

# Withdrawn/Redacted Material

## The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Speech	Remarks on Jobs and Economic Growth	6	02/20/2003	P5; P6/b6;
002	Email	RE: Article from Forward - To: Eric Criss, et al. - From: Ralph Reed	4	02/19/2003	P5;
003	Email	FW: - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	02/19/2003	PRM;
004	Routing Memo	[Note with attachments]	3	02/19/2003	PRM;
005	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: James Robison	1	02/18/2003	P5;
006	Memorandum	Democratic Appointments to Certain Boards and Commissions - To: Andrew Card - From: Alberto Gonzales	3	02/18/2003	P5;

**COLLECTION TITLE:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

508639 [2]

**FRC ID:**

9707

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

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007	Invitation	[Invitation]	1	02/19/2003	P6/b6;
008	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Kenneth Tomlinson	1	02/19/2003	P5; P6/b6;
009	Email	2nd SOTU -- and Jay - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	1	01/24/2003	P5;

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For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the  
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#### FRC ID:

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#### OA Num.:

10731

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10789

#### FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

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**Susan Ralston**

**From:** Karl Rove [KR@georgewbush.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 19, 2003 1:25 PM  
**To:** Susan Ralston  
**Subject:** FW:

----- Forwarded Message

**From:** "Matthew Dowd - Strategy" <mdowd@georgewbush.com>  
**Date:** Wed, 19 Feb 2003 11:29:36 -0500  
**To:** "Karl Rove" <KR@georgewbush.com>

karl:

here is best breakdown of baker meetings:

*staff sectn* *Deaver Communication* *advance* *Karl*

initially he met at white house with group once a week early on in january 1984 on tuesday mornings: Baker, Deaver, Darman, and McManus. this was big picture stuff. sometimes rollins, or atwater or wirthlin would attend. not regularly though early on.

starting in early 1984, baker would have daily "press guidance or communications" meeting at the white house, that included: Baker, Meese, Deaver, McFarlane, Darman, Fuller, McManus, Speakes, Barody, and Tutwiler. this meeting would be at white house convened immediatly after senior staff.

starting in early summer 1984, baker would have twice a week strategy group meeting which included: spencer, teeter, wirtlin, rollins, atwater, darman, laxalt, deaver, stockman, baker and tutwiler.

hope this helps.

*NGW.*

----- End of Forwarded Message

Date: 2/19/03

To: ~~Dr. Condi Rice~~

From: Strategic Initiatives *Kaw*

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

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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508637

Date: 2/19/03

To: ~~1224, Abel, Leonard~~

From: Strategic Initiatives *Kw*

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

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

KC: 1224  
Abel - EYI  
Leonard

**Barshop & Oles Company**  
801 Congress Ave.  
Suite 300  
Austin, TX 78701  
512-477-1212 Fax 512-495-9875  
www.barshop-oles.com

# facsimile transmittal

To: Karl Rove Fax: 202-456-0191

Company: White House Phone: 202-456-2369

From: Pat Oles e-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

Re: \_\_\_\_\_

cc: \_\_\_\_\_

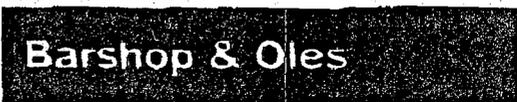
Date: February 18, 2003 Pages: 4

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- Please Comment       Please Recycle       Original to be mailed       Urgent

**BARSHOP & OLES**



Phone: 210-356-3555  
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# Fax

To: Bruce Barshop

From: Sam Barshop/Mary Staring

Pat Oles (512-236-1358)

Henry Cisneros (228-9906)

Todd Martin (214-965-2507)

Tony James (212-583-5712)

Fax:

Date: February 14, 2003

Phone:

Pages: 3

Re: SITV

CC:

- Urgent
- For Review
- Please Comment
- Please Reply
- Please Recycle

-Comments:

FYL.....

Sam

*Fax to Karl Rowe  
FYI*

S.A. Express News  
February 14, 2003

# SíTV won't be your padre's television

S.A.-based cable network targets young U.S.-born Hispanics.

By SANFORD NOWLIN  
EXPRESS NEWS BUSINESS WRITER

They eat carne guisada tacos for breakfast, drink micholadas at happy hour and have disks by Mexican rock group Jaguares in their CD changers.

But you sure won't catch them watching telenovelas on Univision.

A large number of U.S.-born Latinos, especially younger ones, identify with their culture yet don't speak Spanish or watch Spanish-language television.

Enter SíTV, a fledgling San

Antonio-based cable network that aims to fill a vast, untapped market by being the first English-language channel targeting U.S. Latinos.

The network, which is to launch in October, will focus on quick-and-edgy comedy, music and talk programming for the highly desirable 16-to-34-year-old demographic.

"We don't see our competition as Univision and Telemundo — it's MTV and Comedy Central," said Bruce Barshop, SíTV's co-chairman. "It's going to be fast-paced with a lot of color, a lot of music."

EchoStar Communications' Dish Network and Texas-based cable provider Grande Communications recently agreed to carry the channel in their line-ups. And the company just signed another deal with a ma-

ior cable carrier that it will identify in a few weeks.

SíTV is unlikely to tear ratings away from cable powerhouses like HBO, but it does promise to serve an unfilled niche, said Michael Schwimmer, Dish's senior vice president of programming.

While the network is new, Barshop and his partners — including co-chairman Jeff Valdez, a Los Angeles-based producer — aren't TV novices.

Six year-old SíTV produces Nickelodeon's highly rated kids show "The Brothers Garcia" in addition to several syndicated Latino-oriented programs. Barshop and Valdez also are founders of the long-running Latino Laugh Festival comedy series.

"The SíTV idea stands on its

See S.A. NETWORK/3E



JERRY LARA/STAFF

Bruce Barshop, president of Barshop Ventures Inc. and co-chairman of SíTV, poses in his office at the Weston Center in downtown San Antonio. SíTV is to launch in October.

FEB-18-03 10:00AM FROM-BARSHOP & OLES

+5124959875

T-640 P.03/04 F-019

# S.A. network seeks to fill void in Hispanic TV programming

CONTINUED FROM 1E

own," Schwimmer said. "When you have a concept that strong, all you've got left to do is make sure the team behind it can execute. And their team has a proven track record."

SITV officials have worked for nine months to convince cable carriers and advertisers the channel will tap into a large, underserved market. About 60 percent of U.S. Latinos were born here, meaning English is the first language for many of them.

The company also made presentations to cable carriers armed with recent U.S. Census figures showing Hispanics have surpassed African Americans as the nation's largest minority group, Barshop said.

"They've been very receptive to the idea," Barshop said. "The 2000 census really validated what we've been telling people."

Companies trying to reach the Hispanic market increasingly have realized they must move beyond advertising only in Spanish, said political consultant and Hispanic advertising dean Lionel Sosa.

Roughly a quarter of U.S. Latinos either don't speak Spanish

or speak it much less frequently than English, he said.

"This channel is something I've been waiting to see for 25 years," Sosa added. "I think it's going to be incredibly successful."

He isn't the only one betting on SITV's success.

