance their newspaper's commitment to such coverage.

My point in mentioning this to Hillary was to establish the presence of a growing contingent of reporters and writers, and editors who are all recent converts to the coverage of children. These reporters are not part of the inside-the-beltway press corp but are scattered around the country, trying in various ways to bring news coverage of children and families to readers and viewers. In many instances, given the newness and scope of their assignment, these reporters are not yet knowledgeable about the full range of issues involved in children's lives. Nor do many of them have the kind of opportunity they should to be exposed to the valuable information being unearthed by physicians, social scientists, educators, and neurobiologists about children's needs for healthy development. Instead, many news stories about children arise only out of rancorous political argument about legislation such as welfare reform, in which children become used more as rhetorical devices than as the people whose well-being ought to be the driving force in shaping the debate.

What I proposed to the First Lady - and am now putting on paper for your consideration - is the development of a well-thought-out strategy by which Hillary's vast knowledge about and experience with children's issues, as well as her extraordinary ability to focus public attention and inform public opinion, is utilized in a national effort to educate Americans [and this new crop of reporters and editors] about the immediate, vital need to find common ground in a campaign to improve the lives of all children.

Let me begin by saying what this strategy is NOT.

It is NOT an attempt to have her assume a new and visible policy making role in the administration

It is NOT an attempt to have her spend time up on Capitol Hill visibly appearing to impact legislation

It is NOT an attempt to have her delineate a large governmental solution to problems of children's poverty, etc.

In this strategy, the First Lady's role would be as:

A CONVENER for experts about what is happening in children's lives, to focus a spotlight on the key developmental ingredients which too many children don't have in their lives

A LISTENER to what experts are able to tell us about what each and every child needs to develop into a healthy and productive adult

A GUIDE to take the American people on a voyage of discovery about how some communities have responded well to the needs of children

What I propose is to create a strategy by which the First Lady appears AT THE HUB of an multi-faceted outreach effort to inform and educate the American people about the key developmental issues in children's lives.

How to do this: When we envision a child's life, we think of it as beginning at birth [or before birth] and moving through various developmental stages on its way to adulthood. These developmental stages can be roughly divided into four parts [for the sake of this discussion]:

Zero to Three: Infant to Toddler

Four to Eight: Preschool to Elementary

Eight to Twelve: Elementary to Pre-Adolescent

Twelve to Seventeen: Adolescence

My suggestion is that intermittently, during a period of four to five months [maybe from July until December 1995], the First Lady would take the American people on a well-coordinated journey of discovery about what constitutes healthy development for a child in each of these stages. And there is no lack of medical and education experts, such as T. Berry Brazelton [to name an obvious one] who would be delighted to work alongside the First Lady to bring what they know about this to the American people.

For example, in the initial section, when we focus on the Zero to Three years, Hillary - AT THE HUB of this effort could highlight a wealth of fascinating and important new findings about what happens in an infant/toddler's brain. Now that scientists can, for the first time, actually peer inside of a child's developing brain and see the formation of synapses which determine his/her future intellectual growth, they are also finding strong links between what happens [or fails to happen] inside the brain with the environmental stimulation and nourishment a baby receives.

The Carnegie Corporation's report "Starting Points" drew attention to the importance of these new findings in 1994 but neither that report nor this information has been widely disseminated or stressed to legislators who are, for the most part, ignorant about such findings. Also, I gave Hillary [and Liz Bowyer] a five-part, Pulitzer-award winning Chicago Tribune series from 1993 which was about brain development. In these articles the author noted that during the past decade scientists have learned more about the human brain than in all previous history. Pioneering studies, the reporter tells us, show the IQs of children born into poverty can be significantly raised by exposure to toys, words, proper parenting and other stimuli. It is important that what these scientists are learning be also learned by the American people who must make decisions about how we, as a society, invest our resources.

By bringing together a group of articulate scientists whose work is on the cutting edge of this research, the First Lady would inject into this on-going partisan debate the kind of solid information [and persuasive and powerful visual images of brain development] which is woefully lacking. Present also could be early childhood development experts from the worlds of psychology and education to address from their perspectives what can happen to divert healthy development in a child during these years.

I have discussed with Hillary the idea of convening such a group - not unlike the President's pre-inaugural economic summit in Little Rock - getting C-Span to televise it, and issuing findings from it as a public service to the American people. Dr. Barry Zuckerman, a member of

the National Commission on Children, a pediatrician and researcher and head of Boston City Hospital's division of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics, told me that this information about early brain development and the visual evidence he's able to show people are the most powerful and persuasive tools he's ever found in convincing people of the need to pay attention.

Each of these four developmental stages offers fertile ground for gathering new and important findings regarding children and families, and highlighting them for both reporters and the public who are astonishingly ill-informed. [I won't detail each one of them now, but suffice it to say there is more than enough material for the First Lady to spotlight - such as, in the pre-adolescent and adolescent stages, her concern about drawing attention to the impact of violence in the lives of children.] And while this strategy keeps the First Lady away from explicitly entering the fray of public policy debate, her ability to place a frame of public policy around this information and inform basic principles which should guide Americans in instructing their legislators how to invest their resources!!!

At each stage, a "big" event with Hillary (which would be different each time to capture anew the media's attention) would signal the change-over from one stage to the next. However, after this event takes place, both Hillary and surrogates [within the administration as well as outside of it] would travel around the country to illustrate the primary messages applicable to this developmental time. These visits to successful programs or community-wide efforts would be a way to emphasize and sustain the dispersal of this information.

I urge you to act on this suggestion. I believe it is well suited to the abilities and interests of the First Lady, fits well into a role she is comfortable in assuming, and could be of ENORMOUS benefit to the children and families of this nation. It also emphasizes her own personal role as a mother to Chelsea and a concerned parent!

DESIGNING A STRATEGY:

I suggest putting together a small working group to discuss this strategic approach - or others - regarding Hillary's involvement in children and family issues. Aside from staff of the First Lady, I'd suggest inviting people such as:

Peter Edelman
 Dr. Barry Zuckerman
 Dr. T. Berry Brazelton
 Lisbeth B. Schorr [author of "Within Our Reach"]
 Dr. Ed Zigler

I would also like to be included in such a discussion. I feel I bring to the table a high level of understanding about the media's role in this kind of an enterprise, after having covered children and families for Time magazine for nearly a decade.

And, I'd suggest inviting someone such as

Ms. Ann Finucane, an expert in marketing who worked (pro-bono) with Marian Wright Edelman in devising some successful outreach strategies regarding children's issues. She is located in Boston. Her expertise would be in helping us to strategize about how to position Hillary in such a campaign and how to creatively package this idea....

Of one thing I am convinced: By creating this kind of logical, easy-for-the-American-people-to-follow strategy of linking Hillary's educative role to the stages of a child's development, she can be positioned as someone to whom Americans will want to listen when it comes to figuring out what to do to help children. It provides her with a visible stage by which she can respond, as she is often asked to do, in the midst of public policy debates such as the one we are now engaged in about welfare reform.

THE WHITE HOUSE

June 22, 1995

Ms. Susan Ungaro
Editor in Chief
Family Circle
110 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011

Dear Susan:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter
and proposal for a "Put Children First"
campaign.

I appreciate your commitment and
willingness to bring together other maga-
zines for the benefit of the nation's
children. We will get back to you once I
have had an opportunity to discuss the idea
with my staff.

With appreciation and warm regards, I
am

Sincerely yours,

Hillary
Hillary Rodham Clinton

You'll be hearing from us
very soon.

see: Lisa
Maggie
Mulanne ✓
↓
Please be sure she
is called ASAP

KIDS

Alice P.
NB

cc Maggie, Lisa
R

Susan Ungaro
Editor in Chief

FamilyCircle

110 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10011
Telephone (212) 463-1839
Fax (212) 463-1808

May 23, 1995

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

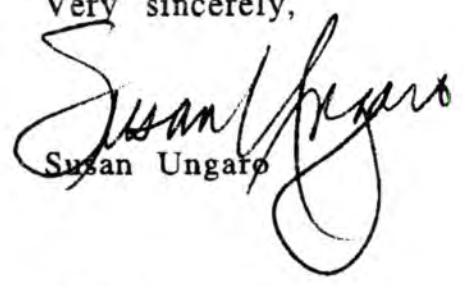
Dear Mrs. Clinton:

I want to thank you once again for helping to make Family Circle's tribute to Dr. Brazelton so very special and successful. Both he and I appreciated your kind and thoughtful words about making a difference for America's children and families.

As we briefly discussed, I am very interested in launching a "Put Children First" campaign on behalf of Family Circle, Dr. Brazelton and perhaps other major women's magazines. I can't think of a better purpose to bring even competitive magazines together.

You said you wanted to discuss ideas with your staff, and I want you to know that I am open to any suggestions you might have for Family Circle to help you make a difference for all our children.

Very sincerely,



Susan Ungaro

SU/nd

Draft

Contact: Stella Ogata 202/662-3609
Lisa Butler McDougal 202/662-3615

CRUEL HOUSE BUDGET CUTTING ASSAULTS CHILDREN

Billions Slashed from Crucial Child Protections, Undermining Child Health & Safety, Families' Ability to Work

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- In a "revolution" that has so far spared nearly everyone else, the House of Representatives has targeted children for the earliest, broadest, and by far the deepest budget cuts, according to a new report from the Children's Defense Fund (CDF).

"We are seeing a massive, multi faceted, \$10 billion assault on child protections that threatens to shred the entire federal safety net beneath them and their families while postponing for a later day, if ever, any measure of sacrifice from the interests that can afford it," said CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. "No massively federally-subsidized defense contractor has seen a dime threatened and no rich farmer has seen crop subsidies cut. No military or civil service retiree--or Member of Congress has seen his pay or health insurance or retirement benefits trimmed. No wealthy individual has seen his capital gains benefit cut, and actually may profit from the suffering of children."

"Yet House leaders are determined to take food out of the mouths of hungry children, deny safe homes to abused and neglected children, strip child care away from infants and toddlers whose parents are trying to get off welfare or keep a job, and deprive destitute children and children with disabilities of cash assistance," she said. "Children are being made to pay for a defense buildup we don't need and tax giveaways to the rich we can't afford," Edelman said.

CDF's report, *Unshared Sacrifice: The House of Representatives' Shameful Assault on America's Children*, provides details on the massive cuts moving through the House that

nearly exclusively target crucial protections for child health, care, and safety. The report concludes that if actions taken by House committees in recent days are not rejected by the full House and Senate or vetoed by the President, the basic safety net that has existed since the Depression to protect children from hunger, illness, homelessness, abuse and neglect will be shredded. In only two weeks, committees indiscriminately and recklessly (. . . insert chronology of block grant and rescission process):

<u>Child Protections Cut</u>	<u>\$ Cut Over 5 Yrs.</u>	<u>Children Cut by yr. 2,000</u>
Child Care	\$ 2.5 billion	378,000
School Lunches	\$ 2.0 billion	2.2 million
Child Care/Head Start Food (CACFP)	\$ 5.0 billion	365,000
Foster Care/Adoption Assistance	\$ 5.5 billion	111,000
Cash for Poor Children (AFDC)	\$12.8 billion	1.7 million
Cash for Disabled Children	\$12.1 billion	516,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>\$39.9 billion</u>	<u>4.9 million</u>

In addition to proposed cuts to safety net entitlements and successful discretionary programs such as WIC and Head Start, the House proposes to cut funds approved by Congress last year that have rescinded desperately needed after-school, weekend, and summer activities that prevent youth violence. In addition, the proposed rescissions would completely eliminate 1.2 million summer jobs for youths.

"This relentless and multi-front assault is as morally wrong as it is practically foolish. House leaders say over and over again that they want to move families from dependency to work and to cut bureaucracy," Edelman said. "But how does cutting child care assistance that enables parents to go to work every day help end dependency? How will children who are denied protection from abuse and neglect or help to cope with a serious disability grow up to become tomorrow's workforce of teachers, computer programmers, and business leaders? How does leaving children unable to pay attention in school because they have empty bellies improve the nation's future productivity? How does eliminating the entire summer jobs program for teens instill a work ethic? And how can they expect *anyone* to believe that cuts totalling nearly \$40 billion will only cut bureaucracy and not hurt children? The hypocrisy is appalling."

CDF President Marian Wright Edelman was joined by Delaware Governor Tom Carper in expressing concern about the impact such deep cuts would have on children.

