

COMMENTS ON ORPHANAGES

REPUBLICANS ACKNOWLEDGE THE ORPHANAGES PROPOSAL:

Sen. Bob Dole:

"I'm not certain about the orphanages or moving back to private charities. That may not be enough to cope with the problem... I think orphanages would be going a bit too far, but I'm not trying to pick a fight with Newt Gingrich." (Dole on CNN's "Late Edition," 11/13/94)

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(See attache).

REPUBLICAN QUOTES ON OUT-OF-HOME PLACEMENTS FOR POOR CHILDREN

For more information, call Amy Busch at 690-6853 or Lisa Gilmore at 690-6035.

Representative Newt Gingrich

Gingrich, who seems to delight in his role as public provocateur, refused to surrender or even take cover. He argued that orphanages could provide stability and safety for children from drug- and crime-infested neighborhoods. He called on the first lady to watch "Boys Town," thus prompting Turner's invitation.

— The Plain Dealer, December 27, 1994

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An interviewer confronted the Georgia Republican with a statement by first

... proposal "unbelievable and absurd."

"I'd ask her to go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie about Boys Town," Mr. Gingrich replied.

— The Dallas Morning News December 25, 1994, Sunday, HOME FINAL EDITION

What prompted the revival of the orphanage image and the controversy that has accompanied it were remarks by incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich suggesting that children taken from "welfare mothers" could be placed in orphanages "where they would at least have food, shelter and not get shot at."

What Gingrich meant by the remark, uttered at a Washington Post luncheon, has been the subject of much interpretation. The first lady, for instance, branded the idea "unbelievable" and "absurd." Her husband commented in his weekly radio address that children shouldn't be taken from "loving families." No one would disagree with that position.

— THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC December 18, 1994 Sunday, Final Chaser
SECTION: EDITORIAL/OPINION; Pg. F4 HEADLINE: DICKENS OR 'BOYS TOWN'?;
IN DEFENSE OF ORPHANAGES

Orphanage was the wrong word, Gingrich said at a Washington Post lunch, but he is not retreating on the concept that children should be removed from

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environments where they are neglected or abused and have no chance to thrive.

-- The Buffalo News December 16, 1994, Friday, City Edition

SECTION: VIEWPOINTS; Pg. 3 HEADLINE: NEWT'S ORPHANAGE IDEAS NOT AS ODD AS THEY SEEM BYLINE: Mary McGrory, Universal Press Syndicate DATELINE: WASHINGTON

... on orphanages, which he said had been the victim of "grotesque distortion" by the news media and the White House.

In extended remarks, Mr. Gingrich said he proposed that states be allowed to experiment with varying ways of tending to displaced and abused children -- including, he said, orphanages or youth hostels -- in contrast to a welfare system that encourages that children be placed with their parents or in foster homes.

Mr. Gingrich said that he had adopted the idea from William Bennett, the conservative scholar and former Education Secretary, and that he believed it might be preferable to a system that now emphasized keeping young people in environments that are breeding grounds for crime and social problems.

-- The New York Times December 7, 1994, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section B; Page 11; Column 4; National Desk

HEADLINE: Team in Place, Gingrich Comes Out Slugging

BYLINE: By MICHAEL WINES, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Dec. 6

Q Mr. Gingrich, may I ask a question?

REP. GINGRICH: Sure.

Q (Off mike) -- the other one was a five-year-old -- (inaudible) -- who was thrown out of a building and his eight-year-old cousin tried to -- (inaudible) -- first appeal and wouldn't do it, and his mother and his aunt tried --

(inaudible) -- how are those two people going to be helped by your orphanages?

REP. GINGRICH: Let me make a point here, because this again is one of those examples where something I'm very prepared to defend suddenly becomes a symbol and then the White House distorts it into Dickens revisited as though their alternative was Norman Rockwell. I mean -- so let me just say, what I said originally and will defend pretty cheerfully for a long time is you have group homes, you have foster care, you have boarding schools, you have orphanages, that there are many alternatives to the current system, and that we should be prepared to delegate back to the states the opportunity to experiment with any organized system of caring for children that we think will save their lives and save their futures.

Now, the point I was making, partly frankly coached by Bill Bennett, who is on the board -- the fund-raising board for Boys' Town -- and Bennett just said that it's outrageous to watch the distortions. I mean, we're not talking about let's reach into a solid working family and rip a child out.

We're saying in a city like Washington, where there are babies abandoned in the dumpster, shouldn't there be an organized alternative, which could include adoption, it could include foster care, it could include orphanages. Then I had Wayne Gilcrest, who has worked for three years earlier in his career in an orphanage like that, but an orphanage for -- actually a boarding school for

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children whose parents were alive but who were abusing them. And he said he'll be glad to testify about the impact of that. Then I had Jim Greenwood, who is a member from Philadelphia, who said he used to be a social worker placing those children. Then Marge Roukema and her husband, who is a psychotherapist, came up. They are preparing an op ed piece explaining that frankly some kind of youth hospice or youth hostile program would be dramatically better than a lot of what happens to the poorest and most abused children.

So I am very happy to engage the debate on the following premise --

Q But aren't you --

REP. GINGRICH: Let me just finish. Let me just finish, David. Let me finish. I'm very glad to engage the debate on the question, would those young boys have been better off in an environment where they wouldn't have been killed, would the 11-year-old have been better off with a system which didn't put him back on the street? And the fact is you can go into every major city in this country today and find scandalous examples of 12-, 13-, 14-, 15-year-old mothers who have no institutional alternative and who in desperation end up with their children in horrible circumstances.

So we're not saying what would you do in a nice middle class environment, or what would you do even with a working poor family that was a connected family. But we're saying are there alternatives? And the alternatives aren't just orphanages. I think that's been a grotesque distortion. But are there a series of alternatives, foster homes, boarding schools, easier adoption, youth hostiles, and orphanages which -- and is Boys Town a better environment than the poorest and meanest section of Washington, DC? And I think that's a debate, as Richard Cohen said, I'm glad to point out in the Post this morning in a very nice column, where he said, look, I mean here is a debate worth engaging.

— Federal News Service, DECEMBER 6, 1994

Now, those are real changes. We want to frankly say to young girls, if you get pregnant, we'll help you with group homes, we'll help you with foster care, we'll help you with orphanages, we'll help you with adoption, but we are not going to give 12, 13, and 14-year olds money directly, and we're not going to give them apartments in public housing, because we have been creating an economic incentive program for young girls to get pregnant outside of marriage and for young men to have no responsibility, and after 30 years, it is in danger of destroying large parts of this country. Eighty percent of the children in some neighborhoods are born outside of marriage. Now, that is destructive of the child. It's destructive of the whole situation.

— Federal News Service, MARCH 10, 1994

Rep. GINGRICH: We could pass both anti-crime legislation and dramatic welfare reform legislation to require people to work, to cut children off from government money in the sense of women who are 12, 13, 14 years old who are currently being paid to have more children.

If we don't have that kind of fundamental effort that goes in and says, 'Let's look at adoption, let's look at foster care, let's look at orphanages,' but let's really dramatically draw the line about 12- and 13- and 14- and 15-year-old mothers who I think become in the end, because of the breakdown of

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the family, that becomes the next generation's crime. And so I think we've got to address that issue, both in terms of locking up criminals and reforming the welfare system on behalf of children, giving them a chance to grow up in a structured environment where they have a future and they have an education and they have a job and they don't turn to drugs and crime as their primary avocation at 13, 14, 15 years of age.

-- This Week With David Brinkley (ABC), January 2, 1994

Gingrich views the issue differently.

"We're not talking about [reaching] into a solid working family and ripping a child out," he said. "We're saying in a city like Washington, where there are babies abandoned in the Dumpster, shouldn't there be an organized alternative, which could include adoption [or] orphanages."

-- THE HARTFORD COURANT December 8, 1994 Thursday, STATEWIDE

SECTION: MAIN; Pg. A1

HEADLINE: REFORMS OF WELFARE DEBATED; ORPHANAGES PLAN SHAPES DISCUSSION

BYLINE: JOHN A. MacDONALD; Courant Staff Writer DATELINE: WASHINGTON --

Response to Hillary Clinton's Criticism of Orphanage Proposal:

I'd ask her to go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie about "Boys' Town." I mean, my answer to her in part is, you know, the little four-year-old who was thrown off the balcony in Chicago would have been a heck of a lot better off at Boys' Town, that the 11-year-old who was killed after he killed a 14-year-old might have had a chance to live in a supervised boarding school, that the children you see in DC killed every weekend might be better off in a group home or a foster home.

In the 19th century, it was generally -- normally voluntary, and it wasn't a true orphanage. I think a boarding school or a group home is a more accurate statement. James T. Wilson of UCLA sent me a note the other day that said, "What you're really describing here is the right to have a voluntary alternative for very, very young parents who believe that they can't raise their own child."

I don't understand liberals who live in enclaves and safety who say, "Oh, this would be a terrible thing. Look at the Norman Rockwell family that would break up." The fact is we are allowing a brutalization and a degradation of children in this country, a destructiveness. We say to a 13-year-old drug addict who is pregnant, you know, put your baby in a dumpster, that's okay, but we're not going to give you a boarding school, we're not going to give you a place for that child to grow up. There is no place.

--Meet the Press, 12/4/94

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[Cites Wayne Gilest, Jim Greenwood, and Marge Roukema as all supportive of the debate on orphanages]

VALIDATION OF HRC RESPONSE TO DEBATE ON ORPHANAGES

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— This Week With David Brinkley (ABC), January 2, 1994

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—Meet the Press, 12/4/94

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[Cites Wayne Gilcrest, Jim Greenwood, and Marge Roukema as all supportive of the debate on orphanages.]

--REPS. NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA) ANNOUNCEMENT OF HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP ELECTION RESULTS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994

Robert Rector, Senior Policy Analyst, Heritage Foundation

In language similar to that later used by Armev, Rector said the government should not abandon children born out of wedlock, but that AFDC and food stamps, currently given directly to unwed mothers under 21, should be converted to grants to states. Those grants could be used to promote "adoption and orphanages or supporting the mothers in tightly supervised group homes," Rector wrote.

— THE HARTFORD COURANT December 8, 1994 Thursday, STATEWIDE SECTION: MAIN; Pg. A1

HEADLINE: REFORMS OF WELFARE DEBATED: ORPHANAGES PLAN SHAPES DISCUSSION

BYLINE: JOHN A. MacDONALD; Courant Staff Writer DATELINE: WASHINGTON --

Rep. Susan Molinari (R-NY)

Incoming Speaker Newt Gingrich knows that it will take bold decisions and courageous ideas if we're ever going to get a [welfare] system that offers work, offers hope, and yes, perhaps through the creation of small orphanages and group homes, offers safety and security to abuse babies and lonely and isolated children.

--Susan Molinari, GOP Response to Radio Address, 12/10/94

Charles Murray

"How does a poor young mother survive without government support?...We need to raise the probability that a young single woman who keeps her child is doing so volitionally and thoughtfully. Forcing her to find a way of supporting the child does this. It will lead many young women who shouldn't be mothers to place their babies for adoption....Many others will get abortions....

Some small proportion of infants and larger proportion of older children will not be adopted. For them, the government should spend lavishly on orphanages. I am not recommending Dickensian barracks. In 1993, we know a lot about how to provide a warm, nurturing environment for children, and getting rid of the welfare system frees up lots of money to do it. Those who find the word "orphanages" objectionable may think of them as 24-hour-a-day orphanages."

— "The Coming White Underclass" by Charles Murray, Wall St. Journal

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lissa

FROM: Sabrina

RE: HRC law writings

DATE: January 11, 1995

"All too often intervention in those families that are most vulnerable to state control, such as the poor or unconventional or ethnic and racial minorities, occurs principally because of the family's powerlessness rather than because of their needs." Hillary Rodham, *Children's Rights: Contemporary Perspectives*, "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," 1979

"Many families are able to pay for their needs whether they be medical care or special homemaking services, but all too many cannot. A poor family situation may be allowed to deteriorate because of the lack of available assistance; a disaster area is thus created ripe for 'condemnation' by state agencies that can act lawfully only after it is too late for intermediary assistance." Hillary Rodham, *Children's Rights: Contemporary Perspectives*, "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," 1979

"Even among persons in the children's rights movement, there is concern that extending rights to children against their parents is too difficult to control, and in all but the most extreme cases such questions should be resolved by the families, not the courts. I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved." Hillary Rodham, *Children's Rights: Contemporary Perspectives*, "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," 1979

"...In cases of potential conflict between parent and child the consequences to the child of parental action or inaction should be considered. When the consequences appear irreversible, the assumption should be discarded in favor of an extrafamilial decision that takes into account the opinions of all interested parties. If the consequences seem reversible or insubstantial, the assumption that the parent knows best should probably continue to govern." Hillary Rodham, *Harvard Educational Review*, "Children Under the Law," No.4, November 1973

"Some children, of course, do suffer incalculable harm while in the custody of their parents,

and the community should protect these children from the harm which could result were parental discretion left unchecked. But the unchecked discretion of the state has vices of its own...Sentiment against state intervention stems from the state's poor record in caring for children removed from their families." Hillary Rodham, *Harvard Educational Review*, "Children Under the Law," No.4, November 1973

HRC

The recent verbal skirmishes over orphanages illustrate how easily our public debate ^{abt} ~~over the needs of~~ children and families can become confused and unhelpful. Over the past twenty-five years, I have spent a lot of time and energy on children's issues. There is nothing about which I care more. I am heartened that the well-being of children increasingly ~~lies at~~ ^{is} ~~the heart of~~ Americans' discussions of public policy and family and community values. The safety of children in their homes, schools and neighborhoods, the rebuilding of the economy with enough jobs at family-supporting wages, the moral development of our children, and improving ~~the systems for~~ our children's health and education are particularly urgent concerns.

This growing energy to face the problems of our nation's children is a wonderful development -- if we choose positive and effective solutions. That is why we should look at the orphanage debate as a cautionary lesson about how to discuss such sensitive and important matters.

Did the Republicans mean to suggest that poverty was a disqualification for ^{good} ~~effective~~ parenting ^{when they don't} ~~in advancing~~ the idea that children should be removed from their ^{parents} ~~parents~~ and placed in orphanages solely because their parents were ^{poor?} ~~impoverished~~?

That is what I thought they were proposing when I called the idea "absurd." After I and others questioned the proposal, Newt Gingrich tried to shift the ~~ground of~~ ^{"put in deep holes"} the argument by accusing me of preferring to have children ~~killed~~ ^{like} than be placed in safe havens ^{like orphanages} like the movie version of "Boys' Town."

Here's the way he did it on "Meet the Press" on

December 5th:

"Ms. Myers: Congressman, I'd like to focus on welfare reform. The First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, came after you last week, saying that your proposal to put the children of mothers who could not afford to support them in orphanages was both unbelievable and absurd. How do you respond to that?

Mr. Gingrich: I'd ask her to go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie about 'Boys' Town.

I mean, my answer to her in part is, you know, the little four year-old who was thrown off the balcony in Chicago would have been a heck of a lot better off at Boys' Town, that the 11 year-old who was killed after he killed ~~the~~ ^{my} 14 year-old might have had a chance to live in a supervised boarding school, that the children you see in D.C. killed every weekend might be better off in a group home or a foster home."

Now all of a sudden I'm painted as defending child killers and Gingrich is advocating voluntary group or foster homes.

Was any of this enlightening? I doubt it. I spoke in shorthand when I said "absurd" which didn't help anyone understand my position, and Gingrich couldn't decide what he favored, but knew his party had caused a ruckus by equating poverty with abuse, so, being the effective debater he is, he shifted position.

OK -- time-out. The real question should be what's best for children?

From more than two decades of ^{explicit} ~~work on~~ ~~attention to~~ children's issues, I have learned that there are no simple solutions. But I have also learned that there are some absolutely reliable bedrock principles.

The first is that 99 times out of 100, children are best off with their families. Our society has always felt that a child ~~normally~~ should be with his or her parents unless there is abuse or neglect. Regardless of economic status or cultural background or community or region of the country, almost all American parents work hard at the tasks and joys of giving their children a solid start in life. Parents know that children need a secure home, strong values, consistency and love. ^{And} The love is ^{just} as rich and the values ^{just} are as sound in the homes of Watts as in Westchester, in Harlem as in Highland Park. uncl.

^{second} Those who equate poverty with bad parenting ~~aren't talking~~ ^{have never been around} ~~to or seeing the many poor parents who struggle every day to give~~ ^{but hard-working parents} their children the most with the least. Rather, they are just letting a handful of ^{of} ~~the most~~ sensational media stories create a false stereotype in their minds. ^{stereotypes.} Clearly, poverty and unemployment are not assets to young parents. But neither are they indicators that the parents are unfit. If they were, our nation would have fifteen million rather than one half million children in out-of-home care.

Certainly there are cases -- too many, and tragically there seem to be more all the time -- where parents abuse their children or are unable or unwilling to meet their family

most of these parents are poor. *No matter what we can do, it's still a failure.*

responsibilities. Whenever this happens, children must be protected from harm and moved into alternative settings outside their family home.

see p. 4.

But this should happen only because it is needed to keep the child safe. Any parent, and any child development specialist, can tell you that creating stable, secure families must be our first line of domestic national defense. Our greatest energy must be focused on building support systems that help both poor and non-poor parents raise children, that encourage strong neighborhoods, and that provide networks which enhance the safety and well-being of the youngest and most vulnerable among us.

These support systems can be knit together from families, schools, religious institutions, civic organizations, and whole communities in a way that unites us on behalf of children rather than divides us along political, ideological or rhetorical lines. The fabric will only be ripped apart, however, if the government pursues policies that deprive families of the support they need and ~~that~~ push parents into the extreme circumstances that breed irresponsibility, abuse and neglect.

But even when we do our utmost to build and sustain strong families, some families fail, and some parents harm their children. Then we must intervene quickly and decisively to protect the children. And we must find the right solution for the individual child, because not even abused and neglected children, much less poor children, come from cookie-cutters.

The seeds of abuse and neglect are many: drug-abusing parents, parents without resources, families isolated from social services, parents who were themselves abused as children and who have been unable to avoid repeating the pattern. And the ways to protect and heal the children are similarly diverse: care with non-parental relatives in some instances, in foster family homes in other cases, in institutions in yet others, and, when possible to do so safely, back in the parental home if the problem is being cured and it is absolutely safe for the children.

So long as children are safe and nurtured, the parental home is the place to be. And, given how expensive out-of-home care is, this is one of those lucky instances where ~~what is~~ the better way is also the less expensive way.

Our nation has made great progress on behalf of children in this century, from child labor laws in the early years to family leave last year. But even with that progress and our genuine concern for children, too many American youngsters today are exhibiting signs of distress at earlier ages as their families fail them and institutions that once supported and nourished family life have frayed. In some ways our worst-off children are the leading edge of a broader social change in which millions of American children whom we would never consider abused or neglected still have suffered erosion of family and community support. As parents struggle to balance the demands of work and family and the family as an institution has confronted growing strain, children from all backgrounds have suffered.

These are the core problems that we must address. Rather than getting bogged down in a partisan political debate, parents, policymakers, experts, advocates, and government leaders must join together to find reasonable methods of ensuring that every child is raised in a safe and healthy environment. We need to find ways for all American families to get stronger support from both the public and private sectors, ways to reduce abuse and neglect and have fewer children at risk, and ways to assure that children who are abused and neglected get the interventions they need.

Nobody has expressed the ~~mix of supports~~ of children need more eloquently than the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in their pastoral letter entitled, *Putting Families 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. There has been an unfortunate, unnecessary and unreal polarization in discussion [about] how best to help families. The undeniable fact is that our children's future is shaped both by the values of their parents and the policies of our nation."

When it comes to building our nation's future, Americans have a long history of putting children first by finding sound, common sense solutions. As we face new and more difficult challenges today, we must not abandon the wise principles we have applied in the past. Taking responsibility for our children is the most sacred duty in our lives. We have to get it right!

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You know, I have a feeling if Father Flanagan were here to take part in this debate, his view would reflect the wisdom of the bishops.

When it comes to building our nation's future, Americans have a long history of putting children first by finding sound, common sense practical solutions. We cannot put our children second, least of all to sloganeering. We must not abandon the wise principles we have applied to such great effect in the past. These principles and our experience must be our guide as we face the new and difficult challenges of today. Taking responsibility for our children is the most sacred duty in our lives. We have to get it right!

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lissa

FROM: Sabrina

RE: HRC law writings

DATE: January 10, 1995

"Politicians...balk at turning their Boys Town rhetoric into public commitments on any but the safest of issues." *The Yale Law Journal*, "Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect," vol.86, no.7, June 1977

DRAFT OUTLINE FOR RESPONSE TO EDITORIAL

We are all heartened to learn that the 18-month old girl abandoned in Washington on a freezing day last week is now in the safe and caring environment of St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home in Maryland. That is exactly where the baby girl, abandoned by a welfare mother and other relatives who were unable to care for her, should be.

In an essay in NEWSWEEK this week, I reiterated my long-standing belief that in neglect and abuse cases such as these -- or in cases where parents are simply unwilling to care for children -- children are better off in alternative settings outside of the home that ensure their safety.

That is a position I have taken since my earliest days as a children's advocate and lawyer working on children's issues. In the 1970s, I wrote several articles for legal journals outlining the rights of children to be protected from abusive and neglectful parents. Ironically, I was attacked for these views at the Republican convention in 1992 by some GOP leaders who deemed my position "anti-family."

While my NEWSWEEK essay addressed this critical issue, it also dealt with another issue that has attracted a lot of attention lately: whether poor children should be taken from their parents and placed in orphanages. The magazine asked for my response to ideas forwarded by Republican leaders who suggested that children of welfare mothers might be better off in orphanages.

These ideas were widely reported and commented on in the news media. In a bill last year, GOP Rep. James Talent of Missouri proposed denying payments to children born to welfare mothers under age 26 and using the money instead for orphanages or group settings. Economic status, not abuse or neglect, was his bill's standard for determining whether children should be taken from their parents.

In his Personal Responsibility Act, House Speaker Newt Gingrich proposed denying aid to unmarried mothers under 18 and to allow states to extend that ban to mothers under age 21. In subsequent discussions, with editors and reporters of The Washington Post, among others, he suggested that savings from the provision could be used to build orphanages and group homes for children whose mothers were unable to care for them. [insert "quote from Newt" here]

For the past 25 years I have argued, as Speaker Gingrich does now, that abused and neglected children are better off in group homes than thrown in a dumpster, left shivering on the street, or surrounded by violence and abuse.

But I could never imagine making poverty the sole criteria for breaking up families, which was the thrust of Rep. Talent's bill and the implication of Speaker Gingrich's comments about welfare reform.

A Washington Post editorial on January 10th, excerpting a few sentences from my NEWSWEEK article, suggested that these Republican ideas should not be taken seriously. Furthermore, the editorial missed the other equally important half of the equation -- that I have always argued to put the safety of children first, whether they come from poor, rich, or middle-class backgrounds. As the debate over welfare and children evolves, I hope the newspaper will be more rigorous in fairly and fully representing my views and those of others who comment on this critical issue.

REPUBLICAN QUOTES ON OUT-OF-HOME PLACEMENTS FOR POOR CHILDREN

For more information, call Amy Busch at 690-6853 or Lisa Gilmore at 690-6035.

Representative Newt Gingrich

Gingrich, who seems to delight in his role as public provocateur, refused to surrender or even take cover. He argued that orphanages could provide stability and safety for children from drug- and crime-infested neighborhoods. He called on the first lady to watch "Boys Town," thus prompting Turner's invitation.

— The Plain Dealer, December 27, 1994

... Three weeks ago, the discussion on NBC's Meet the Press had turned to institutions and welfare reform. For months, Mr. Gingrich had suggested that a strict time limit be set on welfare benefits and that children could be taken from parents left without income, if necessary. The children, he said, could be placed in orphanages or foster care.

An interviewer confronted the Georgia Republican with a statement by first

... proposal "unbelievable and absurd."

"I'd ask her to go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie about Boys Town," Mr. Gingrich replied.

— The Dallas Morning News December 25, 1994, Sunday, HOME FINAL EDITION

What prompted the revival of the orphanage image and the controversy that has accompanied it were remarks by incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich suggesting that children taken from "welfare mothers" could be placed in orphanages "where they would at least have food, shelter and not get shot at."

What Gingrich meant by the remark, uttered at a Washington Post luncheon, has been the subject of much interpretation. The first lady, for instance branded the idea "unbelievable" and "absurd." Her husband commented in his weekly radio address that children shouldn't be taken from "loving families." No one would disagree with that position.

— THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC December 18, 1994 Sunday, Final Chaser
SECTION: EDITORIAL/OPINION; Pg. F4 HEADLINE: DICKENS OR 'BOYS TOWN'?;
IN DEFENSE OF ORPHANAGES

Orphanage was the wrong word, Gingrich said at a Washington Post lunch, but he is not retreating on the concept that children should be removed from

environments where they are neglected or abused and have no chance to thrive.

— The Buffalo News December 16, 1994, Friday, City Edition

SECTION: VIEWPOINTS; Pg. 3 HEADLINE: NEWT'S ORPHANAGE IDEAS NOT AS ODD AS THEY SEEM BYLINE: Mary McGrory, Universal Press Syndicate DATELINE: WASHINGTON

... on orphanages, which he said had been the victim of "grotesque distortion" by the news media and the White House.

In extended remarks, Mr. Gingrich said he proposed that states be allowed to experiment with varying ways of tending to displaced and abused children -- including, he said, orphanages or youth hostels -- in contrast to a welfare system that encourages that children be placed with their parents or in foster homes.

Mr. Gingrich said that he had adopted the idea from William Bennett, the conservative scholar and former Education Secretary, and that he believed it might be preferable to a system that now emphasized keeping young people in environments that are breeding grounds for crime and social problems.

— The New York Times December 7, 1994, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final
SECTION: Section B; Page 11; Column 4; National Desk
HEADLINE: Team in Place, Gingrich Comes Out Slugging
BYLINE: By MICHAEL WINES, Special to The New York Times
DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Dec. 6

Q Mr. Gingrich, may I ask a question?

REP. GINGRICH: Sure.

Q (Off mike) -- the other one was a five-year-old -- (inaudible) -- who was thrown out of a building and his eight-year-old cousin tried to -- (inaudible) -- first appeal and wouldn't do it, and his mother and his aunt tried -- (inaudible) -- how are those two people going to be helped by your orphanages?

REP. GINGRICH: Let me make a point here, because this again is one of those examples where something I'm very prepared to defend suddenly becomes a symbol and then the White House distorts it into Dickens revisited as though their alternative was Norman Rockwell. I mean -- so let me just say, what I said originally and will defend pretty cheerfully for a long time is you have group homes, you have foster care, you have boarding schools, you have orphanages, that there are many alternatives to the current system, and that we should be prepared to delegate back to the states the opportunity to experiment with any organized system of caring for children that we think will save their lives and save their futures.

Now, the point I was making, partly frankly coached by Bill Bennett, who is on the board -- the fund-raising board for Boys' Town -- and Bennett just said that it's outrageous to watch the distortions. I mean, we're not talking about let's reach into a solid working family and rip a child out.

We're saying in a city like Washington, where there are babies abandoned in the dumpster, shouldn't there be an organized alternative, which could include adoption, it could include foster care, it could include orphanages. Then I had Wayne Gilchrest, who has worked for three years earlier in his career in an orphanage like that, but an orphanage for -- actually a boarding school for

children whose parents were alive but who were abusing them. And he said he'll be glad to testify about the impact of that. Then I had Jim Greenwood, who is a member from Philadelphia, who said he used to be a social worker placing those children. Then Marge Roukema and her husband, who is a psychotherapist, came up. They are preparing an op ed piece explaining that frankly some kind of youth hospice or youth hostile program would be dramatically better than a lot of what happens to the poorest and most abused children.

So I am very happy to engage the debate on the following premise --

Q But aren't you --

REP. GINGRICH: Let me just finish. Let me just finish, David. Let me finish. I'm very glad to engage the debate on the question, would those young boys have been better off in an environment where they wouldn't have been killed, would the 11-year-old have been better off with a system which didn't put him back on the street? And the fact is you can go into every major city in this country today and find scandalous examples of 12-, 13-, 14-, 15-year-old mothers who have no institutional alternative and who in desperation end up with their children in horrible circumstances.

So we're not saying what would you do in a nice middle class environment, or what would you do even with a working poor family that was a connected family. But we're saying are there alternatives? And the alternatives aren't just orphanages. I think that's been a grotesque distortion. But are there a series of alternatives, foster homes, boarding schools, easier adoption, youth hostiles, and orphanages which -- and is Boys Town a better environment than the poorest and meanest section of Washington, DC? And I think that's a debate, as Richard Cohen said, I'm glad to point out in the Post this morning in a very nice column, where he said, look, I mean here is a debate worth engaging.

