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Records Management, White House Office of

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

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W	11	4	1	2	9707	22570	10789	10731

Folder Title:

508628 [1] - [2]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Email	Re: Bill Keller - NYT - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	2	12/20/2002	P5;
002	Memorandum	Outline on Bil Keller Proposal - To: Peter Wehner - From: Neil Zimmerman	1	12/20/2002	P5;
003	Email	Site Selection - To: Karl Rove - From: Jack Oliver	2	12/13/2002	PRM;
004	Email	Re: Help - To: Karl Rove - From: Olaf Rove	1	12/07/2002	PRM;
005	Memorandum	Outline on Bill Keller Proposal - To: Peter Wehner - From: Neil Zimmerman	1	12/20/2002	P5;
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508628 [1]

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9707

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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007	Email	Governor Inaugural Letters - To: Shane Chambers - From: Ruben Barrales	1	12/24/2002	P6/b6;
008	Email	[Cover Piece] - To: Karl Rove - From: Bill Keller	1	12/17/2002	P6/b6;
009	Letter	[Invitation with attachments] - To: Karl, et al. - From: Anne Armstrong	9	12/09/2002	PRM;
010	Business Card	[Business Card]	1	N.D.	P5;
011	Email	Quotes from Karl - To: Susan Ralston - From: Bill Keller	1	12/30/2002	P5;
012	Memorandum	Mid-Term Report of the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy - To: Andrew Card, et al. - From: James Connaughton	2	12/20/2002	P5;

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013	Memorandum	California's Allocation of the Colorado River - To: Andrew Card - From: James Connaughton	2	12/20/2002	P5;
014	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Tom and Randall Phillips	1	12/23/2002	P6/b6;
015	Information Sheet	[Information Sheet]	1	12/23/2002	P6/b6;
016	Fax Cover Sheet	Facsimile Cover Sheet - To: Karl Rove - From: Tom and Randall Phillips	1	12/23/2002	P6/b6;
017	Report	Left Everlasting	2	12/11/2002	PRM;
018	Letter	[Interview Request] - To: Karl Rove - From: Arad Nir	1	12/16/2002	P6/b6;

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019	Email	FW: Letters to Editor Generated by Email - To: Alison Lynn, et al. - From: Mindy Tucker	3	01/21/2003	PRM;
020	Report	New Media Adoption Research	2	N.D.	PRM;
021	Email	FW: Veterans - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein	1	01/21/2003	PRM;
022	Email	Note from Chuck Colson - To: Karl Rove - From: Nancy Niemeyer	1	01/07/2003	P5;

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Ipsos-Reid/Cook Political Report: Two-in-Three Voters Continue to Approve of Bush's Job Performance

In First Post-Election Cook Political Report/Ipsos-Reid Survey, Strong Approval of Bush Performance Overall. On Bush Approval, the Marriage Gap Matters Most. On Direction of the Country, the Familiar Gender Gap Reappears.

Category: US Public Opinion

Location: United States

© Ipsos Public Affairs

Public Release Date: *December 12, 2002*

XC: Ken
Pete/Lauren
Matthew David

Between November 19 and December 10, 2002, Ipsos-Reid US Public Affairs interviewed for Cook Political Report a representative sample of 2,012 adults nationwide, including 1,583 registered voters. The margin of error for the combined surveys is +/- 2.2% for all adults, +/- 2.5% for registered voters.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — As the second half of President George W. Bush's term in office gets underway, the Republican President continues to enjoy remarkably stable, high approval ratings.

In looking across all regions and population subgroups in the post-election surveys, it is difficult to find any place or any group of voters among whom a majority disapproves of Bush's overall performance. That absence of focused opposition bodes well for Bush reelection prospects—he is getting an excellent performance review.

One division: Men are strongly supportive of Bush's performance across the board. Among women, however, being unmarried or being a single mom is associated with much higher political disapproval of Bush than what is found among married women.

Overall, do you approve, disapprove or have mixed feelings about the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President?

Bush Ratings on Handling His Job as President	All Registered Voters	Marital Status/Gender					
		Married men	Men not married	Married women	Women not married	Married with children	Single moms
Total Approve	65%	72%	62%	67%	52%	74%	48%
Total Disapprove	32%	26%	35%	29%	44%	24%	49%

Since Election Day, Bush has focused on getting his economic policy house in order, but the poll indicates this may cover only half the issues he faces. Overall, slim majorities of registered voters endorse Bush's handling of both the economy and other domestic issues. What's interesting is that on these political questions of Bush's performance, the marriage gap is bigger than the gender gap.

On Bush's handling of the economy and other domestic issues, the big divisions are not between men and women so much as they are between married men and unmarried men, and between married women and unmarried women. In other words, married women look like

married men in their strong approval of Bush's performance, while unmarried men join unmarried women in being evenly divided between disapproval and approval.

Single moms in particular are moving away from endorsement of Bush policies when it comes to the economy and other domestic issues—look how different they are than married women in their political assessments of Bush's performance.

And when it comes to handling domestic issues like health care, education, the environment and energy, do you approve or disapprove or have mixed feelings about the way George W Bush is handling that issue?

Bush Ratings on Handling Domestic Issues	Marital Status/Gender						
	All Registered Voters	Married men	Men not married	Married women	Women not married	Married with children	Single moms
Total Approve	53%	56%	48%	58%	45%	60%	42%
Total Disapprove	42%	39%	47%	38%	51%	36%	56%

And when it comes to handling the economy, do you approve or disapprove or have mixed feelings about the way George W Bush is handling that issue?

Bush Ratings on Handling the Economy	Marital Status/Gender						
	All Registered Voters	Married men	Men not married	Married women	Women not married	Married with children	Single moms
Total Approve	54%	58%	49%	57%	43%	61%	36%
Total Disapprove	42%	38%	49%	37%	50%	36%	60%

When the focus moves beyond Bush's performance to an overall assessment of the country's overall direction, the question Charlie Cook likes to call the "Dow Jones of politics"—the one number that predicts, reflects and drives all other numbers—the pattern is very different. Here, there is a significant gender gap found among registered voters—among men, 52% say things are heading in the right direction, 41% wrong track, but among women, 41% say things are heading in the right direction, 50% wrong track..

Why? Because when it comes to this critical measure of attitudes about "how things are going," married women look like unmarried men. As a result, on this question, the gender gap is as important as the marriage gap.

Generally speaking, would you say things in this country are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

Right Direction / Wrong Track	Marital Status/Gender						
	All Registered Voters	Married men	Men not married	Married women	Women not married	Married with children	Single moms
Right direction	47%	54%	48%	47%	33%	53%	29%
Wrong track	45%	39%	44%	43%	57%	42%	60%

On Election Day, November 5, Republicans benefited from a final week shift in favor of

Republican control of Congress. Among the group Ipsos/Cook identified as the most likely to vote, preference was evenly divided as late as the week before Election Day, then shifted decisively in favor of Republican control, 51% Republican-44% Democratic control, in interviews conducted over the final weekend leading into Election Day.

The lesson from Election Day is that the biggest and most important movements occurred more than a year before on September 11, 2001—and the second biggest and most important movement did not occur until 100 hours before Election Day. But that doesn't mean political analysts can safely ignore the polls on the 2004 election until 100 hours before the 2004 election!

And if the election for Congress were held today, would you want to see the Republicans or Democrats win control of Congress?

	All Likely Voters November 1-3 (N=496)	All Likely Voters October 28-31 (N=505)	Very Likely Voters November 1-3 (N=315)	Very Likely Voters October 28-31 (N=328)
Republicans	47%	45%	51%	44%
Democrats	44%	45%	44%	46%

Looking ahead, the big question is whether the marriage gap will continue to drive political attitudes as they do now, or whether the gender gap will become an increasingly important factor in political attitudes. The familiar gender gap already has an impact on assessment of direction of the country, but does not yet have an impact on assessment of Bush and his performance.

For more information on this release, please contact:

Thomas Riehle
President
Ipsos-Reid US Public Affairs
202.463.7300

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1000 and decide
whether it's embossed or
not when we get the
sample embossed sleeve.*

Record Type: Record

To: Karl C. Rove/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: WH Print - Visitor Memento

Prices:

Print on textured stock plus embossed sleeve w/ seal:

QTY	\$
500	\$800
1,000	\$950
1,500	\$1,100
2,000	\$1,250

Print ONLY:

QTY	\$
500	\$350
1,000	\$450
1,500	\$550
2,000	\$650

We're ready to roll when you pick an option and give us the quantity.

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Outline on Bill Keller Proposal - To: Peter Wehner - From: Neil Zimmerman	1	12/20/2002	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [1]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Re: Bill Keller - NYT - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	2	12/20/2002	P5;

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508628

Rudin Management Company, Inc.

345 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10154-0101

To : The Honorable Karl Rove
Company : White House, The
Phone : (202) 456-2369
FAX : → (202) 456-0191 ←

Date : December 23, 2002
From : William Rudin
E-mail : wrudin@rudin.com
Phone : 212-407-2433
FAX : 212-407-2687

Total Pages : 2

Subject :

Operator :

cc :

FAX TRANSMISSION

WILLIAM C. RUDIN

345 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10154

wrudin@rudin.com

407-2433

December 23, 2003

The Honorable Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Karl,

I will always be able to say that your digital wizards super-
imposed me into the photograph!

I appreciate all your help and leadership.

Wishing you and your family a Healthy and Happy Holidays!

Sincerely,



508628

Ramajal LLC

John F. Hotchkis, Chairman
800 West Sixth Street, Suite 728
Los Angeles, CA 90017-2710
Tel. (213) 488-0100 Fax (213) 488-4902
Email: john_hotchkis@ramajal.com

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL

TO: Karl Rove
FAX: (202) 456-0191
FROM: John Hotchkis
FAX: (213) 488-4902
DATE: December 23, 2002

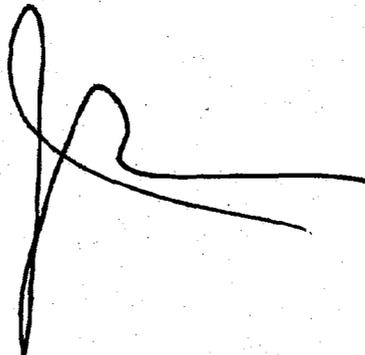
No. of pages including cover sheet: 1
If you do not receive all pages, please call (213) 488-0100.

Dear Karl:

From what I can tell, you guys handled the Lott thing extremely well. Nice going. Thank you for being there!

Here's hoping you and your family have a wonderful Christmas!

JFH:mma



508628

Office of Presidential Messages

6 1/2 Pages Total

To:
From:
IGAR

- Cabinet Affairs _____
- Chief of Staff _____
- Counsel's Office _____
- Domestic Policy _____
- Legislative Affairs _____
- NSC _____
- Media Affairs _____
- Public Liaison _____
- Senior Advisor's Office _____
- Other _____

Faxed to Israel Hernandez @60191
IGA Faxed to Eric Ciliberti @ 67015

From:
TO

Shane Chambers, Deputy Director
Office of Presidential Messages
65505 phone / 62806 fax

Sarah Campbell, Staff Assistant
Office of Presidential Messages
62455 phone/ 62806 fax

Subject: Clearance Request for
**IGA Request- Letters to Governors being inaugurated or sworn-in
in January 2003**

Date: December 26, 2002

Please find attached a draft Presidential Message for **Governors being inaugurated or sworn-in in January 2003 (IGA Request).**

Please provide your approval/comments/recommendations to me **AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. FIRST FOUR INAUGURATIONS ARE NEXT WEEK.**

Please call or fax your response to our office asap.

Thank you.

NO COMMENT

December 26, 2002

The Honorable Jennifer M. Granholm
Governor of Michigan
Post Office Box 30013
Lansing, Michigan 48909

Dear Governor Granholm:

Congratulations on your inauguration. It is an honor to serve as a governor, and I appreciate your commitment to strengthening your State and our country.

My Administration looks forward to working with you on important issues that affect Michigan and the United States. Together we can protect our homeland, enhance the quality of education, and ensure greater opportunities for all.