Governor Carper said, contrary to the House committees' claims, converting key child survival programs into block grants in the name of flexibility and then cutting funding will not help states like Delaware. "What this proposal does is cut the legs out from under working poor families and from states like Delaware that want to help welfare recipients go to work. Instead of providing us flexibility, it shifts the cost burden to states and puts us in a fiscal straightjacket. I'm concerned about the next recession, or the next disaster, that will occur in my state, or others in the country, in which people will call for our assistance," said Carper.

Parents, child care providers, and others who care for children are worried about what the cuts will mean for their children and the children they serve. Karen Higginbotham of Louisiana receives about \$5,000 a year to help care for six-year-old Alison, who was born with a rare seizure disorder that left her with mental and physical disabilities, said that families like hers who are struggling now may not be able to make it.

"Many times one parent has to stop working to care for a child with disabilities and SSI helps to pick up the slack," Higginbotham said. "This helps keep families together and it is more cost-effective -- the \$5,500 my family receives, for example, is less of a burden on the taxpayers than the \$60,000 it would cost the state and federal governments to keep my uninsured daughter in an institution. While it appears that my family won't be cut this go around, parents of other children with disabilities won't be so lucky."

Sheryl Brussett-Chapman, executive director of the Baptist Home for Children and Families in Bethesda, MD argues that (insert quote).

"Parents and others who care for children will tell you that these cuts are not focused on government waste or programs that don't work. The targets of these cuts are children who have no PACs or powerful lobbies and cannot vote or speak for themselves," Edelman said. "Rather than pick on helpless children who have no voice, the House should pick on someone their own size."

Edelman said that at the same time that the House is moving to slash nutrition programs for children, it is pledging to spare programs that help non-needy constituents and promising a \$1 billion taxpayer-funded gift to three infant formula manufacturers by taking competitive bidding out of the WIC program.

Edelman said that she hopes the full House, the Senate, and the President will work to restore the services unfairly cut in the House bills, and take constructive steps to help families work and lift children out of poverty.

"Instead of continuing the assault on children, there needs to be a discussion in the Senate about the real reforms that give parents the tools they need to work and lift their families out of poverty, such as jobs and job training, child care, and health coverage."

(Jim, please insert language that conveys we support balancing the budget but not on the backs of children and describe which programs could be cut.)

The Children's Defense Fund exists to provide a strong and effective voice for all the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. CDF pays particular attention to the needs of poor, minority, and disabled children, and works to educate the nation about the needs of children and encourage preventive investment in children before they get sick, drop out of school, suffer family breakdown, or get into trouble. CDF is a private nonprofit organization supported by foundations, corporate grants, and individual donations.

Intro

In a "revolution" that has so far spared just about everyone else, the House leadership and key committee majorities have targeted America's children for the earliest, broadest and by far the deepest pain in budget cuts, program restructuring, and rescissions. In less than two weeks key committees and subcommittees have voted to cut \$40 billion from crucial child survival programs, and to end the federal safety net for children and their families. This is a wholly unshared sacrifice: the House seems to be postponing for a later day, if ever, any contemplation of major cuts for other constituencies. Savings from savage cuts in programs for needy and helpless children will be used to fund a new and unnecessary defense build-up; to pay for a capital gains tax cut of which 71 percent goes to the richest one percent of Americans; and to reducing a tax on the richest 13 percent of the elderly by \$56 billion (over 10 years) when that tax goes to pay part of Medicare's cost.

While the House majority's welfare plan has gotten the most media attention, that plan's unprecedented savaging of children is merely symptomatic of a broad-gauged assault on hungry children's nutrition programs, disabled children's disability assistance, pre-school children's child care and child development centers, unemployed youths' summer jobs, sick children's medical care, and abused children's foster care and hope for adoptive families. Block grants, rescissions and consolidations have been used in a multi-front attack on children's services. Not even proven money-saving programs like Head Start have been spared. And in the midst of this series of savage reductions, the most severe have been reserved for the most vulnerable children -- those who are disabled or in foster care.

Based on data from the Congressional Budget Office, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Agriculture, and analysis of Congressional numbers by the Children's Defense Fund, there were \$40 billion in core safety net program cuts adopted in the last two weeks that would force out of these programs millions of the children eligible under current rules:

	Dollars cut over 5 years	Dollars cut in the fifth year (2000)	Children losing benefits in the year 2000	Percentage of all eligible children who would lose benefits in the year 2000
AFDC	\$12.8 billion	\$3.7 billion	1.7 million (3-5 million in later years)	18.1 percent
SSI for children	\$12.1 billion	\$5.5 billion	516,000	67 percent
Foster Care and Adoption Assistance	\$5.5 billion	\$1.7 billion	111,000	26 percent
School Lunches	\$2 billion	\$510 million	2.22 million	8.8 percent
Child Care	\$2.5 billion	\$612 million	378,000	24 percent
Child & Adult Care Food Program	\$5 billion	\$1.1 billion	1,048,000 365,000	50 50 percent

These numbers assume that states would reduce spending by the amount of federal reductions, and do so by eliminating eligible children from the program, rather than reducing benefits across-the-board. In some programs like AFDC and SSI, that strategy of dropping children is virtually dictated by the proposed legislation. In others, it is possible for states to spread out the cuts and reduce benefits for more children, but completely deny benefits to fewer. In that case, many more children would be hurt, but the damage to each would be a bit less. In either instance, the pain will be massive.

The numbers in this report actually understate the real depth of the cuts, since they assume there is no recession driving up the number of children needing help; assume there are no transfers from the new block grants to other programs (as is allowed with some of the funds); assume that there are not larger cuts in state funds by states that would be freed from any matching requirements; and don't account for how cuts in one area (e.g., AFDC) will drive up the need in other areas (e.g., foster care). Moreover, the AFDC losses in 2000 disguise the full impact of the House welfare plan: three to five million children will lose AFDC when it is fully phased in.

This assault on America's children is also an assault on America's future. The millions of infants and toddlers who will be denied food necessary for their physical and intellectual development in the years ahead are the ones America will want to be computer programmers in 2017. The millions of five year olds who will be denied any cash aid for housing, food or clothing are the ones we will want to be learning in college or apprenticing in industry in 2012. The thousands of battered ten year olds denied counselling and foster care and adoptive homes are the ones we will want not to be violent 16 year olds in 2001. By ravaging the childhoods of millions of American children, the House will simultaneously be pillaging America's economic and democratic future.

The assault on children is unique in its size and severity. No other group, except for legal aliens, has been touched by more than a small fraction of the cuts aimed at children. No massively subsidized corporation has yet to see a dime threatened. (In fact, a handful of big businesses got a \$1 billion gift from higher prices on infant formula -- and less formula purchased -- when the House Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities voted down competitive bidding in the WIC program, a step USDA says will cause "increased malnutrition, growth stunting, and iron deficiency anemia.") No farmer has had his crop subsidies cut. No military or civil service retiree -- or member of Congress -- has seen his pay or health insurance or retirement benefits cut. Defense contractors have been given a gift of new and higher spending. Programs for poor families have faced extra cuts in order to spare traditional "pork" like visitors' centers or NRA-sponsored efforts to teach school children to shoot guns. The House majority has put almost all its cost-cutting effort into slashing and burning their way through programs for children and the parents, grandparents, foster parents and others who are struggling to care for them.

This is not what America voted for. This is not what Americans want. This is not what America needs. Nevertheless, in just 10 days in February, House committees voted to slash these basic supports:

Food for children. The House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee voted to take away the guarantee that low-income children can get free or reduced price school lunches and breakfasts. The plan indiscriminately lumps these programs together and cuts them \$2 billion over five years. In a separate block grant, the Committee ended the guarantee of food for children in Head Start and child care centers through the Child and Adult Care Food Program and lumped this with the WIC program of food for poor pregnant women and infants, the summer food program, and food for the homeless, and cut the package by \$5 billion over five years. Cutting fat? Hardly. Experts estimate that hundreds of millions fewer meals will be served to needy children in the year 2000, thanks to the cut. Sharing the pain? Hardly. No other food program has yet been cut, whether the cafeteria for members of the House of Representatives or the programs that feed the elderly.

House Speaker Gingrich has promised, as well he should, not to cut food programs for the elderly. But it is perverse to treat food for seniors as deserving of protection but food for children as a waste of national resources. We can afford to feed both.

Income support for children. The House Ways and Means Committee's Human Resources Subcommittee voted to take away the guarantee that poor children can get AFDC; voted to order states to deny throughout childhood any aid to children born out of wedlock to young mothers (even though the mother may eventually requalify for aid); and voted to limit to five years the receipt of welfare for those children who might still qualify despite the other rule changes. In the year 2000, \$3.7 billion will be taken away from poor children. Is this aimed at parents and personal responsibility? Not really. The plan cuts off children even when parents can get benefits, cuts off families even when they have been working and complying with all rules, and tells a child who has been living with his low income, elderly grandparents since birth that he'll get no help after the age of five. Cutting fat? No! In the year 2000, 1.7 million children who by definition do not have enough for food or shelter are projected to lose AFDC. Even more will lose help if states cut back further or divert state and federal AFDC funds to other purposes. Sharing the pain? Hardly. No other government income program for the rich, or middle class -- or the adult poor -- has been cut so deeply as this most basic safety net program for children, although the other programs cost many times more than AFDC.

Foster care and adoption assistance. Some of the millions of children being cut off AFDC may well end up at the door of the already overburdened child protection system for help, but they will likely find the door slammed in their faces. The House Republicans have amended their initial Contract to take away the guarantee, which they had originally preserved, that an eligible abused or neglected child who cannot live safely at home will be assured a foster home, group home, or adoptive family. Even as caseloads continue to rise, the new Child Protection Block Grant further endangers children by cutting more than \$5 billion over five years from foster care, adoption assistance, and a range of child abuse prevention and treatment services, and ending any federal oversight of the protection for these children. Beginning in FY 1998, states will have less available to them for the entire block grant than they are now projected to be spending that year for foster care and adoption assistance alone. The cuts in FY 2000 could force states to deny foster care to more than 100,000 abused and neglected children.

Children with Disabilities. The House is not even letting indigent children with severe disabilities escape the omnibus assault. It is virtually eliminating the program of cash assistance to children with disabilities whose parents cannot support them. Just cutting the fat? The plan will cut 250,000 out of 900,000 children with disabilities off the program now, and stop all cash assistance to almost all children entering the program in the future. No matter how bad a child's condition and no matter how poor the family, the child won't get cash assistance unless it is necessary to keep him from being institutionalized. Blind children, deaf children, children with cerebral palsy or muscular dystrophy all have been found to be unworthy of help in meeting their needs for food, clothing or shelter. Sharing the pain? The subcommittee made only small cuts in the program for disabled adults. No poor, disabled American should see assistance withdrawn -- our society is wealthy enough to help all low-income people with disabilities. The House seems to agree -- if you are an adult on Social Security, veterans benefits, civil service or military retirement, or SSI. But they have decided to single out children with disabilities, people who do not vote, as unworthy of help.

Children in Child Care. A child care block grant that ends child care entitlements targeted at getting and keeping families off welfare sweeps these programs in with other child care funds and then cuts the total \$2.5 billion over five years -- 24 percent in the fifth year. This and other cuts show that the House leadership is not truly interested in putting welfare recipients to work or supporting lower-income families in their work efforts. A far higher priority is simply slashing programs for children.

This report focuses on the massive damage to children's entitlements -- the destruction by the House of the decades-old promise that children and families in need can count on modest help in obtaining the most basic necessities. The targeting of these safety net programs, if it prevails in the House and Senate, will be the most damaging action Congress can take with regard to children. But as the House turns to other authorization, budget and appropriations issues, it is demonstrating that it will single out children for the harshest pain there as well. As just one example, during the week of February 20th House appropriations subcommittees singled out low-income Americans, but particularly low-income children, for the brunt of the \$17.1 billion in rescissions they propose. Employment training and jobs programs capture the essence of this anti-child frenzy. ~~The six largest~~ ^{one} employment program rescissions came in ~~the~~ ^{adult} programs and four youth programs. The adult programs were cut an average of 3.2 percent. The youth programs were cut 87.8 percent.

Seven
of it

Program	FY 1995 Budget Authority (in millions)	Proposed Rescission (in millions)	Percent Cut
Adult Training Grants	\$1055	\$33	3.1%
Older Americans Employment	411	14	3.4%
<i>Dislocated Workers Assistance</i> → Total Adult	1,296 2762	47.3 146.3	3.6 5.3%
Youth Training Grants	\$599	\$310	51.8%
1995 Summer Youth Employment	867	867	100
1996 Summer Youth Employment	871	871	100
Youth Fair Chance	25	25	100
Total Youth	\$2362	\$2073	87.8

Overall, the Department of Labor says 90 percent of the ^{employment -} ~~job-related~~ rescission were directed at youths. The summer youth jobs cut alone means 1,200,000 fewer jobs for America's needy teenagers -- another clear message to America's children and families that at least the House of Representatives is interested neither in their economic well-being nor their development into good workers who will contribute the most they can in their adult years.