— Federal News Service, DECEMBER 6, 1994

Now, those are real changes. We want to frankly say to young girls, if you get pregnant, we'll help you with group homes, we'll help you with foster care, we'll help you with orphanages, we'll help you with adoption, but we are not going to give 12, 13, and 14-year olds money directly, and we're not going to give them apartments in public housing, because we have been creating an economic incentive program for young girls to get pregnant outside of marriage and for young men to have no responsibility, and after 30 years, it is in danger of destroying large parts of this country. Eighty percent of the children in some neighborhoods are born outside of marriage. Now, that is destructive of the child. It's destructive of the whole situation.

— Federal News Service, MARCH 10, 1994

Rep. GINGRICH: We could pass both anti-crime legislation and dramatic welfare reform legislation to require people to work, to cut children off from government money in the sense of women who are 12, 13, 14 years old who are currently being paid to have more children.

If we don't have that kind of fundamental effort that goes in and says, 'Let's look at adoption, let's look at foster care, let's look at orphanages,' but let's really dramatically draw the line about 12- and 13- and 14- and 15-year-old mothers who I think become in the end, because of the breakdown of

the family, that becomes the next generation's crime. And so I think we've got to address that issue, both in terms of locking up criminals and reforming the welfare system on behalf of children, giving them a chance to grow up in a structured **environment** where they have a future and they have an education and they have a job and they don't turn to drugs and crime as their primary avocation at 13, 14, 15 years of age-

— This Week With David Brinkley (ABC), January 2, 1994

Gingrich views the issue differently.

"We're not talking about [reaching] into a solid working family and ripping a child out," he said. "We're saying in a city like Washington, where there are babies abandoned in the Dumpster, shouldn't there be an organized alternative, which could include adoption [or] orphanages."

— THE HARTFORD COURANT December 8, 1994 Thursday, STATEWIDE

SECTION: MAIN; Pg. A1

HEADLINE: REFORMS OF WELFARE DEBATED; ORPHANAGES PLAN SHAPES DISCUSSION

BYLINE: JOHN A. MacDONALD; Courant Staff Writer DATELINE: WASHINGTON --

Response to Hillary Clinton's Criticism of Orphanage Proposal:

I'd ask her to go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie about "Boys' Town." I mean, my answer to her in part is, you know, the little four-year-old who was thrown off the balcony in Chicago would have been a heck of a lot better off at Boys' Town, that the 11-year-old who was killed after he killed a 14-year-old might have had a chance to live in a supervised boarding school, that the children you see in DC killed every weekend might be better off in a group home or a foster home.

In the 19th century, it was generally -- normally voluntary, and it wasn't a true orphanage. I think a boarding school or a group home is a more accurate statement. James T. Wilson of UCLA sent me a note the other day that said, "What you're really describing here is the right to have a voluntary alternative for very, very young parents who believe that they can't raise their own child."

I don't understand liberals who live in enclaves and safety who say, "Oh, this would be a terrible thing. Look at the Norman Rockwell family that would break up." The fact is we are allowing a brutalization and a degradation of children in this country, a destructiveness. We say to a 13-year-old drug addict who is pregnant, you know, put your baby in a dumpster, that's okay, but we're not going to give you a boarding school, we're not going to give you a place for that child to grow up. There is no place.

--Meet the Press, 12/4/94

We're saying in a city like Washington, where there are babies abandoned in the dumpster, shouldn't there be an organized alternative, which could include adoption, it could include foster care, it could include orphanages.

[Cites Wayne Gilcrest, Jim Greenwood, and Marge Roukema as all supportive of the debate on orphanages.]

--REPS. NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA) ANNOUNCEMENT OF HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP ELECTION RESULTS, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1994

Robert Rector, Senior Policy Analyst, Heritage Foundation

In language similar to that later used by Armev, Rector said the government should not abandon children born out of wedlock, but that AFDC and food stamps, currently given directly to unwed mothers under 21, should be converted to grants to states. Those grants could be used to promote "adoption and orphanages or supporting the mothers in tightly supervised group homes," Rector wrote.

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Rep. Susan Molinari (R-NY)

Incoming Speaker Newt Gingrich knows that it will take bold decisions and courageous ideas if we're ever going to get a [welfare] system that offers work, offers hope, and yes, perhaps through the creation of small orphanages and group homes, offers safety and security to abuse babies and lonely and isolated children.

--Susan Molinari, GOP Response to Radio Address, 12/10/94

Charles Murray

"How does a poor young mother survive without government support?...We need to raise the probability that a young single woman who keeps her child is doing so volitionally and thoughtfully. Forcing her to find a way of supporting the child does this. It will lead many young women who shouldn't be mothers to place their babies for adoption....Many others will get abortions....

Some small proportion of infants and larger proportion of older children will not be adopted. For them, the government should spend lavishly on orphanages. I am not recommending Dickensian barracks. In 1993, we know a lot about how to provide a warm, nurturing environment for children, and getting rid of the welfare system frees up lots of money to do it. Those who find the word "orphanages" objectionable may think of them as 24-hour-a-day orphanages."

— "The Coming White Underclass" by Charles Murray, Wall St. Journal

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MARCH 10, 1994, THURSDAY

SECTION: COMMERCE AND TRADE SPEECHES OR CONFERENCES

LENGTH: 9127 words

HEADLINE: SELF-INSURANCE INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

REMARKS BY

REPRESENTATIVE NEWT GINGRICH (R-GA), MINORITY WHIP
GRAND HYATT HOTEL

BODY:

REP. GINGRICH: (Applause.) Let me say first of all I'm delighted to be here. I don't know how many of you noticed walking down the hall that, if any of you are actually here for the EPA litigation conference, that's next door. (Laughter.) And I couldn't help but think that this is a city where you know how much big government there is if you simply go around the city to the major hotels and record all the groups that have to come here to fight against whatever it is the bureaucracy wants to do next. And it sort of an astonishing array. I'm particularly delighted to be with you because I think your association and your historic experience illustrate one of the great paradoxes of modern America. You have largely been successful. You have provided health insurance for an extraordinary number of people with minimum government involvement, with no tax increase, with no bureaucracy. Many of you are now actually working on projects that are entrepreneurial that are lowering the cost of health care. You're providing better coverage at lower cost with better plans. You're looking around trying to find the best technology, the best medicine, the best opportunities. And the result is that the liberals, having seen you succeed, want to now replace you with a large routine, bureaucratic model that will raise taxes, reduce health care and eliminate your entire industry. Now, if you think about it, that's sort of weird. (Laughter.) I mean, have any of you tried to back up and imagine you were writing Washington in 1994 as a humorous novel? And imagine you had, for example, in the White House a team that couldn't manage a tiny real estate development in a small state -- (laughter, applause) -- a team whose best defense of their ethics was, "We lost all the money." (Laughter.) And having lost all the money in a tiny real estate development in a small state, the team said, "We have a new project; let's manage 14 percent of the gross national product of the largest economy in the world." (Laughter.) I mean, anywhere -- if this was normal life and this was not a comedy and we were not writing this as a situation comedy or a soap opera, would you believe it? (Laughter.)

Can you imagine the arrogance of a Congress which is at 26 percent approval, where the Democratic leadership after 40 years of being in charge is at 26 percent approval, where the person who writes the tax bills just had to write a check for \$82,000 because over the last five years he had misused office money and his defense lawyers

thought that he ought to try to clean it up before he gets indicted. Now, this is the tax – can you imagine if you adopted the rule that said – you wrote the IRS and said, "You know, over the last five years I think I was off by about 82 grand" – (laughter) – "but I'd sure like to write you a check, and I hope you won't take it personally." (Laughter.) And in that context, what are they going to do? And let me tell you – I'm going to cover three areas. What do we need to do about health? What do we need to do about legislation, and what do you need to do? And then I want to take questions.

But I want to start with where we're at on health legislation, because nobody in America accurately understands how grotesque the system is. And I want to cite for all of you a "60 Minutes" story about a month ago about a Democratic freshman named Gutierrez from Chicago. And if you didn't see it, you ought to get the transcript or you ought to get a copy of the videotape and you ought to look at it. Gutierrez, who is a Democratic freshman, goes on television and says to CBS news, for about 12 minutes, the reason there are no reform freshmen is we are brow beaten, humiliated, intimidated and threatened. And then Tim Penny comes on, a 12-year veteran who is retiring in disgust, and he says, yes, Gutierrez is right. And then he names three of the enforcers by naming three of the major committee chairmen, and uses the term – "these are the enforcers" – and they go around and bully and punish people. Now, you need to see the "60 Minutes" report by CBS so you understand I'm not just here as a Republican leader, I'm here as a citizen trying to share with you where we're at after 40 years of one-party rule and why it's going to directly affect the rest of your life.

Now here's what's happened. The president went to the nation, he said, "I have a terrific health plan." He gave a wonderful speech. The speech had nothing to do with the plan, but the speech was terrific. I loved most of the speech. I thought, "Yes!" (Laughter.) I mean, I've been co-chairman of the Republican Task Force on Health since July of 1991, along with Congressman Bob Michel. We've written a health bill; we recommend it to you. It's the Michel-Lott bill. It's a good bill. It's H.R. 3080, and it's really – it solves most of the problems without creating a socialist bureaucracy. Then the country began to read the plan. And then starting with Elizabeth McCoy at the Manhattan Institute, they began to take the plan apart, and then people began to realize that it was all based on "Reinventing Government" by David Osborne (sp). And when you read "Reinventing Government," which is a book that's available that you can actually find and hold in your hand, it's not just a speech that goes away, it turns out that Osborne (sp) says the West German socialist model is the right model; we're not for Canada, we're for German socialism. And then people began to say, okay, let me get this straight; in a country that does no bureaucracy well, we are now going to – we're now going to place all of our private insurance, all of our private choice, all of our control over our own health, by building a large national system. Now, what happened, of course, as all of you know, is support for the plan went straight down. So at that point, you, thinking the game was fair and not rigged, said, wow, I guess we've beaten it. It's now down to a point where it's 41 percent approve, 45 percent disapprove, and when you ask them, do you know enough about it to approve it, the numbers drop even more. But this is the way the machine works, and this is what Gutierrez was explaining on "60 Minutes." Having lost the

public Clinton plan, they're now going to write a secret Clinton plan. Let me show you how it works. The Ways and Means Committee, which has a huge Democratic advantage, will write a bill, and it will be a fairly left-wing bill. The Energy and Commerce Committee will try to write a bill of some kind, and I've already been told about four Democrats who've taken the following position: I'm really against the bill, but I'll vote to get it out of committee.

Now what does that mean? It means the machine wins because then they get it to the next layer. Then they'll go to the Rules Committee. Now they'll have two bills plus they'll have the Education and Labor version. They'll go to the Rules Committee. In the Rules Committee, they will have a series of secret meetings, chaired either by the speaker or by Mr. Gephardt, the majority leader, and in the secret meetings they will try to put together a pork-barrel version of the bill -- how much do we have to give this committee, how much do we have to give that committee, what do we have to give away on the floor. Now remember, Mrs. Clinton, with 500 people in a secret meeting in the White House for six months, couldn't write a plan. So now you're going to have 20 people in a series of secret meetings, and they are going to write a plan because they have the legislative power to pass it. And they're going to come to the floor with a bill nobody will have read which will have dozens of loopholes, all sorts of unintended consequences, and in a number of ways, just plain be dumb.

And they're going to rush up to their members and say, "You've got to keep the process alive. Even if you don't like the plan, at least send us to conference where we will, quote, 'improve it'."

Meanwhile, on the Senate side, they'll do whatever they're going to do, and finally they'll get to conference about, oh, August. And they'll have secret meetings in conference between the Senate and the White House and the House, and that's where they'll finish writing the secret Clinton plan because they can't pass the public plan. And the secret Clinton plan will have all sorts of mistakes. Remember catastrophic health insurance which we had to repeal? Remember Section 89 which we had to repeal?

Go look at the Medicaid provision that was agreed to at 3:00 in the morning between the Bush administration and Henry Waxman, which was scored at \$500 million and has so far, I believe, cost \$40 billion. A minor mistake, but it's only your tax money. And then they'll come to the floor in September or October and they'll (go up to the members?) and say, "Well, it's the best we could do." They'll say to the real socialists, "It gets you a half-step there." They'll say to the real moderates, "At least it's not socialism." (Laughter.) And they'll do it on two or three days' notice with nobody having read the bill and none of you having had the time to get a copy of it. And it will be just before the election, and they'll say, "Do you really want to go home having voted on?" Well, that's where you are today. The machine is still in the game, and the machine still has a chance to win, and they are determined to twist arms, to promise committee assignments, to use the appropriations process, to do what it takes. And why are they pushing so hard? Because they want your money to build their bureaucracy. Their entire structure depends on getting control of your money. This is not about health; this is about power. And unless you're aware of the legislative process -- and don't take my word on it. Go look at the "60 Minutes"

segment on Gutierrez and Penny, and then think about what you've experienced all your life.

Think about why Congress has a 26 percent approval. And then understand, if you are not actively, passionately involved, if you are not educating your members and you're not explaining to your friends and you're not out there in the game, you are going to end up losing your health care. And you're going to end up with a mediocre, government-run ration system dominated by bureaucrats with political decisions made in Washington. And that's still the direction they're trying to push us, and they haven't given up for a half-hour. They just gave up on the public plan and shifted gears and went to Plan B. And Plan B is get it secretly because you can't get it publicly. But they haven't stopped for a second.

And the only way you stop that kind of effort — and I helped stop hospital cost containment in 1979 because it was a terrible plan that would have closed hospitals all over America. And I helped repeal catastrophic. I voted against it. I was one of 93 who voted no because he said it was dumb. I was then one of 300 who voted yes when we repealed it because it turned to be dumb. You only stop big government by having lots of citizens who, starting at Easter recess, walk up their member of Congress and say, "This is a jobs bill. It's about your job." (Laughter, applause.) Let me talk to you just for a couple minutes about health in America because it's an important topic, and I wish it was a topic we could debate the Democratic leadership openly and honestly about, and I wish it was a topic the president would be willing to be candid about and have honest dialogue instead of just demagoguery.

We are on the edge of revolutions in health care.

This is — this is the great, grand tragedy of this bureaucratic monstrosity that they want to pass.

You have a revolution in genetic biology which is probably going to change virtually all approaches to health care within a decade. It's going to change Alzheimer's, it's going to change cancer, it's going to probably eliminate problems like cystic fibrosis, it's going to dramatically change diabetes, both because we're going to learn how to deal directly with the genetic defects and because we're going to learn things about how the human body operates that are going to literally be as big a revolution or bigger than the invention of the computer or the rise of nuclear power.

Now, we're right on the edge of this. And what does the administration do? It attacks the pharmaceutical industry and the biotechnology industry, which drives down the value of their stock, which limits their capital so that literally the biotechnology association reported that their research on cancer was cut 45 percent by the Clinton administration's attack. They just don't have the money. And then we're going to talk about having a bureaucracy in Washington appointed by politicians that will make decisions about the newest break-through in cancer? That's going to mean if you're a senator or a governor you get it, if you're a normal person you don't. It's going to mean a lot slower lead time. Canada has introduced no new Canadian-developed drugs in 20 years. The industry just dried up.

And so the issue do we want to accelerate the biological revolution to give us the best health care in the world and to frankly create an opportunity both for quality of life for all of us and for lowering the cost, because people will get sick less, and we'll treat it faster and better. That's phase one. Phase two is that we have an opportunity

for health to be largest foreign exchange earner of the 21st century. Let me give you an example. From all of the Americas, (LISA ?) has one 747 every weekend coming from Tokyo to Minneapolis to bring a planeload of Japanese to shop. Every week. As the world gets smaller, as information gets worldwide and instantaneous by telephone and computer and as people -- as the cost of air travel keeps going down, when people get cancer they're going to say "What's the best cancer center in the world?" If it's Sloan Kettering, they're going to go there. When they have a heart problem, they're going to say "What's the best heart center in the world?" If it's the Mao Clinic, they're going to go there.

Go and look across the entire Northern United States at the percentage of bedspace taken up by Canadians. Look at the Cleveland Clinic and the number of foreigners who come there, whose family comes, who are at a hotel, and who provide income for the entire Cleveland community because it's the best health care in the world. Look at the amount of money we already earn out of drugs and biotechnology selling all over the planet.

If we thought of health as an opportunity rather than just a problem, we would have a dramatically better approach to it, it would provide a very high quality of income to Americans, and it would be the largest single source of foreign exchange for the United States in the entire next century. That's a totally different way of thinking about it, and one we need.

Third, as all of you know from your own experiences, the entrepreneurial forces in health care are beginning to drive prices down. I'll give you two good examples of systems approaches. The Steel Case (sp) studies in Michigan, which is a five-year study of the impact of preventive in wellness. They lowered the cost of health care for Steel Case by 30 percent because they didn't do the right things in the right way because people changed their behaviors, because it was worthwhile to do it. Both Forbes Magazine and Golden Rule Insurance Company of Indianapolis have tried out medical savings accounts. This is a system where you give your employees a \$3,000 deductible, so it's a catastrophic plan, but you also give them the \$3,000 in January. They are spending their money from the first day. At the end of the year if they have money left over they can take it as an end-of-the-year bonus and pay income tax on it, or they can roll it into a savings account and have a tax-free interest buildup. In that system, where people have a first-dollar incentive to be good consumers, to pay attention and watch cost, where people are eliminating all the paperwork for small bills, and very often it costs as much to collect the bill as the bill itself, where people are having no interest payments on the time value of money because they're paying immediately while they're there at the doctor's office or the pharmacy, and where people have a lot higher interest in prevention and wellness because it is their money they're saving, in that setting both companies reported about a 35 percent -- or a 30 percent decrease in the cost of health.

Now, I'm just suggesting that if you look at Regina Hertzlinger's (sp) book on entrepreneurship in health care -- she's at the Harvard Business School -- if you look at all these opportunities, that a lot can be done, and we have a lot of steps we can take to have lower cost, better health care for everybody. The Michel-Lott bill, H.R. 3080, eliminates all preconditions. It eliminates all -- it creates job portability so you don't lose your insurance when you change jobs. It creates an environment where

small business can buy group insurance. It extends the same tax opportunity to the self-employed and the unemployed as large corporations. It has very strong malpractice reform, including requiring that you go to arbitration, and if you appeal from the arbitration, unless you get at least 20 percent more than the arbitrator gave you, you automatically have to pay all court costs for both sides, so you begin to create a disincentive. It relieves hospitals from antitrust so they can work together to buy very expensive equipment and to decide, you know, who ought to specialize and how can we actually serve the community.

Our point to you is simply that it is possible to have a practical, pragmatic bill, something like the Rowland-Bilirakis bill. Dr. Rowland is a Democrat, and Mike Bilirakis is a Republican. They have 16 Democrats and 16 Republicans working together. As all of you know, I helped pass NAFTA because I helped lead a bipartisan coalition that actually had more Republican votes than Democrat. And I've said over and over again I'm prepared to work with any Democrat who wants to write a common-sense American bill based on the way Americans do things, without lots of bureaucracy, without government control, and without big tax increases. And I think we have the chance to do it. But it will only happen if people like you go back home and talk to your members of Congress. This city will take your wallet, take your health, and give you what it wants. And the only way you stop that is for you to be directly involved. Let me say one last thing and then I'll take questions. I really believe – and I want to talk to you for a second just as citizens. I really believe that we are in trouble as a country. I am a history teacher by background, and I do not believe that American civilization or any civilization can survive with 12-year olds having babies, 15- year olds killing each other, 17-year olds dying of AIDS, and 18-year olds getting diplomas they can't read. I just don't think it's possible. This is not Democrat or Republican, liberal or conservative. I think we're in a genuine crisis of our civilization.

You are meeting in your national capital. Within a half-mile of this meeting room, all four of those things are happening; 12-year olds are having babies, 15-year olds are killing each other. Read the morning paper here about a shooting at a high school. Seventeen-year olds are dying of AIDS, and 18 year-olds are getting diplomas they can't read.

Now, this is a crisis for us, and frankly, it's what makes the health debate so grotesque, because it's clear by any reasonable standard, if you listen to the president's State of the Union, where he said 30 years ago families began decaying. That was the Great Society, almost to the day. He describes the failure of the welfare state, and yet he wants to extend it to health. I tell people, if you like public housing, you'll love public medicine. (Laughter.) My challenge to you is to recognize that the welfare state has failed, that it failed because it was fundamentally wrong about human nature. We say in the Declaration of Independence that we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. What the welfare state does is it takes in Americans and it reduces them from a citizen down to a client, then it subordinates them to a bureaucrat, and then it subjects them to regulations which are anti-work, anti-family, anti-property and anti-opportunity. Now, any human being subjected over time to

those kind of rules will develop the kind of pathologies you see every night on your local television news.

And I think the challenge to us is not to extend the welfare state into health; the challenge to us is to design a replacement for the welfare state, to take the principles that make, for example, health insurance work and begin to figure out how do we apply them to the poor; to take all the things you use as the way you think about solving problems for you and apply them to reshaping and redefining the government.

I think, as Franklin Roosevelt said, that our generation has a rendezvous with destiny, and it is our destiny to find a way to replace the welfare state. Now, for those of you who are interested, I taught a course in this at Kennesaw State College last fall, and then the University of Georgia Board of Regents adopted a rule that no elected official can teach. (Laughter.)

This is a true story. I was teaching for free. I have a Ph.D. in history, and I taught for eight years in the university system, but when I taught the course last fall, it was so controversial that they adopted a rule that as long as your ideas are weird enough that nobody will elect you, you're safe, but if your ideas are popular enough that you can win, you can't teach because you're dangerous. (Laughter.) Luckily, Reinhardt (sp) College – which is a private school and therefore wasn't under political control, which goes back to why I worry about bureaucracies and politicians controlling your health care – Reinhardt College offered me a chance to teach in January, so I did. This course is available two ways. One is an 800 number I'll give you in a second, but the other is it's on National Empowerment Television every Wednesday from 1 to 3 Eastern Time, and it's going to be repeated five times during the course of the year.

It was offered winter quarter in 140 sites, including 10 college campuses that offered it for credit, including the University of California at Berkeley, it was offered at Clemson in the fall, and a number of other places for credit, and it's 10 two-hour segments. One of the segments is on health care and we talk about health in America and how to solve the problem, and we outline for two hours a way of thinking about health that I think you would find very dramatic. And we have a long section on entrepreneurial free enterprise, a long section on the spirit of invention and discovery. We start with personal strength, because I don't think you can build a healthy free society unless you emphasize personal strength. And I would suggest to you if you just saw those two hours and compared it to the welfare state, you would understand how radically different our visions of the future are. We have a two-hour section on economic growth and jobs, two hours on saving the inner cities because if we don't save the inner city, this country is just going to collapse. You can't have this level of ignorance and violence and sustain a civilization. And we also talked about citizenship and community – (inaudible). The 800 number, if you want to call – and I really recommend it as an internal employee training kind of film – is 1-800-TO-RENEW – T-O-R-E-N-E-W. We had over 1,000 calls in January from people around the country calling, and it's just sort of spreading week by week. But the reason I did it as a course – and I'll just close this, but I want you to think about it. I have a chance today to talk to you at length, but to have the scale of change we're describing, I can't explain it even in a talk this long. The

average television sound bite is nine seconds. If I were Tonya Harding or if I were the Bobbitts or if I were the Menendez brothers, I would get longer on television, but it wouldn't be very positive. But if you think about it, the way our system now works, if you have positive ideas that are seriously intellectual, you will get zero time. If you do something grotesquely weird, you can lead the news. And so I deliberately went out to teach a course. As I said, I did it for free (of price ?) now because I believe it's important for our political leadership to try to explain where we have to go as a country. And as I said, two hours of it are directly related to health, and I think you'd find it very helpful in reframing the health debate back home. Let me, if I might, just throw it wide open to questions, and I'll be glad to try to answer any questions you might have. (Pause.) Unless I've so overwhelmed you there are no questions. Oh, back here. I knew somebody would come through. Wait a second. Let this young lady get to you.

Q (Off mike.)

REP. GINGRICH: I don't know what will happen before the November elections because I think this is -- you know, I remember watching the Kansas City Chiefs go to Houston in the playoffs, and the commentator made the point that it was the 29th game of his professional career where Joe Montana entered the fourth quarter behind and won the game. And so I start with the premise that we're not going to give up until the last vote, the last night. And the machine's not going to give up till the last vote, the last night. So it's a question of whether we can arouse the American people more than they can bully their members, and I don't think you know the answer to that right now. And it's also a question for the president.

I would be prepared today to meet with the Democrats and try to write a bipartisan, market-oriented, personal responsibility-oriented bill. I think we can solve 80 or 90 percent of the problems in the American health system without a new bureaucracy, without more government and without the kind of coercion they believe in. And so they've got to decide at some point, if they find that they can't get their bill through, are they willing to work with House Republicans and Senate Republicans to write a bill that's positive, that the American people will accept? If they are, we can pass a bill this fall with a huge vote. We could pass a bill that had 70 or 80 support.

Now, if they want to continue down the road they used on the tax increase -- remember, they passed the tax increase in the House by one vote. They had a tie vote in the Senate, and the vice president broke it. Now, that means -- if they want to go down the same route the Democrats used last year on the tax increase, maybe they can squeeze something through or maybe it'll collapse. If it does collapse, at that point, maybe they'll come and work with us to pass a good bill or maybe they'll decide they'd rather have no bill and go back to the country and say -- I mean, if it's very tricky. If the Democrats control the House and the Democrats control the Senate and the Democrats control the White House, it's a little hard for the president to campaign against the bad Republicans who wouldn't let them pass a bill. But, on the other hand, he's capable of doing it. So -- I mean -- (laughter) -- you know?

And so they've got to decide at some point what do they want to do. But I will tell you, and I'll repeat it to every audience I go to. I am prepared at any day this year to sit down on behalf of the House Republicans, and Mr. Michel would join me and so would Denny Hastert and Bill Thomas and Tom Bliley and Nancy Johnson and

Marge Roukema. We're very prepared as a team to sit down any day the Democrats want to, to write a bipartisan bill that is market-oriented and strengthens personal responsibility and gives people an opportunity to be involved in controlling their own health care. And we think we can solve 85 to 90 percent of the problems of the American people.

Yes, ma'am?

Q (Off mike.)

REP. GINGRICH: Oh, wait a second. I guess we have only one microphone, so she has to be very quick. (Laughter.)

Q (Off mike.)

REP. GINGRICH: No.

Q (Off mike.)

REP. GINGRICH: No. I think the president and Mrs. Clinton believe — let me answer that and then I'll go to the second one. The president and Mrs. Clinton, I think, believe that they are so articulate that they were going to sell the country their plan. I believe they sincerely thought that they could run around the country, and as long as they talked compassionately and concerned and caring, that people would say, "Gee, these are really wonderful people and I really do want to give them control of my life." And I think that was a sincere belief on their part, and I think that that's the only way you can explain how they spent the last five months, is that they did everything they could to convince people to entrust them with control over their health care and control over their pocketbook, and it just failed. But I think it was a sincere effort on the part of the Clintons.

Q (Off mike.) (Laughter, applause.)

REP. GINGRICH: First of all, I'm not going to be like the president. But secondly, I have to tell you, because it's a very funny story, since you're here in Washington today, if you read the Washington Post, one of my nicest colleagues in the reporting business is Bob Novak, who is quite a guy and often called the Prince of Darkness, and any of you who watch him on "Capital Gang" know he's very tough. And Novak said really nice things that were quoted about me earlier about — you know, that I have courage to stand up to the Washington establishment and all this stuff. Well, Novak has a column this morning called "The New Newt," and I want you to read it, and then you'll get to decide if I'm becoming one of them. These are the two complaints Bob has about me. It's very funny and you ought to read it. But it fits your question. He has two complaints about me becoming a regular Republican leader instead of the courageous, honest, forthright person I used to be. (Laughter.) And one of his complaints is about health care. His first complaint about me is this: We are dealing with a budget this week. Our budget is much more specific than the Democrats' and much more direct. We have the Michel-Lott H.R. 3080 in our budget.

So we actually take care of health. The Democrats don't have their health care bill in their budget. We actually have welfare reform in our budget, and we cut off illegal aliens from getting welfare. The Democrats don't have that in their budget.