Laura joins me in sending our best wishes as you begin your term of service. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless America.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

December 26, 2002

The Honorable Bill Richardson
Governor of New Mexico
State Capitol
Fourth Floor
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87503

Dear Governor Richardson:

Congratulations on your inauguration. It is an honor to serve as a governor, and I appreciate your commitment to strengthening your State and our country.

My Administration looks forward to working with you on important issues that affect New Mexico and the United States. Together we can protect our homeland, enhance the quality of education, and ensure greater opportunities for all.

Laura joins me in sending our best wishes as you begin your term of service. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless America.

Sincerely,

December 26, 2002

The Honorable George E. Pataki
Governor of New York
Albany, New York 12224

Dear Governor Pataki:

Congratulations on your second inauguration as Governor of the State of New York. It is an honor to serve as a governor, and I appreciate your dedication to strengthening your State and our country.

My Administration will continue to work with you on important issues facing New York and the United States. Together we can protect our homeland, enhance the quality of education, and ensure greater opportunities for all.

Laura joins me in sending our best wishes as you begin your next term of service. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless America.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

December 26, 2002

The Honorable Mitt Romney
Governor of Massachusetts
Office of the Governor
State House
Room 360
Boston, Massachusetts 02133

Dear Governor Romney:

Congratulations on your inauguration. It is an honor to serve as a governor, and I appreciate your commitment to strengthening your State and our country.

My Administration looks forward to working with you on important issues that affect Massachusetts and the United States. Together we can protect our homeland, enhance the quality of education, and ensure greater opportunities for all.

Laura joins me in sending our best wishes as you begin your term of service. May God bless you, and may God continue to bless America.

Sincerely,

From: Ruben S. Barrales on 12/24/2002 02:48:38 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Shane P. Chambers/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: Eric J. Ciliberti/WHO/EOP@EOP

Subject: Governor inaugural letters



Inagural Letter- NY.do Inagural Letter- MA.do Inagural Letter- NM.do Inagural Letter- MI.do

Shane,

There are 36 governors who will be inaugurated or sworn-in during the month of January. We are hoping to send letters to them on the date of their inaugurals.

To get started, attached are four draft letters for new (3) and re-elected (1) governors who will be inaugurated/sworn-in on January 1 and January 2.

Do you think it is possible to get letters approved and signed before January 1? (I know this is a lot to ask!!)

Eric Ciliberti (x6-6481, cell- (b)(6)) is available 12/26 and 12/27 to assist if necessary.

I will also fax copies of these letters to you at x6-2806.

Let me, or Eric, know if you have any questions. You can reach me via email or on cell at (b)(6)

Thanks.

508628

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

To: *Karl Rove*

From: **Office of the Counsel to the President**

- FYI
- Appropriate Action
- Direct Response
- Prepare Response For My Signature
- Per Our Conversation
- Let's Discuss
- Per Your Request
- Please Return
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: _____

File: 10w4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 20, 2002

Dear Mr. Chairman and Senator Grassley:

I write in reply to your letters to me of August 1 and October 31, requesting additional information about the Administration's construction of Section 1514A(a)(1)(B) of Title 18 of the U.S. Code, as enacted by the Sarbanes-Oxley Act (H.R. 3763). I apologize for the delay in responding, and I hope that this letter addresses your remaining concerns.

As you know, the President was pleased to sign the Sarbanes-Oxley Act, and believes it provides vital new tools to support our efforts to crack down on corporate corruption. He is committed to vigorous enforcement of the Act, and regards Section 1514A as an important new step to encourage and protect disclosures of corporate wrongdoing by whistleblowers.

In my letter to you of August 1, I noted that the President's signing statement addressed a single, narrow issue of construction of Section 1514A(a)(1)(B). Far from "seeking to clarify" the President's statement as you wrote in your August 1st letter, I attempted in my letter simply to reiterate the basic principle that the statement sets forth, *i.e.*, that the existence of an investigation for purposes of Section 1514A(a)(1)(B) will be determined with reference to the rules of the House and the Senate. Accordingly, I must respectfully disagree with the suggestion of your letter that the signing statement offered a more "sweeping" interpretation of Section 1514A than was set forth in my letter.

Your letter of August 1 requests the Administration's views on issues that were not encompassed by the President's signing statement. Respectfully, the President's statement took no position on whether there is whistleblower protection for employees who lawfully report wrongdoing to individual members of Congress, nor did it address whether whistleblower protection would be limited to those instances where there was an ongoing investigation or the disclosure related to a matter within the jurisdiction of a particular Congressional committee. The signing statement only provides guidance to the executive branch over the question whether Section 1514A(a)(1) creates an independent grant of authority to individual members of Congress to conduct investigations of the executive branch outside the rules of Congress. As the signing statement said, it does not.

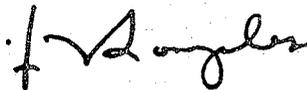
Your August 1 letter also requests an opinion on the application of the statute to a specific set of facts – facts which I hope I have now clarified were not at issue in the signing statement. Consequently, while I appreciate the strength of your views as to the proper construction of the statute on these additional issues, I do not feel it would be appropriate for me to provide a legal judgment to a Member of Congress on hypothetical facts that fall outside the scope of the President's statement. Undoubtedly, questions about the scope of Section 1514A, to the extent there are any, will ultimately be addressed by the courts as Section 1514A is enforced and applied.

Finally, your October 31 letter raises concerns about brief references to the Sarbanes-Oxley Act in an amicus brief recently filed by the Department of Labor in a whistleblower case under a different statute. I understand that discussions are ongoing between your staff and the Department concerning that case, and I trust that your concerns will be fully addressed through that process. In addition, I have shared a copy of this letter with the Department of Labor, to ensure that the Department is aware that the President's signing statement did not take a position on the legal issues which are of concern to you. I understand that the Department's representatives intend to discuss their position in that case with you in light of this correspondence, to the extent such discussions are permissible in the context of an ongoing litigation matter.

As you know, the President strongly supported H.R. 3763, and he shares your view that Section 1514A is an important new tool in ensuring that those who lawfully disclose corporate wrongdoing will be protected from retaliation. Respectfully, there is nothing in the signing statement inconsistent with this position. As the President has indicated, this Administration takes seriously its obligation to administer all provisions of the Act, including Section 1514A.

I trust that this responds to the concerns raised in your letter. But if you continue to have questions, I am ready to meet at your convenience.

Sincerely,



Alberto R. Gonzales
Counsel to the President

The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy, Chairman
The Honorable Charles E. Grassley
Committee on the Judiciary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

508628

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/2/2003

To: Dan Bartlett

From: Strategic Initiatives Sushu

- FYI
- Appropriate Action
- Direct Response
- Prepare Response For My Signature
- Per Our Conversation
- Let's Discuss
- Per Your Request
- Please Return
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: For your appropriate handling.

The New York Times229 WEST 43 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036

December 31, 2002

Mr. Karl Rove
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Rove,

Is it possible to schedule a photography session with President Bush anytime between now and January 11th? The portrait is to accompany the article Bill Keller is writing that is scheduled to appear in our January 26 issue.

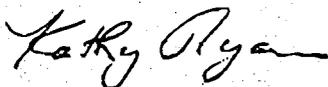
We would be most grateful for the opportunity to make this picture, and if we are granted a photo session, we recognize the time allotted will be brief. With that in mind, we would ask that our photographer be able to set up on location approximately an hour before the President's arrival, so that the picture-taking itself can be done in as little as ten minutes.

If you have any further questions, please call me at 212-556-7525.

Thank you for your kind attention to this request.

Best wishes for a joyous new year.

Sincerely,



Kathy Ryan
Magazine Photo Editor

508628



bill keller <keller@nytimes.com>
12/17/2002 05:09:57 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Karl C. Rove/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP@EOP
Subject:

Karl,

I'm in the home stretch of a cover piece for the NY Times Magazine about President Bush, and have run into what I would call (if the term didn't sound so loaded) a stone wall. At this point, I'm not sure whether the White House has decided not to cooperate, has not decided, or has not thought about deciding. This is a bit of a Hail Mary pass, since I think the piece will be richer if it incorporates the thinking of people closest to the President.

I'll assume the information I gave Dan Bartlett a few weeks ago has not made its way to you, and start at the beginning. The magazine asked me to write an appraisal of the Bush presidency at mid-term, to run the Sunday before the State of the Union. What I've set out to do is compare President Bush to President Reagan, and explore the thesis that in many ways this is effectively the third term of the Reagan resolution. What drew me to the comparison in the first place, mostly, was the fact that both men have been sorely underestimated -- especially, though not only, by the Eastern liberal elite, whose house organ pays my salary. I realize this kind of analogy risks turning into a parlor game, but I actually think it is a useful way of explaining to Times readers some things they are missing, or misunderstanding, about the Bush presidency. I'd be interested to know if you think any of this rings true.

I've been a little surprised that my requests have gone nowhere, given that the thrust of the piece seems to appeal to most of the Republicans I talk to, and given that my previous work for the magazine (profiles of Colin Powell and Paul Wolfowitz, notably) has, I believe, been regarded within the administration as open-minded and reasonably insightful. Perhaps I have somehow failed to get the message to the right place in the right way.

My specific requests were for some time with the President (hope springs eternal), and interviews with you and Andy Card. Time is now running out, and with it my hopes for any access, but I didn't want to drop it without one last direct appeal.

I'm at 212-556-1219, home (b)(6) cell (b)(6) and, of course, e-mail. I'd be grateful for a little of your times. Regards, Bill Keller

*Does Dan want
me to sit down with
him on background?*

(and

yes

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Invitation with attachments] - To: Karl, et al. - From: Anne Armstrong	9	12/09/2002	PRM;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
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Business Card	[Business Card]	1	N.D.	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Quotes from Karl - To: Susan Ralston - From: Bill Keller	1	12/30/2002	P5;

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Memorandum	Mid-Term Report of the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy - To: Andrew Card, et al. - From: James Connaughton	2	12/20/2002	P5;

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10731

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10789

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2015-0037-F

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	California's Allocation of the Colorado River - To: Andrew Card - From: James Connaughton	2	12/20/2002	P5;

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Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [1]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

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2015-0037-F

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

508628

Date: 12/30/02

To: Mary Ann Hanusa

From: Strategic Initiatives Susan Palstan

- FYI
- x Appropriate Action
- Direct Response
- Prepare Response For My Signature
- Per Our Conversation
- Let's Discuss
- Per Your Request
- Please Return
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: Karl Love asked if a
nice note could be sent from POTUS
to Jillian.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Tom and Randall Phillips	1	12/23/2002	P6/b6;

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Information Sheet	[Information Sheet]	1	12/23/2002	P6/b6;

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FACSIMILIE COVER SHEET

TO: Karl Rove

FAX #: (202) 456-0191

FROM: Tom and Randall Phillips

DATE: 12-23-02

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (Including cover): 3

If there is any problem with this transmission please call:

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MONEY 1982 MONEY 1983 MONEY 1984 MONEY 1985 MONEY 1986 MONEY 1987 MONEY 1988 MONEY 1989 MONEY 1990 MONEY 1991 MONEY 1992 MONEY 1993 MONEY 1994 MONEY 1995 MONEY 1996 MONEY 1997 MONEY 1998 MONEY 1999 MONEY 2000 MONEY 2001 MONEY 2002 THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY

508628

cc: Barry ✓
F: Soc. Sec.

YOUR GREATEST RETIREMENT FEAR

CAN YOU COUNT ON SOCIAL SECURITY? WE SIZE UP THE HEALTH OF THE SYSTEM AND LOOK AT WHAT THE PROPOSALS TO FIX IT WOULD MEAN TO YOU.