In 1948 Senator Robert Taft, the pre-eminent conservative Republican of his generation, said that the American economy was rich enough "to prevent extreme hardship and maintain a minimum standard floor under subsistence, education, medical care and housing, to give to all a minimum standard of decent living and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life." This nation is far wealthier than when Senator Taft spoke. But the House of Representatives' leadership is far less generous than Senator Taft and seems to have decided that the wealthiest nation on earth cannot commit to give a school lunch or a public assistance grant to every child who needs the food or a roof over his head, cannot give a foster home to every child who needs refuge from abusive parents, and cannot afford to give disability assistance to every poor child with disabilities.

Fortunately in the weeks and months ahead there will be opportunities to stop this assault on children -- in the House as a whole, and in the Senate, and through Presidential vetoes. There are far better ways to balance the budget than dismantling the safety net for children. There are consolidations of discretionary programs that can be designed to improve services for children (see description in Appendix), but the House of Representatives' block-

granting of the safety net entitlement programs goes in precisely the wrong direction. Only if the House of Representatives' course of action so far is drastically changed will America's children be safe and healthy and able to learn in the years ahead, and America's future secure in the 21st century.

Aid To Families With Dependent Children

On February 13, the majority members of the Human Resources subcommittee of the House Committee on Ways and Means passed a bill that -- if it were to become law -- essentially would destroy the nation's basic safety net program for very poor children and their families, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

The bill, the Personal Responsibility Act (the "PRA"), would break a 60-year promise to America's children that subsistence benefits will be made available for families poor enough to qualify. The program has provided since its inception that needy families (with need defined by each state) could not be turned away or put on waiting lists, and that the growth of need during recessions would not be met by arbitrary denials of aid by cash-strapped states. This AFDC "entitlement" represented no more -- and no less -- than a *promise* to children and families in need that they can count on help with necessities. The PRA would break that promise. It would convert the program into a "block grant" and leave the states free to turn impoverished families away at any time.

The PRA would then assure that hundreds of thousands or millions of children in fact *will* be turned away, by freezing funding at FY 1994 levels for the next five years. Funds would be cut \$12.8 billion below projected costs in the five years through FY 2000. The projected additional costs being cut are for caseload growth, not for keeping benefits up with inflation. Even though the typical AFDC family receives only \$366 per month, all states have let inflation further erode benefits. (In fact, typical benefits have plummeted 47 percent since 1970.) The \$12.8 billion cut means that states would have to reduce benefits even further, and would have to terminate them altogether for millions of children and families. In the fifth year of the cuts, -- millions, or -- percent of AFDC children and caretaker relatives, are projected to lose benefits.

The PRA also specifies sweeping changes in eligibility, new federal mandates that restrict the children who can qualify for assistance. Here are some of the ways children would be hurt:

- Families could not receive assistance for more than five years cumulatively, even if their stays on welfare are only a few months at a time, followed by periods of work. Families would have to be cut off after five years, whether or not jobs were available. States would have the option to cut families off much sooner, even after only a number of months. Millions of children would lose help when their parents can't find work. If all states manage consistently to run welfare-to-work programs as well as the best that have been run to date, there still would be more than 3 million children (about one-third of the caseload) cut off AFDC because of the five year time limit, even though their parents had not found jobs.

- The PRA would limit states' ability to exempt disabled adults or children from the five-year time limit. While all the details of the bill have not yet been released, states apparently would be able to exempt only up to 10 percent of their caseloads from the five-year limit. But over 19 percent of mothers on AFDC are disabled, and another 8.4 percent care for children with disabilities. Many other AFDC children live with elderly grandparents. The PRA's rigid mandate would prevent states from meeting the needs of families for which work is virtually impossible.
- Children of mothers younger than 18 would be barred from receiving aid for their entire childhood; their mothers would not qualify, either. This provision does not simply require a minor mother to live at home, or in a supervised setting. Even if she lives with her parents, her child is disqualified from receiving aid. The mother apparently can qualify for AFDC if she has another child as an adult, but the child she bore as a teen *cannot* get help.
- Children born to families already on welfare would not receive any cash assistance.
- As is true in many other welfare reform proposals, parents would be required to participate in a "work activity" after no more than two years on AFDC, and states could choose to require work after a shorter period. But unlike many other reform proposals, there is *no* provision that child care help must be provided to the parent and child while the parent is in training or at work.

Except for these punitive provisions, the federal funding has few strings attached -- states do not even have to put up any of their own money to run the program. States could in fact add to the \$12.8 billion in federal reductions with cuts of their own. Further, states would be allowed to transfer as much as 30 percent of the federal block grant funds to other block grants for nutrition, child welfare, child care, or social services. States would be encouraged to cut even more, by taking an unspecified amount of their annual federal allotment and placing it in a "rainy day" fund, to cover increased expenses in the future (theoretically to meet caseload growth during a recession). But states would not be obliged to use these funds to assure that victims of recession receive a basic minimum of assistance, and the fund is structured to allow use of AFDC funds as a form of general revenue sharing: anything over 120 percent of the annual federal block grant portion that accumulates in the rainy day fund can be used by the state for any unrelated purpose (for example, building roads).

The PRA includes a range of other objectionable provisions. But at its heart, it has little to do with personal responsibility and a lot to do just with cutting supports to children. Among the ways in which it punishes families with children no matter how much the mother tries to "play by the rules" and take responsibility are:

- No matter how quickly and fully the mother cooperates in identifying the father, the family loses \$50 a month or 15 percent of the grant for as long as six months if the state does not establish paternity. In many states, it takes longer than six months for the child support bureaucracy to complete paternity establishment, so this becomes simply a back-door way of reducing assistance.
- No matter how much the mother is willing to work, the family would be cut off all cash assistance if it exceeds the state's time limit.

Supplemental Security Income For Children

As part of the Personal Responsibility Act, the majority members of the Human Resources Subcommittee of the House Committee on Ways and Means also dismantled the children's portion of the cash assistance program serving poor people with severe disabilities, Supplemental Security Income (SSI).

The bill would eliminate *all* SSI eligibility and benefits for more than 250,000 children with severe disabilities (out of the current children's SSI population of almost 900,000) who now receive help. Many of these children would lose Medicaid coverage as well. These 250,000 children were determined eligible because their level of functioning was judged to be significantly below age or grade level. Instead, the only children who would qualify must have a condition appearing on an official list, which, according to pediatric experts, often does not capture serious disability.

Most disabled children meeting the narrow new child disability standards of the PRA and entering the program in the future would receive no SSI cash assistance (the maximum federal monthly grant is now \$446; some states offer a small supplement in addition). Instead, states would receive a federal block grant funding medical and non-medical services for the children, such as therapy or the purchase of wheelchair ramps or other accessibility equipment. States would be free to design their own list of services offered, with no assurance that all services a disabled child might need would be made available. The block grant would grow with increases in the number of eligible children, but it would be set at a base much lower than current expenditures. Cash SSI would only go to new applicants whose disabilities are so severe that the children are judged likely to be institutionalized if the family does not receive this aid.

Only children in families with low-income qualify for the current SSI program. While children with disabilities need medical care and related services, they also need food, clothing, and shelter. The SSI children's program has been a lifeline to parents faced with the struggle of caring for a disabled child. Moreover, these low-income disabled children who will be "eligible" but can only receive medical services still are deemed to be receiving SSI (an important point, because this qualifies the child for Medicaid). But the bill states in another section that no one could receive both SSI and Aid to Families With Dependent Children. Therefore, even poor children with disabilities living in wholly destitute families would be barred by the Personal Responsibility Act from receiving cash assistance from *any* source.

Over the five years ending in FY 2000, the PRA cuts \$12.1 billion below what the children's disability component of SSI currently is projected to spend.

Services for Abused and Neglected Children

In Title II of the Personal Responsibility Act, called the Child Protection Block Grant, the majority on the Human Ways and Means subcommittee moved to slash federal services and protections for abused and neglected children.

The Child Protection Block Grant would take away the entitlement nature of the federal Foster Care Program, which has assured for more than 30 years a safe haven in foster family homes and other settings for eligible abused and neglected children who cannot be protected by their parents. It also would end the entitlement nature of the federal Adoption Assistance Program, which helps ensure permanent families for children whose disabilities, race, age, or membership in a sibling group prevent them from being adopted without help. These programs, together with a number of other programs aimed at addressing abuse and neglect, would be repealed and replaced by the block grant. Eligible children who cannot live safely at home or are waiting for adoptive families no longer would be assured of federal assistance.

The funding cuts in the block grant would make it impossible to serve even the children currently receiving care, much less the increasing numbers of children in need of protection. States would receive at least \$5.5 billion less over five years through the Child Protection Block Grant than they would have received through the programs replaced by the block grant. In FY 2000, \$1.7 billion less than current law estimates would be available, a reduction of 26.3 percent. If all of the reduction that year were to come from foster care, there would be room for 111,000 fewer foster children.

Funds for child protection activities also could be reduced further because states have the option in the new block grant to transfer up to 30 percent of this already limited pot to other block grants. There also would no longer be any federal requirement that states match federal dollars with state dollars or maintain state and local expenditures for these purposes.

If changes are not made in the Child Protection Block Grant, it will endanger tens of thousands of children and deny many others the care and support they need:

- Abused and severely neglected children may have to be put on waiting lists for foster care and left at home because funds are not sufficient to accommodate all the children in need of care and no child will have a right to obtain such care.

- Children with special needs who are ready for adoption may be left in foster care, often at greater cost, because potential adoptive parents will be deterred from making permanent commitments to waiting children due to the uncertainty about continued assistance for adoption.
- Children in foster care will be more likely to be in inappropriate and unsafe placements, to stay in care longer, not to have their individual cases reviewed regularly, and to be denied access to trained staff.
- Children likely will be denied the benefits of family support, family preservation, and other child abuse prevention services because the pressures to use the limited block grant funds for foster care will give states no flexibility to expand other services and may require them to cut back dollars for services to prevent abuse and neglect when foster care caseloads grow and additional resources are needed.
- Children who will be put at risk by other provisions in the Personal Responsibility Act, such as the denial of aid to children born to unmarried teens and the elimination of cash assistance for children with disabilities, will not be able to turn to the child welfare system for the services and supports they need.
- There will be no federal accountability or responsibility for the care children receive. All the enforceable federal protections to ensure that children enter care appropriately and receive quality care while in placement will be eliminated. The Secretary of Health and Human Services is specifically prohibited from reviewing the adequacy of state child protection procedures or from enforcing any provision of the Child Protection Block Grant.

Separate 1-2 page pieces will

follow on: child care
school lunches
child care food/WIC

then appendices with, e.g., the numbers.



28 August 1995

(b) 5438825
Dear Melanne,

Thanks. I really appreciated your thoughtful reception for my ideas. Talking to you also clarified my thinking on what I'd like to do next in terms of teen pregnancy: I'd like to run the initiative with Dr. Foster as chairman.

I'm well suited for the job. I know all the players; am well regarded by members of Congress and state legislators; have earned the respect of the "experts" for mastering their topic; have credibility with the media; and care deeply about the issue. I've been effective at countering the conservatives in the media and at building support for ideas such as "second-chance homes" and research on sexual predators.

This is what I would need from the White House: a prestigious board of directors and a chairperson, some private funding to get started, and a commitment to the ideas laid out in the memo.

To start with, I could run the initiative with one other senior person, a writer/legislative person and administrative support. I've already made some preliminary contacts with foundations--Annie Casey, Carnegie, Ford, Kaiser, Clark, Pew, and Robin Hood--about supporting some of this work through PPI's foundation. They're interested, but would be much more comfortable with a national non-partisan initiative.

7 Al From might be convinced to loan me to the Administration for a month to flesh out the project, as he loaned me to Gore for the National Performance Review. If you think there's interest in the White House, let's talk soon.

Timing is critical for two reasons. The president needs to get this going before the next congressional and state legislative cycles. And once I've raised money for "Third Way" projects for PPI, I'll be morally committed to stay at PPI and see those projects through.

Thanks again.

Keely

Eroskine

Hilary -
this has been
approved pending
a date. IS there
anything I
should do?

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

01-Aug-1995 08:27pm

TO: (See Below)
FROM: Jeremy D. Benami
Domestic Policy Council
SUBJECT: teen pregnancy meeting

AC 21
M. T. M.
A. C. B.
pull proposal
in base
route

A few weeks ago, I submitted a scheduling request for a one hour meeting with POTUS and teen pregnancy experts etc. in early to mid September.