But we have one controversial item, and I'll let you decide about this. We have a \$500 per child tax credit aimed at middle-class families. Now, I lead a coalition. I

have 176 members. A number of our more moderate members said, "Gee whiz, we're cutting government spending and we're going to have this very strong pro-family \$500 tax plank, and we like it, but we don't want to go back home and explain why we're giving, you know, a Jay Rockefeller \$500 for each of his kids. I mean, Jay's able to take care of himself and has a wonderful opportunity in life given to him by his father and grandfather (and other ?) people who had actually used the free enterprise system" – (laughter) – "and it is not fair – you know, it's not fair to – you know, we don't want to explain and defend why we're giving him all this money." And not picking on Jay, although it's sort of fun. (Laughter.) And so we cap it at \$200,000, and we say if you're under \$200,000 income, you get \$500 per child, it gradually fades out, and at \$200,000 we figure you have enough total income that you probably don't need the subsidy.

Well, Bob is a very hard line – no progressive taxation, no means testing, you know, how can you do this? So he beats me up because I am cheating the rich of their \$500. But my defense of it is we have \$110 billion over the next five years set aside in a \$500 tax credit that will take care of every child between the \$200,000 a year income level and be an incentive to families to take care of their children.

And I'll let you decide whether that's a sign I sold out or not. But I think it's a good idea. John Kasich and the House Republicans on the Budget Committee deserve a lot of credit for – they actually cut the deficit \$150 billion below the Clinton number while providing for a child tax credit and real relief for – you know, a middle-class family with three kids, we get a \$1,500 credit off their taxes to help them take care of their kids or prepare for college or do what they need to do.

The second example Bob's made at me about is we went to Annapolis last Thursday and Friday with the Senate Republicans and with three of the Republican governments, and we worked to be a team. And I wasn't mean enough to John Chafee. I mean, Chafee has a bill which is more government than I like, but Chafee's a good Republican. And the truth is, if we can hold virtually all the Republicans together and not have three or four of the senators picked off by the Democratic leadership, we're in a position to write a centrist bill that is market-oriented and that makes sense and that doesn't create big government bureaucracies.

And so I'm trying as a leader to hold the whole team together. Because last year we got 176 Republicans in the House and every Republican in the Senate to vote against the tax increase. We made it much harder for the left-wingers to get money out of your pocket. And I believe that, if we can build a team that's common sense – but the result was that Bob, who is a good friend – and I think he would tell you, "Watch for Gingrich, because, boy, the minute he gets in there he's just going to become one of them." But anyway, it's a moot question. But it is a problem in the city because you've got to decide every day how to do the right thing. And my only real answer to the column is I tried to show as much courage about columnists as I do about the Congress. (Laughter.) Let's see. This lady's going to come rushing right over to you, sir. Q (Off mike.)

REP. GINGRICH: Well, let me answer that question, as candidly as I can. The positive alternative was the Kasich budget of 1993, the Kasich budget of 1993 which said cut spending first had zero dollars in tax increase and was slightly better than the Clinton budget on deficit reduction. It was cited by Ross Perot in a national

half-hour TV show. He held it up and said, "This is the alternative." It was praised by both The New York Times and The Washington

Post as being a serious budget. They didn't like it because they're liberal, but they praised it. It was in The Wall Street Journal. We were on every talk show we could get on, and we tried to get the message out, that, hey, there is an alternative: It's cut spending first.

And, in fact, if you look at the polling numbers, from the day the president gave his joint session speech to the day of the vote, every week he got weaker. But let me tell you what happened, because I stood on the floor of the House and I watched it. Four Democrats who were against the bill stood in the well of the House at the end of vote – those of you who've watched C-Span know, you know, we vote for 15 minutes. At the end of the vote, they'd lost the vote, and there were four Democrats standing down there.

One of them, and I physically watched this – I was standing in the well of the House watching because I knew it was going to happen. One of them actually had – when the vote's over, you have to vote by signing a card. You sign a red card for no and a green card for yes. One of them was actually holding both cards in a display of courage that I thought was uncommon. (Laughter.) Margolies-Mezvinsky – and I'm not trying to attack her, but this is a historic fact. You can go back and read about it.

Margolies-Mezvinsky, who is a freshman from a high-income district in the Philadelphia suburbs, who was quoted in The Philadelphia Enquirer in a story with her picture and a headline that day: "I will not be pressured. I'm going to vote my conviction. I'm going to represent my constituents." She stood in the well of the House. Pat Williams, a liberal Democrat from Montana who believes in big taxes and is honestly – he wins his races by going back home and saying, "Yeah, I believe in government" and puts together a 51 or 52 percent coalition." But at least you have to admire the fact that he's out there being honest of being in favor of big taxes. Williams stood next to her. The speaker and the Democratic leadership stood around her. The other two Democrats each took a half step back. One of them was a Democrat from Arkansas who was holding the two cards. The other was a Democrat, Minge from Minnesota, who didn't want to vote if he could avoid it, but had given his word apparently that, if they needed him, he wouldn't let it get beat. And at the last minute, Williams said, "Let's do it." And I was standing close enough to hear him. And Mezvinsky – Margolies-Mezvinsky said, "Okay." And she voted exactly against what she had said in her hometown paper that day. Now, when I talked to you earlier about the machine, that's how it works. Let me tell you, I work every day to try to change this city, but until the American people decide they are fed up with their taxes going up, they're fed up with the machine, they're tired of 40 years of rule – and by the way, you're not just limited to \$1,000. There's a brand-new book coming out called Taxpayers Tea Party, which explains that you can spend as much as you want, so if you don't like the tax increase, take an amount equal to it and go run an independent expenditure and beat one of the people who voted yes. You have every right as an American citizen to be active. You can give up golf for the rest of the year and walk your neighborhood for free. But those of us who are

fighting to change the Congress need your help. What kills us is cynicism and apathy and people who say, "Well, they're all politicians." Well, if they're all politicians, then there's no future for democracy.

And so I would come right back to you and say I don't know how many trade associations that are opposed to Clinton have done a cover story on H.R. 3080. I don't know how many companies that care about an alternative to Clinton have put out brochures on medical savings accounts and have talked to people. I go to every group like this I can go to, and I literally put in between 80 and 100 hours a week. And I need your help in order to do the things you want to do. And if we had had a little more help last summer, we would have beaten the largest tax increase in history despite the Democratic machine. Let me take one or two last questions. Over here. Yes, sir? Right here. Wait for her to catch up with you.

Q (Off mike.)

REP. GINGRICH: Well again, it's a little hard sometimes in the national news media to get coverage for proposals, but I (want to talk to you about ?) proposals that are real, that are in -- you know, people say why aren't you guys willing to be positive? The president gets up and says, "Oh, they're all talking about Whitewater because they don't want to deal with positive legislation." As I said earlier, I've been co-chair of a task force on health since July of 1991. He was governor of Arkansas. She was at the Rose Law Firm. So I don't feel like I have to step back and say, "Gee, we have never done anything."

We have a welfare reform bill in the hopper written by Rick Santorum, by Clay Shaw, by Nancy Johnson, by a number of Republicans, Gary Franks. It's a very good welfare reform bill, and it requires work, and it gives the states for the first time the right to not pay money directly to teenagers when they get pregnant outside of marriage. It goes right at the two core problems of welfare today. It also strengthens the responsibility of males by providing that we should try to determine in the hospital who the father is because with the breakthroughs in DNA, we can match who the father is with 100 percent accuracy. And it's time we told young males, "If you have a child, you have an 18-year economic obligation to help take care of your child," and begin to re-bond those kids.

So we've started on welfare. We think we have very specific provisions. I work with Governor Weld in Massachusetts and Governor Thompson in Wisconsin, with Governor Engler in Michigan, Governor Campbell in South Carolina. They all have good initiatives that say you've got to work, you've got to learn, you've got to have responsibilities, that we do not want to give any money to any able-bodied adult without them working for it.

Now, those are real changes. We want to frankly say to young girls, if you get pregnant, we'll help you with group homes, we'll help you with foster care, we'll help you with orphanages, we'll help you with adoption, but we are not going to give 12, 13, and 14-year olds money directly, and we're not going to give them apartments in public housing, because we have been creating an economic incentive program for young girls to get pregnant outside of marriage and for young men to have no responsibility, and after 30 years, it is in danger of destroying large parts of this country. Eighty percent of the children in some neighborhoods are born outside of marriage. Now, that is destructive of the child. It's destructive of the whole

situation.

Those are real proposals. We could pass them next week if the president would help us.

Let's talk about crime. I'm a history teacher. Crime is not a complicated problem. Crime is a very small number of young males who have been socialized from a culture of poverty into a culture of violence. The total number is remarkably small for a country this size, probably one-fifth of one percent. But what happens to them? I recently met Polly Klaas's father. Polly Klaas, remember, is the young girl who was abducted from her home during her pajama party and, by the way, not killed with a gun, killed with a knife, just as Willie Horton killed with a knife. The man who killed her had been sent up six times, had never served a full sentence. And then, of course, liberals say to you two things – and I have had this said to me. The first is, "Well, you adopt three strikes and you're out" – and this was said to me by a leading Democrat who's a lawyer -- he said, "What if some person happens to have two violent felonies when they're young, and then at 45, they happen to get in a barroom brawl and hurt somebody, so it's felony assault? Do you really want them to go away for life?"

That's the mind set you're dealing with. My answer was, "Frankly, if you have two felony assaults for violence when you're young and you have another felony assault at 45 for violence, if my alternative is having Polly Klaas raped and killed, yeah, I want you to go away for life." Yet, you'll find in this city a systematic effort to undermine "three strikes and you're out." Then they say, "Well, if you have "three strikes and you're out," what are you going to do about prisons? We don't have enough prisons. This is a country that has a trillion, 500 billion dollar federal budget, and it can't protect you from physical violence, because there are other priorities that are more important. Let me tell how bad it is. There are five million violent crimes a year in America – felony crimes in America a year. There are 100,000 people who go to jail. Fourteen percent of the convicted rapists serve zero days. Seventy-five hundred rapists a year do not serve a day for the rape. Twenty-eight percent of convicted felons for felonious assault serve no time. Of the ones we send up, a substantial number get out early because we don't have space. Nine hundred and seventy-nine convicted felons a day are released early.

Now, I'll tell you what I would do, and we're trying – and I've said this openly over and over, and I wish the president would do it. I would take three or four surplus military bases where we already own the land. I would use National Guard engineering battalions during summer camp. I would build as many facilities as we need as fast as we need them. I would charge the states and cities per diem. And I would say, first of all: "Send us every one of your nonviolent criminals. We'll put them in relatively simple detention areas, and we'll make sure that they don't get out.

And that'll clear up all your very sophisticated space for violent criminals."

Second, by the time you've done that – in California, I'm told, 60 percent of the prison space is used for nonviolent criminals. Second, when you're done doing that, we'll have built enough housing facilities. "You send any surplus violent criminals; we'll charge you per diem." And I'd charge the state what it cost the state in their own prison, plus 5 percent. And that way they'd have an incentive to build their

own prisons.

But I would say as a firm ground rule, by mid summer, the following changes ought to be in place. And if you were serious – if this was a war, if we had 65 Americans dying in Somalia or Bosnia – that's how many get killed every day; 65 Americans are killed every day. About 225 are raped every day. If that was happening in a foreign war, we would mobilize the country. We'd cut through the red tape. We'd do what it took. We'd have hearings on why the commander was incompetent. And we'd get the job done.

So I take the following position. By June 1, not a single violent criminal should be released early. We'll find the space. We'll pass "three strikes and you're out." We will change the rules to have effective, believable death penalties. In 1933 when Franklin Roosevelt was shot at and Mayor Surmac (sp) of Chicago was killed, the assassin was executed 34 days later. That was a society that was serious about crime.

Now let me carry it a step further. I would say to juveniles, there are no violent offenses that are juvenile. You rape somebody, you're an adult. You shoot somebody, you're an adult. And I'd get the word out on the street, and I'd put it on MTV and I'd put it on rap radio, and I'd say flatly, "From this day forward, if you harm a fellow American and we can catch you and convict you, you're going up for a long time. We're going to build the space. You're going to do the time." And by the way, I wouldn't lose control of the prisons. I would say, "You're going to work (48 ?) hours a week and you're going to study 12 hours a week." And when somebody says, "Well, you can't make me work and you can't make me study," say, "Fine, we have a little wing of the prison, no air conditioning, no television, and we serve you something that looks like grits without sugar – I mean without butter – (laughter) – and you could – you want to be bored? (Laughter.)

Let me mention one other thing and then I'll get out of your hair, but I want to give you an example of hope, something we want to do in this city, something I've been doing now for six years. We have a program called Earning by Learning because I, as a history teacher and as somebody who believes passionately in learning, I think if you can teach people to read, they have a future; if you can't teach them to read, they're in desperate trouble. And it's even more true in the third wave of information revolution that's coming in the future. So about five or six years ago, I knew the welfare state had failed. We have Title 1, we have this, we have that, we have Head Start. My daughter, my older daughter went to Head Start as a child – (inaudible) – part of the very early process of Head Start. Something isn't working. So we invented what we call Earning by Learning. Those of you who would like to know more about it could contact Dr. Mel Steely (sp) at West Georgia College in Carrollton, Georgia. Dr. Steely (sp) is in charge of this.

No bureaucracy. But Earning by Learning goes into a public housing project. Any of you could do this back home. We get adult volunteers who know how to read. We go into the public housing project. We find second and third graders who are at risk.

That is, their teachers say these kids may not learn how to read, they're not getting the right learning. We say to those little kids in the summer, "We will pay you \$2 a book for every book you read." Let me tell you. I don't care how poor they are – single head of household, no books at home, food stamps, no hope – they

understand the theoretical proposition, "You read, we pay."

Now these – remember, these are kids are seeing Michael Jackson make millions. They're seeing all sorts of other people make millions. They're seeing baseball stars cut big deals, you know. And the only local way of making money is armed robbery, pimping and prostitution, and drug dealing. They have no hope. And so we say to them, "If you'll read, we'll pay you two dollars a book." The adults come in. The first thing we do is take them to the nearest public library and get them a library card. They get the books for free; that's why you have libraries. They show up every week – these are children's books. They bring them in. You ask them questions. If they haven't read the book, you send them over to the corner to read it.

If they have read the book, we give them two bucks.

I became what The Wall Street Journal once called a "revolutionary centrist," which is probably the most accurate definition of where I'm at. When we went to Douglas County, Georgia, and we went to the public housing project, an eight-year-old kid said to us, "You're going to cheat us." And we said, "What?" They said: "You're going to get us to read. You'll manipulate us. We'll read. And then at the end of the summer, you won't pay us any money." And I thought to myself, how sick have we become that at eight years of age this is the level of distrust and cynicism?

So in Douglas County, we said to them, "Give us one week; we'll pay you that week." Five kids came in, two or three books each – four dollars, six dollars. The next week, 10 kids came in. We doubled the class every week all summer, because the kid would go out, an ice cream truck would come, he'd go buy an ice cream cone. His friend would walk over and say, "How come you have money?" He'd say, "Oh, I read, you know." (Laughter.)

The principal of an elementary school – I've been talking about this for six years. People call Dr. Steely (ph) in West Georgia, in Carrollton, and as a result there are about 17 states where people are trying this. No bureaucracy anywhere. Dr. Steely (ph) gets paid a tiny amount of money for very part-time work, and he's the only person who gets any direct money. A principal in Nashville told me the other night – this is being studied by Vanderbilt now, and a teacher – a principal in Nashville who's done it two years in a row said not only do the kids increase their reading ability, but they come back to school in the fall and they want a reading club because they're now all reading. She said the second year she began to notice the most exciting phenomenon, which is that some of the parents are now starting to read because their children are bringing home books all the time, and it is the child who is carrying the parent into the process of literacy. Now, let me make this point to all of you, both in terms of hope and progress, this is not about government. I didn't come here today to tell you about the government bureaucratic solution to health, and I'm not sure we're going to have a government bureaucratic solution to the inner city, just as you all represent a successful private sector, innovative, creative entrepreneurial response. But I'll tell you: For 10 percent of the Title 1 money, we would have virtually every second and third-grader in America reading, and they would be reading better than they will read if we quadruple the Title 1 money, because the Title 1 money says we'll hire bureaucrats who will hire bureaucrats who will study bureaucrats who will write paperwork, we'll get down to a teacher – and

the child is over here. What we say is eliminate the bureaucracy, find a volunteer who loves children, walk into the room, give the money only to the child, only if they work. And notice what we're teaching. We're teaching free enterprise. We're teaching personal strength. We're teaching literacy. We're bonding an adult who knows how to read with a child who may never have been with an adult who knows how to read. We're doing it all for free, without government, without coercion. And it's working.

And my message to all of you is real simple. You have been born the luckiest people in the history of the world. You're Americans. You belong to the most extraordinary society in history. We bring more people from more ethnic backgrounds and give them a greater chance to seek opportunity than any country in the history of the world: to note, Colin Powell and John Shalikashvili. We are a remarkable place, and we have a chance to extend freedom across the planet, and we are beginning to die at our heart because you can't sustain civilization the way things are now going. I came today not just to talk to you about health care but to say to you, whether it's by looking at my course or knowing American civilization or whether it's by doing other things, whether +++++ by being involved back home directly, if you will be full citizens, if you will fight to replace the welfare state, I believe with all my heart that your grandchildren will live on a planet which is free and safe and prosperous not just in America but across the planet. But if you aren't actively involved, if the 40-year machine once again gets what it wants despite the American people, then I think, frankly, the decay will continue and we have a deep and a desperate problem. We need your help.

Thank you. Good luck, and God bless you.

(Applause.)

END

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: March 10, 1994

Welfare: A Case in Point ...

PEOPLE WHO saw the telecasts or read about the scantily dressed 18-month-old girl found abandoned in the middle of a busy intersection at 12:45 a.m. Friday will be relieved to know that she is in very good physical condition. She is in good condition—despite having been left outside in freezing temperature dressed only in T-shirts, pants and a diaper—because of the quick work of a patrolling D.C. mobile hypothermia unit, which saved her from any long-term ill effects, or worse. Perhaps less noticeable is what happened to the infant after she was examined and released from Children's Hospital. She ended up where some of the District's most fragile residents are often sent: at St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home in Hyattsville. That's because St. Ann's is a longstanding place of refuge for many of the city's abused, neglected and abandoned children, or children whose parents simply cannot care for them.

Since Election Day, politicians have been engaged in a largely self-serving debate about what to do with children caught in the welfare trap. Each side has been behaving as if it had discovered a political gold mine, each mischaracterizing the other's position, perhaps because it has failed to understand what the other is saying or perhaps because it refuses to listen. Hillary Rodham Clinton suggests in a Newsweek article this week that Republicans want to take children from their parents and put them in "orphanages solely because they were born out of wedlock and the parents are poor." Surely she knows better than that, or at least she should. But liberals dissenting from some of the Republican welfare proposals to remove children from homes where they can't be cared for have fared no better. They find themselves unfairly dismissed as knee-jerk protectors of a failed welfare system that encourages illegitimacy. Both sides are framing the

debate in terms that contribute little to understanding the problem. The harsh reality is that today—as symbolized in the case of the abandoned infant—thousands of children are being forced to live away from their homes because of the way they have been treated by their own families.

This city is full of traumatized children who are too hurt to know how to hug, who have seen people shot down, who have watched drugs being consumed, who bear the scars inflicted by angry grown-ups. Isolated cases? Would that it were so. A tour of the city's overburdened social services units will quickly rid you of that notion. So will a night visit to St. Ann's.

Mrs. Clinton warns: "We should never permit children to be taken from their families simply because the parents are poor, unmarried or lacking education." No one is proposing that. Besides, kids aren't going to St. Ann's for those reasons. In Friday's case, according to a city welfare official, the child was put out in the street and left to fend for herself by an older relative. The child's mother, on welfare, is—again according to the official—believed to be unable to properly care for her child at this time. That is why the infant joined other children in the shelter of St. Ann's.

To make a strong case for temporary, transitional facilities that can take in vulnerable children is not to abandon counseling and therapeutic programs for troubled parents, or to walk away from family reunification programs. They are badly needed. The example of St. Ann's and the infant is, however, a useful reminder of what a retired judge who worked with badly abused children said a few years ago: "all institutions are not bad; all families are not good." That is the realistic way to approach this debate.

... And the Governors' Debate

THE NATION'S governors have long played an important role in formulating federal policy. But with the Republican takeover of Congress, the governors are beginning to act like a new branch of the federal government, thrashing out issues in an open and (unusual for them) rather partisan way. Thus did the chairman of the National Governors' Association, Democrat Howard Dean of Vermont, unload on some of his Republican colleagues for a tentative proposal they reached with Republican congressional leaders on welfare. The plan, far from final, would replace hundreds of welfare, nutrition and job training programs with cash grants—"block grants"—to the states. Mr. Dean and other Democratic governors feel excluded from these discussions. The Vermont governor charged that the Republican plan would "starve children and kick old people out of their houses." Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, one of the GOP negotiators, retorted that Mr. Dean was "disappointed because he wasn't there" for the negotiation, and said the Republicans were simply seeking to win the states "as much flexibility as possible."

In the rhetoric, some important distinctions are in danger of getting lost. There is much to be said for giving states more flexibility to run their own welfare programs. Out of such flexibility can come tomorrow's most workable reforms. But it doesn't automatically follow that the best way to achieve that flexibility is to tie all sorts of federal programs together in block grants.

Many of the proposals Republicans are floating would end the "entitlement" status of many of the federal assistance programs, including Aid to Families With Dependent Children and food stamps. Generally, the proposals take current

spending levels on these programs, shave them by, say, 10 percent and ship the resulting amounts off to the states. It sounds good, "entitlements" being a bad word these days. But the governors should think twice. "Block grants" are inevitably based on some set of federal statistics, often outdated, on a state's level of need. The formulas that use these statistics are inevitably the product of elaborate negotiations based on the current political climate, which may have little to do with tomorrow's economic patterns. "Entitlement" programs have the virtue of adjusting to economic conditions—money follows individuals who meet certain requirements of need.

So if Wisconsin suddenly has more poor and unemployed people, federal spending on food stamps and (to a lesser degree) welfare goes up. When Wisconsin recovers, federal spending for such programs there goes down. One may argue about the rules that determine "entitlement," but it's hard to quibble with the logic of programs that adjust quickly to economic changes. Moreover, once Congress turns a program into block grants, it can cut it at will. That is exactly what many congressional conservatives candidly hope will happen to these assistance programs in the long run. The question for governors, including the conservatives, is whether they are willing to run this risk with their state budgets.

The exchanges between Mr. Dean and Mr. Thompson are just the first of an important debate. Giving states greater flexibility in the way they spend federal welfare dollars should be an element of reform. But the governors need to be careful lest the form this flexibility takes winds up putting them all in fiscal straitjackets.

The First Lady, Eye to Eye With Herself

In a freewheeling luncheon with female journalists yesterday, Hillary Clinton expressed bewilderment at how she is viewed publicly and assumed some of the blame for the GOP sweep in the November elections.

"I am surprised at the way people seem to perceive me," she said in the sunny brilliance of the Yellow Oval Room upstairs in the family quarters. "Sometimes I read stories or hear things about me and I go, 'Ugh! I wouldn't like her either.' It's so unlike what I think I am or what my friends believe I am. I can only guess that people are getting their perceptions from things I am saying or doing in ways that don't correspond to what I think I am trying to get across."

She said that while "it is legitimate to say, 'Who is this person and what is she doing?'" she believed she had addressed those questions by choosing to go public with her interest in particular issues, such as health care.

The First Lady was reluctant to do too much self-analysis on the record but nonetheless opened a small window on what it has been like to be in the White House. She was more upbeat and open about her life than she was during a similar lunch a year ago. "Until you're here you have no way of knowing how you are going to react," she said. "It takes a lot of effort to get adjusted... little things I never even dreamed about. You have to start thinking about Christmas in April."



BY JUANA ARIAS—THE WASHINGTON POST
Hillary Clinton: The public's perceptions are "so unlike what I think I am or what my friends believe I am."

... I think I would have done things differently, but I am confident I would have made different mistakes."

Over a healthy lunch of tomato-shrimp soup and curried chicken, she solicited opinions about how to give the public a more accurate picture of her, talked about what it's like raising a daughter in the White House and said she and the Clinton administration had failed in their effort to communicate with the nation.

"All of us know that if you're going to ask people to support the direction and the vision that you have for the country, you have to give them good information. I don't think we did what we needed to do,"

25 years.

The First Lady wouldn't comment for the record on the flap about Kathleen Gingrich, who last week (and again last night) said in TV interviews that her son, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, thought Mrs. Clinton was a "bitch." But her spokeswoman, Lisa Caputo, said Mrs. Clinton had received a gracious note from the speaker in response to her invitation for him and his mother to come to the White House. Caputo added that it was not an acceptance. However, Gingrich spokesman Tony Blankley said yesterday that the note was meant as an acceptance and that Gingrich "plans to do it."

she said about the midterm elections. "Certainly I regret very much that the efforts on health care reform were badly misunderstood... and then used politically against Democrats. So I take responsibility for that and I am very sorry about that. I think it is in large measure due to our failure to explain to people what was at stake in simple terms."

In a touching gesture that surprised her guests, Mrs. Clinton had a cake brought out to mark the retirement of Washington Post Style staff writer Donnie Radcliffe, who has been covering First Ladies for

WE'VE HEARD THAT

■ Advisers to House Speaker Newt Gingrich say they were quite surprised—not to mention a little uneasy—to see Momma Kathleen Gingrich reiterate, in even greater detail, her "bitch" comment on last night's "American Journal" after her Newtite went to great pains last week to smooth things over with Hillary Clinton. In case you've been out of the country: Mom told Connie Chung that Newt thinks Hillary is "a bitch" and then she repeated it last night, wondering what all the fuss was about.

■ A source close to white-hot talk host David Letterman says there have been discussions about the possibility of his hosting the Academy Awards this year. Letterman idol Johnny Carson, of course, did the honors for years. Three other leading contenders—past host Billy Crystal, last year's host Whoopi Goldberg, and Robin Williams—are all said to have movie conflicts.

■ Dan Quayle was released from an Indianapolis hospital yesterday after undergoing an appendectomy last week. The surgery came after a benign growth, called a mucinous cystadenoma, was discovered on the appendix. The growth was also pinpointed as the source of the blood clots for which the former vice president was treated last month. Quayle, 47, should be able to return to a regular schedule in about a week, Indiana University Hospital officials said in a statement.

■ An adventurous mouse had a Boeing 767 all to itself over the weekend. Seems the rodent caused quite a stir when it was



Gingrich, left, getting no help from Mom; Quayle, healing; Simpson, drawing fire.

spotted on a Scandinavian Airlines New York-to-Stockholm run, and it eluded capture once the jet was on the ground, Reuter reported. Rather than put passengers on the next flight in such mortal danger, the airline flew the plane and its solo passenger empty to its Danish maintenance shop.

■ Jumping on the cigar-toking bandwagon, local restaurant Les Halles will begin hosting weekly stogie tastings, for men and woman, beginning tonight. The Pennsylvania Avenue eatery will offer imports like Davidoff and Macanudo, along with complimentary cognac and hors d'oeuvres.

■ Jeb Bush is off the campaign trail and back in the real estate game, having lost the Florida gubernatorial race. Last week, Bush, son of former president George, returned to work with onetime partner Armando Codina in the Coral Gables, Fla.-based Codina Group, Knight-Ridder reports. "It was time to go back and make a living," he said.

■ The families of O.J. Simpson's alleged murder victims Nicole Simpson and Ron Goldman are hopping mad about reports that the former football star is penning a book from behind bars. "I just can't believe it," Juditha Brown told Newsday. "Where is justice?" And Goldman's father, Fred, has this to say: "I guess he doesn't consider the book being published to be any manipulation of public opinion as he's accusing us of doing." Little, Brown, which is publishing "I Want to Tell You" next month, plans to print a half-million copies in its first printing.



Letterman, Oscar material?

Quote to Note

■ "You will be surprised how many jurors show up for a sequestered jury forgetting their toothbrush and blow-dryer."

—Judge Lance Ito, instructing soon-to-be-sequestered jurors in the O.J. Simpson trial yesterday to pack up for the long haul.



With Mary Alma Welch

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



MEMORANDUM

TO: Lissa, Liz

FROM: Sabrina

RE: News stories on Republican proposals for orphanages

DATE: January 10, 1994

"The nation's Catholic bishops on Monday criticized welfare reform proposals by Gingrich that would sharply limit welfare payments and turn the poor over to charities and orphanages." *Star Tribune*, 11/15/94, p. 1A

"Asked Sunday about welfare reform, Newt outlined a plan in which all who are 'able-bodied, under the age of retirement' must find work in 60 days or else be cut off from welfare.

"But what about their children? What about the possibility of starvation?

"'Private charities,' Gingrich said. Orphanages. Soup kitchens. Let the private sector shoulder the burden if it has so bleeding a heart. Not the federal government. Not the citizens. Not the middle class, who should be left free to spend its money on itself." *The Baltimore Sun*, 11/16/94, p.2A, Roger Simon

"Before the post-election week was out, Newt Gingrich, the chubby-cheeked cherub of conservatism, and his cohorts were unveiling a wish list of assorted plans to end welfare as anybody knows it.