If you want to rile Dean Baker, co-director of the Center for Economic and Policy Research, just suggest that the Social Security system is in dire straits. Sitting in one of the center's cluttered fifth-floor offices in the Dupont Circle neighborhood of Washington, D.C., Baker is obviously incensed at the notion. "The idea that the system is on some precipice is just not true," he says. If we do *nothing*, Social Security will pay benefits until 2041. And even if we don't do a thing until *after* 2041, the benefits paid would be higher in real-dollar terms than they are today." ♦ Just a few blocks across town, Michael Tanner, director of the Cato Institute's

BY *Walter Updegrave*



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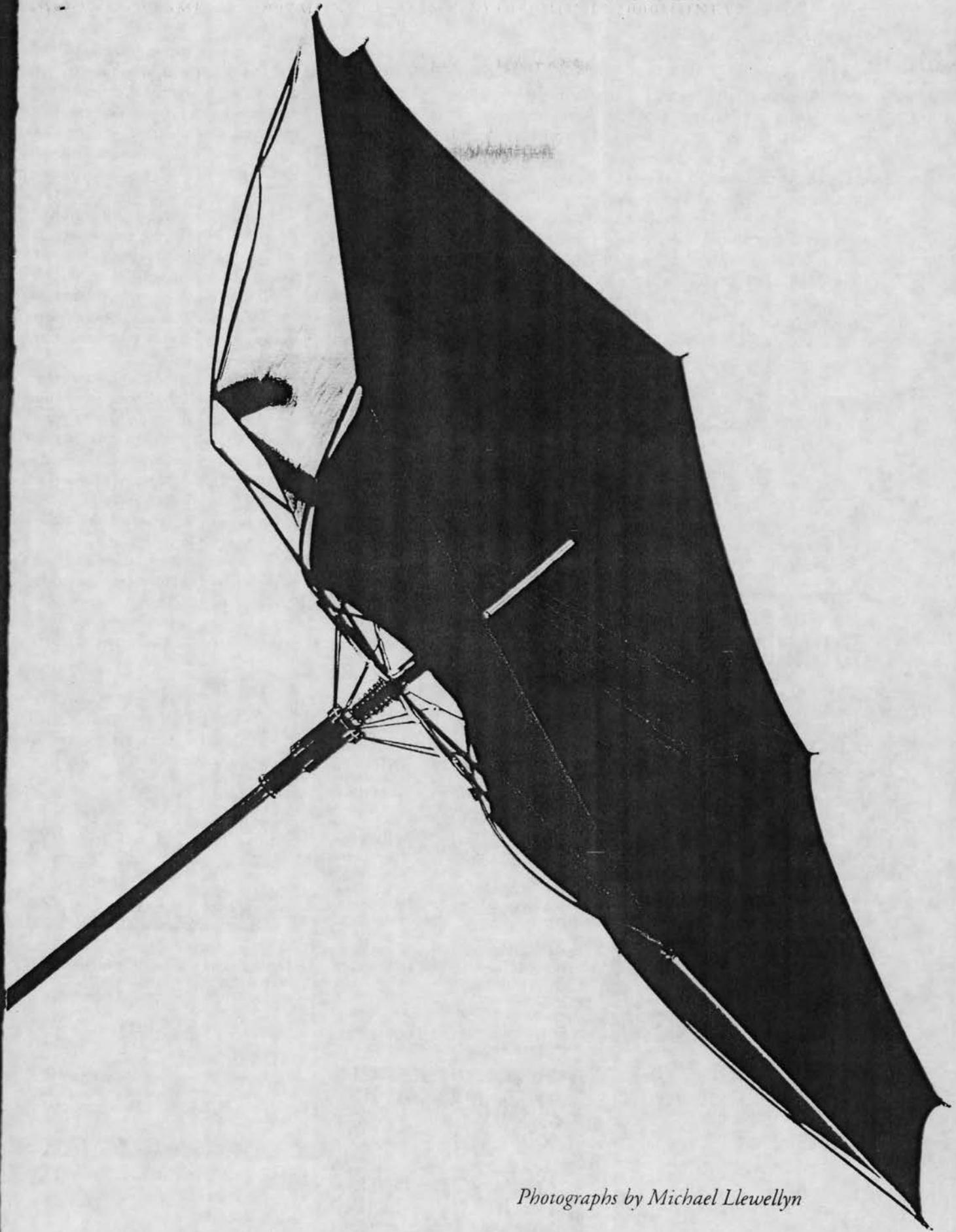
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Photographs by Michael Llewellyn

Project on Social Security Privatization, sees the situation, shall we say, somewhat differently. "Taxpayers are putting money into a program that cannot pay the benefits promised to them," he says. "That's a problem they're facing now, not just down the road." He believes the system needs to be redesigned as soon as possible to allow employees to invest some portion of their Social Security taxes in stocks and bonds.

So who's right? Baker? Tanner? Or perhaps Henry Aaron, a Social Security expert at the Brookings Institution? Like Tanner, Aaron believes that the system faces major financial challenges that must be addressed sooner rather than later. But, like Baker, he remains committed to Social Security's basic design. "Modest modifications can return the system to long-term solvency," says Aaron. "But individual accounts are fundamentally incompatible with the notion of social insurance, which is to insure basic income."

Welcome to the great Social Secu-

rity debate, which amounts to nothing less than a battle for the soul of the system. At issue is what type of retirement program we will rely on: a "social insurance" plan much like Social Security today, in which workers support retirees in the expectation that the next generation of workers will do the same for them—or a system that operates more like pension funds do, investing money today to accumulate assets that will support us when we retire.

This debate heated up during the 2000 presidential campaign and might have come to a head last December when the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security—co-chaired by former Sen. Patrick Moynihan and Richard Parsons, CEO of AOL Time Warner (MONEY's parent)—issued a 256-page report recommending that individual accounts be integrated into the system. But by then Sept. 11 had intervened, and the topic had lost its urgency.

The Social Security system has faced serious financial problems before (see "The History of Social Security" below). Still, it has managed to address them while never missing a payment. So is today's situation really different?

We'll try to clear away the hype and get down to the irrefutable facts. To begin, Social Security is definitely not on the verge of bankruptcy, period. At the same time though, over the long run, the system as it stands now will not be able to pay the benefits that have been promised. At some point, current workers—who are funding today's retirees—could lose confidence in tomorrow's benefits, causing a backlash against paying into the system. After all, if you're not sure you'll be taken care of by the next generation, you're going to need all the retirement savings you can muster.

What that means: It's time for some serious decisions about the future of this iconic program. Yet politicians know they're in for criticism no matter what remedies they recommend, raising the possibility that we'll end up dealing with the system's problems the same way we often have in the past: waiting until a looming crisis forces us to act.

The choices we face are not academic. Every realistic proposal to fix Social Security will either produce lower benefits, raise taxes or require that revenue be shifted from other government

THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL SECURITY



1776 The Continental Congress passes a resolution urging states to provide pensions to disabled Revolutionary War veterans. In 1789 the federal government assumes liability for the payments and in 1819 extends pensions to virtually any veteran in need.

1862 Congress provides benefits to disabled

Civil War vets and to the widows and orphans of deceased soldiers. After the program is extended in 1906 to all surviving vets and their widows, young women marry aged vets, whose



pensions they stand to inherit. Two widows are still drawing Civil War pensions.

1889 German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (right) creates the world's first formal "social insurance" system, with mandatory contributions from the government, employers and employees funding retirement and disability benefits.



Early 1930s During the Depression, retirement plan proposals start popping up. Among them: the Townsend Plan, designed by 66-year-old unemployed doctor Francis

Townsend, which called for a \$200-a-month government pension for every citizen 60 or older, to be financed by a 2% national sales tax.

1935 FDR signs the Social Security Act (right), describing it as "a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age." A Senate filibuster blocks the funding, forcing the fledgling program to borrow from other government agen-



cies. In January 1936, Congress passes an appropriation to fund the act. Social Security payroll taxes won't be collected until the next year.

1937 Social Security payments—initially lump sums—begin. Cleveland motorman Ernest Acker-

man, who retired one day after Social Security began operating, receives the first check, for 17¢.

1939 Social Security expands to include spouses and minor children of retirees and families of workers who die before collecting benefits.



	1937
WORKERS PER RETIREE	Not available
PAYROLL TAX RATE	2%
ANNUAL SURPLUS (DEFICIT), IN MILLIONS	\$764

programs—or all three. The system we end up with will affect how virtually all Americans plan for retirement and will help determine the financial security of the entire nation. There are risks and opportunities no matter what course we take. So how do we decide what to do? And how do we plan for our futures in the meantime?

HOW THE SYSTEM WORKS

Social Security is massive in scope. It churns out checks that average \$720 a month to more than 46 million people, a number that includes not just 32 million retirees and their dependents, but nearly 7 million survivors of deceased workers and 7 million people with disabilities. The program's design, however, is relatively simple. It collects money from workers in the form of payroll taxes—currently 12.4%, split equally between employers and employees, on a maximum of \$84,900 in pay—and receives a portion of the taxes that higher-income retirees pay on their benefits. If the system takes in more in taxes than it needs to pay benefits, the excess is used to purchase special nonmarketable Treasury bonds that can be re-



IN 15 YEARS, SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS PAYMENTS WILL BEGIN TO *outstrip income*. AND TODAY'S SURPLUSES WILL GIVE WAY TO GAPING DEFICITS.

deemed at face value at any time, even if interest rates have climbed.

Those Treasury bonds make up the famed Social Security trust fund. It's important to understand what that fund is and isn't. It isn't a reserve of the sort that a pension fund creates. The Treasury bonds that the Social Security trust fund own are simultaneously assets of one arm of the government

(the trust fund) and liabilities of another (the U.S. Treasury).

When the trustees eventually begin to present bonds from the trust fund to the Treasury for money to pay benefits, the only ways the Treasury has of paying those bonds are to divert revenue from other programs, raise taxes or borrow more. Ultimately, the U.S. taxpayer is on the hook. "It's not as if the bonds are martian securities and Mars will be sending us money to pay benefits," says Thomas Saving, a Social Security trustee and member of the commission that recommended privatization.

But for the moment at least, Dean Baker's sunny assessment of Social Security is correct. This year alone Social Security projects that it will collect \$545 billion and pay out \$465 billion, boosting the value of the bonds held by the Social Security trust fund to \$1.4 trillion.

This situation will begin to reverse itself in 15 years, as benefit payments start to outstrip income and surpluses give way to deficits (see the chart on page 116). There are several factors

From left: Social Security Administration; Everett Miller/Timothy; Bellman/Corbis; Terry Asher/Timepix; Reuters/Musa-Media Inc./Corbis

1940 Monthly payments begin. **Ida May Fuller** (below), a retired legal secretary in Ludlow, Vt., receives the first check, for \$22.54. Ida lives to 100, collecting \$22,888.92, or nearly 1,000 times the \$24.75 she paid in taxes.

1950 Congress boosts Social Security benefits by 77%. Payments are hiked three more times during the decade, doubling them from where they stood in 1937.



1965 President **Lyndon Johnson** signs the Medicare bill (below), extending health coverage to almost all Americans 65 or older.



1972 During the **Nixon** administration, lawmakers grant automatic cost-of-living increases to retirees, boost benefits for widows and increase payments for those who delay retirement past age 65. Congress also enacts

an automatic adjustment in the wage base used to calculate future benefits.



1975 A flaw in the 1972 formula for adjusting wage and price increases, combined with a weak economy and the demographic pressures of the baby boom, leads trustees to conclude that the Social Security trust fund will be exhausted by the end of the decade.

1977 To keep the system afloat, legislators

raise payroll taxes and slightly reduce benefits.

1982 Despite 1977 changes, Social Security must borrow \$17.5 billion from the disability and Medicare trust funds.

1983 A commission headed by **Alan Greenspan** (below) recommends a plan to restore Social Security. Among the revisions Congress



enacts are taxing some federal employees into the system, gradually increasing the retirement age for full benefits and reducing benefits available at age 62.

2000 Presidential candidate **George W. Bush** proposes that workers be allowed to invest a portion

of their Social Security taxes in private accounts (above). Vice president **Al Gore** counters with his "lock box" proposal.

2001 A Bush-appointed commission recommends that Social Security be expanded to include personal retirement accounts that could hold stocks and bonds.