This is a meeting that Leon and Erskine had agreed to support at a meeting in Leon's office - and we then sent a memo to the President and he supported this approach.

The meeting is critical to the kickoff of the National Campaign Against Teen Pregnancy, which the President is talking about in detail next Wednesday.

We need to confirm a date for that meeting now because we want to get letters out to invitees ASAP so that they can lock in their schedules as well. I'm worried about having the President talking about this campaign without a locked in strategy for implementing. Getting a date is a critical first step.

Please advise.

Thanks.

Distribution:

TO: Stephanie Streett
TO: Anne Walley
TO: Colleen A. McCarthy

CC: Carol H. Rasco
CC: Janet B. Abrams
CC: Margaret A. Williams
CC: Deborah R. Both
CC: Alexis M. Herman
CC: Deborah L. Fine for A. Herman
CC: Katharine M. Button for M. Verveer



The War On America's Children

WE AMERICANS HAVE long stood for our compassion towards children. We know that the best investment in our future is the one we make in young people. Today, however, that caring spirit is under attack and endangered by a reckless disregard for the future. Shockingly, that attack is being launched by some in the U.S. Congress.

While millions of our children are happy, healthy and flourishing, millions of others are in crisis. Twenty-three percent live in poverty. Too many go hungry every day. Children increasingly bear children of their own. Drugs, violence and abuse claim the lives of our young before they even reach adulthood.

It is tempting to dismiss this as a crisis of the poor. But all of our families feel the ripple effect when children in our society are deprived of basic necessities or are alienated by the conditions of their lives. Children from

wealthy and middle-class families are not immune from this: Divorce and the excesses of consumerism, among other things, alienate them as well.

As a mother, I have felt what so many others feel when we see life in our communities grow harsher and full of greater anxieties. We see it in rising health-care costs and crime, in families where both parents struggle to make ends meet. We also see it in the breakdown of our civic institutions, and when the values that for two centuries have defined us as a people erode.

Given the urgency of our problems, we need a thorough and honest debate about helping children and families. We need to find reasonable ways to make government do its job more efficiently and effectively. What we don't need is a mean-spirited attack on nearly every government program designed to help poor and disadvantaged children.

The President has described Congressional ac-

Hillary Rodham Clinton is the First Lady of the United States.

Above: Painting a baby with a parent at the Arkansas Children's Hospital

sons as "a war on the children of our country." The act takes many forms: cutting funds, eliminating programs or replacing them with block grants in the name of flexibility. It is a war whose devastation we will feel far beyond the \$40 billion in cuts Congress is proposing for children's programs over the next five years. Along with Big Bird, school lunches, summer jobs, and aid for poor handicapped children, what we need for as a society is in jeopardy.

Many of these budget decisions are billed as necessary curbs on spending. In fact, eviscerating children's programs will not significantly reduce the deficit. The only winners will be families earning more than \$200,000 a year, who will be eligible for the Republican capital gains tax cut.

In only 68 days, we have learned that the Contract with America is a financial arrangement whose purpose is to enhance the interests of the very wealthy and powerful at the expense of the very poor and weak; and, at that matter, everyone else. Any country—or family—that views its obligations to children as contractual, of course, is heading in the wrong direction.

Lost in the blizzard of anti-government rhetoric is an appreciation of the help we can provide children. While we all agree government must be leaner and more efficient, we should remember that not all government is bad or excessive. Those who blame it for the ills among our children miss the point. Government must and should not solve all of our social problems. School lunch program can help a child's development, but it can't provide shelter or parental love. Institutionalized poor pregnant women can help produce healthy babies, but it can't protect that baby from neglect and abuse.

What government can do is provide a safety net for its neediest children and families, and the opportunity to lift themselves up. Through child-care assistance, low-income families and those coming off welfare, rough grants for foster care and adoption aid, family preservation, support, heating fuel for the disadvantaged, and basic health and nutrition programs, government keeps a safety net in place. And that means we're children, in poverty.

Consider the evidence: The child poverty rate fell in the mid-'60s until the early '70s. It rose again as real wages fell in 1970. Then, in the '80s, when a safety net began fraying, we saw a dramatic increase in the percentage of children in poverty. Not coincidentally, there were simultaneous increases in self-willful teen pregnancies, juveniles incarcerated for violent crimes, violent teen deaths and low-birth-weight babies. During the same period, the increase in divorce lowered standards of living for many men caring for children. Increasingly stable families came marginal ones.

Congressional attempts to mantle the safety net are total reversal of our historic commitment to children. The first federal child-care act was in 1863: a government-sponsored nursery for mothers working in Civil War hospitals. After the war, freed slaves received food rations—the equivalent of food stamps. The first federal immunization program began at the turn of the century. In 1909, Congress established the Children's Bureau to safeguard children.

Vol for Families with Dependent Children—welfare began in 1935 to help mothers, often widows, stay near their children. Beginning in the 1980s, it was protected children. Congress appropriated funds for emergency maternal and infant care in 1943. In 1946, it passed the National School Lunch Act after realizing that many World War II industrial workers in poor childhood nutrition.

For many decades, Democrats and Republicans alike recognized that our nation is prosperous and sane enough to ensure that all children get medical care, education and basic subsistence. Members of both parties have fought to defend disabled, abused

and hungry children through programs and legislation such as the Women Infants and Children program, Head Start and the Child Abuse Prevention Act of 1974. Across party lines, we have said that early intervention saves lives and money while it strengthens our time-honored values of opportunity and responsibility.

Today, however, poor, vulnerable children are regarded less as subjects for concern than as culprits for everything that has gone wrong in society. They and their families are being singled out for punishment.

What happened? There are many reasons, including these:

- Social and economic changes left most Americans, particularly middle-class people, with stagnant incomes, feeling increasingly frustrated about their lives.



AP Photo

'Eviscerating children's programs will not reduce the deficit significantly. The only winners will be families earning more than \$200,000 a year.'

- Many politicians in the '80s focused their opprobrium on individual behaviors of the poor—like the much-publicized "welfare queens"—and the waste of federal resources. This disgust overpowered feelings of charity and fueled the anger of many Americans and distracted them from the failure of other institutions, from big business and the media to state and local government.

Such myopia made it harder to see the massive transfer of wealth from the middle class to the rich which took the form of tax breaks for the wealthy and increased burdens on the middle class. At the same time, companies with lobbying influence gained in power, to the detriment of the average citizen and, of course, their children, who have no such powerful lobbies.

- Illegitimacy and family breakdown led to greater personal insecurity and public consequences, such as increased crime among younger teenagers.

- The influence of the mass media, particularly its emphasis on sex and violence, undermined parental authority, and led to a yearning for more traditional "family values."

- The guilt many Americans feel about their own children—because of longer work hours, divorce, shrinking resources and all the other kitchen-table issues—is often projected as anger onto other people's children.

But there is no such thing as "other people's children." There are only the hopes and dreams of parents alone, which we must do everything in our power to preserve and strengthen. Instead of making children scapegoats, we should focus on helping poor ones overcome poverty and helping others defeat the anxieties they feel about their futures. Every child needs food, shelter, health care, schooling, a strong family and love. They also need the security of a strong economy. As the National Council of Bishops stated in a 1991 pastoral letter entitled "Putting Families First," "... many [families] are poor because of economic forces beyond their control: recession, industrial restructuring, erosion of real wages, unemployment and discrimination in hiring and promotion."

We cannot afford to deprive children of support and, at the same time, fail to address the broad forces that contribute to poverty and family break-up in the first place. The President has fought to lift up our children and their families through fundamental structural changes: meaningful deficit reduction, the creation of six million new jobs, streamlining and, in some cases, eliminating laws and codes to ensure that aid is provided as intended, and investment in the skills and training of our people.

We must judge every proposal in Congress whether it affects welfare, nutrition, education or health, by its impact on children. We prepare environmental impact statements before taking actions in areas where endangered species live. We have places where children are endangered. They deserve at least the same care we give our physical environment.

Rather than a contract, we need, as the President has advocated, a New Covenant, a sacred trust between government and the American people, and among Americans themselves. Being American is not about being rich, poor or middle class. It is about having faith in our future.

We especially need to build that trust between adults and children. But that means adults must assume more responsibility. Parents must provide love, discipline and nurturing, and must make every sacrifice necessary to build families in which children can thrive.

Young men and women must delay having children until they can provide love and responsible care. And men who bring children into the world must take responsibility for supporting them—whether they are born out of wedlock or into marriage that ends in divorce.

I mentioned before that child abuse has no powerful lobby to protect their interests. The truth is, every one of us must be that lobby. Every one of us must stand up for them, whether we are their parents, teachers, neighbors or fellow Americans. There is no better way to ensure that we will move into the next century still strong and secure than to make children's concerns, our concern.

In their 1991 pastoral letter, the bishops also wrote that the most important work for our children is "in our homes and our neighborhoods and our community organizations. No government can love a child, and no policy can substitute for a family's care. But at the same time, government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social and economic stresses of caring for children."

If we are to safeguard our children, America's personal values and national policies must go hand-in-hand.



TO: President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton

FROM: Kathleen Sylvester

DATE: 19 September 1995 (revised to reflect Senate welfare vote.)

Teen Pregnancy Strategy Recommendations

Near-term options: The next six months

Over the next six months, I would urge you to deliver on your State-of-the-Union promise to launch a teen pregnancy campaign and to offer a practical response to your own observation that "the epidemic of illegitimacy is our most serious social problem."

1. Announce a national teen pregnancy initiative, chaired by a respected authority like Dr. Henry Foster.

The board should include representation by these groups: black churches, the Catholic church, Concerned Black Men, the new fatherhood organizations, the Urban League, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Bar Association, women's organizations, children's advocacy groups, the entertainment industry, and the business community.

The initiative should be bipartisan, with members such as Nancy Kassebaum and Barbara Mikulski, as well as some state officials recognized for their efforts on the issue. It should be privately funded.

In announcing the initiative, you might include these points:

* We're making this a national community effort to engage communities in solving this problem because we want to reassert community values. We are setting ambitious goals: 1) to engage at least one-quarter of the 80,000 communities in the United States by the end of 1996, and 2) to set a national goal to reduce the current teen pregnancy rate of 117 pregnancies per 1,000 teens by 2 percent a year over the next decade.

* There will be some issues on which we can reach no national consensus. Those issues—such as what services teen clinics should offer or what schools should teach young people about sex—are best set aside for communities and parents to decide at the local level. But there is much common ground. Don't we agree that all children deserve to be raised by stable adults who can support and nurture them well? And don't we agree that it is wrong for society to stand by and allow children's lives to be put at risk when there are ways to prevent it?

* Each year, 1.2 million American teenage girls become pregnant—one in nine. Before the end of their teenage years, 48 percent of teenage girls become pregnant once. About 500,000 choose abortion. Don't we agree that no young woman should face the terrible choice of having an abortion or raising a child alone and in poverty?

During the months following the announcement, your Administration could help the effort in these important ways:

2. Direct HHS assistant secretary for planning and evaluation to fund research projects on these issues:

- The role of sexual predators. HHS has so far declined to fund research examining this question, despite its obvious importance. There's some indication that they may be ready to deal with this question, but they may need a push.
- Evaluation of alternatives for teen mothers and their children when the mothers return to school? Should they go back to regular schools or be in special ones?
- Evaluation of strategies for treating teen fathers.

3. Commit key administration officials to lend their authority and credibility to projects of the teen pregnancy initiative as needed.

Hillary Clinton (either publicly or privately) might build support for examining the difficult legal questions surrounding this issue, such as prosecution of sexual abuse and limits on parental rights. Richard Riley might help build public support for long-term investment in the teen pregnancy prevention, as he did with infant mortality. Henry Cisneros might help with projects creating community consensus to solve these problems, as he did with the Industrial Areas Foundation in Texas. Vice President Gore and Tipper Gore might focus next year's Family Re-Union on teen pregnancy programs that work.

4. Appoint a National Commission on Adoption and Foster Care Reform.

The commission should study the causes of low adoption rates; barriers to transracial adoption; and the crisis in the foster care system. You could announce it by highlighting these problems: 1) Adoption rates are about 1 percent for African-American teens and 3 percent for whites; 2) despite federal guidelines that say child-custody cases must be resolved in 18 months, an African-American child in an urban area may spend an *average* of 51 months in a *first* foster care placement; 3) the Family Preservation Act of 1980 says child welfare agencies should make "reasonable efforts" to keep families together; this confusing mandate has caused too many children to stay too long with unfit parents.