Working through banker Solomon Smith Barney, the company has lined up key institutional investors including Washington, D.C.-based group Syncom, an early investor in the Black Entertainment Television network. La Quinta Inn's founder Sam Barshop, Bruce Barshop's father, also has a stake.

Even so, "they have their work cut out for them," Diah's Schwimmer said. "They've got to produce a lot of original programming."

About half of SITV's programming will be original, a larger percentage than most upstart networks.

The company has spent five years producing Latino-oriented TV programs, cochairman Valdez said. That means the company already has an arsenal of original shows.

SITV's "Funny Is Funny" standup comedy program and

"Café Ole" talk show were successful in syndication in many Latino-heavy markets. It recently pulled them from the air and plans to relaunch them with new episodes on its own network this fall.

"Most cable channels are started by a bunch of guys in suits who have never produced a single TV show," said Valdez, who handles the company's production work in Los Angeles. "The beauty of what SITV is that we started out as a production company."

Because SITV's programming will be in English, officials said they're also counting on building an audience of non-Hispanic viewers.

The success of programs like "The Brothers Garcia" and the "The George Lopez Show" and the record sales of artists like Colombian diva Shakira show that Latin spiced entertainment has a broad appeal, Barshop added.

"Our core audience will be U.S. born Hispanics, but we don't think we'll be entirely successful unless we cross over," he said.

snovlln@express-news.net

508639

Date: 2/19/03

To: ~~Dr. Condi Rice~~

From: Strategic Initiatives *Karl Rove*

- FYI
- Appropriate Action
- Direct Response
- Prepare Response For My Signature
- Per Our Conversation
- Let's Discuss
- Per Your Request
- Please Return
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Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

XC: CR - FYI

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The Lord Black of Crossharbour, PC (C), OC, KCSG  
Chairman

## BY FAX

To: Karl Rove

Fax No: 001 202 456 0191

From: Conrad Black

Date of Transmission: February 14, 2003

Time of Transmission: 17:26

Total Pages sent: Twenty two (including this page)

We are, as always, doing our best for the President.

Regards,



Please notify Rosemary Millar immediately on 0207 538 6219 if you do not receive all the pages in a legible condition.

*The information contained in this transmission is confidential and may be privileged. It is intended for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. If you have received this transmission in error, please notify us immediately and return the original transmission to us.*

**CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES**

**THE RUTTENBERG LECTURE**

**GIVEN BY**

**LORD BLACK OF CROSSHARBOUR**

**ON THURSDAY, 13 FEBRUARY 2003**

## Why It Is In Britain's National Interest to be America's Principal Ally.

### I

The President of the United States said on the evening of September 11, 2001 that his country had been attacked by terrorists and was at war with terrorism, that his government would make no distinction between terrorists and countries that supported terrorists, and that it would judge all countries by their actions whether they were friends or foes in that war.

This was a reasonably unexceptionable statement in the circumstances of that day, that received and retains massive support in the United States and was not much objected to abroad at the time. It was clear from the remarks of some of the President's senior colleagues in government in the following days, that some variation would have to be allowed for acts of terrorism where there were legitimate disputes about frontiers and plausible allegations of oppression, a category that at least partially included the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Between Israel and the Palestinians, a two-state compromise solution had already been declared to be the U.S. objective and has continued to be so.

From the spectacle of the helicopters evacuating personnel off the roof of the United States embassy in Saigon in 1975, through the humiliation of President Carter's over-patient handling of the Teheran hostage crisis in 1979-1981, including President Reagan's hasty evacuation from Beirut after the bombing of the marine barracks, the impression took hold that the United States could not be relied upon to defend anything beyond its own borders.

This impression was blurred by President Reagan's successful air raid on Libya, in which he received a conspicuous lack of support from his European allies with the admirable exception of Margaret Thatcher, by George Bush Sr.'s removal of Colonel Noriega in Panama, and by the success of the American-led coalition in the Gulf War. The continuation in office of Saddam Hussein, the desertion of the Iraqi Kurds by America and the West, the fiasco in Somalia and the feeble response of the Clinton Administration to the Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia, the attack on the U.S.S. Cole in Yemen and on American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam all strengthened the view that, as Osama bin Laden put it, in times when he made and distributed videos of himself more often, America was "cowardly, weak, and decadent."

We can start from the premises that no one in any civilized country likes war or enters into it light-heartedly, that almost no one in this country really approves of Saddam Hussein, and that generally, ethnic and sectarian grievances are not the cause of international terrorism; terrorists are.

There is not the slightest doubt that Iraq is an international terrorist-supporting state. It continues to shelter and support terrorist organizations that operate against Iran, Israel, and many western countries. The Iraqi government bankrolled much of the suicide-murder campaign against Israelis, was very probably complicit in the original attack on New York's World Trade Center, and attempted to assassinate former President Bush and the Emir of Kuwait in 1993.

He has been in gross violation of the terms ending the Gulf War since he signed them in 1991. The United Nations determined in 1999 that he had the capability to produce enough anthrax and botulinum toxin to kill many millions of people. Western intelligence estimates that Iraq has hundreds of tons of sarin, mustard, and VX nerve agent, 30,000 projectiles for the delivery of these chemical and biological weapons, a mobile biological weapon development program, and an extensive nuclear weapon delivery program. These are all prohibited by treaty and a long succession of supporting United Nations resolutions, and all is hidden from the present contingent of 108 overworked UN inspectors.

No other regime in the world possesses the combination of Saddam Hussein's notorious sponsorship of terrorism, his record of invading neighbouring countries, his fervent pursuit of mass destruction weapons and the capacity to fire them on other countries, as well as his barbarous mistreatment of his own citizens, as he has murdered tens of thousands of them.

Saddam Hussein is also the leader of the militant Islamists. His is a secular government, and he does not tolerate religious, or any other dissent. But he is the undoubted standard-bearer of all the Arab world's militant Moslems, who yearn for a violent defeat of the West, as Bin Laden's endorsement of him this week indicates. He is the custodian of the hopes of all Moslems who rejoiced, as Saddam himself publicly did, at the massacre on September 11, 2001.

We must certainly avoid a clash of civilizations, and one of the ways to do so is to demonstrate that Saddam's form of barbarism is a political model it is dangerous to emulate.

Apart from enforcing international law and making the world and the Middle East safer, and liberating Iraq from its present oppression, a powerful argument for removing Saddam Hussein is the opportunity it affords for installing a relatively progressive government in Iraq. With American and western help, Iraq could be the first major Arab country to have a government which, while it will not be a perfect democracy like Denmark or the state of Minnesota, can provide economic growth and some power-sharing in a federal system. This could inspire the Arab masses with the possibility of increasing prosperity and liberty, rather than the corrupt and incompetent despotisms that now govern most of the principal Arab countries.

The conventional methods of containment of Iraq, with restraint, sanctions and moral suasion, have been a complete failure in respect of the arms programs and support for terrorism. The Iraqi government has made a mockery of every application of international law. A number of prominent countries have made a Swiss cheese out of the mandated sanctions, to the point where 18 months ago the West was almost resigned to the pusillanimous claptrap of "smart sanctions," by which they meant sanctions that did not commercially inconvenience them, while they rewarded and respectabilized Saddam for his criminal behaviour.