1945	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2002
41.9	16.5	5.1	3.7	3.2	3.4	3.4
2%	3%	6%	8.4%	10.1%	12.4%	12.4%
\$982	\$1,649	\$78	\$2,094	(\$6,168)	\$45,060	\$80,000 (est.)

Source: Social Security Administration.

contributing to this reversal of fortune. First, earlier generations of retirees got generous payments, compared with what they paid into the system. Second, birth rates have been declining while life expectancies have been increasing. That has lowered what Social Security calls the "dependency ratio," essentially the number of workers per Social Security beneficiary. In 1970 this ratio was at 3.7. It stands at 3.4 today and will slide to 3.1 by the end of the decade and to 2.1 by 2030, when the majority of baby boomers will be collecting Social Security.

Finally, a variety of economic assumptions made in the late 1970s and early 1980s, particularly those related to productivity growth, have also contributed to the system's financial woes. Although productivity growth had slowed in the 1970s from its levels in the '50s and '60s, the trustees and the system's actuaries thought that it would rebound, raising wages and payroll taxes. Instead, productivity remained in a funk throughout the '80s and early '90s, and so did payroll tax growth. The result: creating less income for the Social Security system than expected.

WHERE WE STAND

What all that means, according to estimates by the Social Security trustees, is that beginning in 2017 the system will have to start relying on the interest on its cache of Treasury bonds and then cash in the bonds themselves to cover benefits. The trustees calculate that the trust fund will last until 2041.

That doesn't mean Social Security would be bankrupt, however, as is sometimes reported in the press. Payroll and income taxes will continue to flow in just as before. But those taxes won't be enough to pay full benefits; they would provide just under 75% of what's currently scheduled.

And the situation would worsen from there. To get a full sense of the challenges the system faces, let's look at what the trustees refer to as the "actuarial balance," or the difference between Social Security's income and its benefit payments expressed as percentages of payroll over the next 75 years (a period long enough to gauge the full

impact of any program changes). If the taxes collected over that span match the costs of scheduled benefits, the system is in actuarial balance. If costs exceed taxes, then the system is running an actuarial deficit.

According to the latest forecasts, Social Security faces an actuarial deficit equal to 1.87% of payroll over the next 75 years. Theoretically, this means you could balance the system by boosting payroll taxes by 1.87 percentage points—a 15% increase. But even if you did this, it wouldn't put the system back on track permanently. That tax hike would pro-

istration estimates that its deficit over the next 75 years would shrink by only a little more than 25%.

To prevent further deterioration that might require even larger fixes, the system needs to be changed earlier rather than later. The question, of course, is what should we do?

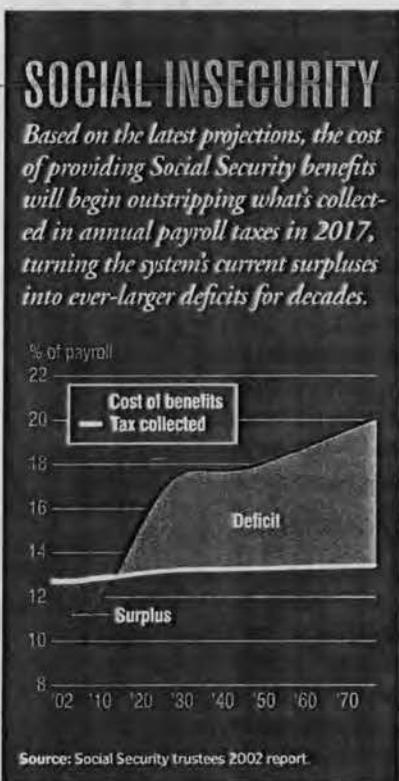
THE BIG DIVIDE

The glib answer is to pour more money into the system, scale back benefits or both. But any solution to the system's problems involves more than rejiggering numbers on a spreadsheet to satisfy actuaries. It's going to have to deal with a fundamental philosophical divide that lies at the heart of this debate.

Social Security, as it stands today, formalizes a social compact that societies have honored for ages—parents caring for their children, who in turn care for their aging parents. Some defenders of Social Security see this social contract as a fundamental strength and propose reducing retiree benefits or raising payroll taxes to preserve it. Others see this same arrangement as Social Security's fundamental flaw. "The problem is that we made these huge promises to people," says Saving, "and because of them people are doing less to prepare for retirement."

The Brookings Institution's Henry Aaron, author of *Countdown to Reform: The Great Social Security Debate*, is among those who want to preserve Social Security as it stands, and he has outlined a series of benefit cuts and revenue increases that he says could restore it to financial health. He begins by noting that the age at which you can receive full benefits is already scheduled to rise from 65 to 67 by 2022. Aaron advocates moving that date up to 2011 and then continuing to boost the full benefits age to reflect rising life expectancies. He'd also raise the age at which you can qualify for reduced benefits from 62 to 64 by 2011 and increase it in line with life expectancy thereafter.

To effectively cover the historical tab for providing generous benefits to people who have already retired, Aaron would transfer funds from general tax revenues. And to boost revenue from payroll taxes, he would require all newly



vide just enough revenue to cover costs for the next 75 years. But the gap between income and costs would continue to expand year by year. So the system would enter its 76th year facing an immediate deficit of roughly 4.5%. We would be leaving future generations to grapple with a deficit more than twice as large as the one we face today.

What if the trustees and actuaries are now too pessimistic in their assumptions? Consider: Even if long-term productivity growth were to jump by almost a third—a huge increase by historical standards—the Social Security Admin-

hired state and local government employees to be part of the Social Security system. Aaron would also tax Social Security benefits much the way private pensions are taxed, which would amount to a benefit cut for existing as well as future retirees.

Finally, he recommends allowing Social Security's trustees—not the beneficiaries—to invest 20% or so of the system's surplus in stocks, and he would permit the trustees to invest in the bonds of Fannie Mae and government agencies as well. This would give the trust fund a higher return than it currently receives on Treasury bonds.

Would it all work? The math adds up, but

Aaron acknowledges that as a practical matter, benefit cuts and tax hikes are unpopular solutions that no political leader has been willing to champion. "Most of these things wouldn't get 10 votes in the Senate or 30 in the House," says Aaron.

PRIVATE ACCOUNTS

Creating private accounts within Social Security, on the other hand, has plenty of vocal supporters—but it also faces high political hurdles. Its champions want to give you the option to invest some portion of your payroll taxes in an account that you, not the government, would own. In effect, you'd be saving for your own retirement, much the way you do when you invest in IRAs and 401(k)s. You would also have access to a broad range of investment options, such as stock and bond funds.

Last December, the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security recommended three models of private accounts in December 2001, one of which—Model 2—is generating the most interest. Without going into the plan's myriad details, here's the gist of how it would work.

You could voluntarily direct 4% of your Social Security payroll taxes into a personal account, up to a maximum of \$1,000 a year. The rest of your taxes would continue to go into the Social Security system. You would decide how to invest the money in your pri-



LETTING WORKERS FUND PRIVATE ACCOUNTS WOULD MEAN diverting payroll taxes AND COMING UP WITH OTHER MONEY TO PAY CURRENT RETIREES.

ivate account, presumably divvying it up between stock and bond funds.

If you chose this option, however, you would have to give up a portion of your traditional Social Security benefits. Specifically, your regular benefits would be reduced by the amount you contributed to your account, compounded at an annual rate of 2% above inflation. The upshot: If your investments earned more than two percentage points a year above inflation—a feat that diversified portfolios of stocks and bonds have often, though not always, managed to do over long periods—you would come out ahead.

Would you be better off under this system than our current one? The commission says that workers opting for personal accounts can reasonably expect to collect larger benefits than those who don't choose private accounts and stick with traditional Social Security. Plus, workers with private accounts should do better than current retirees, after adjusting for inflation.

But there's a rub with this plan. It turns out that projected benefits under private accounts are *lower* than what future retirees are slated to get under existing Social Security rules. That's because the commission would tie starting benefits to inflation rather than linking them to wage growth, the present, more generous, practice.

In other words, even the private-account scenario assumes benefit cuts.

Commission member Thomas Saving makes no apologies about this. He refers to it as "capping the promise" and considers it an integral part of the commission's reforms—a way for retirees to keep at least some of their benefits without saddling future workers with ever-increasing taxes. Of course, the idea of capping the promise is likely to be as politically unpopular as Aaron's proposed cutback.

Privatization shares something else with Aaron's plan to shore up the existing system—it too would have to tap general tax revenue, at least temporarily, to keep the trust fund solvent. That's because letting people now in the work force fund private accounts means diverting some payroll taxes from the Social Security system. That, in turn, means that the government would have to come up with other money to pay current retirees.

Again, no apologies. Charles Blahous, executive director of the President's commission and a member of the National Economic Council, argues that while diverting money to private accounts would raise costs in the short run, privatization would generate far lower deficits over the long run. "You pay a little price up front," he says, "and save a ton of money over the long term."

WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU

So what are we to make of all this—the conflicting visions, the jumble of numbers, the projections that stretch out longer than most of us will live? The place to begin is with this sober assessment: Even if 2017 seems far off, in the world of retirement planning, 15 years is not the distant future. And although approaches to fixing the system are dramatically different, there are two common threads: First, you can expect to continue to earn Social Security benefits. But second, they will be getting smaller.

Does that mean you should heed some planners' advice and enter a big "0" for Social Security on retirement planning worksheets? No. Benefits for people already retired or nearing retirement are by and large secure—any cuts would likely be indirect, in the form of

higher taxes. The rest of us, however, are much more likely to see our benefits scaled back from what we're expecting. It wouldn't be unreasonable to factor in cuts of, say, 25% or so into your long-term planning—and then ramp up your own savings to close that gap.

Otherwise the two main options to reform Social Security present different risks and potential pitfalls—both to individuals and to the retirement system as a whole. Let's start with private accounts. You may feel more comfortable investing your own money rather than relying on the government for your retirement income. But in return for the freedom to invest, you have to take on market risk in yet another part of your retirement portfolio. Depending on your skill—or luck—as an investor, your Social Security benefit could be far lower than what the President's commission projects. And even if you invest wisely throughout your career, a market setback on the eve of your retirement could force you to scale back your standard of living considerably, as many retirees have had to do recently.

And while private accounts certainly let you tap into the wealth-building power of equities, it's important to remember that we can't *all* boost our returns by investing in stocks. If hundreds of thousands of private-account owners begin funneling vast amounts of money into the stock market, all other things being equal, stock prices would rise, dampening the potential for future returns, while the opposite would happen with other assets such as bonds. So although an individual investor may be able to earn a higher return by moving from bonds into stocks, we can't boost the returns to society as a whole simply by shifting from one asset class to another. Stocks can't save Social Security.

Finally, it's hardly a given that private accounts will lead to greater saving overall—either for the nation or for individuals. Over the next seven decades the commission estimates that private accounts would accumulate some \$12.3 trillion—a tidy retirement reserve by

any measure. Even if those projections are on target, however, it doesn't necessarily mean that Americans' overall retirement savings would have increased by that amount. It's possible that, as people see the balances of their private accounts swell, they might feel so flush that they save *less* in other accounts, much the same way the American savings rate dropped during the '90s as the bull market pumped up our invest-



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ment accounts. In short, there are financial projections, and then there are the psychological factors that influence the way people behave—and the two don't always square.

Sticking with the current system may seem like a more certain bet—at least one portion of your retirement is not riding directly on the financial markets. Today you can go to the Social Security Administration's benefits calculator (www.ssa.gov/planners/calculators.htm), plug in some information about yourself and get a precise dollar figure of the benefit you're scheduled to receive.

But in reality this figure is no more certain than the commission's private-account projections. The reason is that even though we've come to think of Social Security benefits as guarantees, they're not. More than 40 years ago

the Supreme Court ruled that policy makers can change the benefit formula to reflect shifting conditions. So Congress can cut benefits anytime and has done so several times over the years. Lawmakers don't come out and say this openly, of course, but by raising the age at which participants can collect full benefits or by subjecting Social Security benefits to taxes, that's what they've done. As a practical matter what this means is that with our pay-as-you-go Social Security system, the risk you face is a political one. This system ultimately relies on future generations agreeing to pay higher taxes. To keep the system going after 2075, workers could be hit with payroll taxes upwards of 20%, a 55% increase from today. How realistic do you think that is?