"Plan One: Let the states ban cash benefits for teenage mothers. Plan Two: Use the savings for adoption and orphanages. Plan Three: Two months and you're out. Plan Four: If the women can't or won't find work, well, in Newt's words, 'I think I would like to expand private charities.'" *The Tampa Tribune*, 11/17/94, p.23, Ellen Goodman

Rep. Newt Gingrich...has come up with an idea in welfare reform that might prove to be as brilliant as it is simple: orphanages and private charities.

"His plan is to set a reasonable limit - say 60 days - on non-working welfare parents; after that, the children would be taken to orphanages and the non-working parents could go beg from private charities." *Rocky Mountain News*, 11/20/94, Leonard Larsen editorial

"[Rep. James M.] Talent [of Missouri] would permanently deny payments to children born to mothers younger than 26. States could use the money instead to care for children in orphanages or other group settings." *The Houston Chronicle*, 11/20/94, p.A24

"Under the House GOP welfare plan, unmarried mothers under the age of 18 and their illegitimate children would be dropped from the welfare rolls. To deal with the large number of children who would suddenly find themselves without any financial support, states would be given grants to set up orphanages." *The Houston Chronicle*, 12/5/94, p.1

"On NBC's 'Meet the Press,' Gingrich, R-Ga., defended his proposal to deny aid to teen-age mothers and to use that money instead to promote orphanages..." *ST. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 12/5/94, p.1A

"And while he [Rep. Gingrich] advances his sometimes controversial ideas, such as creating orphanages for the children of welfare mothers..." *USA Today*, 12/5/94, p.5A

"Gingrich says welfare should last two years and recipients should be chopped off the rolls at that point. Then, he says, private charities and orphanages should take over the burden of caring for destitute families and poor children." *The Houston Post*, 11/19/94, p. A33, Robert C. Newbe editorial

"Expansion of orphanages also was included in the GOP's wide-ranging welfare reform bill that became part of the Contract with America.

"That bill recognizes orphanages would be needed after welfare reforms..." *USA Today*, 12/6/94

"New House Speaker Newt Gingrich champions the idea [orphanages] for kids he says could suffer after their parents lose welfare." *USA Today*, 12/6/94, p.1A

"Incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) has spoken of cutting off welfare checks to unwed teenage mothers and, if necessary, rearing their children in orphanages." *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 11/20/94, p.9A

"Known as the 'Personal Responsibility Act,' Gingrich's legislation would deny aid to unmarried mothers under 18 and allow states to extend that ban to mothers under age 21.

"The savings from the provision could be used to build orphanages and group homes...for children whose mothers are unable to care for them." *The Washington Post*,

11/17/94, p.1A

"Defending his plan, Gingrich says many poor children of single welfare mothers would be better off in state-run orphanages, which he calls boarding schools or group homes." *USA Today*, 12/5/94, p.1A

"Seven months ago...Newt Gingrich suggested in a speech that unwed teenage mothers should be denied welfare. If they could not support their children, America should tell them, 'We'll help you with foster care, we'll help you with orphanages, we'll help you with adoption' - but not with the cash that might keep mother and child together." *Time*, 12/12/94, p.58

"We want to frankly say to young girls, if you get pregnant, we'll help you with group homes, we'll help you with foster care, we'll help you with orphanages, we'll help you with adoption, but we are not going to give 12, 13, and 14-year olds money directly." *Self-Insurance Institute of America*, Remarks by Newt Gingrich, 03/10/94

"Alarms are being raised by another Gingrich suggestion for removing children from parents who are on long-term welfare and putting them into state orphanages...Tony Blankley, Mr. Gingrich's spokesman, says the institutions would be better than conditions facing babies in the worst part of US cities and 'they won't have to worry about being shot.'" *The Times*, 11/16/94

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November 16, 1994, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TELEGRAPH (NEWS), Pg. 2A

LENGTH: 690 words

HEADLINE: The Newt Deal is upon us; the have-nots have had it

BYLINE: ROGER SIMON

BODY:

WASHINGTON — The room was too small to hold Newt Gingrich.

Photographers elbowed reporters, reporters elbowed TV crews, and TV crews elbowed whomever they pleased, including two members of Congress who were supposed to be up on the stage with Newt.

A larger room in the Capitol was available for this press conference, but the Democrats still control those rooms and they were not going to give one to Newt Gingrich.

Which is just another example of how the Democrats don't get it.

By making the press cram into a tiny room, the Democrats made it a story and, sure enough, CBS began its piece that way: Newt so popular that his events are now Standing Room Only.

Gingrich — his parents named him Newton LeRoy, which explains why he likes Newt — now personifies the end of the Clinton era (didn't last long, did it?).

Currently the Republican whip and representing the Atlanta suburbs, he will be the next speaker of the House of Representatives.

But he will be more than that. He will be the spokesman for the new discontented. The old discontented was made up largely of the poor and minorities. But the new discontented are those who are tired of lavishing programs on the poor and minorities.

And Gingrich's job will be to get through the House what already is being called the Newt Deal.

"Middle-class Americans want a neighborhood where their children are safe, a

school where they actually learn, an opportunity to work, a chance to save much of what they earn, and the right to spend it themselves," he says.

He has the face of a choirboy -- the kind of choirboy who keeps a blackjack under his robes -- and when he stands listening to others he likes to link his fingers in front of an ample belly and slowly twiddle his thumbs.

But his mind is always going full speed. He knows what he wants and, more importantly, what he does not want. And he does not want any more "Great Society, counterculture, McGovern-niks" and other "left-wing elitists" like

Bill and Hillary Clinton sucking this country dry to fund their social agenda.

Newt is going to end all that. He is going to usher in an era in which angry and exhausted Americans no longer fund big government programs, especially those that take from the haves to give to the have-nots.

In Newt's America, the have-nots have had it.

Asked Sunday about welfare reform, Newt outlined a plan in which all who are "able-bodied, under the age of retirement" must find work in 60 days or else be cut off from welfare.

But what about their children? What about the possibility of starvation?

"Private charities," Gingrich said. Orphanages. Soup kitchens. Let the private sector shoulder the burden if it has so bleeding a heart. Not the federal government. Not the citizens. Not the middle class, who should be left free to spend its money on itself.

"This is a time to be open to bold, dramatic changes," Gingrich said. "It's very important to understand this country has sent a very powerful signal for change."

And in making that change, he is not about to worry over what is politically correct. Asked if he would remove the limited voting rights of delegates from Washington, D.C., Guam and Puerto Rico in the House of Representatives, Newt replied flatly: "Those are gone."

And if those delegates just happen to represent mainly people of color, well, who cares? That's for the liberals to cry over.

Newt has bigger things to worry about. Like the future of Western civilization.

"It is impossible to maintain a civilization with 12-year-olds having babies, with 15-year-olds killing each other, with 17-year-olds dying of AIDS, with 18-year-olds ending up with diplomas they can't even read," he said.

And can government actually do something about all that?

"Absolutely," Gingrich said.

In many profiles, the same thing is said about Newt: The old Newt Gingrich was a "bomb-thrower."

But won't the new Newt have to mellow, to compromise a little, in order to get what he wants through Congress?

Naw.

"I was a truth-thrower," Newt says, "and in this town, the truth was a bomb."

Tick, tick, tick, tick, tick.

TYPE: COLUMN, COMMENTARY

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 17, 1994

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The Tampa Tribune

November 17, 1994, Thursday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NATION/WORLD, Pg. 23

LENGTH: 736 words

HEADLINE: Remember when welfare was reform?

BYLINE: ELLEN GOODMAN

DATELINE: BOSTON

BODY:

I bet you were wondering what imaginative, innovative, strikingly new ideas the Republican leadership would come up with to help guide us into the future.

Try these for openers: charity and orphanages.

Before the post-election week was out, Newt Gingrich, the chubby-cheeked cherub of conservatism, and his cohorts were unveiling a wish list of assorted plans to end welfare as anybody knows it.

Plan One: Let the states ban cash benefits for teenage mothers. Plan Two: Use the savings for adoptions and orphanages. Plan Three: Two months and you're out. Plan Four: If the women can't or don't find work, well, in Newt's words, "I think I would like to expand private charities."

Ah, yes, back to the good old days. First Gingrich calls the Clintons "counterculture McGoverniks," a phrase reeking of nostalgia for Cold War enmities. Then his fellow time-travelers talk about unraveling Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Now we zip right on back to the Eden before FDR's New Deal.

Orphanages? Been there. Done that.

In the early part of this century, more than half the children in orphanages were not in fact orphans. They had mothers who couldn't support them.

These orphanages were not only Dickensian institutions where children were often literally lost, but they were expensive. The reformers wanted to take the money and give it to mothers.

At the height of the Depression, as historian Linda Gordon points out in her book "Pitied but Not Entitled," being for public assistance was like being for motherhood. What we now call welfare was established as one small part of the omnibus Social Security Act of 1935. This was the same act that started old-age insurance and unemployment insurance. Back then, the elderly didn't seem to be more deserving than single mothers.

In casting his vote for the bill in 1935, Arkansas Rep. Claude Fuller expressed the florid vision of the era: "I can see the careworn and dejected widow shout with joy upon returning from the neighbor's washtub after having received assurance of financial aid for her children. I see her with the youngest child upon her knee and the others clustered by her, kissing the tears of joy from her pale cheek. ..."

It didn't happen quite like that. From the very beginning, those programs designed for working men were based on the belief that they had rights. They were planned to preserve the status of breadwinners.

But aid to single mothers was based on compassion, the belief that women and children had needs. The reformers themselves worried about undermining the breadwinner's family.

So public assistance was deliberately designed to keep women out of the work force during the Depression. At the same time, as Gordon points out, it was meant "to prevent its recipients from being too comfortable on their own." And it was the only program that held the recipients up to "moral scrutiny."

The end result of this two-tier system is that old-age insurance, now called Social Security, is so popular that it's untouchable even by the new Newtism. For that matter, no one would dare suggest ending unemployment insurance for a downsized worker and putting his or her kids in orphanages.

But today "welfare" is the target of more knives than the Thanksgiving turkey. There is literally no remaining support for the program as it exists, not even, or especially not, among the recipients.

The country that supported AFDC as a safety net now thinks of it as a permanent trap. The image is no longer a widowed or deserted mother. It's an unwed teenage mother. What's driving the debate now is a certain desperation that we "do something" about unwed teenage mothers.

But there are 14 million Americans on welfare, including one out of seven children. In this atmosphere, the Clinton plan "to end welfare as we know it" combined a two-year time limit - a deadline - with some help across the divide from welfare to work. It included health coverage, child care, training.

I supported that balancing act - and still do - though with concerns about how hard some might fall. I also support the notion of capping payments for additional

children born to mothers on welfare.

But the centrist compromise is now being shoved to the left fringe-nik side of the debate. And the ideas being shoved into the spotlight? Charity. Orphanages. How refreshing.

Ellen Goodman is a columnist for The Boston Globe.

TYPE: OPINION; COMMENTARY

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 18, 1994

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Rocky Mountain News

November 20, 1994, Sunday

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Ed. F; Pg. 105A

LENGTH: 827 words

HEADLINE: Welfare reform must work its way up as well as down

BYLINE: Leonard Larsen; Scripps Howard News Service

BODY:

Victorious congressional Republicans, with new majorities in both houses, have promised cost-cutting welfare reforms, and taxpayers can only hope their tribe prospers and expands the good work. Now, after what seems a lifetime of Democratic control, Americans will have a Congress serious enough about reform to root out welfare subsidies and freeloaders who burden the nation's taxpayers. Or does it just seem that way?

With their mandate for change, the Republicans can work at welfare reform more thoroughly than Democrats ever could or even tried, entangled as Democrats became with special-interest constituencies that have fed at the public trough for years.

What must be understood - and certainly the new majority Republicans must understand - is that federal welfare flows in two broad categories: welfare for the poor and welfare for the not-so-poor, even the wealthy.

Generally, welfare for the poor is an obvious and expensive mess that defies correction. And welfare for the not-so-poor, while a less obvious mess, is nearly as expensive and every bit as defiant of fixing.

Now, though, with determined new Republican leaders in the House, the whole expensive welfare mess might be on the way to reform that for years was only a dream.

In the Senate, Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, another welfare reformist, has said his goal will be legislation that "asks people riding in the wagon to get out of the wagon and help the rest of us pull."

And what pulling there would be: unwed mothers and their fatherless children from the projects out there pulling with fattened defense contractors, corporate farmers, university researchers and sleek lawyer-lobbyists. All those in the welfare ranks, who've cultivated majority Democrats for years, now - hopefully - face the

righteous reform wrath of Republicans in a mood to make big changes.

Federal welfare and the differences in recipients might be understood by product.

With welfare programs for the poor, the product is the continuing problems that are never cleaned up: teen-age pregnancies and jobless parents, uncared for and unschooled kids who live in hopelessness and violence, generation after generation of welfare dependents.

With the other welfare, say in agriculture or in defense spending, the product isn't so visible: taxpayer-purchased crops to be stored or destroyed or simply unplanted. Or wondrously expensive military hardware: \$ 3 billion obsolete submarines, or a \$ 30 billion fleet of B-1 bombers that don't work the way they're supposed to, or stealth bombers that cost \$ 2 billion each.

And welfare for agriculture and military hardware - like welfare in the projects - keeps breeding generation after generation of welfare dependents.

Rep. Newt Gingrich, who's set to become the most powerful member of Congress as speaker of the House, has come up with an idea in welfare reform that might prove to be as brilliant as it is simple: orphanages and private charities.

His plan is to set a reasonable limit - say 60 days - on non-working welfare parents; after that, the children would be taken to orphanages and the non-working parents could go beg from private charities.

The beauty of the Gingrich plan - although seemingly not yet appreciated and under attack from groups including the National Conference of Catholic Bishops - is its prospect for application to all or most of the nation's other welfare clients.

At far less than defense welfare currently costs, for example, construction of unnecessary \$ 3 billion submarines and \$ 2 billion stealth bombers could be shut down and all the dependent company officials and workers moved to orphanages. They'd have to be nice orphanages, of course - maybe country clubs or pleasant college campuses bought at only a fraction of the cost of the obsolete and unnecessary military hardware.

And, just as Gingrich has envisioned for the welfare poor, the not-so-poor welfare recipients could be weaned off the federal dole and taught to beg from private charities.

I think the Republicans are on to something.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 22, 1994

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November 20, 1994, Sunday, 2 STAR Edition

SECTION: A; Pg. 24

LENGTH: 1562 words

HEADLINE: Election '94 aftermath;
Both parties promise big welfare overhaul;
Recipients will work, plans state

BYLINE: JASON DePARLE; New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- After a campaign in which voters rewarded a barrage of anti-welfare attacks, both parties are now calling the issue a top priority, and both are repeating promises to make recipients work.

As the smoke clears from the new political landscape, Democrats and Republicans each appear ready to cut benefits, increase work obligations and provide fewer protections for the 14.3 million people who rely on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the main federal welfare program. More than 9 million of the recipients are children.

In his first public remarks following the Democrats' electoral debacle, President Clinton stressed the toughness of his welfare bill proposed this spring, calling it "quite similar to one that several Republicans themselves have proposed."

But the talk of common ground masks profound differences between Clinton and his Republican opponents, particularly Rep.

Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who is poised to become the next speaker of the House.

Clinton's bill would require people who stayed on the AFDC rolls for more than two years to join a work program. But those who worked could continue to receive aid.

And Clinton would preserve the broad array of food, housing and disability programs that, in the eyes of their defenders, act as a crucial safety net between

needy people and destitution.

Gingrich, by contrast, describes such programs not as the strands of a safety net but as the teeth of a trap that lures the poor into self-destructive behavior.

He would allow states to end assistance to large numbers of AFDC recipients, whether or not they were willing to join a work program. He would use some of the money to build orphanages or group homes for the children of those families rendered destitute.

But Gingrich's proposal goes beyond the main federal welfare program. Indeed, some Republicans estimate that over the next five years his proposal could translate into cuts of roughly \$ 40 billion or more in food, housing and income programs, including those that serve the disabled and the indigent elderly.

Last week, Gingrich said that the programs promote a "counterculture value system" and "ruin the poor. "

Given the Republican sweep, the momentum for far-reaching changes appears strong. Welfare rolls are at near-record levels, and Gingrich collected the support of more than 300 Republican candidates when he outlined his plan in the "Contract With America," the campaign document listing measures Republicans promised to vote on in the first 100 days of the next Congress.

But there are also counterbalancing pressures. Behind the scenes, Republicans clashed angrily among themselves when drafting the contract, with some members of the party arguing it went too far in a punitive direction. The proposals would probably face an uphill fight in the Senate, where institutional rules give Democrats more leverage.

And public support is fickle: the same voters who clamor in opinion polls for a crackdown on "welfare spending" show much less support when the issue is defined as "reducing aid to the poor," especially poor children.

Nonetheless, the balance of power has shifted unmistakably toward provisions that would withdraw assistance (but risk harming children) and away from those that offer more protections (but preserve elements of the unloved status quo).

Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr. of Florida is among those Republicans who said Gingrich's plan to substitute orphanages for welfare checks could prove "unduly harsh. " But Shaw did not seek to minimize the number of families who could lose aid under his own proposal for a strict work program, saying "some people are going to fall through the cracks. "

Shaw, who is likely to head the Ways and Means subcommittee responsible for welfare legislation, described such failures as the price to be paid in fixing a broken

system. "It may be like hitting a mule with a two-by-four, but you've got to get their attention," he said.

The debate over public assistance -- which sometimes seems to have the accelerating force of a snowball running downhill -- began during the 1992 presidential campaign, when Clinton promised to "end welfare as we know it."

He pledged to expand the training that recipients could get in their first two years, then require those still unemployed to join a work program.

But after assuming office, Clinton waited 17 months before producing a bill, in part because he hoped first to push through a program of universal health insurance. He has argued that welfare families will not be able to survive on entry-level jobs without the promise of health care.

Republicans disagree and have pushed forward their own end-welfare plans with no promises about health care. A bill sponsored by 164 House Republicans would create a much larger work program than Clinton envisioned, spending \$ 20 billion over five years on child care, training and supervision. It would raise the money by denying all aid to illegal immigrants.

But that proposal was in turn attacked as a big government solution by a smaller faction of congressional Republicans, led by Rep. James M. Talent of Missouri. They have argued that work programs are wasteful and that the government should instead simply abolish benefits to discourage unmarried women from having children in the first place.

Talent would permanently deny payments to children born to mothers younger than 26. States could use the money instead to care for children in orphanages or other group settings.

While as recently as a year ago, such talk was considered far too radical for mainstream politics, it is edging into the prime-time debate.

Talent has said the move would sharply cut the number of out-of-wedlock births. But critics conjure up visions of Dickensian England or the modern de-institutionalization of the mentally ill, warning the move would dump hordes of needy families into the streets.

In the Contract With America, the Republican factions temporarily compromised. The plan outlined in the document would enroll 1.5 million recipients in a work program by 2000, but it would also allow states to abolish benefits to mothers younger than 21.

It remains unclear which Republican faction will gain the upper hand.

Shaw, who is skeptical about abolishing benefits to adults, said the idea was also opposed by most Republican governors, who fear they could inherit responsibility for the dispossessed families. "The states don't want us to just dump our problems on them," Shaw said.

But Rep. Bill Archer, R-Texas, who is likely to lead the Ways and Means Committee, reacted favorably when asked about the provision last week. "We're going to have to face that, we're going to have to face the fact of illegitimacy," he said.

Bruce Reed, a White House welfare adviser, said the administration remained opposed to proposals like Talent's that would abolish benefits. "We've said all along that the provision would cause more problems than it solves," he said. Two other crucial issues are likely to separate Democrats and Republicans in coming months. One is the structure of a work program. The administration's bill allows recipients to remain in the program indefinitely, as long as they are making good-faith efforts to find private jobs.

The theory is that in an economy with 7.6 million unemployed workers, some welfare families will remain unable to find jobs, particularly in areas of high unemployment. Welfare recipients typically have little education or few skills, and many employers shun them.

Gingrich's plan, by contrast, allows states to drop families from the rolls completely within two years, leaving them with neither welfare nor the work program. How many of the nation's 5 million welfare families will then find jobs on their own? "Some will, some won't," said Shaw, who supports the two-year cutoff.

"But more people will be helped than hurt. "

The second issue involves the fundamental size and structure of anti-poverty programs. The Clinton plan allows states to reduce some welfare payments by denying extra payments to families that have additional children, for instance.

But the Clinton plan does not seek wholesale cuts, and it does not affect programs like Supplemental Security Income, which provides \$ 23 billion a year in payments to the disabled and the indigent elderly.

By contrast, Gingrich would limit the growth of both programs and convert them from entitlements into discretionary programs.

Under his plan, the programs would provide finite assistance on a first-come, first-serve basis, instead of providing benefits to all who qualify, as they now do.

This could lead to long waiting lists for needy families, like those for housing programs, where waits can last years.

Gingrich would also limit the growth of housing and nutrition programs.

Bloodied by the ballot-box defeat last week, Democrats avoided public criticism of the Republican plans, eager to avoid any hint that they opposed welfare changes. They seem to hope the Republicans will moderate themselves and give Clinton a bill he can sign. ""We should wait for the congressional debate to unfold," said Reed, the White House aide.

GRAPHIC: Mugs: 1. President Clinton; 2. Bill Archer; 3. Newt Gingrich; All Associated Press

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 21, 1994

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November 15, 1994, Metro Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1413 words

HEADLINE: GOP leaders in House vow fast changes;
Tight schedule established for pursuing new agenda

SOURCE: News Services

DATELINE: Washington, D.C.

BODY:

The incoming Republican leaders of the House on Monday pledged a fast pace of change in how the House conducts its business - everything from the schedule and tone of legislative deliberations to public hearings outside Washington on school prayer and the budget.

House Republicans put themselves on a tight schedule to fulfill their 10-point "Contract With America" in the first months of 1995, and this week GOP legislators are trickling back into town to begin making the many decisions necessary to lay the groundwork for the first GOP-controlled House in 40 years.

Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., clearly wants to capitalize on the momentum of the GOP victory in last week's elections, but the party has not decided whether Republicans should enact conservative policies in Washington or turn back power to states and cities and let officials there take action.

Weeks before anyone projected a House GOP takeover as a remote possibility, Gingrich put a team to work on a transition plan whose structure resembles Ronald Reagan's transition to the White House in 1980 - a 100-day schedule, a selected agenda and a central message.

So far the transition has been hampered by the absence of lawmakers during recess, the slow collection of relevant information on House operations and heavy demand for the attention of Republican lawmakers and staff members. A working group has scheduled an all-day meeting Wednesday, when preliminary decisions about cuts in staffs and committees may be made.

Rep. Jim Nussle, R-Iowa, leader of the transition team, said that some Democratic employees might be retained to keep the House functioning smoothly during what

could be an intense 100 days of open debate on the term limits, tax cuts, a balanced budget, welfare and other proposals in the GOP contract.

Gingrich moved to address a longstanding cry for change from younger lawmakers with children when he announced that Rep. Frank R. Wolf, R-Va., would lead a task force assigned to explore ways to make the House schedule more friendly to families of House members. The current schedule, Gingrich said, "brutalizes and damages families by its intensity and its pace."

Gingrich asked for Wolf's task force - with lawmakers, spouses, children and aides as members - to report back next month so that the 1995 schedule could be prepared and issued before the 104th Congress convenes Jan. 4. Wolf was a longtime member of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, which was abolished last year.

Evidence of the conflicting pressures on the incoming GOP leadership became apparent when, at the same news conference where Gingrich announced the Wolf task force, Rep. Dick Armey, R-Texas, vowed that the House would work long hours if necessary to fulfill the "contract" in 100 days. "We would be prepared to work seven days a week if necessary, even 20 hours a day if necessary," he said.

The process of legislating in the House has grown more partisan in recent years, but there, too, Gingrich promised change.

Gingrich pledged "a more humane . . . very bipartisan House" that would be "far more open, far more participatory" than Democratic-controlled ones. He predicted that Democrats would "have a sense they are being treated better than we were . . . [and] a better opportunity to participate."

The incoming Republican majority also said that members of the public would get a better chance to participate in setting priorities for the federal budget and drafting a constitutional amendment to allow school prayer. There are plans to hold hearings across the nation about which federal functions should be strengthened or cut.

Congressional Republicans also have other plans for their newly won authority to impose the rules and issue subpoenas: they are preparing investigations of the Clinton administration that will range from Whitewater to the White House travel office.

But key Republicans from fiercely partisan Sen. Alfonse D'Amato of New York to laid-back intellectual Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa are promising to be fair once they, as the new majority, inherit the investigative power early next year.

"Water torture is not in anybody's interest," said Leach, the likely House Banking Committee chairman who would preside over that panel's Whitewater investigation. He said there would be "no element of mean-spiritedness" in his hearings.

"This will not be a witch hunt," promised D'Amato, who is ready to assume command of the Senate Banking Committee and its Whitewater probe.

GOP lawmakers often have accused Democratic committee chairmen of cooking the rules to frustrate probes of the administration. It took months of GOP haranguing to get Democrat-run Whitewater hearings underway this year, and the House probe limited questioning so severely that a sustained Republican interrogation was impossible.

The investigation of Whitewater is only the most prominent probe planned for next year. There also could be investigations of the administration's firing of White House travel office personnel, the administration's drug control strategy, and ties between outgoing Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy and poultry producer Tyson Foods.

But months before the GOP assumes control of Congress, Republican policies are being questioned. The nation's Catholic bishops on Monday criticized welfare reform proposals by Gingrich that would sharply limit welfare payments and turn the poor over to charities and orphanages.

"The state has an obligation to take care of those who cannot take care of themselves," the Rev. John H. Ricard, auxiliary bishop of Baltimore, told reporters at the annual meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington.

"Children will be adversely affected by policies" that would cut welfare benefits drastically, said Ricard, who chairs the bishops' domestic policy committee.

Also expressing concerns about the pace of change, the incoming chairwoman of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee said Monday that Republicans who want major changes in New Deal-era programs such as welfare should not embark on a slash-and-burn approach.

"I want us to be constructive," Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-Kan., said at a GOP conference. "We want to make dramatic change where we can, but we have to make sure it will work."

The GOP, she said, must be realistic about the depth of changes it can make. "We can't be just kamikaze in our approach," she said. "You could overreach."

Kassebaum's committee will have a hand in welfare reform because it oversees job-training programs.

For their part, House and Senate Democrats are using private conversations and even a videotape to decide who will head their tattered forces next year.

A familiar face, outgoing Majority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri, is the

favorite to become the House Democrats' minority leader in the new Congress. Sens. Tom Daschle, South Dakota, and Christopher Dodd, Connecticut, were battling over the party's top Senate job.

Gephardt faced a long-shot challenge by Rep. Charlie Rose of North Carolina, who announced Monday that he would seek the job in an effort to move the Democrats away from President Clinton's agenda and more toward the center.

In an unusual step, Rose produced a six-minute videotape called, "This Old House." The tape, produced before last week's elections, refers repeatedly to Rose's quest to become speaker.

What GOP leaders promised

House Republican leaders promised Monday to:

- Push their "Contract with America" to a vote within 100 days. The contract includes welfare reform, a crime bill, a series of tax cuts, a balanced-budget amendment, term limits and other measures.
- End restrictions on amending bills on the floor of the House.
- Reduce committee staffs by one-third, and perhaps cut the number of members on each committee.
- Investigate various activities of the Clinton administration and its members, ranging from Whitewater and the White House travel office to Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy and the administration's drug control strategy.
- Revise the legislative schedule to conflict less with members' family lives.
- Consider a cut in House members' \$ 133,600 annual salary.

One GOP legislator also suggested cutting off funding for interest groups such as the black caucus, the arts caucus and the hunger caucus.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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December 5, 1994, Monday, 2 STAR Edition

SECTION: A; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 935 words

HEADLINE: Gingrich defends orphanage plan;
GOP leader says he opposes nationwide Proposition 187

BYLINE: BENNETT ROTH, Houston Chronicle Washington Bureau; Staff

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

WASHINGTON -- Rep. Newt Gingrich defended a controversial House Republican plan to place impoverished children in orphanages, arguing that critics ought to see "'Boys Town,' the 1938 movie about a home for troubled youth founded by a Catholic priest.

Also in an interview on NBC's "'Meet the Press' Sunday, Gingrich said he opposes a national version of California's Proposition 187, preferring that illegal immigration be dealt with by increasing patrols along the Mexican border.