The mandate of the present and of previous United Nations weapons inspectors has not been to scour Iraq, a country almost the size of Germany, looking for Saddam's illicit weapons program. They are there to verify, as they did in South Africa, that his promise and requirement to disarm are being followed. The current farce does not constitute cooperation, much less disarmament.

The only method to achieve the promised and internationally required disarmament is to have a regime in Baghdad that wishes to disarm. That will require a change of regime, which is why the President of the United States has called for "regime change" in Iraq. There is not one sane person in the western world and few serious people elsewhere who do not recognize Saddam Hussein as a deadly menace to his own people, neighbouring countries, the entire region and the peace of the world.

Six comprehensible arguments have been offered against American policy toward Iraq.

First is a traditional pacifist view that war is so loathsome and destructive that anything short of a direct, rather than prospective, threat to civilization, is preferable. This is an emotionally respectable argument and no civilized person is not horrified by the thought of war. But this war has already begun. It has been in progress for years and the United States and other countries have acted on the civilized, pacifist impulse to turn the other cheek or respond ineffectually in a way that has encouraged the terrorists, as Bin Laden has confirmed, and has emboldened Saddam. The pacifist option has been tried and it has failed, as it usually does with compulsively violent psychopaths.

Far from the United States being a trigger-happy, hip-shooting country, despite its immense military force, it scarcely responded at all to the killing of dozens of US servicemen at the Khobar Towers and on the U.S.S. Cole. And when two of its embassies in Africa were virtually destroyed, President Clinton's response consisted of rearranging some rocks in Afghanistan and blowing the roof off a Sudanese aspirin factory in the middle of the night. As the current president has remarked, his predecessor may also have taken out a camel with a \$10 million cruise missile.

The second reason for reservations about American policy toward Iraq is the legitimate and troubling question of the right of any country to strike preemptively against another. Since the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, the world has been organized on national lines. The right of self-defense and response to aggression has been recognized, but not that of preemptive protection against terrorism, and not where weapons of previously undreamed of destructive power are involved. In the case of Iraq, the United States already has a *casus belli*, based on Iraq's subsidization of terrorist acts and Iraq's 12 years of violation of the Gulf War peace terms. These provocations and the flaunting of 17 United Nations Security Council resolutions, overcome this strong and sensible reservation about preemptive military action. It is not, in effect, preemption at all. It is response.

Dealing with support for terrorist organizations that every nation professes to renounce which move in the shadows and strike without warning or even obvious purpose will require some preemptive acts, until the war on terrorism has been won. And the right of preemptive attack President Bush enunciated last year at West Point will need to be legally defined and exercised with great caution. There is no doubt that the United States, as a civilized state and as the world's principal recent victim of an unprovoked attack, will be as interested as any country in assuring that what may be about to happen in Iraq will not be plausibly invoked in the future as a justifying precedent for naked aggression.

The United States considers itself to be at war now. The Congress has authorized the President to act against Iraq with much larger majorities than his father received prior to the Gulf War. The people have ratified that position with the most successful mid-term congressional elections for an incumbent President's party in 68 years, after an exhaustive domestic debate of all these issues in the finest democratic tradition.

Saddam is a terrorist, a genocidist, and an international outlaw and he does not deserve the solicitude of those who ask "who's next?" Who is next will be who replicates the crimes of Saddam Hussein, a role less likely to be filled by a competitive race of possible successors if the contemplated American policy is carried out. Instead of giving Saddam the benefit of a doubt where there is none, we should be thankful that the world's most powerful country is prepared to rid the world of this evil and dangerous tyrant.

A third reason that is often raised against the US Iraqi policy is the fear of a terrorist response. This is understandable but illogical. Failure to act geometrically amplifies both the likelihood and the probable scale of terrorist action generated by Iraq and its emulators. Embracing any such reasoning is a form of appeasement of evil. For those who are weak, appeasement is a sophisticated response. The United States is not weak, and civilized people should not lament that fact.

A fourth concern is that an attack on Iraq will destabilize the entire Middle East. In the first place, the destabilization of many of the Middle Eastern regimes would not be entirely regrettable. Most of the principal Arab governments have oppressed their populations, stolen their money and much of what the outside world has advanced as aid, and distracted the Arab masses for decades with the comparative red herring of Israel. Saudi Arabia, which is essentially a joint venture between the House of Saud and the Wahabi establishment, has been caught red-handed in violation of President Bush's September 11 criterion of countries that assist terrorism.

As it has done so, it has presided over a 75% reduction in the Saudi population's standard of living in the last 30 years. It may be that Prince Abdullah's visit late last year to President Bush in Texas presages a new era of responsible Saudi behaviour, and a renewal of the Saudi-American alliance. I hope so, and if so, the contemplation of action against Saddam, as well as the rout of the Taliban from Afghanistan and the relentless hunting down of Al Qaeda, will already have made the Middle East stabler.

I think it is much more likely that the removal of Saddam and his replacement by a government that promotes power-sharing and fosters economic growth, will have a benign effect on the region. Iran, where the present belligerent theocratic regime is clearly despised by the great majority of Iranians, could be profoundly and positively affected. It is unlikely that Iran would be so insouciant about financing Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad with overwhelming American and allied forces victorious on both its eastern and western borders. The Iranian population is clearly waiting for their return to the orbit of the West. It is also more likely that Syria, in the aftermath of Saddam's overthrow, could be induced to reexamine its claimed right to dominate Lebanon, a formerly prosperous, independent, multi-sectarian democracy that has been tragically crushed and ransacked.

The Palestinians have been manipulated as pawns by their Arab sponsors, to inflame the Israeli issue, and left to fester in camps which are breeding grounds for terrorists.

Israel is a state of unquestionable legitimacy, founded by the United Nations itself, rather than merely being admitted to it like other members. And Israel has been unconscionably late accepting the notion of Palestinian statehood. Menachem Begin promised a proposal for Palestinian autonomy in the original Camp David agreement, but failed to deliver. However, Ariel Sharon has twice accepted the concept of a Palestinian state, if it means the end of the conflict and acknowledgement of the right to exist of the State of Israel by the Arab world.

Everyone can now see the outline of the resolution of the conflict: the West Bank narrower, so Israel does not go back to being nine miles wide as it was in one place prior to 1967, the Gaza Strip correspondingly deeper, as was foreseen in

last year's Saudi proposal; Jerusalem to the east of Orient House as capital of Palestine and called Jerusalem if that is the Palestinians' wish, and the exchange of the Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory for the right of return, which would henceforth be to Palestine and not to Israel. There would have to be a special regime for the Temple Mount. Moslems must govern the mosque, and Jews must not be in fear of projectiles raining down upon them when they go to the West Wall, any more than Roman Catholics should tolerate being pelted with rocks when they enter St. Peter's Basilica.

By its historic inflexibility and the failure of Begin to fulfill his promise at Camp David, Israel contributed to the Palestinians' recourse to terror, with great encouragement from their Arab brothers. And the violence did help produce a more forthcoming Israeli response; as it must be admitted that the violence in Ulster contributed to a more flexible policy by the government of the U.K.