MAKING THE CHOICE

At this point, it's still unclear when we'll address Social Security reform in earnest.

Even if politicians had the stomach to take on the issue, homeland security and the situation in Iraq seem to be their major concerns at the moment. Any timetable for reform will also depend on the outcome of the November congressional elections. It's possible that the whole issue could be put off until the next presidential election—or even beyond.

Eventually, however, we're going to have to make some decisions, as a nation and as individuals. Either a fix like the one Aaron proposes or the introduction of private accounts could restore stability to the system and ensure continued benefits. In the end, the choice is as much a philosophical decision as a financial one, hinging on how we believe a society should plan for the security of its citizens.

The future of Social Security—and by extension the retirement security of this and future generations of Americans—hangs in the balance. And the longer we put off dealing with reforms, the tougher the adjustment will be, no matter what type of retirement system we finally choose. E

508027

Att. Karl Rove

Monday, December 16, 2002

Dear Karl,

It has been some time since I last tried to contact you, and here I am again, trying to use our acquaintance in the Salzburg Seminar.

Karl, this time it is a request to have an interview with you!

I am working on a year ender program that will be aired Saturday, Dec. 28th on prime time. I am sure that an interview with a personality as close to President Bush as you are, will be of great interest and high value to our viewers.

We will adjust ourselves to your schedule and meet you whenever and wherever is possible.

Should I remind you that Channel 2 News is the leading news organization in Israel, that our programs are extremely valued among decision makers and general population alike?

Please do consider this request positively.

✓ Call or email to advise
no time available on
his sched this year.

Best Regards,

Arad Nir
International News Editor and Anchorman

Email: aradn@news2you.co.il
Mobile: (b)(6)
Fax: +972 2 5339809
Office: +972 2 5339997

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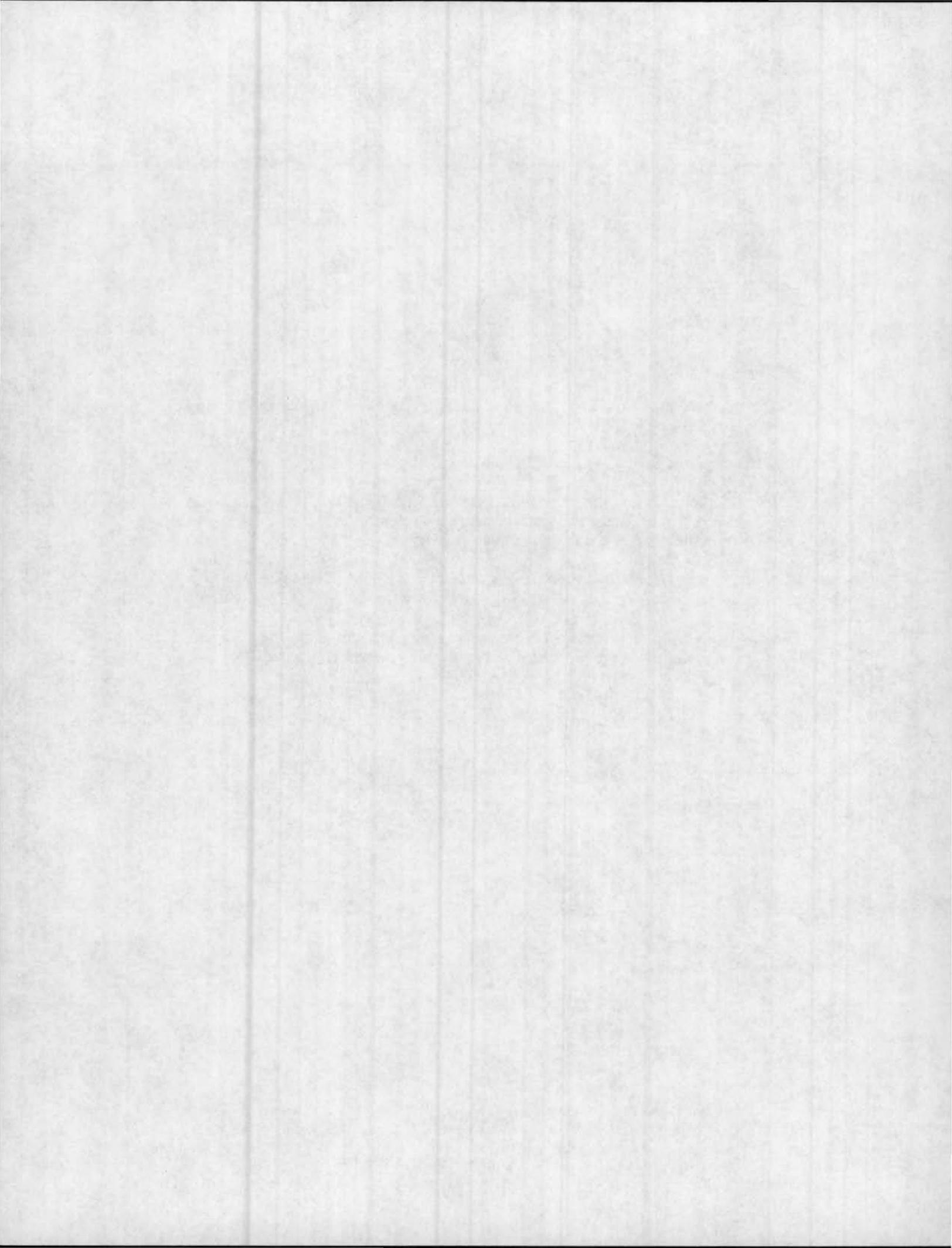
Communication center, Neve Ilan
Harei Yehuda 90850 Israel
Tel. 02-5339900 Fax. 02-5339809

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*KSO - ~~signature~~ request. 508628
Hand*

Karl Rove,
Senior Counselor to the President

Mr. Rove,

On behalf of the Texas Associated Press Broadcasters board I would like to invite you to be our guest speaker at the 2002/03 TAPB awards banquet on Saturday, April 12th in Austin, Texas. Once a year we gather in a different Texas city to honor the fine work done by radio and television journalists from across our state. We draw a crowd of about two hundred comprised of news directors and their staffs. We would be honored if you could attend this year's event and share some of your insights regarding the country's current political climate with journalists from all across the great state of Texas. Past speakers have included politicians (Governor Rick Perry) and network reporters (ABC's Anne Compton spoke last year and talked about 9/11 and the drama that unfolded as she rode with President Bush on Air Force One). We would love to hear from you about the strategies behind the historic republican victories in the recent midterm elections and planning for the 2004 races.

This year's event will be held at the Austin Marriott North at Round Rock. The TAPB would cover all costs associated including lodging, travel and meals. Most guest speakers fly in the day of the event and leave the day after but if you wanted to come in earlier or stay later that would be fine, too.

We look forward to hearing from you and welcome the chance to answer any question you may have about the banquet. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Bryan Erickson
Chairman, Texas Associated Press Broadcasters
Director of News Operations, Clear Channel, Houston
713-630-3598
bryanerickson@clearchannel.com



740 KTRH • 790 KBME • 950 KPRC

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News Director

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To: Karl Rove
 Company: The White House
 Fax Number: 202-456-2967
 Phone Number: 456-2103

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The Washington Center prepares college and university students for civic leadership through experiential education.

Dear Karl Rove:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of The Washington Center for Internships and Academic Seminars, I would like to invite you to address our interns as part of The Washington Center's Presidential Lecture Series.

As you may know, The Washington Center is a non-profit, educational organization that provides full-time internships and short-term academic seminars for college students from more than 800 colleges and universities in the U.S. and abroad. Over 30,000 college students have participated in our internship and seminar programs. This current semester we have students participating in internships ranging from positions in congressional offices to financial institutions and corporate entities.

The Washington Center's Presidential Lecture Series provides college students who are interning in Washington, D.C. with opportunities to learn about a broad range of social, economic and political issues directly from national leaders, members of the press, business leaders and experts in policy development and advocacy. Our recent distinguished speakers have included: Ari Fleischer, Bob Novak, Sheila Tate, Sen. John Kerry, Mayor Anthony Williams, Andrew Card, Edwin Meese, and Hilary Rosen.

Each semester we select individuals who are particularly noted for their eloquence and inspirational leadership style. The Presidential Lecture Series are usually held on Monday afternoons from 3-4:30 p.m. in Washington, D.C. This would be an excellent opportunity to inform and interact with a large group of both traditional and nontraditional students. The event usually begins with an address by the speaker for 20-30 minutes, followed by a question and answer session.

We realize that your time is very valuable. However, if you have a chance to speak to our students in the next academic year, we would appreciate it very much. The schedule of the dates and reply form are attached. The contact person on my staff is Robert Walter. He can be reached at 202-336-7568 or robertw@twc.edu. He will work with your staff to arrange a date.

Thank you for your consideration of this request. We look forward to the possibility of your speaking in the near future to our students.

Sincerely,

William M. Burke
President

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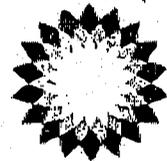


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THE WASHINGTON CENTER FOR INTERNSHIPS AND ACADEMIC SEMINARS

SPEAKER RESPONSE FORM

_____ Yes, I will be able to speak to the Washington Center's
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My preferred day and time is

_____ Sorry, but I cannot participate at this time, but please consider
me for another time period/program. The time period/days I
could be available for are:

NAME OF INVITEE: _____

Phone: _____ Fax: _____

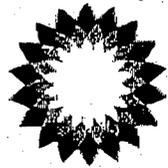
Email: _____

Contact Person (if other than invitee): _____

Please fax or mail this form to Robert Walter, Director, Presidential Lecture Series at
202-336-7609 or mail it to 2301 M St., NW, 5th Floor, Washington, DC 20037



BP Presidential Lecture Series



The Washington Forum Spring and Summer 2003

These are the dates available for Monday lectures during the
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Lectures run from 3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m., unless otherwise specified.

February	March	April
	3	7
10	10	14
24	17	28
	24	
	31	

These are the dates available for Monday lectures during the
Summer Term 2003

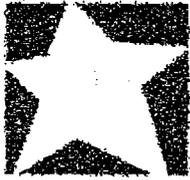
Lectures run from 3:00 p.m. – 4:30 p.m., unless otherwise specified.

June	July	August
9		
16	14	
23	21	
30	28	

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CONGRESSIONAL YOUTH LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Decline

To:

Name: The Honorable Karl Rove
 Phone: 202.456.2108
 Fax: 202.456.2967
 Number of Pages to Follow: 5

From:

Name: Grant Burrall
 Date: December 17, 2002
 Phone: 202.777.4129
 Fax: 202.777.4151
 E-mail: gburrall@cylc.org

Comments:

The National Young Leaders Conference is proud to offer an invitation to you as one of our executive speakers for our leadership conferences held this spring. Our conferences are composed of 400 American high school honor students from all 50 states and the U.S. territories. Due to irregularities in mail service, this fax will serve as our primary means of communication. If you would like more information, please feel free to contact me either by phone, e-mail or fax.

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CONGRESSIONAL YOUTH LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

December 16, 2002

The Honorable Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500



Dear Mr. Rove:

On behalf of the **Congressional Youth Leadership Council**, it is our pleasure to invite you to address the future leaders of America at the *National Young Leaders Conference (NYLC)* in Washington, D.C. As one of our nation's top officials, you are in the unique position to motivate students with your accomplishments, experience and devotion.