5. Convene a national "Summit on Media Responsibility."

These statistics alone are enough to provoke a discussion: The Kaiser Family Foundation reports that in 1994, the average number of sexual activities per episode on the average soap opera was 6.6. The average soap opera viewer also sees unmarried intercourse 2.4 times per episode and rape 1.4 times per episode. I've had some preliminary discussions with people in the television community, and I am told that they are more receptive to changing their approach to portraying sex than changing their approach to portraying violence.

While the Clinton Administration pursues some of these high profile activities, the Teen Pregnancy Initiative can work to change attitudes and perceptions about teen mothers, reengage communities in solving the problem, and build support for legislative initiatives by highlighting successful programs. These are some of the activities that the Initiative should pursue over the next year.

1. Work with Congress.

Members of Congress are eager for suggestions on sensible ways to talk about teen pregnancy and for ideas that work. I've spoken to the Senate Democratic Policy Committee, and now serve as an advisor on teen pregnancy to Senators Daschle, Lieberman, Mikulski, Breaux, Conrad, Dorgan, Bryan, Reid, Moseley-Braun, Rockefeller, and Kerrey. I've also begun to work with Senator Moynihan. On the GOP side, I'm working with Senators Kassebaum, Specter and Domenici. I am slated to talk to the House women's caucus, the House Democratic caucus, and the children's caucus.

One of my proposals is included in the Senate version of the welfare bill. The Conrad-Lieberman amendment would spend \$150 million over five years to help communities create a national network of "second-chance homes" for teen mothers and their children, who number 67,000 at last count. This may be the basis of the compromise on teen mothers under age 18--give them vouchers for these homes instead of cash.

The Senate also passed a resolution acknowledging the role of sexual abuse in teen pregnancy--the first such acknowledgment of the problem.

2. Work with the states.

I'm already working with governors Bayh, Carper, Romer, Chiles, and Glendening, as well as Lt. Gov. Beyer in Virginia and Comptroller Sharp in Texas. Gov. Pataki's people are using some my work from Cuomo's teen pregnancy task force.

* Create a teen pregnancy handbook for state legislators. Since January, PPI has worked with state legislators to design a variety of teen pregnancy bills. These have included "second-chance homes" legislation in Maryland and Iowa; as well as legislation in six states to create media campaigns; to introduce new sex education curricula; to establish Underage Sex Offenses Units; to establish Individual Development Accounts for at-risk teenagers; to create neighborhood centers to help teen parents; and to require AFDC recipients to take parenting classes, immunize their children, and do volunteer work as a condition for receiving benefits. PPI now has a draft of a handbook that could be adapted and released by the Initiative in time for the upcoming legislative sessions.

3. Advance the idea that sexual abuse is a root cause of teen pregnancy.

PPI and the American Bar Association's Center on Children and the Law have designed a 16-month research and public education project to examine the sexual predator problem. We will jointly recommend changes in state criminal statutes and social welfare policy to protect young women and ensure that statutory rape laws are enforced. We hope to get foundation money for this project in the next few months.

As you know, Roberta Cooper Ramo, the new ABA president, has made family violence her priority issue. We're hoping to convince her to broaden the scope of her project to include sexual abuse. With the right emphasis on this issue, I believe that we can make "sexual predators" the hot issue for every politically ambitious prosecutor in the country, just as "deadbeat dads" was a few years ago.

4. Initiate a parallel project on school-age fathers.

While 70 percent of teen mothers' babies are fathered by older men, the other 30 percent are fathered by teens. Strategies to target these younger men must be entirely different than strategies for older men.

5. Cultivate media coverage.

Republicans have succeeded in promoting stereotypes about teen mothers that must be countered. I believe it's possible to do that. Over the past eight months, I've guided journalists to stories that break down these stereotypes and break down the old thinking on some pieces of the problem—most notably the issue of sexual abuse.

Coverage has included stories in The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, USA Today, Philadelphia Inquirer, Boston Globe, Boston Herald, Miami Herald, Cleveland Plain Dealer, ABC News, National Public Radio, C-SPAN, Newsweek, Governing, Gannett New Service, Knight-Ridder News Service, Scripps-Howard

News Service, columns by E.J. Dionne, Jonathan Alter, Ellen Goodman, and more than 50 editorial pages.

We need a concerted effort to tell the other side of the story about teen pregnancy, and I think these sources are willing to learn more and share that story with their audiences.

6. Cultivate grass roots involvement.

An independent, non-governmental Initiative would be free to work with all kinds of national and local groups without regard to their policy positions on controversial issues. More importantly, it could provide a focal point and a goal for some of their projects.

One such organization is the Coalition for America's Children, a grassroots organization that includes the Junior League, the NEA, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the Child Welfare League, the American Public Welfare Association and others—representing 40 million members. The second is the Coalition of Community Foundations for Youth, which now includes a significant number of the country's 420 community foundations. Both of these groups have money, willing members, and ready-made infrastructures. What they lack are specific goals and a vision of where those goals should take them.

The Coalition for America's Children, for instance, has a sophisticated communications network; they've been convening closed-circuit call-in shows and they've held national town meetings by using some of the country's 150 corporate satellite systems to link their members. They'd like to do more feeds that could be pulled down by local TV stations, PBS, and cable stations. The community foundations are in the same position. They've adopted the children and families agenda, and at the moment are involved in some relatively unsophisticated activities like giving out report cards.

5. Open an interactive clearinghouse and speakers' bureau on teen pregnancy prevention.

There is an enormous demand for useful information on this issue. I've addressed a dozen state legislatures and PPI has received hundreds of requests for information—from DLC members and non-members across the country. The White House's high-profile activities would increase this demand, and the Initiative could then create an *interactive* information system that helps legislators and successful practitioners connect to each other.

6. Explore appropriate corporate involvement in this issue.

Corporate sponsorship of public service ads is not enough. The new ads that suggest teens will have better lives if they wait to have babies may be appealing to middle-class adults, but are unlikely to affect teens at risk of early parenting. Those young people believe that their lives won't be any better if they wait to have babies; in fact, their lives may be worse because babies bring them adult attention and support.

As an alternative to the ads currently running, I'd suggest the following:

—Consider how those same corporate sponsors could offer teens real incentives, such as Individual Development Accounts, mentors, scholarships, summer jobs, or jobs after graduation.

—Wait until there's a real teen pregnancy campaign going on; then devise ads that bolster those efforts. I've made some preliminary overtures to Jay Winston at Harvard, who designed the effective drunk-driving campaign, and he may be the one to help break down the message into effective pieces.

—Once we figure out what the message should be, then challenge the corporate entities that market successfully to teens—such as Nike, Reebok, Coke, Pepsi, and Levi's—to devise a national advertising campaign. I've talked to Linda Peak at Coke; she thinks she could sell the idea there.

Long-term options:

In the second Clinton Administration, the White House and the Teen Pregnancy Initiative could jointly explore some of these questions:

1. How do we establish a "rite-of-passage" for parenting? How do we convince young people that there is an appropriate stage of life and preparation necessary before they become parents?
2. How do we build incentives for every teenager similar to the incentives that middle-class teens have to not become parents too soon?
3. How can we build community-based institutions—such as the "second-chance homes" for teen mothers—to reinforce community values and build community support to teens who are at-risk of becoming parents? How do we create a national network of neighborhood centers—modeled after the settlement houses that helped new immigrants integrate into communities—to expand informal networks of social support and promote community-based problem-solving.



Executive Summary

November 1994

Preventable Calamity: *Rolling Back Teen Pregnancy*

Kathleen Sylvester

A preventable calamity is taking place in communities all across America: Young women who are still children themselves are bearing children of their own.

It is a calamity for these young mothers because early motherhood denies them opportunities and choices. It is a calamity for their children because most will grow up poor and fatherless. And it is a calamity for this nation because these children are likely to repeat the tragic cycle of poverty and dysfunction into which they were born.

The problem is urgent. There are now nine million children living in welfare families. As those nine million children reach adolescence, many are "scripted" to repeat the lives of their parents. We must intervene and break the cycle before those children, too, become parents too soon and create a new generation of disadvantage.

To reverse this cycle requires nothing less than a categorical declaration by our nation's civic, moral, and community leaders that it is wrong—not simply foolish or impractical—for women and men to make babies they cannot support emotionally and financially. We must reject moral relativism and reassert our common values.

Our national leaders have viewed the issues of illegitimacy and family breakdown through a dense fog of ideology. Liberals have offered palliatives but refuse to condemn unwed teen parenting as wrong; conservatives have offered condemnation and moral righteousness—unaccompanied by constructive solutions to change the circumstances that lead to teen parenting.

It is time to reject such false choices. Reversing the rise of illegitimacy and decline of marriage is a monumental national task that requires recognition of both personal and societal responsibility. Liberals must recognize that intact, two-parent families are, in the aggregate, better for children than single-parent families. They must recognize that fathers matter and that marriage remains the principal means by which societies legitimize childbearing and ensure that children's needs are met. Conservatives must recognize that problems that have developed over the past quarter-century will not vanish overnight if government withdraws its helping hand. They must recognize the economic as well as cultural stresses that families face. They must support child-centered policies that give parents the resources and skills to raise and nurture their children well.

Massive federal spending on remedial programs will not solve the problem. Neither will castigating teen mothers, cutting off their welfare checks, and moving their children into orphanages. Government's role is not to insulate individuals from the

consequences of their behavior. Nor should government insulate individuals from the values of their own communities.

The role of government must shift radically. Government must be the catalyst for strategies to change public perceptions about teen pregnancy, as well as public perceptions about who is responsible for it, and how it should be solved.

All parents must be held accountable for supporting their children, and those who accept government help must also accept reciprocal obligations. At the same time, society must recognize its obligation to young parents and young people who are not yet parents. We must offer them real opportunities to create better lives for themselves and their children—and a great deal of help along the way.

This paper proposes a four-part strategy to accomplish those objectives:

- ▶ *Launching a national campaign to end the moral relativism that has characterized discussions of teen pregnancy.* The campaign must begin with the unequivocal assertion that unmarried teen childbearing is morally wrong because of its costs for children and society. We must cast single motherhood as a selfish act because it harms children; we must resurrect the notion that it is dishonorable for a man to father a child he does not support.
- ▶ *Shifting government's role to that of catalyst.* Government can no longer insulate those responsible for teen pregnancy from the consequences of their actions. Public policy must discourage, rather than support, decisions to bear—or father—children out of wedlock. This shift includes ending unqualified public assistance for unmarried teen mothers, requiring accountability for all fathers, and punishing sexual predators. At the same time, government must become a catalyst for solutions designed at the community level—solutions that strengthen and support families and reinforce community values.
- ▶ *Redefining responsible sexual behavior.* That definition should be based on this simple premise: While many in our society now accept sex outside of marriage, we must reassert that children belong inside marriage.
- ▶ *Creating new opportunities and incentives for young women and men at risk of becoming parents too soon.* We must stop rewarding the wrong behavior and instead offer rewards for disadvantaged young women and men who finish school and delay parenting. To help them, we must offer the support of caring adults, the chance to do well in school and go on to good jobs, and the reinforcement along the way of tangible and meaningful incentives, such as Individual Development Accounts.

Recommendations

The National Campaign

- ▶ The President should lead an unrelenting national campaign against teen pregnancy, asserting firmly that unmarried parenting by minors is morally wrong because of its consequences for children. Once the President begins that conversation, everyone who has standing with young people to reinforce its message should do so. Parents, communities, schools, and churches must join the President. The goals of this national campaign should be as ambitious as the problem is urgent.

—Reduce the current teen pregnancy rate of 117 pregnancies per 1,000 teens by 5 percent a year over the next decade until it is cut by half.

—At least one-quarter of the 80,000 communities in the United States should adopt their own teen pregnancy prevention goals and strategies by the end of 1996.

- ▶ The President must challenge the media to join in this effort, convening a national conference of entertainment industry executives to define and agree on their appropriate role in reversing this trend.

—As part of this effort, the federal government should conduct and make public an annual survey of the state of media and its portrayals of sexual activity and parenting, the time slots in which these depictions appear, and the estimated number of viewers under age 18 who watch those programs.

- ▶ The President should challenge corporate entities that market successfully to teens—such as Nike, Reebok, Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola, and Levi's—to devise a national advertising campaign aimed at halting teen pregnancy.

Shifting Responsibility for Children from Government to Families and Communities

- ▶ Communities should create a national network of "second-chance homes" where teen welfare mothers can live with their children in a safe and supported environment and meet the responsibilities that are a condition for receiving AFDC benefits.
- ▶ Communities should create a national network of "neighborhood opportunity centers"—modeled after the settlement houses that helped

new immigrants become productive citizens—to expand informal networks of social support and promote community-based problem-solving.