But the Palestinian leadership violated every clause of the Oslo Agreement. And Arafat responded to a generous offer from former Israeli premier Ehud Barak in the second Camp David discussions with a new Intifada that has been completely and justly defeated by the Israelis. The success of the Janin operation, where much of our western, including British, press, credulously subscribed to the fraud of a "massacre" by Israel; the closing of the border between Israel and Gaza, the continued oppression of the Palestinians by the PLO while the PLO leadership stole most of the financial aid the European Union and Arab states have given them, have all stopped the steady advance of the Palestinians against the Israelis. And nothing excuses the Palestinian leadership for the hideous fiasco of the suicide-murderers, largely paid for by Saddam Hussein. With great tragedy on both sides, there have now been created a correlation of forces on the ground and most of the necessary conditions for a resolution of the conflict.

One of the greatest problems in the Arab world is the Arab perception that they have been in retreat for 1300 years since their defeat by Charles Martel in 732. The removal of Saddam will not be a continuation of that cycle, but a demonstration of how not to reverse it; an object lesson in the dangers of terror-sponsorship. The creation of a Palestinian state could be seen as a turning of that cycle, with other moves to more enlightened government in the wake of the disembarkation of the region's most odious dictator.

If Saddam is replaced by a comparatively liberal government, the principal Arab leaders will soon be caught between the impatience of the proverbial Arab street, where decades of their misrule have created a Frankenstein monster; and the virtues and temptations of good government. No one should glibly predict happier times in the Middle East, but the removal of Saddam is a step forward and not back.

The frequently heard argument that action against Iraq must await the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is flim-flam designed to delay dealing with Saddam until it is too late to prevent him from arming to the teeth with the weapons of mass destruction he has sworn not to acquire. The timetable of his development of designated weapons of mass destruction has nothing to do with the rate of progress between the Israelis and Palestinians. If we succumb to this reasoning we will perpetuate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, entrench Saddam in power, condemn much of the Middle East to his suzerainty, and confirm the belief of Bin Laden and his followers that the West is indeed cowardly and stupid.

It is not a privilege for the United States to act against Iraq, a favour and an indulgence America seeks from other countries, and a treat for the American armed forces and taxpayers, as a reward for bullying Israel into making more concessions to Arafat. It is an enforcement of international law, an act of retribution for past provocations by Saddam, and the removal of the greatest political tumor that afflicts the Middle East. It is a service to the civilized world.

The fifth main reservation about America's Iraq policy is that the sequence is mistaken and that America should first deal with North Korea. Of course that problem will have to be dealt with, but North Korea's neighbours, Russia, China, Japan, and South Korea, are all powerful countries, unlike most of Iraq's neighbours, and two of them are nuclear powers. The Far East is not a political tinder box like the Middle East. Kim Jong-Il has no foreign followers and has been in violation of his treaty obligations for a couple of years, not 12 years, as is the case with Saddam Hussein. North Korea generally abided by the agreements ending the Korean War for nearly fifty years, while Iraq has never complied with the terms on which the Gulf War was resolved.

When the Russians, Chinese, Japanese, and South Koreans acknowledge they have a North Korean problem and ask for American assistance, the process can begin in the logical sequence, starting with an absolute quarantine of North Korea.

If that is insufficient to bring North Korea into compliance with its non-proliferation obligations, after a reasonable time, the four neighbouring powers and the United States can consider the options, including the United States operating anti-missile defenses for the benefit of some or all of the neighbouring countries, depending on their conduct. The military aspects of the Iraq operation, if it proves necessary, will be over before North Korea's neighbours have abandoned their pretense that it is up to America alone to solve their problem with North Korea.

If the new leaders in Seoul think they are better off dealing with their North Korean brothers without a visible and functioning U.S. alliance, all American forces should be withdrawn at once. I doubt that it will come to that. The United States, unlike the noisiest of its critics, has never placed or retained forces in any

country objectively capable of self-government, other than in Germany and Japan after they surrendered in 1945, where the American missions were civilizing ones, or at the request of the host country.

It is remarkable that precisely those commentators who lament what they see as an American penchant to be the self-nominated policeman of the world are urging it to become embroiled in the Korean Peninsula. When there is an imminent problem that only the United States can solve, as there is with Iraq, these people urge the Americans to do nothing. When there is a more remote problem that other powers in the theatre should be able to solve, they urge the Americans to rush in. The motives of those who make this Korean argument are as suspect as their reasoning.

The sixth and most frequent complaint with US policy toward Iraq is simple anti-Americanism, which conveniently fuses with several of the reasons cited above.

In order to present an obstacle to American action, an absurdly exaggerated legitimization of the United Nations has occurred. The United Nations is principally composed of corrupt, failed, despotisms and the suggestion that its opinions can be aggregated into an unappealable world supreme court is bunk. It is the attempted confection of a pseudo-moral counter-weight to the power of the United States. I admit that the Security Council is more relevant than the General Assembly, as it is composed of the original founders and of states that have at least been elected by their peers. We should remember that this is the same electoral process that has given us Libya as head of the UN Human Rights authority, that is about to produce Iraq as chair of the arms control committee, and that convened the delegates who jeered Colin Powell at a UN conference to discuss the evils of racism.

No serious person could imagine that the threats of veto of the French, Chinese, and Russians, or the antics of the French, Germans, and Belgians at NATO, are based on a moment's adjudication of the sorts of issues we are talking about today. Those countries have a variety of motives but some of them are pandering to the radical Islamist terrorists and the flabby soft-left opinion that accommodates them in the West.

Secretary Rumsfeld was exact when he described the French, German, and Belgian prevention of Alliance assistance to Turkey as "shameful," and promised to provide the assistance bilaterally. The French and Belgians were driven by naked cynicism and the Germans by a misplaced romantic pacifism. They have discredited honorable dissent. They run the risk of being exposed as irrelevant, as the United States, supported by 15 of the other 18 NATO countries, has the will, the right, and the ability to do the just and the necessary, whatever these other countries may think about it.

This fact should be a cause for thanksgiving. Instead, we have been subjected to the endless mantra: "They can't go it alone," meaning of course, the Americans can and if necessary, they will do it alone. They will not be alone but they will reveal those chanting the mantra as the fools or hypocrites most of them are.

I do not understand where the idea arose that the armed forces of the United States could only be deployed in response to successive acts of war against the United States, with the permission of France, Russia, and China. Those countries have unsuccessfully plunged into the Ivory Coast, made war on the Chechnyans and Georgians, and virtually eliminated the ethnic Tibetans without consulting the United Nations about it. Yet a very senior member of the government of the United Kingdom told me last summer that there would be no problem on the Labour back-benches or in the EU if Russia or China were leading the coalition against Iraq. This is merely bilious envy of the United States.

The propagators of this view have incited the inference that the United States, having sustained an immense military capability, must put it at the disposal of countries that do not wish America well, may not or do not share its values, and that affect neutrality between a wronged America, a Gulf War coalition betrayed, and affronted international law on one side, and the evil of Saddam Hussein on the other. Obviously, there is not one sane person in the United States who would subscribe to any such concept.