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Now, more than ever, our country needs leaders of high caliber and good character. This is why we have selected you to speak to America's future leaders. Your past experiences and accomplishments, as well as your current position makes you an ideal person to share the rewards and challenges of public service with these talented young people. *In speaking to our students you would have the opportunity to address over 400 American high school students representing almost every one of the 50 states.*

The *NYLC*, sponsored by the **Congressional Youth Leadership Council**, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that focuses on leadership development for outstanding high school juniors and seniors. For over 17 years, we have motivated students to become outstanding citizens and leaders within their communities. *NYLC* students are selected on the basis of their academic excellence and leadership potential. During their stay in Washington, D.C., students will study the three branches of government, international affairs and the media through interactive simulations and meetings with government officials, policy makers, activists and the press.

To accommodate your busy schedule, we have many opportunities to address our students this spring. Enclosed is some information on the *NYLC* program as well as a reply memorandum that may be faxed to our office. We would be happy to work with your office to confirm a date that would fit into your schedule.

The insightful information you would share will provide our students with an exciting opportunity to gain a better understanding of the executive branch. If you or your staff have any questions, please contact Grant Burrall, Associate Director of Programs, at 202.777.4129 or by e-mail at gburrall@cylc.org. Mr. Burrall will be in contact with your office in the near future to further discuss this opportunity.

Sincerely,


Anita S. Clark
Director, *NYLC*


Grant Burrall
Associate Director of Programs, *NYLC*

Encl.



Reply Memorandum

TO: Grant Burrall
1110 Vermont Avenue, NW
Suite 320
Washington, DC 20005
Phone: 202.777.4129
Fax: 202.777.4151
Email: gburrall@cylc.org

FROM: The Honorable Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Yes, I accept your invitation to be a speaker at the *National Young Leaders Conference (NYLC)*.

I would prefer to participate on the following date:

- (when possible, please choose a second date)

- Friday, January 31, 2003 at 9:50 a.m.
- Friday, February 14, 2003 at 9:50 a.m.
- Friday, February 21, 2003 at 9:50 a.m.
- Friday, February 28, 2003 at 9:50 a.m.
- Friday, March 14, 2003 at 9:50 a.m.
- Friday, March 21, 2003 at 9:50 a.m.
- Friday, March 28, 2003 at 9:50 a.m.

If we have not confirmed your acceptance within one week, please call our office.

Staff Contact: _____
Phone: _____

Comments: _____

On behalf of our students, thank you for your consideration

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FACT SHEET



The Congressional Youth Leadership Council (CYLC), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, nonpartisan, education organization, was founded in 1985 and is located in Washington, D.C. Our mission is to foster and inspire young people to achieve their full leadership potential. To date, more than 100,000 young people representing all fifty states, the American territories and over 75 countries around the world have participated in CYLC's programs. CYLC currently offers three programs for high school students and is proud to introduce its first international program for college students.

The National Young Leaders Conference (NYLC), a leadership program that takes place in the nation's capital, is designed to motivate and inspire top high school students from across the United States. Six-day sessions are held 16 times throughout the school year and eight 11-day sessions are offered in the summer. The theme of the conference is *The Leaders of Tomorrow Meeting the Leaders of Today*. The NYLC offers young people an opportunity to discuss major issues of the day with the men and women who shape our policies and laws. Through uniquely designed group discussions and educational simulations, participants learn to analyze concepts and issues presented during the conference, thus preparing them to handle situations they encounter after the program.

The Global Young Leaders Conference (GYLC) offers high school students from countries around the world the unique opportunity to interact with each other and explore global leadership issues. The theme of the program is *The Leaders of Tomorrow Preparing for the Global Challenges and Responsibilities of the Future*. Specifically, the students focus on various global issues, including communications, peace and security, economics, law, human rights, diplomacy and the role of the United Nations. By participating in activities that highlight these topics and utilizing the resources of Washington, D.C. and New York City, GYLC participants walk away with a greater understanding of both the complexities of global issues, as well as their future roles and responsibilities as leaders. Four 12-day programs are held during the summer.

The Presidential Youth Inaugural Conference (PYIC), a six-day program, is held every four years for high school-aged alumni of CYLC programs. PYIC provides these students the chance to participate in the fascinating and historic events of a presidential inauguration.

The Global Young Leaders Summit (GYLS), a 16-day leadership development program held in Australia, is being introduced in 2002. An extraordinary pre-professional program for college students from around the world, participants explore the issues and challenges currently facing leaders in the 21st Century. Utilizing the unique resources of Australia, GYLS participants hone their leadership skills, while preparing for success in a world influenced by rapidly changing cultural, political and economic forces. Through engaging in reasoned debate and applying critical thinking and analytical skills, students develop broader perspectives on leadership and the social, economic and political issues that impact nations.

Additional Information

In support of our mission, over 400 members of the U.S. Congress and more than 25 ambassadors representing countries around the world serve on CYLC's Honorary Boards. CYLC is funded through student tuition, with many student participants securing financial support from local business, civic, community and leadership organizations. In addition, CYLC is proud to offer scholarships, through grants from the CYLC Endowment Fund, to deserving students with a financial need.

Students are selected to participate in CYLC program by educators, alumni and achievement nominations, a competitive, college-like admissions process. Acceptance into the program is based on students' scholastic merit, leadership experiences and community involvement.

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FACT SHEET

NATIONAL YOUNG LEADERS CONFERENCE

The National Young Leaders Conference (NYLC) is a unique leadership development program that provides outstanding young people from across the United States the opportunity to learn from today's leaders, to learn through experiences and to learn from each other in the dynamic environment of our nation's capital.

In keeping with NYLC's theme—*The Leaders of Tomorrow Meeting the Leaders of Today*—the program uses the resources of Washington, D.C. to give students a greater understanding of their roles in our democracy and the responsibilities of leadership. As part of the conference curriculum, students work through role-playing exercises involving an international crisis, a session of Congress, and a Supreme Court case. The conference challenges participants to assess problems, contribute to group discussions and assume roles in various situations. Through these hands-on experiences, students develop important leadership skills by learning to evaluate critical information, form and advocate positions and make decisions.

NYLC scholars also meet the men and women who shape our laws and policies. Students gain insiders' perspectives when discussing key issues with Cabinet secretaries, members of Congress, diplomats, lobbyists, journalists and academicians. Interaction with accomplished leaders gives students direct experience and guidance that cannot be found in textbooks.

One of the most enduring benefits of the conference is the opportunity for students to exchange ideas with their peers, who are among the brightest young minds in the country. By participating in the conference, students learn about their colleagues' diverse backgrounds and perspectives and gain confidence in expressing their own views.

ABOUT NYLC

Background—NYLC is sponsored by the Congressional Youth Leadership Council (CYLC), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, nonpartisan, educational organization founded in 1985 and located in Washington, D.C. CYLC is dedicated to fostering and inspiring young people to achieve their full leadership potential. In support of our mission, over 400 members of the U.S. Congress and more than 25 ambassadors representing countries around the world serve on CYLC's Honorary Boards.

Participants—Approximately 350 outstanding high school juniors and seniors attend each of the 24 NYLC sessions: 16 six-day sessions during the academic year and eight 11-day summer sessions. Young people are selected on the basis of their scholastic merit, community involvement and leadership experiences. To date, over 100,000 young leaders representing all 50 states, the American territories and over 75 countries around the world have participated in CYLC programs.

Funding—NYLC is funded through student tuition. Approximately 30 percent of conference participants conduct local fundraising with assistance from CYLC's *Guide to Community Fundraising*. CYLC also awards scholarships to financially disadvantaged students.

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PAST DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS (2001-2002) (Alphabetical)

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Claude Allen
Bradley A. Buckles
Francis Blake
Viet Dinh
Ellen Fields
Thomas Ferguson
J. Steven Griles
William D. Hansen
Asa Hutchinson
Rosario Marin
Danny Lee McDonald
Norman Y. Mineta
Christie Whitman

Deputy Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services
Director, U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms
Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Energy
Assistant Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice
Director of Communication, Peace Corps
Director, Bureau of Engraving and Printing
Deputy Secretary, Department of the Interior
Deputy Secretary, Department of Education
Administrator, U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration
United States Treasurer
Chairman, Federal Election Commission
Secretary, U.S. Department of Transportation
Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

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Representative Chet Edwards
Representative Mark Foley
Representative Harold Ford, Jr.
Representative J.D. Hayworth
Representative Kenny Hulshof
Representative Mike Honda
Representative Jack Kingston
Representative Mark Kirk

Representative Jim Kolbe
Representative Carolyn McCarthy
Representative Scott McInnis
Representative James McGovern
Representative George Nethercutt
Representative Adam Putnam
Representative Lynn Rivers
Representative John Shimkus
Representative Mark Udall

MEDIA AND OTHER NOTABLE SPEAKERS

Barbara Bradley *NPR*
Jay Carney *TIME*
Eleanor Clift *Newsweek*
John Dickerson *TIME*
Tom Dolan *Olympic Gold Medalist, Sydney 2000*
Robert Franken *CNN*
Tom Gjelten *NPR*
Pam Hess *UPI*
Nick Iron *Founder & President, Going the Distance for MS Research, Inc.*
Michael Isikoff *Newsweek*
Jonathan Karl *CNN*
Clarence Page *The Chicago Tribune*
Beth Scott *Swimmer & Ten Time Paralympic Gold Medalist*
Helen Thomas *Hearst Newspapers*
Karen Tumulty *TIME*
Juan Williams *NPR*
Mike Allen *The Washington Post*

*Note: Listed are speaker's titles at the time they addressed NYLC

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January 20, 2003

Tax-Cut Plan Analyzed

By Pete Winn, CitizenLink associate editor

The president's economic stimulus plan, which was unveiled recently, continues to attract conservatives who say they like the ideas it represents.

The 10-year, \$674 billion plan would abolish federal taxes on stock dividends, eliminate taxes on most dividends paid to shareholders, speed up across-the-board cuts in tax rates and offer more tax relief to married couples and families with children. Specifically, it would send rebate checks to 34 million low- and middle-income parents.

Jonathan Collegio, of Americans for Tax Reform, especially likes the plan.

"The economy is not in recession, and it's not necessarily a weak economy, but a strong economy is always better," Collegio said. "Anytime you can do something to further that goal, it's a good idea."

He noted the biggest part of the plan goes toward ending the double taxation of dividends. Dividends are the payments paid to owners of stock. Currently, dividends are taxed as a profit of the corporation, and the individual who receives the dividend has to pay personal income tax on it as well.

"Now, if somebody is in the 39.6 percent income tax bracket, and they're paying taxes on that dividend, and the corporation is paying 35 percent ... you have an effective rate of 74.6 percent on these dividends," Collegio said.

He predicted that eliminating the double tax on dividends will encourage more people to invest, and more companies will pay out more dividends — money that will escape the tax coffers and be spread around to more and more pocketbooks in the economy.

Relief for the Family

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For families, however, the biggest direct benefits will come with the proposal to eliminate the marriage tax penalty — a feature of the tax code that has been around for decades — and an increase in the per-child tax credit.

Regarding the child tax credit, parents now can claim a credit of \$600 for each minor child. Bush's plan would increase that amount to \$1,000 this year — a big boon to parents.

Bush's plan also takes aim at the marriage tax penalty, which pro-family activists have criticized for years.

"Basically what happens is that, for married people, the thresholds for higher taxation are lower than the threshold for single people," Collegio said.

In other words, married people — by virtue of the fact they are married — are paying more in taxes than singles who live together but file separately.

How serious is the marriage penalty?

Said Collegio: "I was talking to a gentleman who works up in New York City — both he and his wife are lawyers. The marriage penalty costs them over \$9,000 a year. That's \$9,000 that is going to the government that would not go to the government if the two of them were single and decided not to get married. Nobody should be penalized for having family values."

While that example is extreme, the average married couple would see sizeable relief under the plan. White House estimates, for example, place tax relief for the average family somewhere between \$1,100 and \$1,700

Under the president's tax relief package of 2001, a proposal that is already law, marriage tax penalties are scheduled to be phased out by 2010, but would reappear in 2011 because of a "sunset" provision in the law.

"The problem is that all of those tax benefits had to fit within a certain budget framework, which meant that most of the benefits to taxpayers were postponed until the end of a 10-year period, and all of them 'sunsetting' — or ended — at the end of 10 years," said Michael Schwartz, vice president of government relations at Concerned Women for America.