- ▶ Every welfare family should get a "passport" out of poverty. With this passport, families would receive credit for a variety of activities that could be counted toward the new work requirements for welfare recipients.
- ▶ The federal government must exercise its moral leadership to mount a national campaign to halt predatory sexual practices. This includes public acknowledgment of the scope of the problem and funding to ensure appropriate counseling for rape and incest victims. The states must pass mandatory minimum sentences for sex crimes against children to end the lenient treatment of those who commit such crimes.
- ▶ States should be required to establish paternity for the children of all unmarried women at birth, delinquent child support should be collected through paycheck withholding. "Zero-dollar" orders of support should be established for parents unable to pay so payments can be collected later based on the ability to pay.
- ▶ Policies must treat school-age mothers and fathers more equally. Non-working school-age fathers must be required to stay in school. Fathers who cannot make financial contributions must be served with zero-dollar support orders and required to make in-kind contributions, such as working at their children's day care centers or in community service jobs.

A New Definition of Sexual Responsibility

- ▶ The U.S. Department of Education should offer a plan for comprehensive sexuality education in the schools in grades K-12. The plan should use as its starting point the model developed by the National Guidelines Task Force, a group of 15 national organizations that has laid out an age-specific agenda delineating what children should know about 36 specific topics related to sexuality, and guidelines for teaching them decision-making and negotiating skills with regard to sexual behavior. At the same time, the federal government should make available information about all sexuality education curricula that have proved effective. Adopting these curricula would be a local option.
- ▶ The federal government should offer challenge grants to communities and states to experiment with demonstration programs requiring all teens to

receive "parenting certification" as a condition for a driver's license or for high school graduation. This certification can be offered by churches, community organizations, or any entity parents and adolescents choose.

Creating New Opportunities and Incentives

- ▶ The federal government should provide challenge grants to the states through Title X of the Public Health Act to fund community-run clinics that will provide easy, confidential access to health care—including contraceptive information and family planning services—for young men and women.
- ▶ The President should appoint a national commission to study the causes of low adoption rates, barriers to transracial adoption, and the crisis in the foster care system.
- ▶ The federal government should encourage broad experimentation with incentives through a program of challenge grants to the states for Individual Development Accounts and other demonstrations that build on the models of successful incentive programs.
- ▶ The federal government should provide mentors for young men and women through the National Community Service Act and the Foster Grandparents Program.

***Kathleen Sylvester is the vice president of domestic policy for the
Progressive Policy Institute.***

To receive a copy of the full report, please send a check or money order in the amount of \$5.00 to: Progressive Policy Institute, 518 C Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002, Attn: Publications Department. For more information please call (202) 547-0001.



Executive Summary

June 1995

Second-Chance Homes

Breaking the Cycle of Teen Pregnancy

Kathleen Sylvester

For many Americans, teenage welfare mothers symbolize the tragedy of our nation's failed welfare policy and the unraveling of our nation's social fabric. Growing numbers of poor and uneducated young women, often still children themselves, are using public support to bear and raise children outside of marriage. These young women are not only a reminder of government's inability to address a fundamental social problem, but more importantly, they are producing a new generation of poor and fatherless children who will begin life with disadvantages from which they may never recover.

The current public debate over teen mothers offers Congress and the nation an opportunity to break the cycle and move beyond the punitive solutions proposed by conservatives and the defense of a failed welfare system offered by liberals.

The Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) offers an alternative that invokes society's values, requires responsibility and reciprocity from welfare recipients, and engages communities in solving the problem.

PPI's proposal would create a national network of "second-chance homes"—group residences in which teen mothers whose own homes are unstable or unsafe, live under adult supervision with their children, while meeting their social and personal obligations for receiving welfare support. These homes, with seed money and guidance from the federal government, would bring together in one setting the three fundamental elements teen mothers need if they are to have a chance to succeed: socialization, nurturing and support, and structure and discipline.

Getting Started: How the Policy Would Work. Second-chance homes offer a unique opportunity for a partnership among teen mothers, government, and communities: Under PPI's proposal:

- ▶ Participants would use portions of their welfare and foster care payments and federal nutrition and housing subsidies, as program fees to offset the costs of the homes.
- ▶ Government would provide seed money, guidance, and evaluation, acting as a catalyst for community action. The federal government would set aside \$20 million a year for three years to create a national network of second-chance homes.

AUG 7 1995

Welfare Reform: For Mothers, Second Homes ...

As the welfare debate begins in the Senate, politicians are still deeply divided about what to do with teenage welfare mothers. Many Republicans, whose goal for welfare reform is to punish illegitimacy, want to teach teenage mothers a lesson. They have a point.

We should teach these young women a lesson. We should teach them to be good mothers, and good workers and good citizens. And we should send a strong message that government no longer offers unconditional support for young women who bear children out of wedlock.

But for welfare reform to accomplish its most appropriate goal—helping young mothers become self-sufficient—it can't be based on stereotypes.

Who are teenage mothers? Most come from homes strained by poverty and dysfunction. Most teenage mothers do badly in school; many drop out before they become pregnant. They have been badly nurtured. Many have been subjected to neglect or physical violence. Some studies show that as many as two-thirds were victims of rape or sexual abuse at an early age—crimes often committed by males living in the same household. As a result, many of these young women suffer from mental and emotional problems.

They are easy prey for older men; young women who have been victims of

early sexual abuse often develop emotional patterns that make them vulnerable to the attentions of older men. A study released last week by the Alan Guttmacher Institute suggests that almost two-thirds of teenage mothers have babies fathered by men who are 20 or older.

Teenage mothers' life prospects are severely limited by their lack of socialization. They learn how to treat their own children from the parents who raised them; they model social behavior after peers from the same neighborhoods. They have few models for any other life. With so many obstacles and so few skills, these very young welfare mothers are the wrong candidates for a thoughtless experiment in welfare reform.

So if Congress is serious about imposing such obligations, it's time to revive an old institution—the maternity home—in a new form. Congress should adopt the proposal, offered by Sens. Daschle, Breaux and Mikulski, or a similar proposal by Sen. Kent Conrad to use federal funds to help communities create a national network of "second-chance homes." These would be homes in which mothers under age 18 would live with adult supervision, while learning to be good parents and good citizens.

The solution to welfare reform is not to cut off the welfare checks of teenage

mothers. Nor, for a large percentage of these young women, is the answer to insist that they continue to live in the homes where they grew up. Politicians who offer such simplistic solutions are ignoring the reality of teenage mothers' lives. Politicians who suggest that they should live at home "or in an adult-supervised setting" are hypocrites unless they guarantee young mothers safe and stable alternatives.

Prototypes for such "second-chance homes" already exist in communities as varied as Washington, New Albany, Ind., Albuquerque and Wheeling, W. Va. These vary widely. But all offer the three elements that teenage welfare mothers need to change their lives: socialization, nurturing and support, structure and discipline.

And they all offer a genuine social contract. The mothers who live in these homes must stay in school or job training. They must stay drug-free and abide by curfews. They learn to cook and clean, to manage money, to get along with each other and resolve conflicts. In return, they get protection from violent family members and abusive boyfriends. They get help with day care and health care and schoolwork. Most important, they learn to nurture their children well.

Not every young woman who gets a "second chance" in one of these homes

succeeds. But these homes have produced notable and promising results: fewer second pregnancies, slightly higher adoption rates, less child abuse, better maternal and child health, dramatically increased school completion rates for mothers, higher employment rates and reduced welfare dependency.

Thus the homes offer a critical element now missing in most efforts to help welfare mothers: connection to community and community standards. Most of the homes are shoestring operations, reliant on community support. The churches and civic organizations and local businesses become engaged in the lives of the young mothers and children.

This idea may not be bold enough for those politicians who want to make teenage mothers a "moral" issue. But it is the moral choice to make because it will help their children—those whom the welfare system was designed to protect.

The goal is far from impossible. In 1993 the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reported that about 67,000 welfare mothers were under age 18. Surely a nation as large as ours can find a way to take in 67,000 mothers and their babies.

The writer is vice president for domestic policy at the Progressive Policy Institute.



W P

Senate Democrats To Push Group Homes for Teen Moms<
By SANDRA SOBIERAJ Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) Senate Democrats are rallying around a welfare-reform plan that would place some unwed teen-age mothers in supervised group homes.

The proposal, released Friday by the Progressive Policy Institute, a liberal think tank, comes as Republicans in the Senate consider whether to bar cash benefits to teen-age mothers on welfare.

"That's not reform, that's mean," said Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., who endorsed the group-home idea as one option for "meaningful" welfare reform.

Under the plan, outlined by institute vice president Kathleen Sylvester, teen-age mothers would be required to use portions of their welfare benefits, foster care benefits and federal nutrition and housing subsidies to join, with their children, adult-supervised group homes.

The girls also would be required to attend school and parenting classes, and get job training and counseling.

"The current, broken system relies more on sex education and condoms" to discourage teen pregnancy and "insulates mothers and fathers from taking responsibility," said Sylvester.

Group homes, she added, give girls opportunities and a family.

Sen. Barbara Mikulski, D-Md., a social worker by training, endorsed the proposal as a way to keep teens off the streets.

"It's an opportunity to give help to those who really want to practice self-help," said Mikulski, who, with Daschle, is sponsoring a bill to make living in a supervised group home, or at home with a relative, a condition for teen mothers to receive federal benefits.

Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., said reviving the maternity homes of decades past would also re-establish a sorely needed moral standard and the "stigma of illegitimacy."

While House-passed legislation would turn responsibility for welfare over to the states and ban aid to unmarried parents under 18. The bill approved by the Senate Finance Committee in May contains no such restrictions, and Sen. Lauch Faircloth, R-N.C., has threatened to block action on it unless out-of-wedlock births are explicitly addressed.

"We need to find a third way, somewhere between the status quo, which doesn't work, and being so punitive and thoughtless that we do more harm than good," said Lieberman, chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council, an organization of moderate Democrats that sponsors the Progressive Policy Institute.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1994

Democratic Group Offers Plan to Curb Teen Pregnancies

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

A centrist Democratic group yesterday offered a strategy for reducing teenage pregnancy that would "resurrect social sanctions" against out-of-wedlock births, but not cut off young mothers from federal welfare payments, as some House Republicans have suggested.

Laying out a counterproposal to the Republican "Contract With America" welfare reform bill, officials at the Progressive Policy Institute presented recommendations they described as a middle road between traditional liberal and conservative approaches to lowering births to teenagers.

The group suggested several steps, including a redirection of welfare policy to "discourage, rather than support" teenage births and a national campaign to "unequivocally assert" it is wrong for unwed teenagers to have babies.

"We have to replace moral relativism with moral clarity," said Will Marshall, president of the institute, the think tank associated with the Democratic Leadership Council, which President Clinton formerly headed. "We're not going to stop teen pregnancy if we're not going to agree it's a problem. . . . Out-of-wedlock births are wrong because of the impact on children."

While only 30 percent of out-of-wedlock births are to teenagers, the group said it was focusing on teenage mothers because they are the most likely to become long-term welfare recipients. But Marshall was critical of the proposal offered by House Republicans, known as the "Personal Responsibility Act," and called his group's recommendation a "progressive counter to the conservative orthodoxy that says the simple solution is to cut off from any public support the most vulnerable families."

The Republican proposal also came under fire yesterday from First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. She said in a speech in New York that the Republican plan to end welfare payments to young unmarried mothers and allow states to use the money instead to build orphanages was "absurd," according to news service reports.

Welfare reform must include training, child care and health care, she said, "unless we want to see literally thousands and thousands of people on our streets and face the unbelievable and absurd idea of putting children into orphanages." The institute called on President Clinton to launch a national campaign, to be carried out by communities, churches, schools and the media, aimed at reducing births to unmarried teenagers by 5 percent a year.

The group recommended teenage mothers be given welfare benefits only if they agree to stay in school or participate in job training, the report said.

The group also called for "second-chance homes," where teenage mothers could live with an older couple who could act as a role model and where day care would be available so the mothers could attend school or job training.

Kathleen Sylvester, a vice president at PPI and author of the report, also recommended every welfare family receive a "passport" out of welfare in the form of a bank card to record "credits" earned by working toward independence. They could do so by working part time, volunteering or participating in training. But they would be required to do so immediately, rather than after two years of receiving welfare, as the administration proposal recommends.

She also recommended programs to create incentives for young people at risk of becoming parents to stay in school and avoid pregnancy.

The Washington Post

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1995

Ellen Goodman

Sex Without Consequences

BOSTON—When Kathleen Sylvester began researching welfare reform for the Progressive Policy Institute, she asked a Baltimore school principal the one thing she'd do to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies.