I had occasion to say in the Iraq debate in the House of Lords two months ago that this notion of the relationship of the United States and the UN Security Council was an attempt to treat the United States as a great St. Bernard dog which would take the risks and do the work, while others, and not necessarily allies, would hold the leash and give the instructions. One of my noble friends leapt excitedly at the metaphor and asked if I had ever tried to restrain a St. Bernard bitch in heat. Another said the United States was not a St. Bernard but a rotweiler.

It is not the least of the many irritations that have arisen in this debate that America has been scolded for not giving Security Council Resolution 1441 an adequate opportunity to achieve the disarmament of Iraq. Having ordered the inspectors out of Iraq in 1995, after four years of the demeaning charade Saddam conducts to hide his weapons programs, he only readmitted them when American military power was put behind the present Resolution. Railing at the Americans for giving insufficient time to inspectors which the United States was solely responsible for having admitted to Iraq at all, is hypocrisy. The Franco-German improvisation of tripling the number of inspectors could achieve nothing but the prolongation of Saddam's lethal shell game, and of the myth of France as a world power.

President Bush spoke at the United Nations on September 12 of last year and spoke entirely in support of the principles of international law. Given the gravity

of the provocations it has endured and the military might it deploys, the United States has behaved with exemplary restraint. The allegations of "cowboy" government and so forth are unfounded. Mr. Bush does not want the United Nations to be reduced to the ineffectuality of the League of Nations.

It is piquant but distressing that in the thirties, no one would stand up even to Mussolini, much less Hitler and the Japanese. And now, a mighty power offers itself in support of enforcement of treaty obligations and sensible Security Council resolutions, and the offer is resisted because the self-righteously weak resent a law-enforcing power that is unprecedentedly strong.

The United States has not acted unilaterally, but those who seek to impose unreasonable conditions on it will force it and its genuine allies to act on their own authority. Those who claim they want to strengthen the United Nations, are in danger of completing its degradation by obliging the only power capable of enforcing international law and its allies to do so outside the posturing and the cynical chicanery of the Security Council.

There is not time or need to address absurd conspiratorial theories such as those that focus on oil. Oil has almost nothing to do with the American Iraq policy.

The primary facts in the Iraq crisis are that the United States has more military power than all other countries in the world combined. That military power is backed by an economy as big as, and more productive and innovative than, the five next economies combined. It is also backed by an overwhelmingly pervasive popular culture, and by a vibrant high culture, as repeated American success in capturing British literary prizes demonstrates. In the present crisis, the United States is prepared to use that power in a distasteful but urgent cause.

And while one country has that power, many of those which do not have it, are spuriously misusing the United Nations to try to collegialize the power of the United States. The Americans have indicated they are prepared to pay something for international support. But what we now have is a chicken game. If the French, Russians, Chinese and Germans overplay their hands, they will be exposed as ineffective as well as disingenuous. They will gravely damage the United Nations they claim to be upholding. They could partially dismantle the Western Alliance, too late to help the Russians, isolating Germany, which is the reverse of German desires and a status in which Germany's history is, to say the least, not encouraging. This could also have the not unwelcome consequence of completely debunking France's masquerade as a great power. These countries can agree on little except their concern about the astounding power and success of the United States. They will not fashion anything durable or geopolitically useful out of mere envy.

If they persist in this course, these countries will play no part in the resolution of the Middle Eastern problems. And the Russians and Chinese will have the

consolation prize of trying to sort out North Korea for themselves while the US provides anti-missile defenses for its Japanese and South Korean allies, if the South Koreans go back to behaving as allies. The remedy for those concerned at American power is not pettifogging harassment, but to make themselves stronger.

George Bush's role is like that of Cato warning of Carthage, but with greater justice and the means to act on his warnings. He has taken a regrettably long time getting to grips with Iraq, which may have caused some to imagine he was only sabre-rattling. He wasn't.

## II

I want briefly to discuss the pathology of anti-Americanism. There was a tremendous outpouring of sympathy following the atrocities of September 11, 2001. At a human level it was hard for anyone not to identify with the thousands of innocent victims, the brave firemen, and the unconquerable spirit of New York. Many were doubtless influenced also by the unfamiliar spectacle of America as victim. But it was clear before that day was over that it would not remain a victim for long.

Americans were pleased when NATO invoked Clause 5 for the first time, stating that all NATO had been attacked. There was concern that the following clause, allowing all NATO members to respond as they think appropriate, could quickly lead to a Kosovo-like shambles, where all NATO countries would have a right of veto over the American response. There would be no question in this case, as there was with Kosovo, that the war against terrorism is a cause worth killing for but not worth dying for. Thousands have already died for it.

There was a practically unanimous domestic consensus that the United States must not just defeat and punish, but destroy these enemies, whoever and wherever they were. There was official concern, that has proved to be well-founded, that it might be difficult to lead the entire alliance over all the jumps that implementing this policy would require.

My enthusiasm for the miracle of modern Europe is no less than that of the most fervent Eurointegrationist. The level of cooperation and benevolence between these formerly hostile countries, is an inspiration and a blessing.

However, Europe is not a coherent force in international affairs and does not behave like a great power. There is no doubt that the dream of many of the Eurointegrationists was that with the end of the Cold War and the evaporation of the Soviet threat, the soft hegemony of the United States, essential to keep the Soviets out of Western Europe, could be dispensed with, and that Europe could unite and reassert itself at the end of the terrible twentieth century as the greatest political power centre in the world. At least, it was hoped that Europe would become an alternative power source to the United States.

Jacques Poos confidently told us that Bosnia was "the hour of Europe," that there was no place there for the Americans. This was a judgment in which the United States happily concurred until a few months later when the Europeans beseeched American intervention.

As recently as three years ago, French President Chirac claimed that the European Rapid Reaction Force would "project European power throughout the world." In fact, it was just a reallocation of forces from NATO, was almost totally dependent on American airlift capacity, and is essentially a parade ground force to travel about Europe marching down the main avenues of the capitals on their national days.

Europe has been hobbled by the habits of weakness. The implosion of the Soviet Union made the United States, not Europe, incomparably more powerful, morally, well as militarily, economically, and culturally. Europe has been obsessed with the minutiae of union, an unremitting preoccupation.

Reunited at last, Germany is ready for a third try at being a great power. It has followed, up to now, Helmut Kohl's sincere policy of a European Germany rather than a German Europe. Kohl, like many Germans, feared what an unattached Germany would attempt politically. No one seriously imagines that Germany would be tempted by belligerency, but its foreign policy preferences are erratic, as we have seen in the last few days. Germany still suffers a natural and understandable revulsion at its past, and its fear of itself has led to a culture of political weakness.

It is now fashionable in Germany as the last election showed, to protest American leadership of the Western Alliance. But Germany owes to the United States more than to any other power, its liberation from Nazism, the defense of Western Germany from the Russians, including the Berlin Airlift, the subsequent Berlin crises, and the Marshall Plan, the democratization of Germany; its integration into NATO and the West, and its reunification, which was not in fact favoured by Russia, France, or Britain.

The Germans may want to reduce their political dependence on the United States but the United States is a good deal more relaxed with the Germans than the Europeans are. German resentment of their own misgivings about the past crimes of their nation are understandable. But the Germans will finally have to satisfy themselves, as the Russians, Chinese, and Japanese have, that the enormities of their modern history did not demonstrate their unique capacity for evil, but the potential for even a sophisticated culture to become psychotically deranged and violent.