The orphanage idea, included in the GOP welfare plan, has been attacked by public figures from across the political spectrum, including first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton who last week called the proposition "'unbelievable and absurd. "

But the Georgia Republican who is expected to be the next House speaker responded that the first lady should "'go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie about Boys Town. "

"'I don't understand liberals who live in enclaves and safety who say 'Oh, this would be a terrible thing. Look at the Norman Rockwell family that would break up,' " Gingrich said.

"'The fact is we are allowing a brutalization and a degradation of children in this country, a destructiveness. We say to a 13-year old drug addict who is pregnant, you know, put your baby in a dumpster, that's okay, but we're not going to give you a place for that child to grow up. "

Gingrich said Republicans such as Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas and Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, who have also criticized orphanages, probably have not read his proposal.

Gingrich also said he prefers to call these facilities boarding schools or group homes rather than orphanages, a term which brings to mind the abysmal 19th century homes for orphans vividly depicted in Charles Dickens novels.

Gingrich also repeated his contention that the federal government should get out of the business of helping poor people.

"I believe in a social safety net, but I think that it's better done by churches and by synagogues and by volunteers," said Gingrich.

The welfare plan is included in the GOPs "Contract with America" -- a menu of reforms the House Republicans pledged to bring up for a vote within the first 100 days of the next session.

Under the House GOP welfare plan, unmarried mothers under the age of 18 and their illegitimate children would be dropped from the welfare rolls. To deal with the large number of children who would suddenly find themselves without any financial support, states would be given grants to set up orphanages.

But critics say maintenance of orphanages is far more expensive than current welfare subsidies and they add that there is no evidence that children raised apart from their families grow up to be healthier or more responsible.

The Child Welfare League of America, in an analysis conducted for Time magazine, concluded that if one-quarter of the estimated 1 million children affected by welfare cutoffs end up in orphanages, the additional cost to the public would be \$ 8 billion.

In the wide-ranging interview, Gingrich also said he opposed a national version of California's Proposition 187, a measure approved by the state's voters which cuts off all aid, including education and most medical care to illegal immigrants. The measure is now being challenged in the courts.

"I've said if I were a Californian, I probably would have voted for it out of frustration, but that I think nationally we ought to take a different view," said Gingrich.

Gingrich said the Congress should provide funding for 10,000 border patrol which he claimed would "basically seal off the border. "

While the future speaker pledged to move hastily on economic initiatives contained in the Contract with America, such as tax cuts, he acknowledged that Congress will move slower on controversial social issues such as organized prayer in the schools.

Gingrich said he will commence hearings on a constitutional school prayer

amendment in the spring and hopes to have a vote later in the year.

On another emotional issue, Gingrich said that employers should have the right to refuse to hire gays, saying that denying employment to gays is no different than refusing to hire someone who wears her hair in braids.

"Let's say somebody else walks in and says, 'I really want to be a waitress but I insist on wearing my hair in a way that nobody's going to want me waiting on their table,' " said Gingrich. "I mean, there is a point here where there has to be some relationship between functionality, not protected class, not legal status, but functionality. "

Gingrich, who has a gay half-sister, also said his position on homosexuality is that there "should be neither repression no promotion, it should be toleration. "

"I'm opposed to first-graders being taught Heather has two mommies and other gay-rights tracts, but I'm also opposed to have sex police in the YMCA bathroom," he said.

Gingrich acknowledged that there may not be the votes to pass a constitutional amendment limiting the terms of members of the House and Senate. The initiative, included in the Contract with America, would limit terms of members to 12 years.

To be passed along to state legislatures for approval, the term limits measure would take the support of two-thirds of members of both chambers of Congress. Already several prominent Republicans have indicated they oppose the measure.

"The fact is, it's very hard to get 290 votes," said Gingrich, referring to the number of House members it would take to pass the measure.

GRAPHIC: Mug: Newt Gingrich (color)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: December 6, 1994

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St. Louis Post-Dispatch

December 5, 1994, Monday, FIVE STAR Edition

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 852 words

HEADLINE: GINGRICH CHIDES HILLARY CLINTON; DEFENDING ORPHANAGE PLAN, HE TELLS HER TO SEE 'BOYS TOWN'

SOURCE: Compiled From News Services

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

House Speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich urged Hillary Rodham Clinton on Sunday to see the old Mickey Rooney movie "Boys Town" before she criticizes his plan to resurrect orphanages for welfare children.

On NBC's "Meet the Press," Gingrich, R-Ga., defended his proposal to deny aid to teen-age mothers and to use that money instead to promote orphanages, group homes for unwed mothers and adoption.

He said, "We say to a 13-year-old drug addict who is pregnant, you know, put your baby in a Dumpster, that's OK, but we're not going to give you a boarding school."

In responding to Mrs. Clinton's statement last week that his idea was "unbelievable and absurd," Gingrich said, "I'd ask her to go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie about Boys Town."

That 1938 movie, co-starring Spencer Tracy, portrays the Rev. Edward Flanagan, a Roman Catholic priest who founded the first Boys Town for troubled youth in Omaha, Neb., in 1917.

Gingrich said Sunday, "I don't understand liberals who live in enclaves and safety who say, 'Oh, this would be a terrible thing. Look at the Norman Rockwell family that would break up.' The fact is we are allowing a brutalization and a degradation of children in this country."

Reminded that even Senate Republican leaders Bob Dole of Kansas and Phil Gramm of Texas have voiced skepticism about the idea, Gingrich replied, "I don't think they've read my proposal."

Welfare reform is one of the top items in the House Republicans' "Contract with America," and one of the key elements of that is cutting off funding to mothers who are capable of working but do not find a job within a specified time. "Giving permanent aid to anyone destroys them," Gingrich said. "I believe in a social safety net, but I think it's better done by churches and by synagogues and by volunteers."

On CBS' "Face the Nation," newly elected Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, D-S.D., said support of the orphanage idea was an example of Republicans deferring to "some of the extremes in their own caucus." He cited a study by the Child Welfare League of America, in an analysis conducted for Time magazine. The study concluded that, if one-fourth of the estimated 1 million children affected by welfare cutoffs end up in orphanages, the additional cost to the public would be \$ 8 billion.

The study said welfare costs of one child living with his or her mother is \$ 2,644 a year, but it would cost \$ 4,800 to house the same child with a foster family and \$ 36,000 annually for "residential group care."

White House And Drugs

Up to one-fourth of White House staff members used illegal drugs in the four or five years before they began working at the White House, Gingrich claimed Sunday.

He said those figures were proof that "you've got scattered throughout this administration counterculture people."

He explained that he "had a senior law enforcement official tell me that, in his judgment, up to a quarter of the White House staff, when they first came in, had used drugs in the last four or five years."

Gingrich said President Bill Clinton's administration had "huge problems getting people through security clearance" because there were so many people "who had a lot of things that weren't very easy to clear." The White House had no immediate comment.

Illegal Immigrants

On other subjects, Gingrich said he opposed a national version of California's Proposition 187 that would cut off all social services to illegal immigrants and their children. Instead, he would beef up patrols and "basically seal off the border."

He discounted administration criticisms that Republican-backed tax cuts would cause a big jump in the federal deficit. He said he would appoint a panel of economists to show how tax cuts might spur economic growth.

"We're not going to accept a socialist model which basically denies the reality of

the free market and scores things in a highly unrealistic way, " he said.

Gingrich said he would hold hearings next spring on a constitutional amendment on school prayer but said he was willing to put off a vote beyond July 4, as he earlier proposed. Senate Republicans have shown little enthusiasm for quick action on school prayer.

He also said American businesses should be allowed to refuse to hire someone based on that person's sexual orientation, although he believes sexual behavior should be a private matter. "Our position should be neither repression nor promotion. It should be tolerance."

U.N. A Failure

Gingrich called the United Nations a failed institution with "grotesque pretensions." He said the United States should rethink its commitment to the world body.

"The United Nations is a totally incompetent instrument anyplace that matters. When you get to a serious problem with serious violence, the United Nations is literally incompetent, and it kills people by its behavior."

Gingrich mentioned Bosnia, saying the United Nations and other groups of nations "look pathetically helpless" there. He said it has been "a terrible blow to the United Nations and a terrible blow to civilized behavior."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO; Color Photo Headshot of (Newt) Gingrich

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE-MDC: December 6, 1994

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December 5, 1994, MONDAY, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL, Pg. 3A

LENGTH: 445 words

HEADLINE: GINGRICH REVIVES DRUG USE CLAIM ;
LEADER IMPLICATES WHITE HOUSE STAFF

BYLINE: Sun-Sentinel wire services

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., explaining why he considers President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton to be members of a "counterculture," on Sunday revived his charge that White House staff members had used illegal drugs.

"I had a senior law enforcement official tell me that in his judgment, up to a quarter of the White House staff, when they first came in, had used drugs in the last four or five years," Gingrich said on NBC's Meet the Press.

Gingrich, who is to be speaker of the House in the new Congress, did not name any individuals, nor did he give the source of his information.

But aides to Gingrich and to Rep. Frank Wolf, R-Va., who in 1993 raised questions about delays in processing security clearances for White House staff, said the information about the alleged drug use came from the security check process.

White House adviser George Stephanopoulos said Gingrich's charge was "irresponsible" and the White House follows strictly rules that require random drug testing and a drug-free environment. Stephanopoulos underwent a random drug test last week.

On another subject, Gingrich said Hillary Clinton should see the old movie Boys Town before she criticizes his plan to resurrect orphanages for welfare children. The first lady said last week that his idea was "unbelievable and absurd." Gingrich suggested some children might be better off in orphanages.

Boys Town stars Spencer Tracy as a Catholic priest who founded a home for abused or delinquent children and Mickey Rooney as a troubled boy who reforms himself at the home.

In other comments during his television appearance, Gingrich said:

-- The United Nations is a failed institution with "grotesque pretensions," and the United States should rethink its commitment to the world body. "When you get to a serious problem with serious violence, the United Nations is literally incompetent, and it kills people by its behavior," he said.

-- He opposed a national version of California's Proposition 187 that would cut off all social services to illegal immigrants and their children. Instead, he would beef up patrols and "basically seal off the border."

-- He would hold hearings next spring on a constitutional amendment on school prayer but said he was willing to put off a vote beyond July Fourth, as he earlier proposed. Senate Republicans have shown little enthusiasm for quick action on school prayer.

-- American businesses should be allowed to refuse to hire someone based on that person's sexual orientation, although he thinks sexual behavior should be a private matter. "Our position should be neither repression nor promotion; it should be tolerance."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, AP photo, MARK WILSON Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., shows ad in TV Guide for the GOP's "Contract With America."

LOAD-DATE-MDC: December 6, 1994

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USA TODAY

December 5, 1994, Monday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 5A

LENGTH: 697 words

HEADLINE: For Gingrich, the 'revolution' begins today

BYLINE: Richard Wolf; William M. Welch

BODY:

Midway between Election Day and the start of the 104th Congress, NewtGingrich pauses today for coronation.

Gingrich has spent much of the month since the election insisting he'll be a changed leader, a speaker of the entire House rather than a bomb-throwing outsider. But he's hardly eased his propensity for the provocative.

And while he advances his sometimes controversial ideas, such as creating orphanages for the children of welfare mothers, the Georgia Republican also has time to finish work on a racy historical novel, complete with pouty sex kitten.

Again proving himself an ideological and intellectual whirlwind, Gingrich Sunday on Meet the Press:

-- Charged that up to 25% of the White House staff had before taking office "used drugs in the last four or five years" - to which the White House had no response Sunday.

-- Dismissed peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia as proving that "the United Nations is a totally incompetent instrument" - and suggested the United States should reconsider its commitment to the U.N. "It kills people by its behavior."

-- Promised that GOP cuts in congressional staff will be so successful he aims to sell off one of the House office annex buildings. "Now I think the act of selling . . . a congressional office building sends the right kind of signal," he says.

-- Guaranteed a balanced federal budget in seven years but says Republicans won't have to show details of how they'll do it when they unveil a budget plan next month.

The freshly elected Republican House majority meets today to organize for the next

Congress, and Gingrich is unopposed for the top House leadership job as speaker.

An equally foregone conclusion is the unopposed election of his conservative comrade, Texan Richard Armey, as majority leader, the No. 2 post.

Today's historic moment will not be lost on both Republicans and Democrats who have watched in awe for a month as Gingrich consolidates his impending power.

He's met with governors, mayors and county executives, cruised the Caribbean with the National Review and given major speeches to policy makers on subjects ranging from welfare reform to balancing the budget.

"He has certainly taken control, there's no question," says Rep. Benjamin Cardin, D-Md., leader of the Democrats' transition team.

Since assuring his ascendance from minority whip to speaker of the House by engineering a 52-seat GOP pickup Nov. 8, the cherubic-looking but hard-charging Gingrich has mixed cooperation with fight:

- He pledges to work with the White House and congressional Democrats - but moved to reorganize the House and fire staffers without consultation or severance pay.

- He promises coordination with Senate Republicans - but made no secret of his alignment with incoming Senate majority whip Trent Lott of Mississippi, who unseated incoming majority leader Robert Dole's ally, Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming.

- He says he will elevate most Republicans in line to be committee chairmen regardless of ideology - but bypasses senior members for handpicked loyalists on the appropriations, commerce and judiciary committees.

"Newt likes to build consensus. But he is willing to say, 'This is my decision. This is the way it's going to be,' " says Rep. Christopher Shays, R-Conn., a moderate ally of the speaker-to-be.

The past month has represented a triumphant transformation for Gingrich, who just six years ago was a conservative back-bencher in a weak and divided minority party.

A transcendent moment, he says, came Friday. He and other GOP leaders went to the White House, not representing an irritant minority but an equal branch of government.

"I'll tell you what the revolutionary moment is," he quips. "We go to the White House, and you have Armey and Lott running the meeting."

After 40 years in the minority, House Republicans have been reinvigorated - while Democrats are suspicious, and still suffering from shock.

"The good news is that you have a strong leader," says Cardin. "The bad news is that I think his leadership will be too narrowly focused, and it will be very partisan in nature."

Adds Cardin: "My guess is that we're going to have a lot of problems."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, b/w; PHOTO, b/w, Mark Wilson, AP

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: December 06, 1994

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November 19, 1994, SATURDAY, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL, Pg. A33

LENGTH: 739 words

HEADLINE: LET'S LAUD BISHOPS FOR TAKING GINGRICH TO TASK

BYLINE: By ROBERT C. NEWBE, OF THE HOUSTON POST STAFF

BODY:

IT IS CLEAR that welfare as we know it must be changed. No doubt about it. As it is, the program often saps initiative and can foster a mind-set of dependency and irresponsibility.

But while change is needed, it is disturbing to hear the vile rhetoric about ending welfare that's being espoused by soon-to-be House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his ilk. Their meat-ax approach is heartless and destructive and would inflict pain on the people with no voice in America - the poor and children.

Gingrich says welfare should last two years and recipients should be chopped off the rolls at that point. Then, he says, private charities and orphanages should take over the burden of caring for destitute families and poor children.

Pretty unrealistic. Will jobs be open? This is not the way to reform welfare. Send poor kids to orphanages? Indeed.

Actually, some of what Gingrich says isn't all that bad, such as: "People ought to have to do something for any resources they get if they're able-bodied, under the age of retirement."

Or, "Our goal should be to create enough jobs to mop up the unemployed."

But at the same time he's talking about jobs, Gingrich acknowledges we can't put all able-bodied people to work. So he says private charities should help those people who aren't working.

Now that's a heck of a way to feed and clothe the poor. Private charities live and die on the up-and-down whims of givers and whether the economy is good. When the economy is bad, people tend to pull back on their charitable giving.

In times of economic downturns or recession, what will poor people do?

Sorry Newt, private charities just aren't reliable enough for families to rely on while out of work for, say, anything more than six months. Even one of the most charitable of institutions, the Catholic Church, thinks Gingrich is full of it if he believes private charities can handle the nation's poor.

"The state has an obligation to take care of those who cannot take care of themselves," Auxiliary Bishop John Ricard of Baltimore said at the National Conference of Catholic Bishops meeting.

"Children will be adversely affected by policies such as these," he said, adding that America should be "a caring community, a caring society."

He continued: "A society which destroys its children, abandons its old and relies on vengeance fails fundamental moral tests. How do we teach our young to curb their violence when we embrace it as the solution to social problems?"

And certainly, some of the vengeful-sounding things Gingrich talks about would do much violence to children.

The Catholic bishops should be commended for taking Gingrich to task for stirring up ill will against the poor.

My hope is that the more sane members of Congress will work out a welfare program that will train recipients who need training and perhaps provide grants for some to attend college. But at some point, recipients would have to leave the rolls, taking whatever job is available. Still, something must be done to blunt the devastating effects a minimum wage job has on a family of four. To be sure, it's not easy for a man, wife and two kids to live on \$ 180 a week.

And finally, while railing about cutting out help to poor children, Gingrich - under the guise of the popular "family values" - wants to give money to his friends. He wants to change the legislative schedule in order to give lawmakers more time at home with their families.

What? If those folks can't get much done at the "brutal" pace Gingrich says the Congress works, imagine the time and money they'll waste doing nothing.

The proposed committee to look into instituting the plan will be headed by Rep. Frank Wolf, R-Va., and will include members, spouses, children and staff.

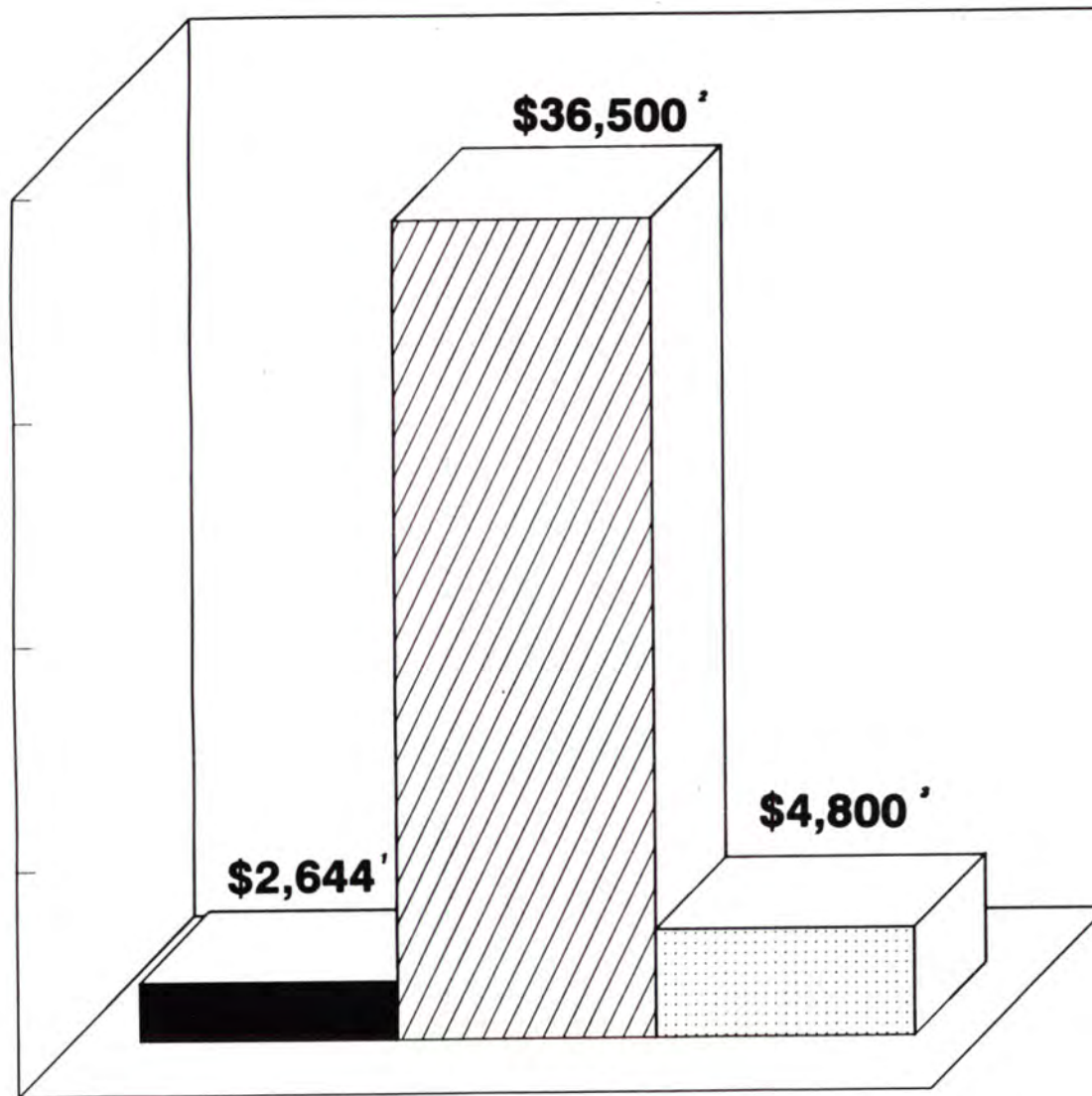
If the Democrats had proposed any such shenanigans, Bob Dole, Rush Limbaugh, and all the other screamers would be going through the roof yelling about the kiddie farm on Capitol Hill, another social program and certainly laziness on the part of Democrats who no longer have a strong work ethic.

Gingrich said the committee will issue a report by early December, so the new GOP leadership can make up a schedule for next year that will give members more time off with their children.

So how, pray tell, will the Republican leaders fulfill their "Contract with America" if they're all at home playing with the kids? What utter hypocrites.

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 22, 1994

Comparative Costs of Care per Child per Year



- AFDC and Food Stamps
- ▨ Residential Group Care
- ▤ Family Foster Care

- ¹ This figure represents a child's share of AFDC/Food Stamps in a one-parent family with two children.
- ² This figure assumes a residential group care cost of \$100 per child per day. Costs vary from approx. \$75 to \$250 a day, depending on the needs of the child, the services offered, and the location of the program. Across the country, approximately 30% of the costs of residential group care are subsidized by charitable dollars. Residential group care is an extremely valuable service for many children who need quality care to help them overcome the effects of abuse or neglect and the resulting serious emotional and/or behavioral problems.
- ³ This figure assumes a family foster care cost of \$400/child/month. Costs vary from approx. \$250 to \$900/month, depending on the needs of the child, the services offered, and the location of the program.

Out-of-Home Care

The number of children separated from their parents and placed in out-of-home care because of abuse, neglect, or other special circumstances continues to grow. The American Public Welfare Association (APWA) estimated that there were 442,000 children in care at the end of 1992, a 9% increase from 1990 and a 69% increase since 1982.¹ Table ____ provides the number of children in out-of-home care by state and as a percentage of the total child population in 1990 and 1992.

Through the federal Title IV-E Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Program, states are partially reimbursed for the costs of caring for certain children living in family foster care, kinship care, or residential group care. For children eligible for federal Title IV-E benefits, the program reimburses a portion of the amount a state pays for room and board in state licensed or approved homes or facilities. The federal Title IV-E program also pays for some program administration and preplacement activities, such as the development and review of individualized case plans, recruitment and evaluation of foster homes, and training. The monthly average number of children receiving federal Title IV-E subsidies in 1993 was 232,668. This represents a 39% increase since 1990 and a 110% increase since 1986. Approximately 50% of the total out-of-home care population received Title IV-E subsidies in 1992. Table ____ provides the average monthly number of children receiving federal Title IV-E foster care benefits by state between 1990 and 1993.²

Characteristics of Children

Data collected by APWA for 1990 provide the most complete demographic profile of children in out-of-home care. The number of states able to provide information on such factors as children's age, race or ethnicity, number of placements, and continuous length of time in care varies from year to year.

Reasons Children Entered Care

2 The reasons that account for children entering out-of-home care varied by percent between 1984 and 1990. Based on the categories used by APWA, of the children who entered care in 1990: 50.2% (123,000) did so for protective services reasons, compared to 55.7% (102,500) in 1984; 20.9% (50,700) because of parental condition or absence (illness, death, handicap or financial hardship), compared to 17.0% (31,300) in 1984; 11.3% (27,700) because of a child's commitment of status and delinquent offenses, compared to 9.9% (18,200) in 1984; 1.9% (4,700) because of a child's disability or handicap, compared to 2.3% (4,200) in 1984; 0.8% (2,000) because of the relinquishment of parental rights, compared to 1.4% (2,600) in 1984; and 12.5% (30,600) for other state-defined reasons (including a parent/child relationship or family interaction problem, an adoption plan or subsidized adoption, deinstitutionalization, and unwed motherhood), compared to 9.3% (17,100) in 1984.

Ages of Children

- **Ages of Children Who Entered Care**

Trend data indicate that the median age of children entering care decreased over time from 10.2 years in 1983 to 7.8 years of age in 1990. Between 1983 and 1990, while the percentage of infants who entered care increased, the percentage of children ages 13 to 18 significantly decreased. Of the children who entered care in 1990, 16.1% (39,400 children) were infants (birth through age one), compared to 9.9% (18,200 children) in 1983; 26.1% (63,900 children) were between the ages of 1 and 5, compared to 23.2% (37,400 children) in 1983; 26.2% (64,200 children) were between the ages of six and 12, compared to 24.3% (44,700 children) in 1983; and 31.1% (76,200 children) were between the ages of 13 and 18 compared to 38.5% (70,800 children) in 1983.³

- **Ages of Children in Care**

Trend data indicate that the median age of children in care decreased over time from 12.6 years in 1982 to 8.6 years of age in 1990. Between 1982 and 1990, while the percentage of children between one and five years in care increased, the percentage of children ages 13 to 18 significantly decreased. Of the children in care in 1990, 4.9% (19,900 children) were infants (birth through age one), compared to 2.7% (7,100 children) in 1982; 31.1% (126,300 children) were between the ages of 1 and 5, compared to 19.8% (51,900 children) in 1982; 32.3% (131,100 children) were between the ages of six and 12, compared to 29.0% (76,000 children) in 1982; and 29.7% (120,600 children) were between the ages of 13 and 18 compared to 45.3% (118,700 children) in 1982.⁴

- **Ages of Children Who Left Care**

Trend data indicate that the median age of children leaving care has decreased over time from 12.3 years in 1983 to 10.3 years of age in 1990. Although the median age has decreased overall, there are differences among age groups. Of the children who left care in 1990, 5.2% (10,500 children) were infants (birth through age one), compared to 5.0% (8,900 children) in 1983; 26.5% (53,500 children) were between the ages of 1 and 5, compared with 23.0% (40,900 children) in 1983; 25.6% (51,700 children) were between the ages of six and 12 compared to 23.4% (41,700 children) in 1983; and 39.3% (79,400 children) were between the ages of 13 and 18, compared to 44.5% (79,200 children) in 1983. More infants left care in 1990 than any other previous year.⁵

Graph ____ compares the median age of children who entered, who were in, and who left out-of-home care between 1983 and 1990.

Race/Ethnicity of Children

- **Race/Ethnicity of Children Who Entered Care**

Of the children who entered care in 1990, 47.2% (115,600 children) were Caucasian compared to 56.4% (103,800 children) in 1983; 30.8% (75,500 children) were African American compared to 26.7% (49,100 children) in 1983; 13.7% (33,600 children) were Latino compared to 10.3% (19,000 children) in 1983; and 4.6% (11,270 children) were other minorities, compared to 4.5% (8,300 children) in 1983. The number of Latino children who entered care increased 76.8% between 1983 and 1990, compared to a 53.8% increase for African American children during that same time period.⁶

- **Race/Ethnicity of Children in Care**

Trend data reflect that the *actual number* of Caucasian, African American, and Latino children in care has risen since 1982. The *percentage* of children in care who are Caucasian consistently decreased between 1982 and 1988, increased slightly in 1989, and decreased significantly in 1990. By contrast, the percentage of children in out-of-home care who are African American and Latino increased between 1982 and 1988, decreased in 1989, and increased substantially in 1990. Graph ___ gives the percentages of Caucasian, African American, and Latino children in out-of-home care between 1982 and 1990.

Of the children in care at the end of 1990, 39.3% (159,600) were Caucasian, compared to 52.7% (138,100) in 1982. There was an 19.1% increase between 1988 and 1989, and a 13.4% decrease between 1989 and 1990 in the number of Caucasian children in care.⁷

Of the children in care at the end of 1990, 40.4% (164,000) were African American compared to 34.2% (89,600) at the end of 1982. The number of African American children in care rose 83.0% between 1982 and 1990. For the first time, in 1990, there were more African American than Caucasian children in care.⁸

The number and percentage of Latino children in care increased gradually between 1982 and 1986, skyrocketed between 1986 and 1987, leveled off in 1988, decreased slightly in 1989, and swelled in 1990. At the end of 1990, 11.8% (47,900) of children in care were Latino, compared to 6.7% (17,600) of children at the end of 1982. Between 1982 and 1990, there was a 172.2% increase in the number of Latino children in out-of-home care.⁹

The percentage of children in care who were other minorities (Asian or Pacific Islander, or Native American) remained between 4 and 5% between 1982 and 1988, and significantly increased to 7.2% in 1989, and decreased to the 4% range in 1990. The number of children of these ethnic groups increased 44.6% from 12,100 children in 1982 to 17,500 children in 1990.¹⁰

Graph ____ delineates the percentage of children who were in out-of-home care between 1983 and 1990 by race/ethnicity.