Collegio, Schwartz and other conservative analysts say two things need to happen to improve the situation: 1) the elimination of the marriage penalty needs to be complete now, not in 2010; and 2) the elimination should be made permanent. Bush's plan would accelerate the marriage penalty elimination,

but there seems to be some confusion among analysts over whether it would make the elimination permanent. Regardless, conservatives agree both objectives need to be accomplished.

In fact, Texas Republican Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison has already introduced a bill (S. 120) that would both accelerate the marriage penalty elimination and make it permanent.

Less-Than-Unanimous Consent

Democrats, and even some Republicans, have expressed concern about the president's plan, and whether it will be able to stimulate the economy this year.

Bush's former treasury secretary, Paul O'Neill, said he "would not have done it (proposed the plan)." And Senate Democratic Leader Tom Daschle, on ABC's "This Week," recently called the plan "risky and reckless." Daschle added: "This is a stimulus for the rich and a sedative for the rest."

But Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist said that even though the president would have to "sell" the plan, it has his support and the support of most of the Republicans in Congress.

"It is a balanced plan that benefits all Americans — forget that 'tax cut for the rich' rhetoric," Frist told NBC's "Meet the Press."

Frist said he is "absolutely convinced" that the plan will pass with bipartisan support.

Just as convinced are Collegio and other conservative tax analysts who defend the plan.

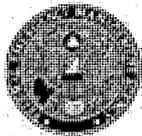
"This 'top one percent' that the Democrats are always talking about, that are supposedly going to reap all the benefits - 70 percent of these people are small-business owners," Collegio said. "Those are the people who will be able to create more investment for their companies, and in the long run, create more jobs, drive down the prices of things and make the economy better for everybody."

TAKE ACTION

Contact your House representative and two U.S. senators and urge them to support legislation that will: 1) eliminate the marriage tax penalty this year; 2) make that elimination permanent; and 3) increase the per-child tax credit to \$1,000. Call the Capitol switchboard at 202-224-3121, or for help in finding out who your elected officials are and how to contact them, please see our [Legislative Action Center](#).

*You can receive family news stories by email. **Sign up now** for this complimentary service.*

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Medical Liability Reform



Some specialists in Pierce County, Washington reported 300% increases in premiums in 2001 alone. Currently, Washington has no cap on non-economic damages in medical liability cases.

Cook County (Chicago) general surgeon liability premiums range from \$50,021 - \$70,178; ob-gyn premiums range from \$88,928 - \$110,091.

Liability coverage for general surgery in Wayne County (Detroit) is running as high as \$94,000 annually.

Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) ob-gyn premiums range from \$58,131 - \$95,310.

Ob-gyn premiums in New York, Nassau, and Suffolk Counties range from \$89,317 - \$115,429.

Four hospitals in Marshall County cut staff hours and transferred more patients Thursday in response to the doctors' protest over increasing medical liability premiums.

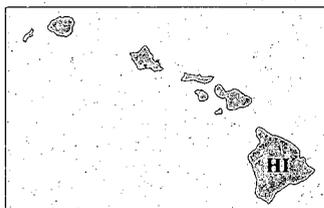
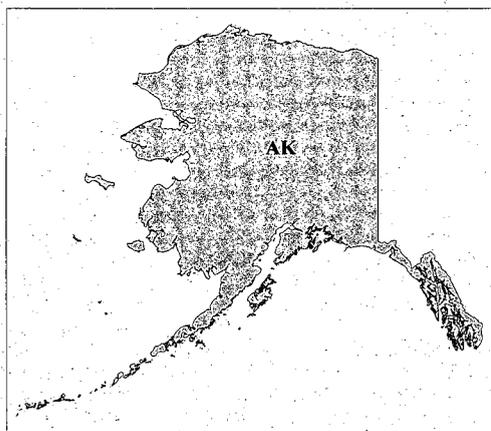
Chester County Hospital in South Carolina closed its labor and delivery ward because of increasing costs, a major factor being the liability insurance premiums

This state has the highest average premium for ob-gyns in the nation, at \$158,000 per year in 2000. But in certain areas, notably Miami-Dade County, rates can soar to \$208,949.

General surgeon liability premiums for Miami-Dade and Broward Counties range from \$63,849 - \$159,166; Palm Beach County from \$62,120 - \$81,998; obstetricians/gynecologists for Miami-Dade and Broward Counties range from \$143,249 - \$202,949; Palm Beach County from \$128,584 - \$169,731.

A recent survey of ob-gyns in Clark County found that 42.3% were now making plans to leave the state.

Liability premiums for pregnancy related care runs as high as \$160,000 for physicians in Dallas County, Harris County and Galveston County.



Legend

- ★ City Level Medical Liability Reform
- County Level Medical Liability Reform

ITS Mapping and Analysis Center
Washington, DC

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Jacqueline G. Arends, Special Assistant to the
Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense

10-Sep-02

TO: Karl Rove, Matt Schlapp

RE: USS New York

Enclosed is follow up material regarding the recently named
USS New York from Secretary England and his Special
Assistant Doug Combs.

2003 JAN 17 AM 9:31
EXEC. DEC. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

"Defending and exercising our right to vote"

The Honorable Gordon R. England
Secretary of the Navy

Since Operation Enduring Freedom began, our men and women in uniform have preformed magnificently in the struggle against world terrorism.

Your valor, on the battlefield and off, at sea and in the air, and at military installations across the world inspire all those who cherish freedom.

As we mark the first anniversary of the attack launched against our country, Americans from all walks of life and political persuasions will be rededicating themselves to preserving our way of life.

Once again, the United States Navy and Marine Corps will be called upon.

This November, Americans will exercise a sacred right for which so many heroes past and present have sacrificed since this nation's founding - the right to vote.

To those who protect and defend this precious right, I ask that every Sailor and Marine take the time to vote in this year's elections.

Choosing who we wish to govern our nation is something our enemies find particularly threatening. One way to show them they will not succeed is for every eligible American to vote this year.

If you can, vote. If you are not registered, please do so. If you need assistance, contact your commanding officer or command's voting officer.

The right to vote is one of those precious things we enjoy as Americans.

History tells us that for freedoms to continue, they must be exercised. By voting, you will be sending terrorists a special message: "America will not be intimidated."



The Secretary addressed Sailors of USS Theodore Roosevelt (CVN-71) from the pier at the Norfolk Naval Station. England visited several ships and squadrons also deployed as part of the battle group. (File photo)



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Updated: 06 Sep 2002



United States Department of Defense

News ReleaseOn the web: http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Sep2002/b09062002_bt456-02.htmlMedia contact: media@defenselink.mil or +1 (703) 697-5131Public contact: public@defenselink.mil or +1 (703) 428-0711

No. 456-02

September 6, 2002

IMMEDIATE RELEASE**NAVY SECRETARY ASSIGNS NEW SHIP NAME NEW YORK**

At a ceremony to be held Saturday, Sept. 7, at 9:30 a.m. aboard the Intrepid Sea, Air and Space Museum in New York Harbor, Secretary of the Navy Gordon England will announce his decision to name the fifth ship of the San Antonio class of Amphibious Transport Dock ships, "New York," to honor the state, the city and the victims of Sept. 11. The Secretary will be joined by New York Gov. George Pataki and many other leaders from the city and state of New York.

In doing so Secretary England noted that longstanding relationship between the U.S. Navy and people of New York. "USS New York will project American power to the far corners of the earth and support the cause of freedom well into the 21st century," England said. "From the war for independence through the war on terrorism, which we wage today, the courage and heroism of the people of New York have been an inspiration. Today, thousands of New Yorkers serve with America's Navy and Marine Corps at home and abroad protecting America's interest and promoting peace, security and stability around the world. These dedicated young Americans are the strength of our military and our nation. USS New York will play an important role in our Navy's future and will be a fitting tribute to the people of The Empire State," England said.

New York Governor George Pataki and New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg thanked the U.S. Navy for honoring all New Yorkers by naming this ship. Governor Pataki noted, "USS New York will ensure that all New Yorkers and the world will never forget the evil attacks of September 11th, and the courage and compassion New Yorkers showed in response to terror."

Four previous ships have been named New York. The first, a gondola (1776), was scuttled after suffering heavy damage during the defeat at the Battle of Valcour Island on Oct. 11, 1776. Though a tactical defeat, the fierce resistance of the outnumbered Americans postponed a British invasion from Canada.

The second, a frigate (1800-1814), served to protect American commerce and project American naval power, particularly along the Barbary Coast of North

Africa. The third USS New York, an armored cruiser (1893-1938), served as flagship of the North Atlantic Squadron during the Spanish-American War and, later, flagship of the Asiatic Fleet before being renamed Saratoga in 1911.

The fourth, a battleship (1914-1946), served in the North Sea blockade of Germany during World War I and provided shore bombardment during the invasions of North Africa, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa during World War II. One submarine was named New York City and served from 1979-1997.

The 684-foot-long amphibious transport dock ship will be built by Northrop Grumman Ship Systems in New Orleans and carry a Navy crew of 363 and 699 Marines. The ship will be used to transport and land Marines, their equipment and supplies by embarked air cushions or conventional landing craft or amphibious vehicles, augmented by helicopters or vertical take off and landing aircraft in amphibious assault, special operations, or expeditionary warfare missions.

The ship will also incorporate the latest quality of life standards for the embarked sailors and Marines, including the sit-up berth, ship services mall, a fitness center and learning resource center and electronic classroom with the flexibility to accommodate mixed gender sailors and Marines as part of the crew and embarked troops. The design team also incorporated hundreds of suggestions and recommendations from more than 1,000 sailors and Marines in the Design for Ownership process to ensure that this ship will meet their needs throughout the first half of the 21st century.

For more information on San Antonio class amphibious transport dock ships, visit <http://www.chinfo.navy.mil/navpalib/factfile/ships/ship-lpd.html>.



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USS NEW YORK



“Never Forget”





General Characteristics, USS New York

Features: Amphibious transports are used to transport and land Marines, their equipment and supplies by embarked air cushion or conventional landing craft or amphibious vehicles augmented by helicopters or vertical take off and landing aircraft in amphibious assault, special operations, or expeditionary warfare missions.

Builders: Northrop Grumman Ships Systems, with Raytheon Systems Corporation, and Intergraph Corp.

Power plant: four sequentially turbocharged marine Colt-Pielstick Diesels, two shafts

Length: 684 feet (208.5 meters)

Beam: 105 feet (31.9 meters)

Displacement: Approximately 24,900 tons (25,300 metric tons) full load

Speed: in excess of 22 knots (24.2 mph, 38.7 kph)

Aircraft: Launch or land up to four CH-46 Sea Knight helicopters; or up to two MV-22 Osprey tilt rotor aircraft simultaneously with room to spot 4 MV-22s and 1 in the hanger

Armament: Two Bushmaster II 30 mm Close in Guns, fore and aft; two Rolling Airframe Missile launchers, fore and aft.

Landing Craft/Assault Vehicles: Two LCACs or one LCU; and 14 Advanced Amphibious Assault Vehicles.

Ships:

San Antonio (LPD 17)

New Orleans (LPD 18)

Mesa Verde (LPD 19)

Green Bay (LPD 20)

New York (LPD 21)

Crew:

Ship's Company: 361 (28 officers, 333 enlisted)

Embarked Landing Force: 699 (66 officers, 633 enlisted); surge capacity to 800



NAVY/MARINE CORPS/NEW YORK THE POWER OF TEAMWORK

Empire State Building
443.5 m

Chrysler Building
318.8 m

208.5m
USS NEW YORK

Statue of Liberty
93.0m



For more information check out www.Navy.mil * www.Hqmc.usmc.mil

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NO

HILLSDALE COLLEGE



INDEPENDENCE FOR EXCELLENCE SINCE 1844

Faxed to: (202) 456-0191

July 10, 2001

Mr. Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Rove:

I write to invite you to speak at our Second Annual Winston Churchill Dinner to be held on Wednesday, December 5, 2001, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, DC.