This is a psychodrama which will be resolved, but no part of the solution lies in antagonizing the country to which Germany owes most. The present German policy is going to land them, once again, in a position of complete and sullen

isolation. They are in danger of offending the Americans, irritating the British, and being abandoned by the French and the Russians when the time for mischief-making is over. The French, Russians, and Chinese are at the poker table; the Germans are on the psychoanalyst's couch. Neither is much of a platform for the conduct of foreign policy.

France has had the policy throughout the Fifth Republic, of purporting to be America's absolutely reliable ally in times of crisis, a foul-weather friend, while spending almost all of its energies attempting to undermine the Americans. The only instance when France did rally in a critical time was during the Cuba Missile Crisis of 1962, when de Gaulle supported President Kennedy with admirable robustness, while Harold MacMillan havered and wobbled.

In fact, France has tried to set itself up at the head of all countries that resent American or Anglo-American leadership, while enjoying all the benefits of the Western Alliance. De Gaulle expelled NATO from France but continued to allow the United States the great privilege of guarantying French security. Francois Mitterand began the Gulf War with a pro-Iraqi defense minister, Chevenement, whom he sacked when he saw the Americans and their other allies were serious, then called for an embargo, then sent an aircraft carrier with no planes on it as matters escalated, and finally sent 10,000 Foreign Legionnaires, Polish and German volunteers, and declared that they were "advancing at the speed of the Blue Train," when they drove into Iraq without opposition. The French can usually be relied upon to pursue their self-interest. Most of the time, it is pulling the eagle's feathers, as long as it doesn't provoke a response. In the present circumstances, this is a dangerous game.

These are the foreign policy postures of Western continental Europe's two leading powers, a Freudian German fantasy and vintage French opportunism. This is not a serious alternative to American leadership.

Nearly 60 years after World War II, Western Europe's foreign policy is one of deliberate and enforced weakness, emphasis on soft options, sanctions, persuasion, commercial incentives. In the same way, their domestic policy, for notorious historic reasons, pays Danegeld to the working classes and small farmers at the expense of the incentive system and economic growth. Nine of the ten most aged populations in the world are in Western Europe. In Italy, three people work for every two on benefit. In the nineties, in the United States, 44 million jobs were eliminated as superfluous or inefficient, and 75 million private sector jobs were created, for 31 million net new jobs. In the European Union apart from the UK, a net five million jobs were created, all in the public sector.

The paradox of this is that the Europeans do not see that American power, which they resent, maintains their ability to be weak, to have shrunken defense budgets, minimal military capability beyond the borders of the EU, a relatively

stagnant economy, and a general attitude of indulgent but righteous lassitude. Chris Patten grandly assures us: "We know how important it is to handle failed states properly-and to prevent them failing in the first place. We know how to tackle the root causes of terrorism and violence." "We" is the Europeans, in contrast to the Americans, who rebuilt Europe and Japan, created South Korea and Taiwan, reorganized the Mexican currency and democratized and revolutionized the economy of that country in a managed free trade agreement while Europe has straight-armed the Turks.

Chris Patten added: "Frankly, smart bombs matter, but smart development assistance matters more." Not necessarily, and Chris Patten doesn't know a great deal about either, but smart EU Commissioners would be welcome too.

Because the major European countries are of reasonably equivalent strength, other than the aberrant expansions of Napoleonic France, Nazi Germany, and Stalinist Russia, they are accustomed to coexisting with each other, even antagonistically. The United States was in that condition in its early years, threatened by the British, French, and Spanish Empires. But since the time of President Lincoln, it has rarely been threatened. The United States has had the most successful foreign policy of any major country not only because of its ever-rising strength, but because it has never had any objective except not to be threatened, and when threatened, to remove the threat.

The United States does not believe in durable coexistence with a mortal threat. When the pacifistic President Woodrow Wilson concluded that Wilhelmine Germany threatened America, he went to war and provided the margin of victory for the Allies. Franklin D. Roosevelt knew there could be no peace with Nazi Germany and as he put it to Mr. Churchill in August, 1941, "made war on Hitler without declaring it," until the Japanese and Germans made war on America. The United States never really wavered in the Cold War in its insistence that Soviet Communism cease to threaten it, until the Soviet Union collapsed. It achieved these successes with allies, to be sure, principally this country, but with allies that played a more secondary role as the century progressed.

The United States does feel under some threat after September 11, and it will destroy the threat. Its policy is one of strength, constantly maintained but sparingly applied. The war on terrorism is already at least a partial success. In the seventeen months since the September 11 attacks, the international terrorists have only managed to blow up one nightclub in Bali, a small hotel in Mombassa, and to kill a few German tourists in Tunisia. They have had no success in the United States or other advanced countries. The incidents mentioned were tragic and outrageous, and doubtless there will be others, but they are a sparse follow-through on the blood-curdling threats of Bin Laden and others.

The core of American foreign and security policy was enunciated by President Roosevelt in two speeches in 1941. He told the Congress in January of that year: "We must always be wary of those who with sounding brass and tinkling cymbal would preach the 'ism of appeasement.'" Eleven months later, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, he returned to the Congress and said: "We will make very certain that this form of treachery never again endangers us." America has been faithful to those assertions. It has not been an appeasement power and no country since Japan has dared to attack it directly.

The September 11 onslaught was publicly renounced by every country. Yasir Arafat forbade the Palestinians to jubilate in the streets and purported to donate blood to the wounded of New York and Washington. The reason the second half of the twentieth century was so much more successful than the first was American engagement in Europe and the Far East.

Roosevelt did not come to the Teheran and Yalta Conferences seeking a huge accretion of territory, as Stalin did, or a resurrected balance of power, as Mr. Churchill did. He sought a durable imbalance of power in America's favour, in a formal international framework. This is what occurred and what still rankles with America's opponents, whether they call themselves allies or not.

The three greatest strategic errors of modern times were Germany's recourse to unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917; the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, and Stalin's rejection of Roosevelt's and Truman's offer of alliance and economic assistance in exchange for liberality in Eastern Europe. The German Empire, Japanese imperialism, the Soviet Union, and Russian Communism perished because of these mistakes. Good natured country though it is, provoking the United States beyond a certain point can be mortally hazardous. The international terrorists and their supporters have vastly surpassed that point.

I don't believe there will be a very serious falling-out between any of the major countries, as they all ultimately oppose terrorism. But the Germans should remember that the greatest post-war act of statesmanship in any country was Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's rejection of Stalin's offer of German reunification in exchange for German neutrality. Adenauer carried West German opinion in accepting temporary but indefinite division in exchange for permanent alliance with America and the West. If Germany, having achieved reunification, impairs its alliance with the United States, especially under the dubious enticements of the French and to the delight of Saddam Hussein, it would be colossally stupid, though by German historical standards, well short of a catastrophe.

There are of course many things about America that may not be pleasing to everyone. I quote the distinguished historian Paul Hollander that American "mass culture enshrines mindlessness, triviality, the cult of violence, a shallow sentimentality and a pervasive entertainment orientation." Millions of people, and

not all of them in what used to be called the Third World, form their opinion of the United States from exposure to such sources, which do not accurately convey the good qualities of the American public. They rather convey the commercial acumen of certain categories of American businessmen.