The principal had an immediate two-word answer for her: "Shoot Madonna."

This was not a serious attempt on this educator's part to cure sex with violence. The principal was not a character assassin.

She was probably thinking of the Madonna of the 1980s, the one who wrote the classic paean to teenage motherhood: "Papa Don't Preach." The Madonna of the '90s has a line in "Bedtime Stories" that sounds more like paean to Joycelyn Elders: "Happiness lies in your own hand."

But the principal was speaking in a familiar vocabulary. It's a language shared by parents, teachers, policy makers, the whole range of frustrated adults whose voices of reason are drowned out by a culture that sells kids sex as successfully as it sells them sneakers. Just Do It.

These messages that kids actually listen to ought to be piped into the hearing rooms where Congress is busy concocting a new welfare policy. The plan the House Ways and Means Committee is contemplating for teenage mothers is called euphemistically "tough love." But our culture offers something else: Sex without consequences.

"How many times do kids see sex on TV," says Sylvester, "in which no one gets pregnant, no one gets AIDS and no one has to get up in the middle of the night to feed a baby?"

In the face of the onslaught, the true counterculture in America is not the "McGovernite" elite or, for heaven's sakes, PBS. It's parents and reasonable adults who are left to literally counter the culture, to do combat with the incessant messages of mainstream films, music, television—the conglomerate known as Hollywood—as best we can.

Hollywood may not cause teen pregnancy, but Sylvester and others are convinced that any national campaign that goes to the heart and hard core of the problem is going to have to engage these cultural message makers. We're going to have to do more than label them as villains. We need them as allies.

It will take all their creativity to make a successful pitch against irresponsible sex and teen pregnancy. "Just say no" won't do it. Teenagers are the most risk-taking part of the population. They're still being seduced by cigarette ads.

It will be harder to fashion a stand against sex than against smoking. After all, smoking is always bad for you, sex isn't. And hormones are even more powerful than nicotine addiction.

It will also be harder to campaign against unwed parenthood than against drunk driving. The campaign against drunk driving was successful in curbing dangerous behavior by creating a new social role: the designated driver. But a baby is a different sort of accident from a head-on collision.

If we can't preach, however much papa (and mama) may want to, we can say unequivocally in rhythm, rap or reel what Sylvester says in plain words: "It's wrong to bring a child into the world that you can't take care of." It's not cool, it's not manly, it's not womanly. It's wrong.

This goes beyond using Madonna for target practice. It even goes beyond lowering the sexual thermostat of the culture.

Entertainment executives like to say, on the one hand, that they are just reflecting reality and, on the other hand, that they're in the business of fantasy. With both hands, they wave furious charges of censorship at any critic.

But how about more reality? In an ad campaign, in soap operas, movies, music.

Not long ago, an outraged producer complained to Jay Winston, the public health guru who created the designated driver campaign: "Can you imagine that people are lobbying to have Tom Cruise use a condom? Tom Cruise?" Why is that so hard to imagine?

At Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, a nervous Barbra Streisand recently offered a spirited defense of the artist as citizen. But the problem isn't that this "cultural elite" is too political, it's that it isn't political enough. As Winston says, "They ought to be powerful players in this process. They need to come to the table."

Let's begin with some sexual truth-in-advertising: one part passion to two parts diapers. Sex and consequences. Try humming a few bars.

BETWEEN THE LINES

The Name of the Game is Shame

The New Reactionaries are those who excuse teen pregnancy

BY JONATHAN ALTER

TUPAC SHAKUR NOTWITHSTANDING, THE NOTION OF shame is beginning to make a comeback in this country. Hallelujah, Hester Prynne. A moderate Democrat think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, issued an important report last week arguing that President Clinton's anti-teen-pregnancy campaign (slated to begin early next year) must unequivocally state that it is "morally wrong" for unmarried teens to bear children, "must cast single motherhood as a selfish act" and "must resurrect the notion that it is dishonorable for a man to father a child he does not support." This might sound to many Americans like saying the sky is blue. Of course that behavior is wrong. But if, as expected, Clinton adopts this view as policy, it represents nothing short of an armistice. The war is over. The libertines lost. Anything goes doesn't go anymore.

Or does it? Listen to the voices of the coming backlash, the New Reactionaries. You're making them feel guilty. You're blaming the victim. Who are you to judge someone else's choices? As the welfare debate heats up, a certain segment of liberal thinking, still kicking, will try to turn back the clock and win just one more for the old moral relativism. Their targets will be not just Gingrich Republicans but also Clinton Democrats, who long before the recent election offered a series of value judgments about out-of-wedlock birth. In defending the status quo, the New Reactionaries derive their authority from the bone-chilling statistics of modern America: 80.5 percent of babies born out of wedlock, the highest in the world (22 percent for whites, 68 percent for blacks). Look, they say, this is the real America. And besides, it's not their fault.

Fair enough. The author of the PPI report, Kathleen Sylvester, argues that moral relativism must be ended without "castigating" the teen mothers themselves. Many have in fact been coerced into sex. That takes care of not hating the sinner. But how about the sin itself? The fact remains: every thread to the fabric of this country—from poverty to crime to homelessness—is connected to out-of-wedlock teen pregnancy. This scourge was not caused by economics; Calcutta's families are wretched but largely intact. It was caused by American cultural changes in the last two decades—aided by an irresponsible entertainment industry—that have lifted the stigma off both black and white communities. When the moral judgment of society is restored—in law, and in everyday life—the numbers can be reduced over time. This will be worse for the "self-esteem" of the young mothers and fathers, but better for the younger siblings and friends who might learn from their shame.

It's easy to feel guilty about making others feel guilty, especially when so many single mothers heroically raise fine kids. But

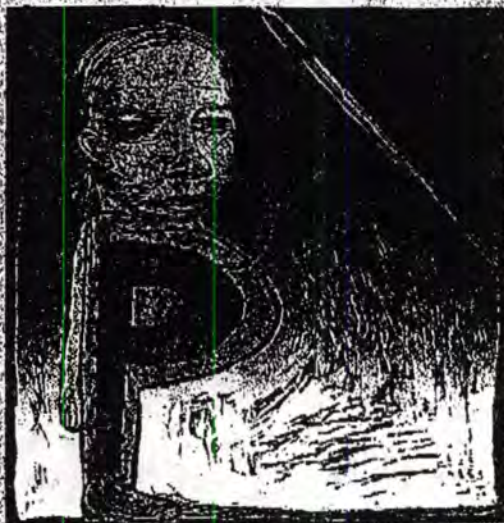
the temptation must be resisted. "We've gotten to the point where to be 'compassionate' is to refrain from judgment," says David Blankenhorn of the Institute for American Values in New York. "That's antithetical to our whole moral tradition." Blankenhorn is puzzled by the unevenness of society's reluctance to judge. Not all deviancy has been defined down, to use Pat Moynihan's formulation. "We are a society that doesn't mind making people feel bad about certain behavior: smoking, drugs, racially denigrating language," Blankenhorn notes. "But on sexuality and procreation—the heart of the social crisis—there's a reluctance to judge."

Some black leaders have given up on shame in favor of more radical ideas. Mayor-elect Marion Barry told *The Washington Post* recently that he now favors offering teenage mothers (his choice: if they want welfare benefits, they must have Norplant to keep them from having another baby for the next five years. As White House aide Bruce Reed says, "Norplant is a debate on what you do in the absence of shame."

Reed wants to try shame first. It's there somewhere—in every community. Shame doesn't mean someone calling your baby a bastard. It means being forced to live with your parents instead of using welfare to get your own apartment. Instead of the young mother getting to leave school after getting pregnant, she should have to go to more school. Shame means beefing up enforcement of the often-ignored requirement that every birth certificate contain the social-security number of the father. Instead of the unwed father being seen in the neighborhood as a big man for spreading his seed, he should become a figure of pity, watching his wages withheld for child support. Like the threat of a shotgun marriage in years past, this might not shrink the libido, but it does concentrate the mind.

Amitai Etzioni, founder of the important "communitarian" movement, recommends the use of shame in many realms: publishing the names of men who solicit prostitutes; requiring drunk drivers to have labels on their license plates; even dunce caps for serious troublemakers. "Like any other tool, it can be abused, but that doesn't make it wrong in principle," says Etzioni. "Compared to jail, shame is a very benign tool."

The Constitution bars punishment that is "cruel and unusual." It says nothing about punishment that is merely unusual. The search for creative shame may sound sadistic or silly, but is it really worse than watching silently as boys are shipped to prison and girls to lives of poverty? The challenge is to combine shame and empathy, to shape the parents without rendering the babies "illegitimate," to draw a line between right and wrong so bright it can be seen forever. Risk ridicule. Think anew.



FRANCIS J. FLYNN

Applying a stigma might not shrink the libido, but it concentrates the mind

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Should teen-age pregnancy become battle for morality?

1739
■ Some say stigma is essential; others doubt effectiveness

VANESSA GALLMAN
WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON
With sex education and "safe sex" media campaigns making little dent in teen pregnancies, federal policy-makers are considering a new message: Having a baby before marriage is flat-out wrong.

Open to debate is whether the government should engage in such moralizing, and whether the government could make any difference. Some lawmakers and political analysts insist the baby-making won't stop until the country produces more jobs for young people. Others say curbing teen pregnancy requires a cultural overhaul of a sex-obsessed society.

Still, the drumbeat builds for taking a stand against attitudes and conditions that tolerate 1 million teen pregnancies a year. That concern is shaping both public policy and the country's self-image.

In the last 30 years, the country tried to launch a "War on Poverty" without making moral judgments, said Jennifer Marshall, a historian at the Family Research Council, a conservative advocacy group. Teen pregnancy, welfare dependency and violence are some of the consequences, she said.

"Now, there seems to be a bipartisan agreement on the problem: We cannot be neutral about some basic values that this country was founded on," she said. "And I think most people would agree that having a child you cannot support financially and emotionally is wrong."

In his State of the Union address, President Clinton vowed to enlist parents, religious and community groups in a national campaign against "our most serious social problems, the epidemic of teen pregnancies and births where there is no marriage."

Moderate Democrats have called for a media campaign that includes stigmatizing single-motherhood as "a selfish act" and labeling "dishonorable" a man who does not support his children.

And Republicans are reshaping welfare policy to ensure that those who don't fall in line won't get cash benefits for themselves or their children. A monthly check would endorse unwanted behavior, they insist.

Whether abstinence would be a



MARTIN H. BRON/KODAK-ROCKY TRELINE
Matthew Black, left, and cousin Mia Scott John around during a dance at Jefferson Junior High in Washington, D.C. Both girls are part of a program called Best of Friends, which promotes abstinence for teen-age girls.

focus of a Clinton anti-pregnancy campaign is unclear. The president does expect Dr. Henry Foster Jr., his nominee for U.S. surgeon general and founder of a Nashville, Tenn., abstinence program, to lead the attack.

Still, many are skeptical that the federal government could, or should, tackle this problem from a moral perspective.

Critics point out that, despite a national anti-drug campaign, high-school drug use has increased three years in a row.

"The federal government is not, and indeed cannot be, an effective moral teacher," the Rev. Robert Sirico, of Michigan's Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, said during a recent congressional hearing. "The federal government has tried to solve American family problems, and it has failed."

The government should attack teen pregnancy by pointing out the potential health risks, said Cheryl Biddle, executive director of the Akron, Ohio-based Abstinence: The Better Choice. The program for boys and girls starts with character-building exercises in the fourth grade and ends with high school peer counseling.

Many community-based programs are effectively stressing values and responsibility, she said. "We don't need to reinvent the

wheel."

But Kathleen Sylvester, welfare expert for the moderate Democratic Leadership Council, said promoting teen pregnancy wrong is as much a federal role as saying "Smoking is hazardous to your health" and "Friends don't let friends drive drunk."

There is a fine line between concern and condemnation, said Katherine McFate, of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, which focuses on issues relevant to blacks.

One out of every three children in this country now is born to an unwed mother, most of them adult women. Conservative analysts say this trend could reshape the country's concept of family and doom society. Fighting teen pregnancy is the first line of defense.

"This rapid, massive collapse of family structure is without precedent among civilized nations," said William Bennett, former drug czar and education secretary. "No society has ever survived with single-parenthood as the norm."

But some believe emphasizing the moral aspect of teen pregnancy is only a way to hide a tougher economic problem.

"These kids have no families, no training, no hope, and they really think they're making human dolls that are going to love them," said New York Rep. Charles Rangel.