As the leading conservative liberal arts college in the land, Hillsdale boasts an old record in support of constitutional freedoms. In speaking for us, you would follow many contemporary leaders: Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher to name just two. You would follow as well several great men of the past, such as Frederick Douglass and Edward Everett, the man who preceded Lincoln at Gettysburg. For 157 years our college has stood proudly for liberty.

The event will begin with a reception at 6 p.m., followed by dinner at 7. We would ask you to speak at 8 p.m. on "Emerging Threats to United States Security," or whatever topic you prefer. *- Condi*

Please find enclosed some information about Hillsdale College for your review. I should also mention that if you should agree to speak at our dinner, we would likely publish your talk in *Imprimis*, our national speech digest that now reaches over one million readers.

Our director of seminars, Tim Caspar, will be in touch with your office soon to see whether you will be able to join us. It would be a great honor if you would accept.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Larry P. Arnn
President

*Showing to +
500-700 people
Hillsdale
Mon-Thurs*

LPA/ckt

Enclosure

November 2000 Volume 29, Number 11

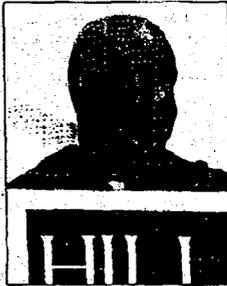
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OVER **1 Million Readers**

Because Ideas Have Consequences

"Never Give In"

The Honorable Clarence Thomas
Associate Justice, United States Supreme Court



CLARENCE THOMAS has been an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court since 1991. Prior to that he served as a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, as chairman of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and as assistant secretary for civil rights in the U.S. Department of Education. Justice Thomas graduated cum laude from the College of the Holy Cross and earned a J.D. from Yale Law School before entering legal practice as assistant attorney general of Missouri and, later, as an attorney with the Monsanto Company.

Justice Thomas delivered the following remarks at the installation of Dr. Larry P. Arnn as the twelfth president of Hillsdale College, September 9, 2000, on Hillsdale's East Lawn.

It is a great honor to be with you here today, and to join in the celebration surrounding the installation of your twelfth President and my dear friend, Larry Arnn. But for Hillsdale College, this event is more than a celebration. It is an opportunity for this venerable institution to rededicate itself to its founding principles of seven score and sixteen years ago. By choosing a man to lead it who understands those principles, who has studied and toiled for those principles his entire adult life, Hillsdale demonstrates its continuing commitment to true learning and freedom in a world all too hostile to both.

To a large degree, the principles of Hillsdale College are the principles of America. The founders of the college declared their gratitude "to God for the inestimable blessings resulting from the prevalence of civil and religious liberty" with which He has favored the people of this land, just as America's Founders called upon the protection of Divine Providence in their effort to secure for themselves and their countrymen the God-given, unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of

happiness. And the founders of this great College opened its doors to "all persons, irrespective of nation, color, or sex," just as America's Founders committed our nation to the idea that all human beings are created equal.

To understand just how radical the founding of Hillsdale College was, we have to take ourselves back to 1844. Thomas Jefferson, one of the last living Founders, had been dead almost 20 years. The Constitution, ordained and established to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, was over half a century old, but still contained the terrible compromise with slavery that stood in stark opposition to the very idea of liberty. John Tyler had become America's tenth President upon the untimely death of William Henry Harrison in 1841, and as John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary, no one who had supported Tyler's nomination for Vice-President "ever thought of his being placed in the Executive chair." At 51, Tyler was at the time the youngest man to have served as president and the first to have been born after the Revolution. He was not even really a member of the party that elected him, having been nominated primarily to balance the Whig ticket. Whig party leaders were mostly anti-slavery men of the North and West, whereas Tyler was a Virginia slaveowner. As a member of Congress during the Missouri

IMPRIMIS

Compromise debate he had fought against permitting Congress to outlaw slavery in the territories. Daniel Webster, who had been Harrison's Secretary of State, resigned over Tyler's push to annex Texas on terms that might have led to five new slave states and destroyed the delicate balance between free and slave states that had been maintained since the Missouri Compromise. Tyler replaced Webster with John C. Calhoun, the leading spokesman for the idea that slavery was a "positive good," and Tyler himself would later be elected to the Confederate House of Representatives. Meanwhile, in the presidential election of 1844, the very year Hillsdale College was founded, many even in the North voted for President James Polk, a Tennessee slaveowner, in order to secure the annexation of Texas.

This moral and political state of affairs in the 1840s represented a decline since the time of the American founding. Michigan's territorial charter, for instance, had been enacted in 1787, the same summer as the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. That charter, the Northwest Ordinance, established the government for the territory northwest of the Ohio River, in what would eventually become Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It provided that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes," thereby beginning to make good on the promise of the Revolution. In 1816, Indiana became the first state in the nation to require in its constitution that its public schools be "equally open to all." But in the 1840s, the Supreme Court of Indiana repudiated that provision in favor of racial segregation. Michigan was admitted to statehood in 1835, the fourth state created out of the Northwest Territory. Its constitution required the legislature to provide for a public school in every district in the state. But in 1841, the Michigan legislature established an overlay district in the City of Detroit, "not described by metes and bounds, but composed of the colored children of the city."

This was the stage on which Hillsdale College was founded, and on which it announced its mission of furnishing a literary and scientific education to all persons, irrespective of race or sex. The founders of Hillsdale College did not adopt this position, like so many of our elite institutions in later years, under legal compulsion, or because it was the fashionable thing to do. They adopted it because it was right. But how did they know this? How, indeed, can we know it? How can we confidently assert that the principles of Hillsdale and America are right, and that opposing principles are wrong? That, it seems to me, is the other important side of Hillsdale College's mission. Its tradi-

tional liberal arts curriculum introduces its students to the greatest books of both ancient and modern times. By studying these books, students become confident of the existence of permanent standards of right and wrong, and are led to discover through their own thinking the same truths that formed the basis of our nation, the "laws of nature and of nature's God" that underlie our unalienable rights and our tradition of limited government.

This liberal arts curriculum, the great books of the western tradition, and the ideas they uphold are under attack today, just as the principles of 1776 were besieged in 1844. The assault is a massive one, and Hillsdale College is a small place with very few allies. But the ideas that Hillsdale represents and defends are not small. They are great and they are timeless. They can withstand the temporary setbacks that result from our human imperfections. But their long-term practical success is by no means guaranteed. That success requires our constant vigilance, our constant study, our constant devotion. And in this world where many — even many we might count as friends — have repudiated America's ancient faith as obsolete or worse, we must defend that faith with statesmanlike intelligence. And in that light, I can think of no one better to lead Hillsdale College today than the man you have chosen, Larry Arnn, who has studied under the foremost authorities on the greatest statesmen of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Abraham Lincoln and Winston Churchill.

Larry Arnn earned his doctoral degree from the Claremont Graduate School. There he studied with Harry Jaffa, whose life work recovered for our time an appreciation of Lincoln's profound understanding of the Declaration of Independence and the moral conditions of limited, constitutional government. From Claremont, Larry traveled back to the land of our nation's origin, to England, where he studied at Oxford and became the director of research for Sir Martin Gilbert, the official biographer of Winston Churchill. He helped Sir Martin tell the story of Churchill's tireless defense of freedom, in the face of overwhelming odds, against the specter of godless tyranny. Churchill's tremendous strength of soul enabled him almost single-handedly to lead his nation, and indeed the free world, from the brink of darkness to their finest hour.

From Lincoln and Churchill, Larry Arnn learned the lessons that will gird him for the task ahead. For make no mistake: there is more at risk here than the success or failure of a single, small college in the middle of the old Northwest Territory. You people of Hillsdale College — trustees, faculty and staff, and most of all you students — have a mission to fulfill. You are on the front lines of a battle of ideas that will determine whether

continued on page 5

From the Editor's Desk



In a speech in Baltimore during the Civil War, President Lincoln said: "We all declare for liberty, but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor, while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name...."

Today America is in a similar quandary about the meaning of liberty, and the surest way out is the kind of liberal education that Thomas Jefferson prescribed for rendering Americans "worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens." Unfortunately, this model of education has been on a steep decline. America's colleges and universities have become dominated by the ideology of moral relativism, which denies any correlation between facts and what it calls "values."

The term "values" is itself morally neutral. The late Michigan educator Russell Kirk, a famous friend of Hillsdale College, once contrasted this term to what he called norms, but what could also be called moral principles. A norm, he wrote, "is a law of nature.... It is a rule of human conduct and a measure of public virtue.... A value is the quality of worth.... When most writers nowadays employ the word 'value,' moreover, they mean 'subjective value'— that is, the utility of... giving pleasure or satisfaction to individuals, without judgment upon the intrinsic, absolute, essential merit of the sensation or action in question.... [G]oing to church is a value for some persons, and taking one's ease in a brothel is a value for others.... A norm endures in its own right, whether or not it gives pleasure to particular individuals. A norm is the standard against which any alleged value must be measured objectively."

Almost two decades ago during the Cold War, a national survey suggested that the more years of higher learning Americans had, the less likely they were to agree with President Reagan that the Soviet Union was an "evil empire." This was a clear indication of the prevalence and power of moral relativism in the academy. "Evil" had become an embarrassing adjective for "the best and the brightest" in our country. Even tyranny didn't qualify. The "self-evident truths" at the heart of America's founding — equality, unalienable rights, limited government — had become merely "our values."

Hillsdale College opposes this mind-numbing relativism with every ounce of its energy. Here, as they have for 156 years, students learn what liberty means, and the moral conditions of its preservation. They develop the skills to be useful citizens, and the moral character to be good ones.

Hillsdale is justly famous for refusing the huge federal subsidies that go to support other colleges and universities. But even more important is what it accomplishes with the independence this policy ensures. For 28 years, *Imprimis* has been a vehicle for sharing something of Hillsdale's mission with a nationwide audience, and for promoting widely the principles of civil and religious liberty that are central to that mission and to America.

These principles will continue to guide us as we head toward our fourth decade of publication.

Douglas A. Jeffrey

Douglas A. Jeffrey

IMPRIMIS

Hillsdale Highlights

On October 6, 2000, a ceremony was held to dedicate two new buildings on the Hillsdale College campus. Delp Hall, named after the late John J. Delp, will house faculty members, while Joe and Nena Moss Hall will house administrative staff, copy and mail centers, and institutional advancement facilities. Although designed to accommodate modern uses and technologies, these buildings carefully preserve the Italianate and Second Empire styling of their predecessors, Knowlton Hall and Old Fine Arts, which were built following a devastating campus fire in 1874 and served the College proudly for over 125 years.



Old Fine Arts



Delp Hall



Knowlton Hall



Moss Hall

New on the Hillsdale College Web Site!

Listen to Real Audio from Hillsdale College's Center for Constructive Alternatives seminar, "The Morality of Civility," held on the Hillsdale campus, November 16-20, 2000:

Peggy Post, "The Ethics of Etiquette: Why Thoughtfulness is Not Optional"

Wendy Shalit, "Is Modesty the Last Taboo?"

Charles R. Kesler, "George Washington and American Civility"

To listen, log on to: <http://www.hillsdale.edu/cc>

Also: Sign up now for the Hillsdale College e-mail update! Receive the latest news, opinion, and information from the most "politically incorrect" college in America.

Join the list today at: <http://www.hillsdale.edu/newsletter>



FAX

Hillsdale, Michigan 49242

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FAX #: (202) 456-0191

TO: Karl Rove

FROM: Tim Caspar for Dr. Arnn

SUBJECT: _____

FAX REPLY (External Affairs, Moss Hall - 3rd floor): (517) 437-0654

VOICE REPLY: (517) 437-7341, ext. 2318

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Letters to Editor Generated by Email - To: Alison Lynn, et al. - From: Mindy Tucker	3	01/21/2003	PRM;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [1]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	New Media Adoption Research	2	N.D.	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Veterans - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein	1	01/21/2003	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Note from Chuck Colson - To: Karl Rove - From: Nancy Niemeier	1	01/07/2003	P5;

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