There are great bodies of opinion that rail against American support of Israel, especially Moslems and their sympathizers. The presence of Israel not only symbolizes the sense of Arab retreat and inferiority that afflicts many Moslems. Since Israel is a small country, the myth was created that only with massive American support could such a little people have inflicted such defeats on its Moslem neighbours. In its more odious permutations, this argument becomes mere anti-Semitism and many anti-Semites are also anti-American. Ayatollah Khomeini was the first prominent Moslem leader to preach that America was conspiring to destroy Islam. He raged against the United States in a manner as intense as Hitler raged against the Jews, even if he was not as forensically talented. Fortunately, most Iranians now completely reject this proposition.

There are somewhat more respectable anti-American complainants among anti-capitalists, anti-modernists, and militant environmentalists, all of whom tend to attach themselves like limpets to any anti-American cause that appears. There are vocal but generally uninformed people in these groups that claim the United States promotes global inequality, exploits the poor, assaults the environment, is dominated by large corporations, and that it is militaristic.

The anti-globalists rail at the great American corporations, Coca Cola, McDonalds, Nike, Citigroup, Walmart, Monsanto, Exxon Mobil, Levis, Starbucks and MTV. To some extent, this hostility is sour grapes, emanating from those who wish to direct youth elsewhere than in the pathways of addictive American consumerism. But those who riot at IMF meetings are the political equivalent of football hooligans; they are incapable of coherent articulation and are merely misfits who should be dispelled with as little force as necessary whenever they become disorderly. They should not be accorded any credence in the discussion of serious issues.

And there are the raving, foaming-at-the-mouth Americophobes, followers or kindred spirits of Noam Chomsky and Susan Sontag, who thought September 11 a justifiable or at least comprehensible assault on an evil country, though one in which they have lived comfortably and enjoyed its constitutional liberties and general prosperity for many decades. Like other countries, some Americans, especially certain academics and writers, are carriers of a national self-hate and death wish, but unlike some countries, they are refreshingly unrepresentative of public opinion.

It is not the least of America's triumphs that nowhere was the surge of aroused patriotism greater in America on September 11 and after than in the African-

American community. Thirty years ago there was a great deal of sullenness in the practice of black American citizenship, as evidenced by the medal-winning athletes giving the Black Power salute at the Munich Olympic games.

The foreign carriers of the anti-American lunacy are not hard to find. That otherwise very pleasant and talented man Harold Pinter professes to regard the United States as "the greatest source of terrorism on earth." It is more accurate to say that on this subject, Harold and those who think like him are the greatest source of drivel on earth.

Determination of alliances between great nations are not referenda on fast food or Hollywood. In those matters people vote with their feet and their wallets and the success of the United States in these fields too is beyond dispute, if not beyond criticism.

Relations between great nations are, or should be, determined by their national interests.

### III

The national interest of the United Kingdom requires a good and close relationship with Europe and with the United States. In general, the Prime Minister has done a commendable job of facing down the lobotomous old left in his own party, being close but not obsequious to Washington, and recreating Pitt the younger as he has coordinated Iraq policy with the European countries tired of being brow-beaten by the French and Germans.

Tony Blair has undoubtedly taken certain liberties in encouraging the European view that he has played a restraining role on the gun-slinging American President. The prime minister's domestic opponents generally find the U.S. president even more distasteful than Mr. Blair, and so are happy to believe the old canard that British prime ministers give constant tutorials to American leaders about how to behave like grown-up statesmen. In fact, the only occasion in history when any decisive British influence may have been exercised was Margaret Thatcher's famous advice to former President Bush not to "wobble" over Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. If she had not been disembarked by her party, she might have prevailed upon President Bush Sr. to finish the Gulf War, dispense with Saddam, and spare the world the present crisis. Harold MacMillan's comparison of the U.K. and the U.S. with the Greek and Roman Empires was self-serving nonsense.

The prime minister has adhered to a position that is not popular in his party and which he has not been as successful as would have been thought in selling to the country. He has been reviled outrageously as a poodle of the United States. The nadir of journalistic insolence on this subject, in my observations, occurred last week when the egregious Jeremy Paxman asked him if he and President Bush

"prayed together." It was the climax of a line of questioning designed to incite the inference that the two men are religious quacks. Jeremy Paxman might have noticed that the religious quacks are on the other side of the war against terror.

The prime minister has put principle before expediency at great inconvenience to himself. Iain Duncan Smith has resisted the urgings of some of his partisans to try to exploit the divisions in the government. He has put country ahead of party. Both men have distinguished themselves starkly from the shabby performance of the German and French leaders.

There was a time when Americans were concerned that they be liked in the world, and were seriously offended when they saw foreigners burning their flag. Sixty years as the world's leading power have enured them to the obloquy a nation in that position receives. But they are prepared when provoked, to instill fear. They are doing it now, and even Saddam, for all his swagger and defiance, is betraying fear.

It is not conceivable that any country would not wish alliance with the United States if alliance were available on acceptable terms. The United States is not an onerous ally. It has been reasonably content to consider the bloc of states whose security it guarantees in NATO as a pool of potential volunteers rather than conscripts to its causes. It doesn't seriously infringe the sovereignty even of Canada, which is more completely integrated into the American economy than is the state of California, as 85% of Canada's external trade and 43% of its GDP are trade with the USA. It is precisely because the United States has been so undemanding that some varieties of anti-Americanism have become so vigorous. The legitimate application of strength generally has a sedative effect, and that is what we are about to observe.

The clear American preference is to work with reliable allies, but not to be strangled by Lilliputians masquerading as allies. The United States gave the world the League of Nations and the United Nations. It is an enlightened and civilized democracy that generally tries to behave responsibly, with as much success in this regard as any other important country. It certainly has no lessons to learn on state morality from the Germans and the French. Many may deride its popular culture or resent the retention of the death penalty in many of the American states. I personally do not approve of the death penalty, but these matters are settled by popular choice in the United States. With the same system here, capital punishment would be restored. In any case, this is not a foreign policy issue.

More powerful than its mass culture is America's concept of individualism and freedom. Under the Constitution of the United States, all unallocated powers reside with the people, who famously endowed themselves with that Constitution; its rights were not devolved to them by any other authority. This, even more than their economic, military, and cultural force, is the source of American power.

When the students and dissidents of Eastern Europe were dismantling the Soviet empire, their public readings were of Jefferson and Lincoln, and the occupants of Tienanmen Square built a replica of the Statue of Liberty. Our satirists and intellectuals and leftist journalists may prattle as they will, but there has never been anything like the rise of America in two lifetimes from a few vulnerable colonies with a population smaller than Greater Birmingham's, to, as Mr Churchill said in his parliamentary eulogy of President Roosevelt, "a height (of) strength, might, and glory never attained by any nation in history." In the years since then, the preeminence of the United States in the world has vastly increased.

Most Americans do not travel abroad and foreign trade, apart from oil imports, is only about 15% of GDP. It is an Americocentric country. Yet America has learned the dangers of neglecting foreign policy and knows it cannot enunciate the rules of world order without a reasonable degree of collaboration.