- **Race/Ethnicity of Children Who Left Care**

Of the children who left care in 1990, 49.9% (100,800 children) were Caucasian, compared to 60.7% (108,000 children) in 1983; 29.4% (59,400 children) were African American, compared to 23.0% (40,900 children) in 1983; 12.8% (25,900 children) were Latino compared to 9.4% (25,900 children) in 1983; and 4.7% (9,500 children) were other minorities, compared to 5.0% (8,900 children) in 1983. While the proportion of children of color who left care increased over the years, it did not keep pace with the percentage of children of color who entered care.¹¹

Number of Placements for Children in Care

Trend data indicate that more children are experiencing placements during their continuous stay in care. Data from 19 states showed that of the children in out-of-home care at the end of 1982, in the preceding three years, 54.3% had had one placement, 19.0% had had two placements, 17.9% had had three to five placements, and 6.2% had had six or more placements. In comparison, data from 15 states demonstrated that of the children in out-of-home care at the end of 1990, in the preceding three years, 42.6% had had one placement, 27.5% had had two placements, 23.6% had had three to five placements, and 6.1% had had six or more placements. Graph ____ gives the number of placements of children in out-of-home care during the years between 1982 and 1990.¹²

Length of Continuous Time in Care

Data on the length of time children spend in care are collected for (1) children who are in care at the end of each year and (2) children who left care during each year. Both sets of data demonstrate a decrease in the length of time children spent in out-of-home care in the 1980s. The data for the children who were in care at the end of each year, however, indicate that if children are not discharged in a reasonably short time, it is likely they will stay in care for a long time.

- **Children in Care at the End of the Year**

For those children still in care at the end of 1990, the median length of time in care was 1.7 years, decreasing from a median of 2.4 years in 1977. Twenty-five percent of children who were in care at the end of 1990 had spent 8.9 months or less in care. In 1982, 25% of children in care had spent 6.9 months or less in 1982. Another 25% of the children in care at the end of 1990 had spent 3.3 years or longer in care, whereas 25% of the children had spent 4.3 years or longer in care in 1982. The 10% of children who had been in out-of-home care for the longest periods spent less time in care throughout the 1980s--7.4 years in 1982, decreasing to 5.1 years in 1989.¹³

Another interpretation of the same data showed that in 1990, of the children in care at the end of the year, 17.8% (72,300 children) had been in care less than six months, compared to 22.4% (60,300 children) in 1983; 14.8% (60,100 children) between six months and one year compared to 15.2% (39,800 children) in 1983; 23.7% (96,200 children) between one and two years compared to 19.5% (52,500 children) in 1983; 15.8% (64,100 children) between two and three years compared to 10.7% (28,800 children) in 1983; 16.9% (68,600 children) between three and five years compared to 11.6% (31,200 children) in 1983; and 10.2% (41,400 children) for five years or more compared to 18.2% (49,000 children) in 1983.¹⁴

- **Children Discharged from Care**

Data are available for the years 1985 through 1990 on children who left care each year. The median length of time children had spent in care was 8.9 months in 1985 and 7.9 months in 1990. Of the children who left care in 1990, 44.5% had been in care less than 6 months, 15.0% for 6 to 12 months, 16.8% for 1 to 2 years, 8.7% for 2 to 3 years, 8.6% for 3 to 5 years, and 5.7% for over 5 years.¹⁵

Outcomes for Children Who Left Out-of-Home Care

Of the children who left out-of-home care in 1990, 66.6% (134,500 children) were reunified with a family member or placed with a parent, relative or other caretaker, compared to 56.3% (100,200) in 1983; 7.7% (15,600 children) were adopted in 1990, decreasing from 11.5% (20,500) in 1983; 6.5% (13,100 children) were children who reached the age of majority or who emancipated from care, compared to 9.4% (16,700) in 1983; and 15.7% (31,700 children) left care for other reasons in 1990, compared to 20.3% (36,100 children) in 1983.

Family Foster Care

Family foster care refers to the care of children separated from their parents because of abuse, neglect, or other special circumstances who live with *unrelated* adults licensed or approved as foster parents by a public child welfare agency. The percentage of children in out-of-home care who were in family foster care remained constant between 1982 and 1985, but increased gradually after 1986. On average, between 1982 and 1985, 69% of the children in out-of-home care lived in family foster homes or non-finalized adoptive homes. The proportion and number of children in out-of-home care who lived in family foster homes increased from 68.1% (190,700 children) in 1986 to 74.5% (302,500 children) in 1990.¹⁶

As the percentage of children in out-of-home care living in family foster care and the actual number of children living in family foster care have increased, the number of family foster homes has decreased 32%, from 147,000 in 1984 to about 100,000 in 1990.¹⁷

Family foster care maintenance payments are the basic rates at which each state reimburses foster parents for the costs of food, clothing, shelter, daily supervision, school supplies, general incidentals, liability insurance for the child, and reasonable travel to the child's home for visits.

These payments must be made for all children eligible under the federal Title IV-E program (in which case federal and state funds are used). States also make such payments for children who are not eligible for federal Title IV-E, using state funds only. Some states and counties supplement the basic foster care maintenance rate, and provide additional funding for children with special needs.

Trend data indicate a 7.3% rise between 1991 and 1993 in the average reimbursement to foster parents for children of all ages. Between 1991 and 1993, the average rate increased 8.4% for children age two, 6.5% for children age nine, and 7% for children age 16. Between 1992 and 1993, 21 states increased the basic maintenance rates, 27 held rates constant, and 3 decreased the payments. Table ___ provides, by state, the family foster care basic maintenance rates for children ages two, nine, and 16 for 1991, 1992 and 1993.¹⁸

Kinship Care

Kinship care is a form of parenting. It is the full-time nurturing and protection of children by relatives, members of their tribes or clans, godparents, stepparents, or anyone to whom a child, and the child's parents and family members ascribe a family relationship. Kinship care arrangements can be either formal or informal.

Formal kinship care refers to the care of children separated from their parents because of abuse, neglect, or other special circumstances in the custody of the state and living with *related* adults licensed or approved as caregivers by a public child welfare agency. Children living with relatives informally and without the involvement of child welfare agencies are not counted for these purposes.

Trend data indicate an increase in states' use of kinship care providers for children in out-of-home care. In 1992, the Office of the Inspector General surveyed states regarding the use of formal kinship care over the past five years. Thirty-four states reported an increase, 13 reported that use remained constant, two indicated a decrease, and two states did not respond.¹⁹ Similarly, in late 1992, APWA completed a survey of states regarding the use of kinship care providers for children in out-of-home care over the past three years. Twenty-three states indicated increases in the use of kinship care, 16 states reported no significant change in the extent to which kinship care was used, two states described a decrease in the use of kinship care, and 10 states did not respond.²⁰

Reports released by the Office of the Inspector General estimated, based on information provided by 29 states, that in 1990 there were 83,104 children living in kinship care. The number of children in kinship care represented 31% of all children in out-of-home care in those 29 states. California, Illinois, and New York accounted for 65% of the total. Table 32 gives state-by-state estimates for the number of children in formal kinship care arrangements in 1990.²¹

More recent data from California, Illinois, and New York indicate that the use of kinship care by child welfare agencies is increasing dramatically in those states. The out-of-home care population in California doubled between 1984 and 1992, from approximately 35,000 children to over 70,000 children. An estimated 31% of these children are currently living in kinship care

homes.²² In 1992, the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services reported that the number of children living in formal kinship care arrangements in Illinois had increased from 9,522 to 13,294 in one year.²³ In New York City in 1991, the number of kinship care arrangements had grown to 22,000, and represented approximately 45% of its population of children in out-of-home care.²⁴

According to the Office of the Inspector General, only 20 states license or approve as meeting licensing criteria all kinship care homes. In 27 other states, only some homes are licensed or approved, with most being subject only to review processes.²⁵

In 1989, nine states (California, Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, Missouri, New Jersey, Oregon, Washington, and West Virginia) reimbursed kinship caregivers only if the child was eligible for federal foster care reimbursement under the federal Title IV-E program.²⁶ A 1992 survey completed by APWA demonstrates that states are using multiple funding streams to reimburse kinship care providers. It found that 17 states reimbursed kinship care providers through AFDC payments under federal Title IV-A, 21 through the federal Title IV-E program, and 33 through state-paid foster care rates.²⁷

Residential Group Care

Residential group care is care given to children separated from their parents because of abuse, neglect, or other special circumstances who live in a broad range of settings, including community-based group homes, campus-based facilities, self-contained group care settings, emergency shelters, and secure facilities.

An enhanced form of group care is residential treatment. Residential treatment settings are facilities or distinct parts of facilities that provide 24 hour-a-day, highly structured, intensive, and planned therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who have severe mental, emotional, and behavioral disorders. The Directory of Residential Facilities for Emotionally Handicapped Children and Youth listed more than 800 residential group facilities in 1988.²⁸

A specialized use of residential group care is emergency shelter care, which acts as an instant intervention for children and families in crisis. Emergency shelter care programs typically provide overnight and short-term shelter (maximum 30 days), crisis intervention counseling, protective custody, diagnostic assessment, and placement or postdischarge planning services.²⁹

Trend data show that the percentage of children living in group homes, residential institutions, or emergency shelter care remained constant between 1982 and 1986, but has steadily decreased since 1986. In 1982, 21.5% of children in out-of-home care (56,500) lived in group homes, residential institutions and emergency shelters, compared to 16.4% of children (66,600) in 1990.³⁰

According to the Office of the Inspector General, the number of children living in residential group care increased from 44,226 in 1985 to 51,189 in 1989. The states of California and New York accounted for 57% of the growth.³¹

Independent Living Services

An important service to adolescents in any of the major out-of-home care settings -- family foster care, kinship care and residential group care -- is the Independent Living Program, a component of the federal Title IV-E Foster Care and Adoption Assistance Program that assists youths in making the transition from out-of-home care to living on their own. All youths ages 16 to 18 in out-of-home care, including those who are not eligible for federal Title IV-E, are eligible for the Independent Living Program for six months following discharge from care. States have the option of providing independent living services to youths up to age 21, yet as shown in 1992 only 41 states provided services to older youths. Of the 89,253 youths expected to be in care in 1992, only 56,792 were expected to be served in that same year under the Independent Living Program (see Table ____).³²

Independent living services vary from state to state, but often include the following: basic skills training (including health promotion, housekeeping, money management, decision making, and food and nutrition management); education services (private tutoring, GED and college preparation); and employment and job preparation services (job training and placement, personal presentation and social skills).

In 1987 and 1988, Westat completed a national study of youths leaving foster care, examining the case histories and family backgrounds of 1,650 youths, ages 16 years and older, who were discharged from out-of-home care between January 1, 1987, and July 31, 1988. The study showed that youths discharged from out-of-home care had a number of significant needs that would inhibit their ability to lead productive adult lives. Only 48% of the 18- and 19-year-old youths had completed high school; only 30% of the youths leaving care had held at least one part-time job by the time of discharge; 47% of the adolescents had a disabling condition, and 37% were clinically diagnosed as emotionally disturbed; 17% of the girls reported at least one pregnancy by the time of discharge; over 60% had at least one child within four years after discharge; and 9% reported health problems that required ongoing medical care after discharge.³³

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Number of Children in Out-of-Home Care: 1990 and 1992

	1990		1992	
	Total Child Population under 18*	Number of Children in Out- of-Home Care**	Total Child Population under 18*	Number of Children in Out-of- Home Care**
Alabama	1,058,788	4,420	1,076,000	4,133
Alaska	172,344	3,852	185,000	1,496
Arizona	981,119	3,379	1,047,000	3,909
Arkansas	520,281	1,351	629,000	1,981
California	7,750,725	79,482	8,423,000	83,849
Colorado	861,266	3,892	909,000	4,390
Connecticut	749,581	4,121	771,000	4,252
Delaware	163,941	NA	172,000	638
District of Columbia	115,992	2,313	117,000	2,152
Florida	2,866,237	10,664	3,106,000	9,928
Georgia	1,727,303	15,179	1,800,000	16,999
Hawaii	280,126	1,659	293,000	1,214
Idaho	308,405	548	324,000	1,235
Illinois	2,946,366	20,753	3,029,000	29,542
Indiana	1,455,964	7,492	1,461,000	8,455
Iowa	718,880	3,425	735,000	3,606
Kansas	661,614	3,976	678,000	7,838
Kentucky	954,454	3,810	964,000	6,966
Louisiana	1,227,269	5,379	1,238,000	5,722
Maine	309,002	1,745	306,000	1,944
Maryland	1,163,241	6,473	1,226,000	5,816
Massachusetts	1,353,075	11,856	1,384,000	13,147
Michigan	2,458,765	9,000	2,509,000	11,121
Minnesota	1,166,783	7,310	1,206,000	7,895
Mississippi	746,761	2,832	748,000	3,169
Missouri	1,314,066	8,241	1,350,000	8,171
Montana	222,104	1,224	226,000	1,691
Nebraska	429,012	1,543	439,000	2,985
Nevada	296,948	2,566	338,000	1,664
New Hampshire	278,755	1,505	280,000	2,630
New Jersey	1,799,462	8,879	1,863,000	8,024
New Mexico	446,741	2,042	469,000	2,118
New York	4,259,549	63,371	4,422,000	62,705
North Carolina	1,606,149	7,170	1,662,000	10,275
North Dakota	175,358	393	172,000	759
Ohio	2,799,744	18,062	2,820,000	17,099
Oklahoma	837,007	3,435	858,000	2,892
Oregon	724,130	4,261	766,000	4,031
Pennsylvania	2,794,810	16,665	2,844,000	18,491
Rhode Island	225,690	2,680	233,000	2,755
South Carolina	920,207	3,286	945,000	5,066
South Dakota	198,462	567	204,000	674
Tennessee	1,216,604	4,971	1,246,000	5,312
Texas	4,835,839	6,698	5,072,000	9,965
Utah	627,444	1,174	654,000	895
Vermont	143,083	1,063	144,000	1,162
Virginia	1,504,738	6,217	1,562,000	6,305
Washington	1,261,387	13,302	1,355,000	11,327
West Virginia	443,587	1,997	438,000	2,315
Wisconsin	1,288,962	6,037	1,330,000	6,812
Wyoming	135,525	484	138,000	907
U.S. Total	63,503,665	402,744	66,166,000	438,427

* United States Bureau of the Census, Population Estimates Branch. Unpublished data.

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The Welfare Scam

In thirty years the United States has moved from the War on Poverty to a war on poor women and children. The Personal Responsibility Act, one of the ten bills designed to enact the Republican Contract With America, states as its central goal ceding to the states "greater control over the benefits programs, work programs, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children." The bill would prohibit mothers under the age of 18 from receiving A.F.D.C. or housing payments for children born out of wedlock; states would have the option of extending that prohibition to mothers ages 18 to 20. In addition, states must begin moving welfare recipients into work programs if they have received welfare for at least two years; families may be dropped from the A.F.D.C. rolls after two years if the mother has spent one year in a work program, and states must drop families from the program after they have received benefits for five years. Moreover, it is reported that House Republicans will propose in January to set an overall limit on welfare spending, replace food stamps and child nutrition programs with a lump-sum payment to each state and, by so doing, end the fundamental right to assistance to all who qualify that has been central to welfare policy since the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935.

This proposed legislation, which will lead to a dramatic increase in child hunger and to more misery for many of our most vulnerable families, is based on several false premises:

§ Young women have children out of wedlock primarily to receive A.F.D.C. and must be punished and resocialized to make them more "responsible."

§ Women receiving welfare have numerous children in order to increase their benefits.

§ Welfare recipients receive ample benefits that enable them to live comfortably.

§ Recipients are mired in "the culture of dependency" and resist joining the paid labor force.

§ The majority of A.F.D.C. recipients are inadequate parents engaged in self-destructive behavior harmful to themselves and to their children.

These myths and their constant repetition by politicians and other opinion-makers across the political spectrum create the environment in which a punitive proposal like the Personal Responsibility Act could be seriously considered.

The facts are considerably different from the myths:

§ The vast majority of A.F.D.C. recipients are children whose average age in 1993 was 7.4 years; they will be the ones most harmed by the proposal.

§ Over four-fifths of teenage pregnancies are unintended.

§ The average number of children in families on welfare is two.

§ From 1975 to 1994 the average A.F.D.C. benefit per family, measured in constant dollars, dropped by 37 percent; in no state do welfare benefits plus food stamps bring recipient families up to the poverty line.

§ Seventy-one percent of adult A.F.D.C. recipients have recent work histories, and almost half the families who leave welfare do so to work.

Denigration of the character and parenting abilities of the poor is at the root of the suggestion that part of the money saved from A.F.D.C. cutbacks should be used for orphanages. Charles Murray, co-author of *The Bell Curve*, summed up the punitive attitudes toward poor women when he said that orphanages are a legitimate option because these women are "lousy mothers." And, of course, what fuels the disdain for poor mothers is the racism embedded in the myth that A.F.D.C. recipients are overwhelmingly African-American. While black families are indeed proportionately overrepresented on the welfare rolls, in 1992 they composed 37.2 percent of all A.F.D.C. cases; whites composed 38.9 percent. Nonetheless, much of the denunciation of welfare recipients is code language about race.

Few who are knowledgeable about A.F.D.C. would deny that it has serious problems and shortcomings. Recipients are routinely harassed, humiliated and maintained significantly below the poverty line. Work programs typically lead to minimum-wage jobs below the poverty line. Child care is frequently difficult to find and all too often fragmented, unsafe and plagued by high staff turnover. Above all, many welfare recipients feel the despair and hopelessness of being outsiders in our success- and consumer-driven society. But giving control of A.F.D.C. to the states, many with racist welfare policies, forcing women and children off A.F.D.C. and dropping many into certain destitution, and insisting that poor women leave their children in inadequate child care for jobs that will keep them in poverty is scapegoating of the poor for political advantage.

Public assistance regulates the poor by expanding relief programs in response to outbreaks of social unrest; when order is restored, as Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward have pointed out, "the relief system contracts, expelling those who are needed to populate the labor market." This is the moment for the poor and those who are concerned about their well-being to mobilize, to protest the inhumane policies of the Republican contract and to demand that this affluent society find humane ways of helping the millions of poor and near-poor obtain the education they so desperately need, the housing and health care that are basic human rights, the job opportunities that lift families out of poverty and enable workers to make real contributions to society, and the sense of belonging in a nation that cares.

RUTH SIDEL

Ruth Sidel, professor of sociology at Hunter College, is the author of Women and Children Last (Penguin). Her most recent book is Battling Bias: The Struggle for Identity and Community on College Campuses (Viking).

Pentagon Passions

Charging that President Clinton is creating a "hol-low military" by cutting defense spending "too far and too fast," the Republicans' Contract With America calls for a National Security Restoration Act to "reverse the downward spiral" in the military. In the Pentagon version of voodoo economics redux, the act calls for increased spending on troops, weapons, research and the fanciful Star Wars missile defense program—at no addition-

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SUBJECT TO DEBATE.

KATHA POLLITT

The average family on welfare receives about \$500 a month, including benefits. The average orphanage costs around \$100 a day per child. Single mothers on welfare get nothing but abuse these days, but at least they're cheap. Right now that's just about the only thing they've got going for them, as Democrats and Republicans compete to heap blame for the nation's ills on unwed teenage moms. (Did I say teenage? Some Republicans want to deny welfare benefits to unwed moms under 26.) While Clinton's welfare reformers have focused on crafting the perfect carrot-and-stick machine to lure and/or coerce poor mothers into the work force, the newly triumphant Gingrich conservatives cut right to the heart of the matter: The problem isn't idleness but "illegitimacy" itself, and the way to prevent births to unmarried women is to take their children away. Ergo, the orphanage—"lavishly funded," in Charles Murray's blithe formulation, with the money squandered on welfare.

It's often noted that Murray's orphanage proposal looked so improbable when he first put it forward in 1984 in *Losing Ground* that he himself described it as a "thought experiment." This somewhat disingenuous disclaimer—akin to the breezy nothing-to-be-upset-about way *The Bell Curve* posits that blacks are genetically stupid—helped it escape serious scrutiny, even as, little by little, the positive spin on orphanages, whether as punishment for women or beneficial for children, crept into mainstream discourse. Removing the children of women who "refuse" to work is one of *New Republic* welfare reformer Mickey Kaus's big ideas. Now suddenly, the orphanage is on the legislative agenda as part of the Personal Responsibility Act. Isn't it time to demand that the thought experimenters revisit the lab and answer some tough questions?

About costs, for example. As Michael Massing, one of the few journalists to take a hard look at Murray's proposal, showed in *The New York Review of Books*, if even one-quarter of the approximately 9 million children now on A.F.D.C. ended up in "lavishly funded" orphanages as a result of welfare cutbacks and denials, the price tag would be astronomical—at \$50,000 per child, some \$112.5 billion a year—much more than A.F.D.C. itself, which currently costs \$22.3 billion a year. And of course the real costs would be even higher than Massing's figure. We are talking about buying, building or renovating institutional housing for 2.25 million children, and starting a whole new bureaucracy to oversee operations. How will that sit with the national passion for lower taxes and smaller government? Don't forget the costly legal battles as neighborhoods resist placement of orphanages in their midst. In the New York metropolitan area, houses purchased as group homes for foster babies have been torched and local opposition has prevented the opening of residences for the retarded; even New York City's liberal Upper West Side has a growing NIMBY contingent. The same contempt for the poor that suggests kids are better off in orphanages will mobilize resistance to the orphanages themselves.

O.K., so maybe the orphanages won't be so "lavishly funded" after all. Maybe they'll be more like the other public institu-

tions for poor children—the schools, for example, or the foster care system—underfunded, understaffed, badly run, shabby and demeaning, prone to scandals about molestation, abuse, neglect and corruption, and shielded, as such institutions are always shielded, from serious oversight by outside watchdogs. This picture, indeed, is more in keeping with the inherently punitive nature of Murray's ideas, the point of which is not to insure that kids are raised well but to use child removal to force marriage upon a class of women he considers (read *The Bell Curve*) too dumb to appreciate loftier arguments. Only at the American Enterprise Institute can you restigmatize "illegitimacy" but not the children themselves.

Adoption? Please. Like the pro-lifers, welfare-bashers talk as if there's an inexhaustible supply of suitable homes and eager would-be adoptive parents out there. There isn't. Re-



member too that we will be dealing not just with a flood of healthy white newborns but with a tidal wave of minority babies, sick babies, toddlers and older children—the same population that has already overwhelmed the foster care system. How many of the couples jamming infertility clinics or flying to Russia or China for a baby will decide instead to take on an inner-city 3-year-old hysterical with grief and rage over the loss of his mother and his world? That mother is not going to go so quietly out of her child's life either. And why should she? She's not unfit or neglectful, she's just poor.

No, the whole thing is crazy. It ignores not only the hard numbers on assorted bottom lines but everything we know about what children need: intimate attachments, individual attention, love. It also ignores many decades' worth of settled family law, which has steadily increased the rights and status of out-of-wedlock children, and a century of painfully gained historical evidence of the inadequacy of publicly funded institutional living to keep children safe from sadists and predators. Indeed, the orphanaging of America is so obviously cruel, weird, impractical, expensive, legally dubious and socially (especially racially) inflammatory, it's hard to believe its proponents are serious. Maybe it is just a thought experiment.

I don't think so. I think it's symbolic politics. Even if we never see the actual orphanages, we are being taught to think of children who have living parents as "orphans" just because those parents are young, female, unmarried and poor. We are thus also being taught to see those women as having no rights and nothing to contribute—as being, in effect, dead—and to see their children as morally tainted by their mother's sexual "sin" and therefore lucky to get whatever grudging help is doled out to them.

Entitlements become handouts. Rights become charity. No one, even a child, deserves anything. That is what orphanages mean. That, it turns out, is the thought experiment.

Orphanage idea brings an outcry

A heated debate over GOP idea

By William M. Welch
and Leslie Phillips
USA TODAY

No other word in the new Republican lexicon has so enraged liberals and touched off so heated a public debate as "orphanages."

While only one suggestion in their ideas for major welfare reform, the House GOP proposal to encourage state orphanages for the children of parents denied welfare has become a lightning rod for critics.

Democrats rushed to exploit what they see as a public-relations blunder by the new Republican House majority, invoking the imagery of Victorian-era warehouses of humanity.

"To say Boys Town is reflective of life in orphanages is like comparing Hogan's Heroes to life in Nazi prison camps," says Rep. Robert Matsui, D-Calif. "There is just no correlation with reality."

But House speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich, defends the idea, saying opponents such as first lady Hillary Clinton should watch the 1938 movie *Boys Town*, and that orphanages are better than leaving children to "brutalization and degradation."

Some Republicans now are distancing themselves from the proposal, as well as the projected price tag for placing millions of children in orphanages — up to \$34 billion, according to estimates by opponents.

But the early debate foreshadows what is certain to be one of the deepest political fights of the next Congress and gives critics a way to oppose proposals to overhaul welfare.

"Getting hung up on orphanages is distracting from the dialogue of getting to significant debate on welfare reform," says Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-Kan., new head of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, which oversees welfare.

"I've always said it's not only how we reform it, but who reforms it. It needs to go back to the states."

The reference to orphanages first appeared on Capitol Hill earlier this year in a bill authored by freshman Rep. James Talent, R-Mo.

It was inspired by the theories of conservative social scientist Charles Murray, who said a way to slow illegitimate births is to end aid to single mothers. Some would manage to keep their kids, he said; others would go to the state; and others would place kids for adoption.

Rather than put children in the troubled foster care system — where the care is often poor and children are shuffled from home to home — Murray advocated spending "lavishly" on orphanages, testing the idea in smaller states.

"I am not recommending Dickensian barracks," Murray wrote in the *Wall Street Journal*. "We know a lot about how to provide a warm, nurturing environment for children, and getting rid of the welfare system frees up lots of money to do it."

Expansion of orphanages also was included in the GOP's wide-ranging welfare reform bill that became part of the Contract with America.

That bill recognizes orphanages would be needed after welfare reforms, which include ending benefits for parents after two years, and no aid offered to single mothers under age 18, or children whose mothers didn't establish paternity.

At least 5 million children — nearly half the total number on welfare — could be denied benefits under those rules. The savings produced would be passed along to the states for orphanages, group homes or adoption.

But critics say that plan overlooks the huge numbers of children and high costs involved in orphanages.

Says David Liederman, executive director of the Child Welfare League: "What they're talking about is unnecessarily separating children from families who have only one problem: they're poor."

"You'd break the bank if you had to start building group care facilities or orphanages for God knows how many hundreds of thousands if not millions of kids."

The Child Welfare League calculates the cost of providing orphanage care far exceeds any other option: \$36,500 a year, compared with \$2,644 in welfare and food stamp benefits, and \$4,800 for foster care.

To put 1 million more children in orphanages, then, could cost another \$34 billion a year — as much as the country now spends annually on both food stamps and AFDC.

Talent says he now regrets including orphanages in the bill and may have the word removed, but preserve the option. Rep. Clay Shaw, R-Fla., new head of the House subcommittee on welfare, has opposed expanding use of orphanages. But the idea of expanding group care is backed by some experts who warn there must other options for the 3 million children who are abused or neglected each year. With the foster care system overburdened and many children unable to be adopted, some feel orphanages might be better, stable environments.

Ironically, advocates on both sides agree that the best care for a child is provided in a family setting.

Asks Earl Stuck of the Child Welfare League: "If you were hit by a car tomorrow, where would you want your kids raised: In a family, or an institution?"

► Today's orphanages, 1A
► Remembering Boys Town, 1D

Issue arrived with first settlers

By Patricia Edmonds
and Margaret L. Usdansky
USA TODAY

Orphanages sprang up in America almost as soon as the first European settlers arrived, to care for children whose parents died of disease or during the Indian wars.

The first orphanage was built in 1727 by nuns in New Orleans to care for children whose parents died in wars with local Indians. And by the 1800s, every large city had such asylums to look after children who lost parents or were abandoned.

But although orphanages were viewed as an improvement over almshouses or warehousing children in adult jails, they were places of controversy from the start.

Critics complained that many orphanages, both private and public, had deplorable conditions where food and schooling were scarce but work and disease plentiful.

Getting terms straight in the debate

Terms in the welfare debate:

Orphanage: Private and public institutions for children whose parents died or abandoned them; word has fallen into disuse among children's homes, now known as group homes or residential treatment centers.

Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC): The main government component of welfare, it provides average monthly benefit of \$373 per family to 9.5 million children, most of whom qualify because their parents never married or have divorced.

Kinship care: The placement of children with relatives other than their parents.

Foster care: The placement of children with individual families to whom they are not related.

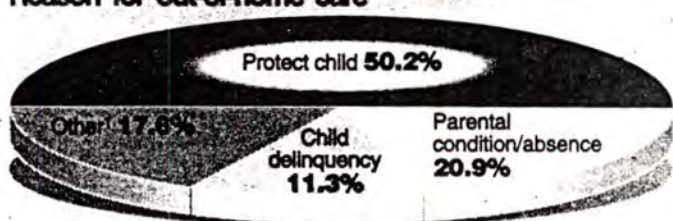
Group homes: Individual, private homes in neighborhoods where five to eight children usually live in a family-like atmosphere with house parents hired by a public or private agency.

Residential treatment centers: Larger facilities that care for dozens of children, often in cottages or hospital-like facilities.

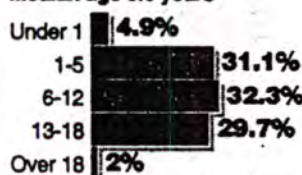
Children living outside of home

Almost half a million children began the year in out-of-home care, even without a Republican proposal to use more orphanages. About three-fourths of them live in foster homes. Children in out-of-home care:

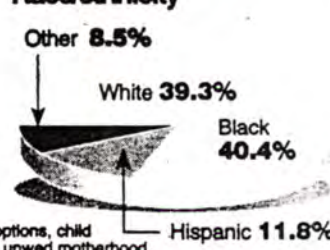
Reason for out-of-home care



Age
Median age 8.6 years



Race/ethnicity



1 - Includes family interaction problems, adoptions, child disabilities, and state-mandated removals for unwed motherhood.

Source: American Public Welfare Association

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

Around the same time, Charles Loring Brace founded the Children's Aid Society and began shipping poor and homeless children — mainly Catholic immigrants — to Protestant farm families out West.

While many children may have found good homes, finding them a family wasn't Brace's only motive.

Brace "saw the revolution of 1848 in southeastern Europe and was terribly afraid that the immigrant poor would rise up in this country in the same way," says Richard Wexler of the National Coalition for Child Protection. "His solution was to virtually grab these kids off the street and put them on orphan trains."

Public outrage about the poor quality of orphanages and objections to the orphan trains encouraged the growth of foster homes and sectarian child care institutions.

By the 1930s, the number of children in orphanages had dropped, as the use of foster families rose be-

cause of growing belief that children should be placed in smaller settings. Orphanages broadened their focus to provide counseling and training and scaled down facilities by building individual homes or cottages to house groups of eight to 10 under the supervision of "house parents."

The federal Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980 aimed to make institutional stays brief; whenever possible, it said, kids should be placed with families — foster or adoptive if not biological.

"Listening to talk of orphanages leaves a cold shiver going up my spine," says Robert Weaver of Families First, an Atlanta social services agency. "To put those kids in warehouses, in orphanages, is to deny them what children need: individual attention and recognition and the knowledge that an adult cares about them. It's true that some children survive in those circumstances, but most children don't."

Cost for care

Placing children in residential care facilities like orphanages is far more expensive than other government-funded programs, a child advocacy group estimates:

	Per month/per year
AFDC/Food Stamps	\$200/\$2,400
Foster care	\$400/\$4,800
Residential center	\$3,000/\$36,000

Source: Child Welfare League of America

COVER STORY

Families seen as better — and cheaper

- Orphanages' checkered past, 4A
- New look at old film, 1D

By Patricia Edmonds and Margaret L. Usdansky
USA TODAY

MACON, Ga. — Beth Fitzgerald was 5 when her mother, struggling against alcoholism, and her father, dying of cancer, sent her to live at The Methodist Home for Children and Youth here.

Now she's 18, living in a cheery "cottage" of eight girls at this 50-child facility. "Here, you get the family setting even though it's not your real family. This is my home."

This version of home, for Beth and a half-million other children, is at the heart of an inflamed Washington debate: whether kids whose poor families are cut from the welfare rolls would be better off in orphanages.

Orphanage 'isn't the same'

Continued from 1A

Though many were founded as "orphanages," Beth's home and most similar institutions haven't been called that for years. Still, they are the modern-day incarnations of that bleak, antique word, conjuring images of waifish Little Annes and headmasters straight out of *Oliver Twist*.

New House Speaker Newt Gingrich champions the idea for kids he says could suffer after their parents lose welfare. Hillary Rodham Clinton calls it "unbelievable and absurd."

Outraged reaction to the orphanage proposal already has some supporters back-pedaling, and some critics declaring the idea dead on arrival — if not for its child-snatching overtones, then for its projected multibillion-dollar price tag.

Whether the orphanage proposal flies or flops in Washington, it has reignited a passionate, decades-old discussion about how the United States nurtures its kids — or fails to.

With every high-profile news story of a girl abused at home, or a boy juggled through foster care, the nation despairs of the current system and looks for a better alternative.

But even the head of a fabled orphanage — Boys Town — warns that orphanages may not be the answer.

"You can't mass-produce 7 million Boys Towns and have the problem solved," says the Rev. Val Peter of the 556-child facility, one of the USA's largest. "To every complicated problem, there's a simple solution — and it's always wrong."

While policymakers debate the proposal's merits, the least-consulted experts may be the kids who live in foster homes, group homes, residential treatment centers — kids like Beth and her cottage mates Brandy Mohn and LaShanda Shuman.

In her 17 years, Brandy has lived in her own abusive home, one foster home and two group homes. While Beth thinks the orphanage proposal might help kids, Brandy calls it "insane" and "hypocritical that these people talk about family values but ... (try) to break up families just because they're poor."

"They'd be punishing the children," Brandy says.

There's one sure sign of the low priority placed on today's generation of "orphans" — no government agency keeps detailed statistics on who, where, or how numerous they are.

The best estimate comes from the American Public Welfare Association, which figures that the ranks of children living out-of-home has increased to at least 464,000 in 1993, most in foster family homes, the rest in group homes of one sort or another.

But unlike the orphans of earlier times, few of the homes' residents today actually are parentless. Most are what some experts call "social orphans" — taken from biological parents who abused, neglected or couldn't handle them.

The homes, too, have changed, shedding 20-bed dorms and long-tabled mess halls. Now they're smaller, home-style buildings, with six to 10 kids for every two house parents.

LaShanda's room looks like any other 18-year-old's room, maybe a little neater. The bed brims with stuffed animals; a rainbow of nail polish bottles lines a bureau.

"I love my mom. I love her dearly," LaShanda says. "But I don't ever want to go back to live" with her. Her mother's physical abuse drove her from home at age 13.

For many kids, these homes-away-from-home, however well-appointed, are a last resort. This clientele is much more troubled than its 19th-century forebears; these facilities must provide intensive therapy to break cycles of misbehavior and abuse that could land these kids' own kids in institutions.

"At home, there weren't really very many positive role models," says Tim Maddix, 17.

But at the Indiana Soldiers' and Sailors' Children's Home in Knightstown, where he has lived for six years, Maddix says staffers "lead me in the right way."

But Knightstown superintendent Robert Molnar knows that this home, though better, is not really home. "No matter how dysfunctional, the kids' families are still their families."

As Gingrich outlines the orphanage proposal, it would rescue poor, mistreated kids, and at the same time save public money. Critics dispute both claims.

The Child Welfare League of America questions the projected cost savings from having private charities run new orphanages. Most homes now are run by local governments, charities or religious groups, the League says — but charitable giving only covers 30% of the homes' budgets.

And on a per child basis, the cost of an orphanage is at least seven times the cost of foster care.

As for government-inspired orphanages providing model care, child advocate Richard Wexler defies citizens to believe "that the same people who brought us the prison system and the juvenile justice system ... are suddenly going to bring us loving institutions for children."

Almost 70 years after an orphanage was built in Parma, Ohio, a child care complex called Parmadale still serves 400 kids a year. After a quarter-century in this field, executive director Tom Woll figures, "I've probably been in on the raising of enough children to fill any large basketball arena" — and he's convinced that big orphanages are not the way to go.

"The one thing you can never teach" in such settings, Woll says, "is how to live in a family. Children can never see what moms do, what dads do. They can see what staff do, staff who are caring and loving. But it isn't the same."

As politicians draft plans for orphanages, Woll suspects "the one thing they've never done is look into the haunting eyes of a child who has no one, who has no family and therefore has no hope. If they looked into those eyes, they would draw conclusions different from the ones I hear them drawing."

Public likes welfare reform, but nothing 'too radical'

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

Americans want welfare recipients off the public dole and back to work, but a poll shows they're divided over just how radical changes and spending cuts should be.

A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll reveals a public deeply split over how to improve the welfare system, suggesting that as the new Republican-controlled Congress tries to cut programs, its members will have to wage a battle to win widespread support.

"The public is ready for substantial changes in the welfare system, but I think they're leery of anything that's too radical," says Douglas Besharov, a University of Maryland welfare expert. "The country doesn't want some ... liberal solution, but doesn't trust some harshly punitive conservative solution either."

The poll finds a clearly disenchanted public eager to see reforms that would prevent public assistance from becoming a way of life.

While 58%, down from 67% in April, still back cutting off benefits to those who have not found jobs or become self-suffi-



"
The American people are disgusted at the way the Congress throws money at the (welfare) problem without coming up with the solutions.
"

— Rep. Clay Shaw, R-Fla.

cient after two years on assistance, 92% of Americans say job training and child care must be provided to help people get back on their feet.

And public sentiment also favors retaining government welfare benefits as a safety net, especially for children.

Rep. Clay Shaw, R-Fla., says the public has become "side-tracked" by the debate over Newt Gingrich's suggestion that children who suffer when their parents lose benefits could be sent to orphanages.

Says Shaw: "We care deeply about children, particularly children living in poverty. ... (But) the American people are

disgusted at the way the Congress throws money at the problem without coming up with the solutions."

And analysts say that Gingrich, incoming House speaker, and other conservative Republicans should take note: Not all of the public is in agreement with some of their ideas.

Reform plans proposed both by Republicans and President Clinton would limit how long adults can receive assistance.

But 34% of those in the survey were uncomfortable with limiting adults to as many as five years on welfare.

The poll shows the public is concerned about children and

isn't inclined to make distinctions between helping those with married parents and those born to unwed mothers:

► 78% say the children of parents kicked off the welfare rolls after two years should continue receiving benefits.

► 60% oppose ending welfare payments to children born to unmarried mothers.

► 52% oppose ending increases in payments to women who give birth to children while on welfare.

"There's enormous support in the country for requiring people to work," says White House domestic policy adviser Bruce Reed. "But there's little desire in the country for throwing children in the street or into orphanages."

The poll also shows that the public is not inclined to support radical change that would toss hundreds of thousands of welfare recipients off the rolls.

"The forces of moderation will be represented by the (more moderate) Senate and the governors," Besharov says. "We're not going to get a wild-eyed radical bill."

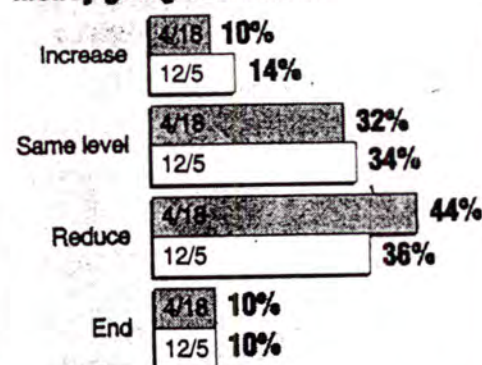
The poll of 1,014 adults, taken Dec. 2-5, has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Poll: Revamping the current system

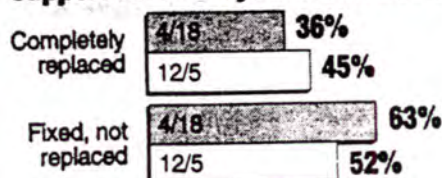
Support for reducing the amount spent on welfare payments is declining, a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows. An increased number of people want a completely new welfare system, but the majority still want the system fixed, not replaced.



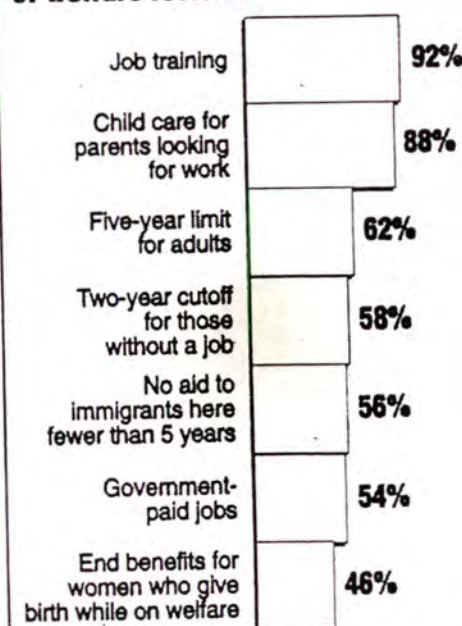
Fewer want to reduce tax money going to welfare



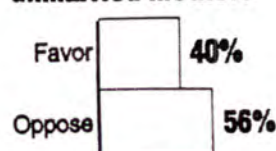
Support for new system increases



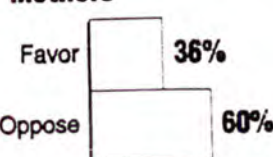
Support for aspects of welfare revision



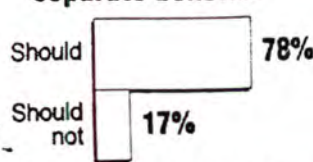
More oppose ending payments to unmarried mothers



... and to children of unmarried mothers



More say children should have separate benefits



Source: A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup national telephone poll of 1,014 adults, conducted Dec. 2-5. Margin of error: ±3 percentage points.

By Stephen Conley, USA TODAY

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1994 • USA TODAY

88

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

November 20, 1994

SECTION: NATIONAL NEWS; Section A; Page 9

LENGTH: 376 words

HEADLINE: Welfare reformers dispute visions of Oliver Twist

BYLINE: By Bob Dart WASHINGTON BUREAU

BODY:

Washington - Despite talk of putting the children of unwed teen mothers in orphanages, both sides of the coming debate on welfare reform say orphanages are unlikely to be a significant part of any legislated solution.

"We've opposed that approach from the outset," said Bruce Reed, the White House adviser on welfare reform. "I think in the end the Republicans aren't going to want to be the party of orphanages."

"There really isn't an 'orphanage part' of the reform plan," said Rep. James Talent (R-Mo.), an author of the GOP legislation. "It's a scare tactic. When people don't want to change the welfare system, they start talking about Charles Dickens and orphanages."

Incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) has spoken of cutting off welfare checks to unwed teenage mothers and, if necessary, rearing their children in orphanages. Welfare reform is part of the "Contract with America" slated for consideration in the first 100 days of a new Congress.

Other conservatives, however, insist that orphanages were never a major part of their plan.

The Republican legislation denies cash welfare benefits to unwed mothers younger than 18. The money that would have gone directly to these young mothers is instead given to the states to provide alternative means of support.

Orphanages are one option, supporters said, but the money can also be used other ways, such as promoting adoption, helping in job searches, or providing supervised residential care for mothers and babies.

"What I anticipate states are going to do is open transitional group homes" staffed with sociologists to take unwed teenage mothers "out of their harmful environment"

and "teach them life skills," Talent said.

"It is a deliberate political mischaracterization for people to suggest one of [the] big outcomes of this will be orphanages," said the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector, an architect of the Republican plan.

Rector said the focus should instead be on the nation's growing percentage of out-of-wedlock births - now about one-third and projected to reach one-half - and "how to get the federal government out of the business of subsidizing illegitimacy." If the teenage mother marries the father of her child, he said, she can get welfare aid.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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November 20, 1994

SECTION: NATIONAL NEWS; Section A; Page 1

LENGTH: 1331 words

HEADLINE: Child advocates fear return to orphanages GOP's welfare reform plan spurs debate on institutionalized care

BYLINE: By Frances Schwartzkopff STAFF WRITER

BODY:

The cream-colored cornerstone of the old building was originally inscribed, "Carrie Steele Orphan Home, erected 1888."

But over the years, generations of children humiliated at the label managed to scratch out the word "Orphan" on the stone at the Carrie Steele-Pitts Home in south Atlanta.

Steele-Pitts is no longer called an orphanage, and its lush 17-acre campus is a vision of comfort compared to the turn-of-the-century institutions for poor and abandoned children that have all but vanished today. Only children whose parents have abused, neglected or forsaken them live there now. The home offers tutoring and therapy to help them recover.

But with Republican leaders promising to end cash welfare payments and slash other social programs, children's advocates are worried that the United States may witness a resurrection of orphanage-like institutions. And they fear these new homes would warehouse children whose only disability is their parents' poverty.

U.S. Rep. Newt Gingrich of Georgia has proposed stopping welfare checks to mothers younger than 18 and permitting states to cut the benefits to parents younger than 21. Another Republican proposal would allow only parents 26 or older to receive welfare. The future House speaker has suggested stripping anyone else who has not gotten a job from the welfare rolls after two months, though his "Personal Responsibility Act" only promises to push people off after two years.

The Gingrich plan includes tax credits for contributions to the private charities and religious groups he envisions caring for the poor who cannot support themselves.

"Part of it is to encourage legitimacy and keeping children from having babies," Gingrich's press secretary, Allan Lipsett, said last week of the plan. "It also transfers

responsibility from government to charitable organizations and adults to be responsible for the children."

Weak emotional attachments

Any program that explicitly offers orphanages as home for millions of American children would probably face overwhelming opposition from Democrats as well as many Republicans. Gingrich himself opposes "state-funded orphanages." Rep. Jim Talent (R-Mo.), another leading welfare reformer, said this week that the states might use the money saved by welfare reform to create "open transitional group homes" for unwed teenage mothers and their children.

Nevertheless, the idea of institutionalized care for poor children has touched off a debate that cuts to the quick of most welfare reform measures: how to change parents' behavior without hurting children.

It has also baffled child development specialists who recall that the current welfare system has its origins in public outrage about the conditions of orphanages.

"We do not know how to raise children in an orphanage," said Dr. Bettye Caldwell, a pediatrics professor in child development and education at the University of Arkansas. "[Young] children show rapid decline in them. They don't talk as well. They have superficial emotional attachments."

The Victorian conviction that poor and abandoned children should not live side by side with drunks and mentally ill adults in poor houses led to a surge of privately funded orphanages in the mid-1800s.

But the abysmal conditions in many orphanages convinced child welfare advocates that children were better off living with families. In 1909, President Theodore Roosevelt convened a White House conference on children that set the foundation not only for the current thinking about foster care, but also for the welfare system. Participants said children should be maintained in their own families whenever possible and should not be deprived of a home "except for urgent and compelling reasons."

The conference also pushed for pensions for mothers considered "fit" and "proper" that presaged the creation in 1935 of the current welfare program.

Expense is great

"Young children need to have relationships with people who are crazy about them," said Michael Levine, early childhood director for the Carnegie Corp. of New York. "If it's two parents, all the better. If it's one, that's still good."

Union City resident Robert Ware Jr. fondly remembers his eight years at the Steele

Home, where he went at the age of 12 because of troubles at home. Ware, 29, now is a customer service representative for a telephone company and attends law school at Georgia State.

It was, he said, "the next best place to home and, for me, better." But Ware remembered what a resident of another home said when he spoke of the advantages they offer some children. "There's nothing like having your own house, your own mother and your own father," the girl told him.

Children's advocates are divided over whether it is in the best interest even of children who have been abused and neglected to be placed in institutions for long. Any form of child care outside the home is also vastly more expensive than keeping children with their parents.

A Georgia mother with two children now receives \$ 6,900 a year in cash and food stamps. The annual cost of placing one child in a foster home, the second cheapest living quarters, is \$ 10,000, according to the National Council on Adoptable Children.

"You're talking about paying for three shifts of people, administration, public health and safety regulations," said Dr. Ed Schor, chairman of the American Academy of Pediatrics committee on early childhood, adoption and dependent care. "From an economic view, it is not defensible."

Welfare recipients vow fight

In the past five years, a coalition of budget-conscious Republicans and child advocates have sought to reduce the rapidly increasing number of children living in foster and residential care. This family preservation movement seeks to provide parents with support so that their children are not taken away.

"A whole lot of Republicans think that is the way to go," Levine said. "Work with the family and strengthen the family so that the children can live at home."

The 255-year-old Bethesda Home for Boys in Savannah has evolved into the kind of orphanage Gingrich and others may imagine for some poor children.

Forty-nine troubled boys ages 8 to 14 live and go to school in a setting that emphasizes the values of discipline and hard work. They have been placed there by parents and government agencies, and will stay an average of two to three years.

"We try to de-institutionalize this place and make it feel as normal as we can," said executive director David Tribble. "When children come through the gates of an institution, they're very concerned about whether they're seen as abnormal or malfunctioning, or as a student, as just a kid."

But the annual bill for a boy's stay at Bethesda is \$ 25,000.

Angry welfare recipients say they will fight to keep their children. If Gingrich's proposal passes, there will be war, predicted Carolyn Benson, co-chairman of the Georgia Welfare Rights Union. "There'd be a lot of crime, a lot of people in jail. There are going to be more homeless people. . . . These young people need jobs. They need education."

'It's really inhumane'

Tameka Wynn was 14 years old when her mother, with whom she had been fighting, put her out. A year later, she had her son, Jie'Qrez. Now 19, Wynn lives with the 3-year-old in the McDaniel-Glenn housing development. Her monthly \$ 235 welfare check covers the \$ 79 in rent and utilities and \$ 75 in furniture rental payments she must make, but not much else.

"It's really inhumane," said Wynn. "I just think if he's [Gingrich] going to terminate welfare he's got to give us some good-paying jobs, paying at least \$ 10 an hour."

The discussion about orphanages is a tragic reminder that parental abandonment has replaced the high parental death rate that created so many orphans in earlier centuries, said David Blankenborn, president of the Institute of American Values, a think tank in New York.

"It's an admission of cultural regression," Blankenhorn said.

GRAPHIC: Color photo: Residents watch television at The Bethesda Home for Boys in Savannah./ JONAS JORDAN / Special Photo: Ollivette Allison, director of the Carrie Steele-Pitts Home, talks with Robert Ware, who was a resident at the home for eight years./ FRANK NIEMEIR / Staff Photo: Children at the Sara Murphy Home for Children had to eat in shifts during the 1950s./ File Photo: The Bethesda Home for Boys in Savannah has evolved into the kind of orphanage Republicans may imagine for some poor children./ JONAS JORDAN / Special

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 22, 1994

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November 17, 1994, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 1345 words

HEADLINE: WELFARE REFORM;
Debate Is Shifting To Radical Changes

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Barbara Vobejda, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Both President Clinton and the Republicans who rolled to victory last week have pointed to welfare reform as a critically important issue they will push to the top of the agenda. But as the two sides move toward the next Congress, it is clear they are miles apart on how to go about reforming the nation's welfare system.

The newly emboldened Republican leaders are saying Clinton's proposal to force welfare recipients to work falls far short of the campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it." Instead, they say, the debate will be over much more radical provisions, including spending caps, denying benefits for children born out of wedlock, banning aid to legal aliens and creating orphanages for destitute children whose mothers have been denied assistance.

"If the president wants to work with us, that would be fantastic," said Rep. James M. Talent (R-Mo.). "He had two years to produce welfare reform and what he produced almost everybody agreed was a joke."

White House aides, however, are trying to play down the potential for conflict and argue it is too early to know what legislation will emerge from hearings on Capitol Hill.

"We would like to pass a welfare reform bill," said Bruce Reed, a domestic policy adviser to Clinton. "An overwhelming majority of Americans, without regard to party, agree on the urgency of this problem and what needs to be done to solve it."

Republicans themselves are far from unified on the best way to go about overhauling housing assistance, job training and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the nation's largest welfare program with 14 million recipients. While some are arguing that welfare and other Great Society programs should be

hastily dismantled, others are calling for a more moderate approach.

But the dominant Republican message on welfare since the elections has come from House speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich (Ga.), who has said he believes that much of the nation's welfare burden should be taken on by private charities. And, when asked about the two-year time limit on benefits proposed by Clinton, Gingrich implied he felt a two-month limit would be preferable.

"People ought to have to do something for any resources they get if they're able-bodied, under the age of retirement," he said Sunday on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley."

A few hours later, incoming Senate majority leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) appeared on CNN, also calling for a "radical change in welfare."

Gingrich has corralled support in the House for a proposal fashioned from his "Contract With America" that is far more restrictive than the Clinton administration version offered in June.

Known as the "Personal Responsibility Act," Gingrich's legislation would deny aid to unmarried mothers under 18 and allow states to extend that ban to mothers under age 21.

The savings from the provision could be used to build orphanages and group homes and promote adoptions for children whose mothers are unable to care for them. Neither the proposal nor proponents such as Gingrich offer specifics on the provision to build orphanages, including whether or how mothers would be encouraged to give up their children.

The bill also would require 1.5 million AFDC recipients to work by the year 2001. It would cap spending, consolidate several programs into a block grant to states and eliminate aid for legal aliens, except for refugees and legal permanent residents over age 75.

Under the bill, states could terminate aid after two years if recipients have had one year of training. And the legislation would require states to end payments after five years, whether or not the recipient had been in a job program.

By comparison, the Clinton proposal would force 400,000 welfare recipients into work programs by the year 2000. It focuses the job training and workfare requirements on the youngest mothers, with work requirements kicking in for some recipients after two years of aid.

Welfare reform is hardly a new topic in Washington. But this time around, it has been imbued with much political significance. Even in the 1992 presidential campaign, it was cast as the issue that would prove Clinton really is a "new

Democrat," willing to rethink entitlements and other long-standing policies.

The resolve from all sides to take on the issue stems in part from the growth of AFDC. The number of recipients has doubled since 1970, raising the cost of providing benefits by 44 percent to \$ 22 billion.

But despite agreement that the program needs to be overhauled, the issue was elbowed aside this year by the health care debate on Capitol Hill, allowing Republicans to step in with their proposals.

While House Republicans initially coalesced around a bill introduced by Rep. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.) -- elected last week to the Senate -- Talent is proposing a much more restrictive bill.

Gingrich's new bill takes provisions from both the Santorum and Talent proposals, and Rep. E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R-Fla.), in line to take over the Ways and Means subcommittee that oversees welfare, has said he will use it as the basis for hearings on the issue.

While the Gingrich proposal will meet strong resistance from liberal Democrats, many on the Hill said it has a chance of passage in the House.

The Clinton administration, said one Senate source, "is going to get rolled in the House."

But the situation in the Senate is much less clear. Fewer senators have aligned themselves with specific legislation and Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.), in line to take over the Labor and Human Resources Committee, has offered her own reform proposal.

That legislation would hand over welfare programs -- AFDC, food stamps and nutrition programs for women and children -- to the states, while the federal government would take over Medicaid programs.

Kassebaum said earlier this week that Republicans should avoid a "kamikaze" approach to dismantling existing government programs. "I want us to be constructive," she said at a Republican conference. "We want to make dramatic change where we can, but we have to make sure it will work."

That sentiment, coupled with strong opposition from Democrats and moderate Republicans to radical changes, makes it unlikely that the Senate will fall in line behind a Gingrich-style welfare proposal.

"Chances are a bill will get done, but the Senate is likely to determine the final shape of the legislation," said a Senate source, adding that Senate rules will force a more bipartisan approach.

The debate also could be influenced by input from the states, where 19 new governors will be bringing in their own views on welfare reform.

In the meantime, advocacy groups and welfare experts have begun taking positions on the various proposals.

Robert Rector, senior policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation, welcomed what he said was a crucial new focus to the welfare debate: shaping provisions to bring down the soaring rate of out-of-wedlock births. "Two years ago, illegitimacy was not a big issue," he said. "The cost of welfare was not an issue."

Susan Steinmetz, director of the welfare reform division at the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, said the Gingrich proposal "is not a bill about how best to get people into the work force, but about eliminating assistance to millions of children."

Mark Greenberg, senior staff attorney for the Center for Law and Social Policy, said the Gingrich proposal goes further than any governor has gone to change welfare.

No state has filed a request for a waiver from the federal government to allow it to deny aid for children born out of wedlock, for example, or children for whom paternity has not been established, he said. The Gingrich proposal requires mothers to cooperate with authorities in establishing paternity in order to receive benefits.

