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Aug 16, 97 - DPC Weekly Report
August 16, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Elena Kagan

SUBJECT: DPC Weekly Report

1. Crime -- Child Safety Locks: Smith and Wesson -- the world's leading manufacturer of handguns -- announced earlier this week that as of September 2, all of the handguns it sells for commercial use will come equipped with a child-safety lock made by Master Lock. The lock is a keyed device that when in place prevents a person from pulling the gun’s trigger. As you know, your juvenile crime legislation would require all federally-licensed gun dealers to provide a child-safety lock with every handgun sold. You also directed federal agencies to ensure that all federal law enforcement agents have child safety locks for their handguns by October 15.

2. Health -- FDA Reform Legislation: The Administration is working with members of Congress and the pharmaceutical industry to reach agreement on an FDA Reform bill in September. Early passage of this legislation is critical to both the FDA and the industry because the bill includes the reauthorization of the Prescription Drug User Fee Act (PDUFA), which provides for user fees to ensure expedited review and approval of new drugs. Without a reauthorization of PDUFA, the user fees will lapse, layoffs of FDA personnel will occur, and the expedited review process will come to an end. The most important issue to be resolved in the bill is the one Senator Kennedy mentioned to you recently: whether federal law should preempt state regulation of cosmetics, perfumes, creams, etc. There is also a question about the environmental impact of certain provisions in the bill.

3. Education -- Investigation of University of California: The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) at the Department of Education is continuing its investigation of the admissions policies of three University of California law schools: Boalt Hall, UCLA, and UC-Davis. OCR hopes to decide by the end of this year whether the law schools, whose new facially race-neutral admissions policies have a clear disparate impact on members of different racial groups, are in violation of federal civil rights law. Senators Hatch and McConnell wrote a letter to Secretary Riley on July 31 denouncing OCR’s inquiry as a “politically motivated” effort to “ride roughshod” over the “will of the people, the courts, and the Constitution.” The two senators threatened to introduce an amendment this fall to prohibit the Department from using any of its funds to investigate race-neutral admissions policies.

4. Welfare -- Food Stamp Cut-Off: About 900,000 legal immigrants will lose food stamps this month. The welfare law required states to drop legal immigrants from the rolls within a year
after the law’s enactment. Most states, with USDA’s approval, decided to make the cuts at the last possible moment, so the vast majority will occur between now and August 22. At our urging, Congress recently enacted legislation allowing USDA to sell food stamps to states for distribution to legal immigrants and other individuals made ineligible by the welfare law. This measure will allow states to continue nutrition subsidies to these people without incurring the administrative costs of setting up separate programs. Washington State, Massachusetts, and New York already have signed up for this option, and USDA expects more states to do so.

5. Welfare -- Press Reports: As you know, the Washington Post ran a front-page banner headline on the day after your trip to Missouri saying “Welfare Rolls Continue Sharp Decline.” In the wake of the Post story, several good articles on welfare reform have appeared, including the attached, uncharacteristically positive New Republic TRB column by Michael Kelly.
A promise kept

Last August, when President Clinton signed into law the bill that promised to end welfare as we know it, many in the administration itself regarded the measure as a great gamble. To some liberals, the gamble was insupportable. The Urban Institute, in a famous study, predicted that the new law would impoverish 2.6 million people, including 1.1 million children.

Next week marks the first anniversary of the welfare bill's enactment, and the White House is trumpeting. And trumpet it should. As Bruce Reed, the president's assistant for domestic policy, boasted on August 12, the nation's welfare caseloads have been reduced by 3.4 million, or an astonishing 24 percent, since Clinton became president, and they are declining still. The rolls fell by 1.9 million in the first three and a half years, before passage of the welfare reform act, and they fell an additional 1.45 million in the nine months from the enactment of the law through May of this year, the last month for which figures are available. If the trends of the first nine months are found to have continued, Reed said, the caseload will have fallen by a total of 2 million by the end of the first full year of the welfare law. "These numbers are a stunning success, totally unprecedented in the history of welfare," said Reed. He is right.