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"BC-DEMOCRATS-WELFARE"

"Democrat group wants new approach for teen mothers"

By Joanne Kenen

WASHINGTON (Reuter) - An influential Democratic think tank Wednesday called a Republican hard-line approach to teenage welfare mothers simplistic and immoral.

The centrist group advocated a strategy blending national leadership, community innovation and incentives for postponing motherhood.

Some Republicans have suggested cutting off welfare payments to unmarried teen mothers and putting the children in orphanages.

Kathleen Sylvester, vice president for domestic policy of the Progressive Policy Institute, which is identified with the so called moderate "New Democrat" movement, said that approach is "short-sighted, impractical and immoral" and ends up punishing the babies.

PPI president Will Marshall said the orphanage scenario, promoted by some but not all House Republicans, breaks up families, and has the government involved in childraising -- at the same time Republicans made huge electoral gains by speaking of family values and vowing to reduce government interference in people's lives.

Sylvester, the author of the institute's new report on teen pregnancy, said those Republicans in Congress who she said oversimplify the problem are casting it largely as a matter of bad personal choices and irresponsibility and neglecting larger economic and social forces.

She argued in her study that a significant number of the young mothers are in fact vulnerable young victims of sexual predators -- often much older men who pressure them into bearing children -- and are not really making choices.

"There's no such thing as consensual sex by a 13-year-old with a 27-year-old man," she told a news conference.

But she also said liberals should also stop being "squishy" and declare that it is wrong for people to make babies they cannot support emotionally and financially.

"Liberals have offered palliatives but refuse to condemn unwed teen parenting as wrong; conservatives have offered condemnation and moral righteousness -- unaccompanied by constructive solutions to change the circumstances that lead to teen parenting," she wrote in the study.

The institute said teens will respond to guidance and incentives better than to straightforward punishment.

It called for federal leadership but local innovation with churches, schools and volunteer groups who should help prevent pregnancy and offer work and educational incentives to girls who do not become pregnant.

REUTER

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A NATIONAL TEEN PREGNANCY PREVENTION COUNCIL

Purpose: To catalyze a sustained national effort, involving all sectors of society, to reduce teen pregnancy in the United States.

A National Council. An independent national council would be formed to lead the effort. The council would be private, bipartisan, and broad based, including prominent leaders from the entertainment, business, religious, civic, education, and foundation communities. The full council would have between 20 and 25 members; however, a smaller "core group" could come together initially to launch the initiative and then recruit other members.

A National Problem. Teen pregnancy is one of our most serious social problems.

- In 1990, more than one million girls between the ages of 15 and 19 -- 12 percent of all teenage girls -- became pregnant. The teen birth rate rose 24 percent between 1986 and 1991.
- The U.S. teen birth rate is now twice as high as in the U.K. and six times as high as in France, Italy, and Denmark.
- In 1960, only 15 percent of teenage mothers were unmarried. By 1992, that percentage had increased to 71 percent.
- Teen parents are much more likely than older parents to drop out of school and to be poor and dependent on welfare. Their children are more likely to have poor health and to do poorly in school. In 1991, taxpayers spent about \$34 billion to assist families begun by teenagers.

A National Response. The Teen Pregnancy Prevention Council would discover, disseminate, and celebrate what works. The Council would *not* impose a "top down" solution to the problem -- local communities would be urged to forge their own approaches consistent with their values and experience. Moreover, it would *not* reinvent the wheel. Many communities and programs are already making a difference. But there is no one central place where communities and individuals can turn for information about effective approaches and assistance in starting their own efforts. There is no existing mechanism capable of leading, organizing, and supporting the sustained focus this complex issue demands. And there is no entity speaking out on the broader cultural and moral issues that must be addressed. The Teen Pregnancy Prevention Council would fill this gap.

Agenda. The Council would set its own agenda of activities but would likely want to:

- Encourage a wider dialogue on the need for more responsible parenting, the right of every child to be wanted, and the importance of marriage and long-term commitments to the well-being of children;
- Maintain a national data base of teen pregnancy prevention programs;

- Provide opportunities for those already engaged in the field to more effectively learn from one another;
- Encourage new efforts in as many states and communities as possible;
- Support the serious evaluation of promising programs and other research as needed;
- Seek to be the most credible, independent resource available to anyone interested in teen pregnancy prevention, providing training, conferences, newsletters, briefings, and speakers.

Organization and Funding. The Council will be a 501c(3) organization and seek funding from foundations, businesses, individuals, and the government.

McLaine
(From Adol. Pregnancy Mtg)
DSS

AGENDA – Teen Pregnancy Meeting Planning Session

- I. Review of Script and Shalala Talking Points
- II. Concrete Next Steps in Preparation for the Meeting
 - o Mailing to Participants
 - o Calls to Individual Participants
 - o Structure of the Conference call on Monday
- III. Next Steps Beyond the Meeting

PARTICIPANTS IN WHITE HOUSE MEETING ON TEEN PREGNANCY

(as of 9/27/95)

The President

The First Lady

Donna Shalala, Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services

Carol Rasco, Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

Alexis Herman, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison

Mr. Richard Beattie, attorney, Simpson Thacher & Bartlett, NY

Ms. Charlotte Beers, Chairman, Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide, NY

Ms. Elayne Bennett, President, Best Friends Foundation, DC

Mr. Douglas Besharov, Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute, DC

Ms. Sarah Brown, Senior Study Director, Institute of Medicine, DC

Dr. Michael Carrera, Director, Pregnancy Prevention Programs, Children's Aid Society, NY

Ms. Marge Clark, President, Advocates for Youth, DC

Mrs. Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund, DC

Ms. Jane Fonda, Trustee, Turner Foundation, GA

Dr. Henry Foster, Professor, Meharry Medical College, TN

Dr. William Galston, Professor, University of Maryland, MD

Ms. Whoopi Goldberg, actress

Dr. David Hamburg, President, Carnegie Corporation, NY

Mr. Irving Harris, Chairman, The Harris Foundation, IL

Dr. Marion Howard, Professor, Emory University School of Medicine, GA

Mrs. Sheila Johnson, Executive Vice President, Black Entertainment Television, Inc., DC

Mr. Paul Tudor Jones, Chairman, The Robin Hood Foundation, NY

Honorable Thomas Kean, President, Drew University

Sister Mary Rose McGeady, President, Covenant House, NY

Ms. Ann Moore, President, People Magazine, NY

Dr. Kristin Moore, Executive Director, Child Trends, Inc., DC

Mr. Douglas Nelson, Executive Director, Annie E. Casey Foundation, MD

Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias, Past President, American Public Health Assoc., CA

Honorable Warren Rudman, attorney, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, DC

Ms. Isabel Sawhill, Senior Fellow, Urban Institute, DC

Ms. Vivien Stewart, Program Chair, Children and Youth, Carnegie Corporation, NY

Ms. Kathleen Sylvester, Vice President for Domestic Policy, Progressive Policy Institute, DC

Honorable Louis Sullivan, President, Morehouse School of Medicine, GA

Dr. Jay Winsten, Dir., Cntr. for Health Communication, Harvard Schl of Public Health, MA

Honorable Andrew Young, Co-Chair, Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, GA

PREVENTING TEEN PREGNANCY: A CHALLENGE TO AMERICA'S LEADERS

Thursday, October 5, 1995
10:00 am – 12:00 pm
Indian Treaty Room
Old Executive Office Building

MEETING AGENDA

- I. Welcome and Opening Remarks
- II. Overview: Teen Pregnancy and Current Prevention Efforts
- III. Discussion: The Role of a National Private-Sector Initiative in
Complementing Public-Sector Activities
- IV. Discussion: Next Steps

REVIEWING THE BIDDING

9/27/95

1. Our goal: Fulfill President's pledge to start a National Campaign Against Teen Pregnancy.
2. Fulfilling that pledge has many components – involving a private and public partnership. One element of fulfilling the pledge, we hope, will be the creation of an "entity" that would coordinate private support for efforts to address teen pregnancy.
3. We decided not to go the route of appointing a Presidential commission, preferring instead to take an independent, non-partisan approach -- wanting to have a serious, credible, and long term impact on the problem.
4. The meeting with the President is designed to spark interest among a group of private citizens representing different fields (media, business, foundations, etc.) in exploring the possibility of creating such an "entity."
5. While this meeting and initiative are being framed in terms of addressing teen pregnancy, any effort in this area has to address broader issues facing adolescents in order to succeed.
6. NEXT STEPS: Our hope is to have a follow-up meeting hosted by one of the participants (possibly the Carnegie Foundation) at which the discussion of whether and how to get this entity going would be pursued in more detail.

In addition, we need to pursue a seed grant to fund the staff work necessary to get this off the ground.

SCRIPT for Teen Pregnancy Meeting

10:00 Welcoming Remarks Carol Rasco
 Alexis Herman

Thank you for coming
Reiteration of purpose of meeting
Outline of events this morning

10:10 Review Scope of the Problem Donna Shalala
 - facts
 - consequences of teen pregnancy

10:15 What's the federal government doing Donna Shalala
 - emphasis on "partnership"

10:20 Further perspective on national situation

SEGUE: Of course so much over the past two decades has been inspired, and of course, funded, by the foundation community.

GOAL OF NEXT SECTION: Spend 10-15 minutes hearing from people who are really working in this area at the state and local level to provide a sense of hope that something can in fact be done to begin to address this problem.

SEGUE: While this is clearly an enormous problem with many dimensions and many root causes, many of us remain optimistic that we can begin to address this problem and make a real difference in young people's lives. That hope is inspired by the Marion Howards, the Sister Mary Roses and the rest of you who are working with young people and witnessing the impact you are really having on their lives.

10:25 What's happening around the country: State level

SEGUE: A lot of the activity on this issue has been focussed at the state level. Our own CDC works in close conjunction with the states. Perhaps at this point, I could ask Jane Fonda to tell us a bit about what's happening in Georgia.

OPTION: Marge Clark - with perspective across states. What else inspiring is happening in other states?

10:30

What's happening around the country: Local level

SEGUE: In the end, this is a problem that we all agree has to be addressed at the local level -- in communities, families, and schools. We're honored to have with us today several people who are actively engaged in directly serving youth in our communities.

I'd like to ask Michael Carrera to say a few words about the impacts he has seen his program have.

OPTION: Elayne Bennett, Sister Mary Rose or Marion Howard.

TURN TO: David Hamburg for thoughts on how the efforts at the local level mesh with need to address broader range of problems than teen pregnancy nationally.

GOAL OF this section is to let the group begin to articulate for itself what could be gained from a coordinated national effort and to discuss in advance of the President's arrival some of the concrete ways in which they could help.

10:35

SEGUE -- Sec. Shalala comments: "While there's a lot the federal government can do, there are a lot of things it cannot do. And, of course, we are limited by an environment in which resources at every level are shrinking, social messages coming at our youth are at best confusing and at worst irresponsible, and we lack clear agreement on what solutions actually work.

Reiterate partnership message - yes government has a role.

Reiterate community message - many of these answers have to come from the community level.

BUT WITH ALL THAT, the question that brings us here today is -- Is there a need for an effort at the national level -- working in partnership with the public sector -- to support and encourage work at the state and local level on this issue.

10:40

Turn to Belle: Yes. General outline of who needs to be involved; what the structure would need to look like, and what some of the goals might be.

Turn to Marion Howard: Yes. It would mean so much to us in the field if you could do the following - show employers their role.

Turn to Jay Winsten: Yes. A sustained media campaign can make a difference.

Turn to Kris Moore: Yes. An important role to be played in research, evaluation, sharing best practices.

OPEN DISCUSSION

11:00 (roughly) President arrives

Carol Rasco welcomes the President to the discussion.

Provides 2 minute summary of what has been discussed.

[Option: call on one or two of those who have spoken to reiterate their comments]

11:05

Presidential remarks

- aimed at stressing importance of issue
- importance of involvement of BOTH government and the private sector
- challenge is what can as impressive a group as this representing so many different sectors do when it puts its mind to solving an important national problem.

11:15

Discussion resumes

CUED and ready to remark:

- Whoopi Goldberg to talk about role of visible entertainers in sending messages to young people
- Charlotte Beres or Ann Moore to talk about the role of advertising and the media
- Louis Sullivan on the role of the medical community
- need to ensure spectrum of views is represented - so Tom Kean or other Republican should be asked to comment.

11:45

PRESIDENT begins to wrap up discussion by asking: "So what specifically can we do? Where do we want to take this from here?"

David Hamburg ready to offer to hold a next meeting, offer to talk in funding community about how to fund groundwork for such an effort.

Ann Moore could offer to pull in other media types to talk about messages regarding teen sexual behavior in the media.

12:00

THE END