"There is always tremendous interest in welfare reform and clear indications from the election that voters want it to be a high priority," Greenberg said. "However, there continue to be very serious disagreements about what is meant by welfare reform."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, REP. JAMES M. TALENT

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HEADLINE: Gingrich: 'Boys Town' proves point

BYLINE: William M. Welch

BODY:

House speaker-to-be Newt Gingrich insists orphanages are a valid answer for the nation's welfare children and says first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton should see the film version before criticizing his plan.

"I would ask her to go to Blockbuster and rent the Mickey Rooney movie Boys Town," Gingrich said on NBC's Meet the Press.

His reference to the film about the Rev. Edward Flanagan, who founded the Boys Town orphanage, came in response to Clinton's charge that the proposal is "absurd."

Gingrich backs a bill that would ban welfare benefits for children born out of wedlock to young women. In its place, the federal government would send money to states for orphanages or other uses.

Critics say it would turn back the clock to the 19th century - and prove more costly.

Time magazine today reports a Child Welfare League of America estimate that putting 250,000 children in orphanages would cost \$ 8 billion.

It says the yearly welfare costs for a child living with a mother is \$ 2,644, and that care in an orphanage costs \$ 36,500.

Defending his plan, Gingrich says many poor children of single welfare mothers would be better off in state-run orphanages, which he calls boarding schools or group homes.

He cites rising violence and abuse among inner city kids.

Also Sunday, Gingrich said up to 25% of the White House staff had used drugs within five years of joining the administration. Citing "a senior law enforcement

official," he said drug use was a reason for delays in White House security clearances. The White House declined comment.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: December 06, 1994



SOCIETY

The Storm over Orphan

Forget Dickens—and forget Gingrich—but some form of group care may benefit the c

By DAVID VAN BIEMA

S EVEN MONTHS AGO, SOON-TO-BE Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich suggested in a speech that unwed teenage mothers should be denied welfare. If they could not support their children, America should tell them, "We'll help you with foster care, we'll help you with orphanages, we'll help you with adoption"—but not with the cash that might keep mother and child together. Orphanages were not the subject of Gingrich's speech, but they were not a throwaway either. The notion reappeared in the Republican welfare-reform bill (with the inflammatory word orphanages changed to "children's homes"), which is a basis for Gingrich's famous "Contract with America."

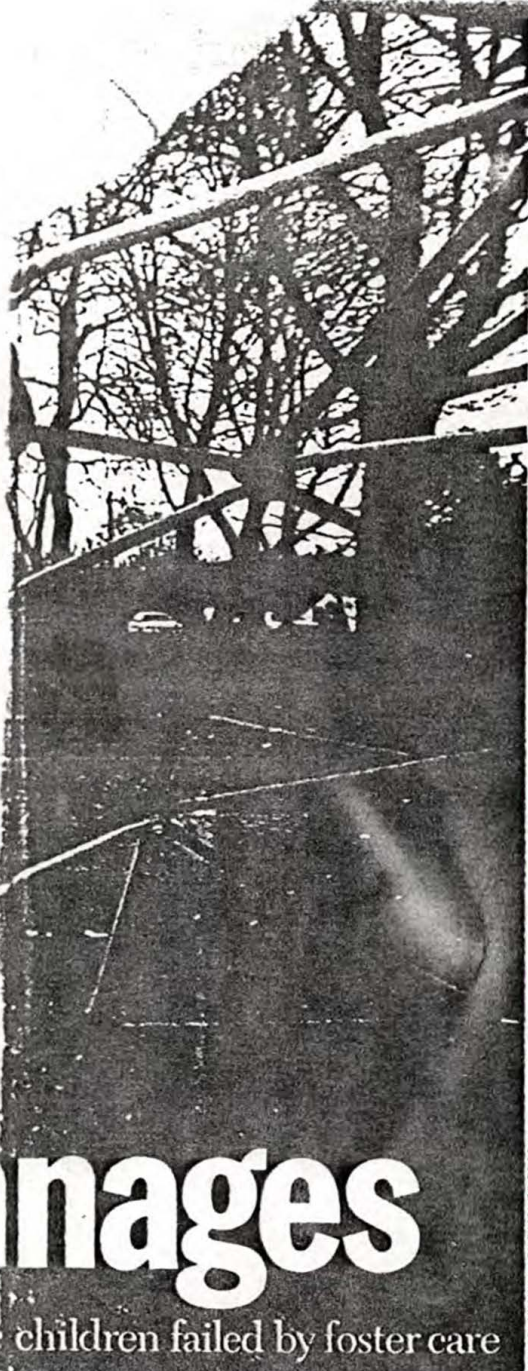
It was not a smart move. The news media were quick to note the orphanage proposal's obvious incompatibility with "family values." Hillary Clinton told a New York audience last week that the "idea of putting children into orphanages because their mothers couldn't find jobs" was "unbelievable and absurd." Eager to be seen as the way of the future, the Newtonians found themselves tarred with images of the distant, Dickensian past.

Many Republicans were loath even to repeat the dread word. So it was left to a lowly House staff member who handles welfare policy for the Republican conference to deliver its likely epitaph. Were Republican lawmakers serious about the orphanage option? "If they were, they have buttoned their lips. This thing has been mercilessly crucified," he says. "I would not be surprised if

they strike the provision from the bill, because it's given us so much grief."

Nearly everyone agrees that illegitimacy and teen pregnancy are key elements in poverty's vicious cycle and that the government should try to reduce them. Gingrich's orphanage proposal, however, seems punitive—not to mention odd, coming from a man who was born to a 16-year-old mother eight months after she left his abusive father. It would violate federal law, which mandates family-based care over institutions, and ignore the public policy consensus—first expressed by the Teddy Roosevelt White House—that "no child should be deprived of his family by reason of poverty alone."

It would also be a budget buster. According to an analysis done for TIME by the Child Welfare League of America, the an-



SURROGATE BROTHER Derrick Greenhill, right, and James Washington room together at Children's Village in Dobbs Ferry, New York

ther dead or have proved themselves abusive or negligent, and whether orphanages should be used to supplement foster placements that don't work out. "Orphanages" proper have been out of vogue for so long that it is hard today to locate a building with "orphanage" in its name. However, a small but growing number of social scientists and social-welfare professionals has been advocating their return. And in so doing, they have broached a disturbing question: Have America's attempts to find families for its abandoned and damaged children failed so badly that some institutionalization looks good?

"JASON," A THIN EIGHT-YEAR-OLD, CRACKS his knuckles as he tries to explain how he ended up at a place called Hollygrove. "It was time for me to go," he says. "I wasn't being bad or nothing, it was time for me to go."

The places he had to leave were foster homes. He liked two of them because "they had a lot of bugs, and I like to catch bugs." Some of his foster parents were nice and some were mean: "They pinched me, or they would spank me." It is impossible for a visitor to tell what really went wrong, and who, if anyone, was "bad." But someone is listening carefully to Jason now. "It's good here because you get to talk to your social worker about stuff that's private," he explains. "You talk about things you miss, or things you want to do."

Hollygrove is filled with kids like Jason. "It's not uncommon to see a seven-year-old who has come in with four failures," says assistant director Bob Morgan. In Hollygrove's seven houses, occupying most of a block in a faded neighborhood of Los Angeles, 54 children are taking a rest from what have thus far been taxing lives. Each house has three "child-care counselors"; there are six full-time social workers, a 24-hour clinic and a visiting psychiatrist. Behavior modification is mild: the kids receive ratings on a point system that is linked to privileges.

Hollygrove is not an orphanage. It is something called a residential-treatment center, a phenomenon very much of the current century. The last time orphanages were seen as a cutting-edge reform was in the 1820s: they removed destitute children from almshouses, into which they had been packed with adult paupers of all descriptions. But when researchers publicized the stunting effects of institutional life, group care gave way to welfare programs that allowed children who were simply poor to remain with their mothers. Children who were "parentless" owing to abuse or neglect or death were remanded into a new system,

foster care. By 1980 the Federal Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act had codified the general expert consensus: families were almost always preferable to institutions. Any stay in an institution must be as brief as possible and aimed at reuniting the child with a family—biological, foster or adopted.

Around this mandate grew a loose spectrum of care. The first stop for the children was a foster family. Sometimes adoption followed, but often it did not, in large part because of an official disinclination to terminate parents' rights. Most of the children stayed in foster care, sometimes bouncing from one family to another until they were pronounced "failures." Only then were they sent to group residential programs or—for more troubled children—facilities like Hollygrove. In accordance with the act, children were intended to stay at residential-treatment centers no more than two years. After that, "stabilized" kids were put back into the foster-care system; those still obviously asocial went to small "group homes" with psychiatric supervision.

The progression was always a bit jury-rigged. But in the 1980s it imploded, leaving massive carnage. The crack epidemic unleashed a new tide of kids on overburdened social-service agencies. Beleaguered child-welfare workers juggled huge case loads, and soon the newspapers were filled with horror stories not only about failures to remove children from dangerous homes but also about abuse in foster families and kids who bounced almost unnoticed from one inappropriate foster-care experience to the next. A report commissioned by the Reagan Administration in the late '80s concluded: "Foster care is intended to protect children from neglect and abuse at the hands of parents and other family members, yet all too often it becomes an equally cruel form of neglect and abuse by the state."

A new category of "extraordinary-needs children" was invented and quickly overpopulated by children drug addicted at birth, sexually abused at an early age or impaired by fetal alcohol syndrome. Many were doomed to fail in foster care. Annette Baran, 67, a psychotherapist and adoption expert, recalls, "In 1945, when the Holocaust children began arriving from Europe, everyone was dying to rescue them. But these kids could not be in nuclear families. They were so traumatized they couldn't trust. They couldn't be vulnerable. This is true of today's kids."

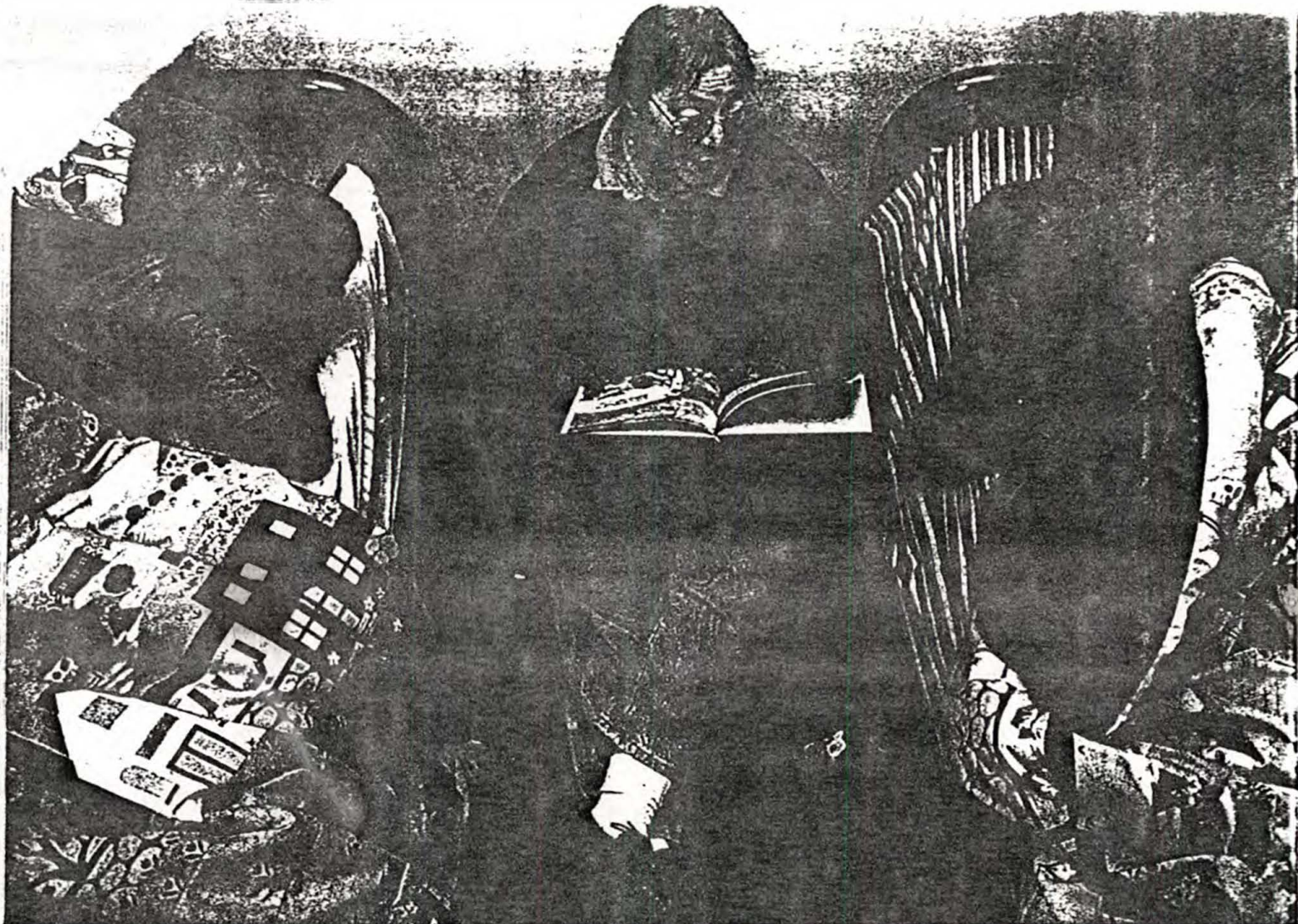
The system buckled, especially in the big cities. In some places the small group homes that absorbed the most troubled kids were themselves rife with drugs, violence and sexual abuse. Recalls 19-year-old Kenyetta Ivy, a survivor of nine New York group homes: "There were rats in the stove. I know some girls who tried to commit suicide, and

nages

children failed by foster care

nual welfare cost of one child living with his or her mother is \$2,644. The same child living with a foster family costs the public \$4,800 a year. The average cost for the child's care in "residential group care," today's closest approximation of an orphanage, is \$36,500. If even a quarter of an estimated 1 million children who would be cut loose under Gingrich's plan ended up in orphanages, the additional cost to the public would be more than \$8 billion.

That said, however, Gingrich perhaps inadvertently stumbled into a contentious ongoing debate among child-welfare experts about "congregate care." The wrangle is not about whether half a million mothers who may love their children should be forced to give them up to institutions. It is about the half a million children already in the system, whose parents are ei-



THEY CALL HER MOM, although their real mother is still alive. Toni Wagner of Illinois' SOS Children's Village doesn't correct them

the staff wouldn't even check on them."

A traumatized child-care community launched the debate that continues today. Some championed earlier and more extended placement of damaged children in residential treatment, maintaining that institutional permanency was far preferable to a nightmare sequence of foster-care failure after foster-care failure. Says Sarah Breeding, Hollygrove's director of social work: "These kids learned through their birth families that adults are going to hurt them. And a foster home is itself a really emotionally charged situation. But they can be successful in residential care." Others argued that foster care had been fairly effective until the '80s onslaught—and could be made so again. "The foster family is the solution to our problems," says Joe Kroll of the North American Council on Adoptable Children. "Professionalize it, support it, compensate it. The costs of foster care would go up, but they would still be far less than the costs of institutions." Awarding foster-parent status—and financial support—to a child's relatives became a new focus.

Then in 1988 a retired senior trial judge in Philadelphia named Lois Forer pub-

lished a heartfelt article in the *Washington Monthly* about children she hadn't been able to save. There was April, age 10 her molesting stepfather had been jailed, but she was forced to continue living with her retarded mother and her alcoholic grandfather because, wrote Forer, "it was the policy . . . to keep the family together." Also Tyrone, 8, whose father, a boxing trainer, had beaten him so badly for wetting his bed that he bore 70 permanent scars: "No agency would even attempt to find placement for Tyrone; the family should be kept together."

IN SUMMATION, THE JUDGE DECLARED, "For at least the past quarter-century, Americans have been captivated by two concepts that have become accepted public policy: deinstitutionalization and preservation of the family. Both are worthy goals pursued to unworthy ends. I suggest that it is time for us to demand that government provide permanent, well-run orphanages for the more than 2 million abused children who are de facto orphans."

Forer's modest proposal drew support from a few child-welfare experts like Joyce

Ladner, now acting president of Howard University, and from such conservative social theorists as Charles Murray and James Q. Wilson. "Not all families are worth preserving," Wilson wrote. "And . . . foster care has its own problems. We don't know as much as we should about how well institutional care might function under contemporary conditions." (To which Murray added, "Think of it as 24-hour day care.")

But it was only in 1993 that a whole state, Illinois, began considering orphanages on a practical level. Between 1986 and 1994, the number of children in the Chicago area's substitute-care system skyrocketed from 8,000 to 36,000. The public faces of this catastrophe appeared in 1993, when a toddler named Joseph Wallace was returned from foster care to his mother, who hanged him with an electrical cord; and again last February, when 19 children were discovered living in squalor in a North Keystone Avenue apartment.

Such incidents supercharged a campaign by state senator Judy Baar Topinka, who was recently elected state treasurer. "I've lost my patience," she declared in July. "I want to act now. Act yesterday. Kids are being killed, tortured, starved, aban-

She adds now, "Illinois will have orphanages. It's just a question of what form they will take." Both Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, a Democrat, and Illinois Governor Jim Edgar, a Republican, are on board. But perhaps most vociferous on the subject has been Cook County public guardian Patrick Murphy, whose father spent three years in an orphanage. "Foster care cannot handle adolescent kids," maintains Murphy. "What residential care provides is consistency." Consistency is a function of duration-of-stay, however, and proponents await a commission report due out at the end of this month to suggest whether Illinois may actually defy the family-first paradigm and invest more in institutions that do what orphanages once did: hold on to children for five, 10, even 15 years.

Informally, in dozens of residential-treatment facilities around the country, some of this occurs in any case. David Tribble, head of the Bethesda Home for Boys outside Savannah, Georgia, insists, "We're not an orphanage. That's not what we do." Yet at least one child lived at Bethesda for 14 years, and stays of four or five years are not uncommon there and at similar institutions around the country. The trend's most adventurous examples are, coincidentally or not, in Illinois. Hephzibah Children's Association, named after a biblical benefactor, operates a small facility funded by the mostly well-to-do citizens of Oak Park; it accommodates children ages 3 to 11 for however long it takes them to be adopted, thus sparing them the foster-care shuffle. Even more unusual, it allows them to veto adoptive parents they don't like. "They stay here until they find a place they are comfortable with," says executive director Mary Anne Brown.

The average length of stay at Mooseheart, near the city of Aurora, is six years. Run by the Loyal Order of Moose and financed mostly through charity, the institution currently houses 230 children, from infancy to age 18, in 24 houses. Mooseheart, where all placements are made on a voluntary basis, will give a child back to his or her biological parents or legal guardians on request. But Rose Haggerty, its director of student services, states firmly, "We don't try to reunite families. We don't mean to usurp biology, but we promote the idea that the child is growing here."

An even more interesting enterprise is 35 miles southwest of Chicago. The SOS Children's Village in rural Lockport contradicts standard protocol in any number of ways. For one, SOS accepts, or rather seeks, sibling groups, which are difficult to place in foster care. It looks for children 10 and younger—an age at which most states believe children should still be trying to fit into foster homes. And it does so with the goal of long-term residency that replicates—and

replaces—family life. "We are a source of frustration for the Department of Children and Family Services," says Village director Bill Mathis. "They would like us to have a more open policy and offer short-term emergency placements. We felt that if we started that, we would be locked into it."

One of the reasons Mathis may sound so sure of his unorthodox arrangement is that the SOS Village, and a sister operation in Florida, are part of a mammoth chain based in Innsbruck, Austria. Founded in 1949 for war orphans, SOS-Kinderdorf International, now established in 124 countries, cares for a total of 180,000 children. In each "village," the concept is the same: long-term residency and house mothers who commit to 20 years with the project.

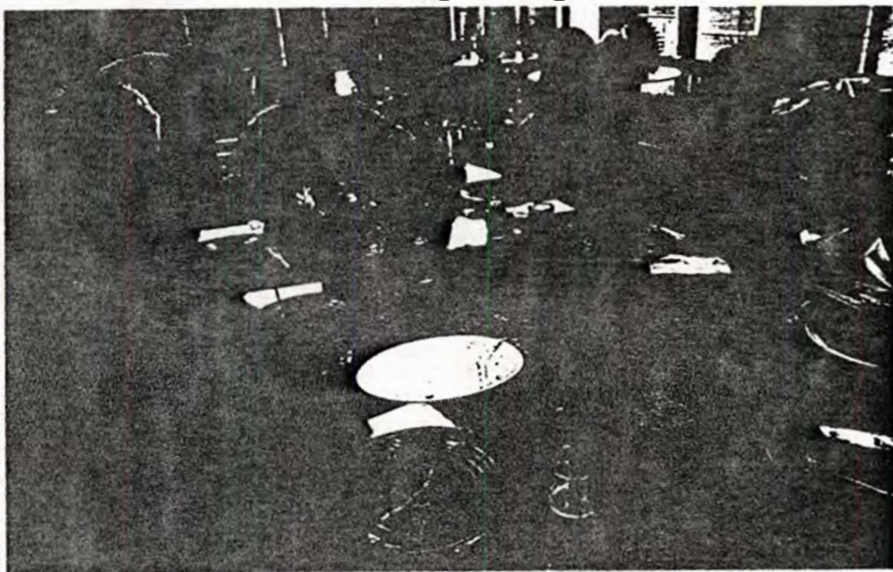
So far, the Lockport SOS Village has assembled only 10 of a projected population of 60 children. In one house, Toni Wagner, a Franciscan nun from Dubuque, Iowa, cares for an abandoned family of five siblings, who are white. Michele Haldeman, the "mother"

next door, oversees five children, all black, from three different families. The two "families" mix happily in the common yard.

ONE OF THE MOST TROUBLING UNRESOLVED issues about "congregate care" is its psychological effect. Doctors familiar with children adopted from foreign orphanages have noted delayed cognitive development, an inability to form emotional attachments and alienation. But not everyone shares that view. Richard Hoover, who met his wife Darlene 40 years ago at the Tressler Orphans Home in Loysville, Pennsylvania, says, "I really feel it was the best place to grow up. Though you had no parents, you had no worries. You always had someone to look after you."

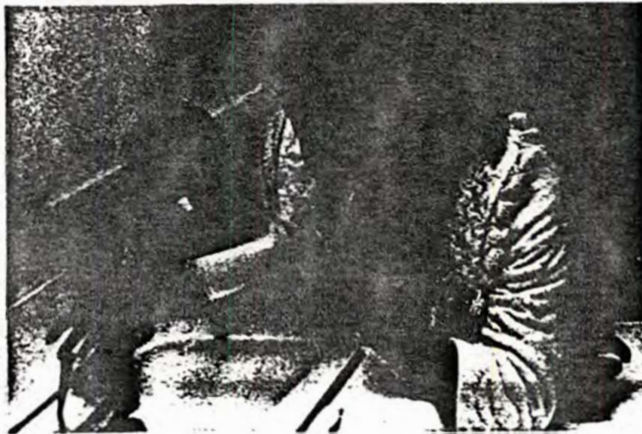
And Jennifer Butler, 19, a graduate of Wayside Union Academy who spent two years in short-term group homes before being placed in the Marlborough, Massachusetts, treatment center, says, "I'm so glad I got help. A lot of kids say, 'They stole

“We don't mean to usurp biology, but we promote the idea that the child is growing here.”



A COMMON MEAL: "The children who live here don't want to live here," says the director at the Covina, California, Masonic Home for Children. "But they are glad to have the option"

A CONSTANT WATCH: Jennifer, right, dark hair, and sisters Dawn, left, and Alice prepare for bed at the Masonic Home. State law requires that an adult be present and awake 24 hours a day



'teenage years from me.' But I would rather be a normal adult than a normal teenager. A lot of teens see 'normal' as having a mom, dad, brother, sister and a dog. But 9 times out of 10, that doesn't become reality, just a fantasy."

Cost alone ensures that the U.S. will not institute congregate care for children on a large scale—quite aside from the abysmal record of most state-run residential-care facilities. "Whatever the abuses in foster care—and there are many—there is absolutely no reason to believe that equal, if not worse, abuse won't occur behind the walls," says David Rothman, a professor of social medicine at Columbia. "The difference will be that nobody will hear the screams." Even at well-regarded private institutions such as Mooseheart, four house parents were arrested and convicted of sexually molesting about a dozen children between 1988 and 1992.

Nevertheless, it may be time to admit that in the case of some subset of the system's children, the American foster family in its current, underfunded state cannot answer their needs. Even Americans appalled by the hard-line rhetoric out of Washington may find themselves supporting further experiments with long-term residential care, whether the word orphanage is attached to them or not. "Steve's" mother gave him up, but she did so only because she was dying of cancer. When he was eight, she sent him to the Bethesda Home, a 50-child establishment on the banks of Savannah's Moon River, which was erected on the site of an orphanage by the same name founded in 1740. The grounds are dotted with live oaks, a herd of cattle roams its own 100-acre pasture, and there is an Olympic-size pool. But there are also intensive instruction in Christian values, psychological counseling and a grueling "total restriction" discipline program that most residents care to experience only once. The home has paid Steve's tuition at a private school in Atlanta and will fund his college education. Because of the circumstances of his arrival, Steve has never been in a foster home, and he has never rotated out—he has spent 10 years at Bethesda. "I've been through four sets of cottage parents," he says, "and I learned something from all of them." Steve has noticed that people who have spent their whole life with a real family don't understand the place, and "some boys say it's a prison and don't like it," he says. "But [to me], it's home away from home. There are people who want to see you make it through thick and thin. I kind of think growing up at Bethesda is going to help me a lot." —Reported by Ann Blackman/Washington, Wendy Cole/Chicago, Jennifer Mattos/New York, Sylvester Monroe/Atlanta and James Willwerth/Los Angeles

PUBLIC EYE

Margaret Carlson

Female Chauvinist Pigs?

IT'S GOT SEX, POWER AND—AS AN EXTRA ADDED ATTRACTION—THAT OTHER American obsession, dieting. It's the reverse-discrimination suit filed by eight men from Boston who found the Jenny Craig weight-loss organization too full of, well, female chauvinist pigs. The girl talk in the office, says plaintiff Joseph Egan, about "who to marry, who is pregnant, how to get pregnant" was offensive, and it was sexist to ask his male colleagues to shovel the snow and insensitive to tell another he was "sensitive for a guy." These men found themselves on a slower track than their female colleagues, and so some of them quit, others were laid off and all of them filed complaints. Last week three of the plaintiffs cleared the first hurdle: the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination determined that there was probable cause of gender bias and ordered mediation. The other five are awaiting action.

All are in great demand, however, and not by accident. The first thing they did, after hiring an all-female team of lawyers, was hire a public-relations firm, which alerted the press about the case before the commission ruling. Although last year, according to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, women filed 11,000 sexual-harassment complaints and men fewer than 1,000, this case made the front page of the *Wall Street Journal* the next day. And before you could say sweeps week, the *Today* show, *Entertainment Tonight*, *A Current Affair* and *CBS This Morning*, among others, were on the phone to the men's Boston publicist, Paul Dugan. There was much debate among the advisers about how high or low to go on the media food chain—should the guys go for a slam dunk with a super-sensitive host like Maury Povich or risk potentially tough questions on network programs? But not to worry. After accepting air fare and hotel accommodations to appear on *Today* last week, three of the Jenny Craig Eight, prepped like witnesses at the Simpson trial, came off like a bunch of wounded Alan Aldas, shocked—shocked—to be exposed to off-color comments.

Now, there should be nothing wrong with this picture: as women gain power, they may misuse it and sex, as badly as some men. In fact, sexual harassment won't really be taken seriously until it affects men. But the sheer inequality of attention to this case—as opposed to the other 91% of cases filed by women that do not happen to involve a sitting President or a U.S. Supreme Court nominee—can also be seen as one more example of the inequality that made antidiscrimination laws necessary in the first place. All this attention also suggests a man who is sexually harassed has a greater claim on our sympathies—a notion coming this week to a Multiplex near you in *Disclosure*, a movie in which predatory executive Demi Moore accosts sweet, sensitive Michael Douglas. Jenny Craig plaintiff Tracy Tinkham looks more like Joey Buttafuoco than Michael Douglas, but never mind. Perhaps he was succeeding handsomely at counseling overweight women and should have been promoted instead of being let go for breaking a trivial rule. We are asked to believe that these men's having to listen to jokes about push-up bras or being asked to lift a heavy box makes for a winning case and worldwide media attention, when women have been listening to penis jokes and making coffee for decades. Sure, complaints about failing to be promoted simply because they were men in a women's world are serious. But before the Jenny Craig Eight pour their heart out to Sally Jessy Raphael, they should check with all the women who have looked up the corporate ladder and seen 10 men for every woman and wondered how they could prove their lack of success was due to some failure in the corporate culture, and not in themselves. ■



Former Jenny Craig employees Tracy Tinkham and Joseph Egan meet the press