Since the beginning of 1993, the welfare rolls in Wyoming have fallen by 68 percent; in Wisconsin, by 54 percent; in Oregon, by 48 percent; in Tennessee, by 47 percent; in Oklahoma and South Carolina, by 46 percent; in Indiana, by 45 percent; in Kansas, by 41 percent; in North Dakota, by 40 percent; in Alabama and Florida, by 38 percent; in Michigan, by 36 percent; in New Jersey and New Hampshire, by 30 percent—and so on.

There are a number of reasons for the good news, and some of them have little to do with the welfare law itself. One obvious reason is the boom economy. But the economy cannot be the primary cause. No remotely comparable decreases in welfare occurred during the fat years of the 1980s; indeed, there have been only two years in which caseloads fell by more than 250,000 in all of welfare's six decades. "The left is trying to say it is only the good economy driving this, but the last time you saw decreases of this magnitude was during the Korean War," says Robert Rector, a welfare policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation.

Another obvious cause of the good news that has nothing to do with Clinton or his welfare law was the passage of an earlier reform, the 1988 Family Support Act. It was this measure that allowed states to apply for waivers from federal welfare requirements and to begin experimenting with the work requirement programs that are an important factor in driving the rolls down. The Clinton administration's role here was the largely passive one of granting waivers.

Still, the law worked out between a Republican Congress and a Democratic president made an immense difference. It ended cash welfare as an entitlement, and it changed the enforcement role of the federal government from ensuring that states met their obligations toward a relentlessly expanding welfare state to encouraging that they meet their obligations toward shrinking the welfare state.

And the famously dire predictions of the Urban Institute: They are, it turns out, no longer operative. Sheila Zedlewski, the policy analyst who wrote the pessimistic report, now says that the number of people pushed into poverty by the law has turned out to be "significantly different" than predicted. Again, the economy helped. Also, in contravention to liberal assumptions, the states did not relax upon the opportunities of reduced federal mandates to starve their citizens. In Zedlewski's careful words, "As we have seen the Food Stamp changes play out, the number of states that have applied for and received waivers [from the requirement to force unemployed adults off the Food Stamp rolls] because of local high unemployment rates or surplus labor areas is higher than people were estimating a year ago."

But the most important factor affecting the prophecy of disaster was at least partially Clinton's doing. The 1996 law's most radical measure eliminated Supplemental Social Security aid to elderly and disabled legal immigrants. Clinton argued, in his usual amazing fashion, continued on page 41
The killing fields

To the editor:

The mind reels at the character of justice that Pol Pot's inhumanity demands ("Overdue Process," July 14 & 21). But your Cambodian hall of villains is incomplete. You chaste China for its interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia, but have apparently forgotten that Cambodia's neutrality was first compromised by the North Vietnamese and the "sanctuaries" they established along the southern reaches of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. And you are altogether too modest about America's own contribution to the creation of the killing fields.

Between 1969, when Richard Nixon first ordered the secret bombing of the Vietnamese bases in Cambodia, and 1973, when the U.S. Congress finally halted it, more than a half-million tons of bombs were dropped on the country. The mounting toll of civilian deaths, the CIA-backed overthrow of Prince Sihanouk by Lon Nol in 1970 and the U.S. invasion just weeks later all served to agonize Cambodian society, making the ranks of the Khmer Rouge swell from an estimated 2,500 in 1969 to an army of 50,000 just three years later—the army which Pol Pot would unleash on its own country.

Your vision of justice might have been achieved at the end of the 70s after Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia ended the slaughter and crushed the Khmer Rouge; unfortunately, our vengeful Vietnamese policy and desire to court Beijing actually allowed the communists to regroup and eventually assert power again. The scenario of Pol Pot on trial is not without merit, let's just hope the court doesn't go searching for accessories.

DAVID SERRA
Denver, Colorado

KURT G. STRAUSS
Tucson, Arizona

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