The United States will pay more attention to the United Kingdom than to any other power. This status has been earned by British leaders of both parties, with rare exceptions, from Winston Churchill to Tony Blair.

After the United States there is a group of about eight quite important countries in the world and this is one of them. We have the fourth economy in the world and have earned and enjoy considerable respect throughout the world.

When Iraq has been resolved, there will remain many urgent challenges in international affairs. As has been mentioned, the principal countries will need to elaborate the so-called Bush Doctrine and gain acceptance for a version of preemptive military action that distinguishes genuine proactive self-defense from disguised aggression. We will have to launch a determined and generous aid program to underdeveloped countries capable of channelling such aid into genuine progress for the needful. I have never been the greatest supporter of the Third World, because of its chronic misgovernment, but we must show more interest in some of those countries that are eligible for help and self-help. And we must make it harder for the West to be caricatured as indifferent to or even exploitive of those countries.

We should devise some form of trusteeship for failed states that stabilize them and prevent them becoming infestations of terrorists, like abandoned houses occupied by neighbourhood thugs. And some such plan as was mentioned earlier for an Israeli-Palestinian agreement will have to be sponsored by the Americans, Europeans, and the reasonable Arabs. The United Nations has to be modernized if it is to be useful, and NATO cannot go on as it is; it must be reformed as a genuine alliance with a revised mission. Ideally, the EU's federalist pretensions would be reexamined also. In all these initiatives, except the strictly European ones, and in many others, little can be accomplished without the United States. But it cannot be

accomplished by America alone. There is a huge opportunity for this country in all of these areas.

The alternative to the American alliance as we have known it is an "ever closer union" with Europe, to which Maastricht committed us. Our relations with Europe are vital and must be intimate. But going to a common security and foreign policy would lead to a constant struggle with the German practice of using foreign policy as a substitute for psychotherapy, and with the Ruritanian posturing of the French. It would also anesthetize our economy. Surely, our national destiny is more exalted than that.

It is more than forty years since the American secretary of state Dean Acheson said that "Britain has lost an empire but not found a role." Being the junior but influential partner of the United States in modernizing world institutions and alleviating the conditions that breed political extremism, as we will be America's chief associate in crushing the terrorists, is an important role. Never has a country that had ceased to be the most influential in the world, managed such a slight and dignified diminution of status to a still important position as Britain would then have achieved.

To give maximum service to the causes of freedom and economic growth, we must maintain and build on our unique alliance with the United States. It is the world's most successful country and the one with which Britain is most compatible and vice versa. I put it to you that it is preferable to continue to be envied because of our success and attachment to principle, than to fall any further into the company of those governments for which cowardice is wisdom, ingratitude is olympian serenity, and the spitefulness of the weak is moral indignation.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

508639

Date: 2/19/03

To: ~~Pete W.~~

From: Strategic Initiatives Susan R.

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

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	02/19/2003	PRM;

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Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

508639 [2]

**FRC ID:**

9707

**OA Num.:**

10731

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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.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

509639

Date: 2/19/03

To: ~~Adam Goldmann~~

From: Strategic Initiatives *Susan*

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

Comments: Do you think we  
should thank him?

# The 60 Plus Association

1600 Wilson Blvd • Suite 960 • Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone (703) 807-2070 • Fax (703) 807-2073 • www.60Plus.org

*Tax Fairness for Seniors • Abolish the Death Tax!*  
*Guardian of Seniors' Rights Award • Senior Voice Newsletter*

Rep. Roger H. Zion, (R-IN, 1967-75)  
Honorary Chairman

James L. Martin  
President

Adam - Should we  
send this?

## FAX COVER SHEET

DATE: 18 Feb

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

TO: Karl Base

FAX NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM:

Jim Martin

\_\_\_\_\_ Amy Frederick

\_\_\_\_\_ Ed Fulginiti

\_\_\_\_\_ Melissa Puckett

\_\_\_\_\_ Karla Nelson

\_\_\_\_\_ Hugh Newton

\_\_\_\_\_ Amanda McGuire

COMMENTS:

60 Plus is a 10-year-old nonpartisan group with a less government, less taxes approach to seniors' issues. 60 Plus is supported by donations from its more than 500,000 citizen lobbyists to print and mail millions of letters, petitions, and voting indexes. 60 Plus publishes a newsletter, SENIOR VOICE, and a SCORECARD, bestowing a GUARDIAN OF SENIORS' RIGHTS award on lawmakers in both parties who vote "pro-senior." 60 Plus also presents a BENJAMIN FRANKLIN award to those who support death tax repeal as well as a LEGISLATOR OF THE MONTH award to the most pro-active friends of seniors in Congress. 60 Plus has been called 'an increasingly influential lobbying group for the elderly....'

## COMMENTARY

The Washington Time

JAMES MARTIN

Dividend  
from the  
President

Just more than 25 years ago, when my 86-year-old mother was a sprightly 61, and working full time, Jimmy Carter called for the elimination of federal taxes on dividend income, as President Bush has just done.

For the record my hale and hearty 103-year-old stepfather was then 78 and retired.

That was long before the great surge in stockownership spawned by several Reagan-era tax changes, which enabled millions of Americans to set aside money for their senior years in individual retirement accounts (IRAs) and 401(k) investment plans.

So President Bush's proposal to end the double taxation on dividends should be welcome news to all of the estimated 84 million Americans who own stock, either directly or in retirement accounts. If they have children or stay-at-home or retired spouses, it should be good news to them as well.

As a group, senior citizens should be the most thankful of all. Back in Jimmy Carter's day, my mother and stepfather would have been young enough to jump for joy; now, living at home in Okeechobee, Fla., they'll have to limit themselves to polite applause.

Properly understood, the dividend tax is really a double tax. When a company earns a profit, it is taxed on that profit. When the company distributes some of those profits to its shareholders in the form of dividends, the shareholders are required to pay taxes on the exact same money.

In his Jan. 7 speech to the Chicago Economic Club outlining his tax plan, President Bush said "Double taxation is wrong." And President Bush is right.

"Double taxation falls especially hard on retired people," the president noted. "About half of all dividend income goes to America's seniors, and they often rely on those checks for a steady source of income in their retirement.

"It's fair to tax a company's profits," the president said. "It's not fair to double tax by taxing the shareholder on the same profits."

Back in Jimmy Carter's day, the proposed change, which he never pushed in Congress as president, was vigorously supported by liberal interest groups, the self-proclaimed

JACK KELLY

A United Nations task force charged with coordinating the response of the U.N.'s humanitarian agencies fears that up to 500,000 Iraqis could be killed or wounded, and fully 10 million of Iraq's 26 million people put at risk if there is a second Gulf war.

The UN planners assume war would halt Iraq's oil production, severely degrade its electric power grid, and disrupt the ability of the Iraqi government to distribute food rations. They assume also there will be an outbreak of diseases "of pandemic proportions," due chiefly to contamination of water supplies. They estimate roughly 2 million Iraqis will become refugees.

The report was secret, but an anti-war group got a copy of it and posted it on a Web site.

The report assumes fighting would be protracted, and that about 100,000 Iraqis would be killed or injured as a direct result of combat, with another 400,000 suffering as a result of disruption of services.

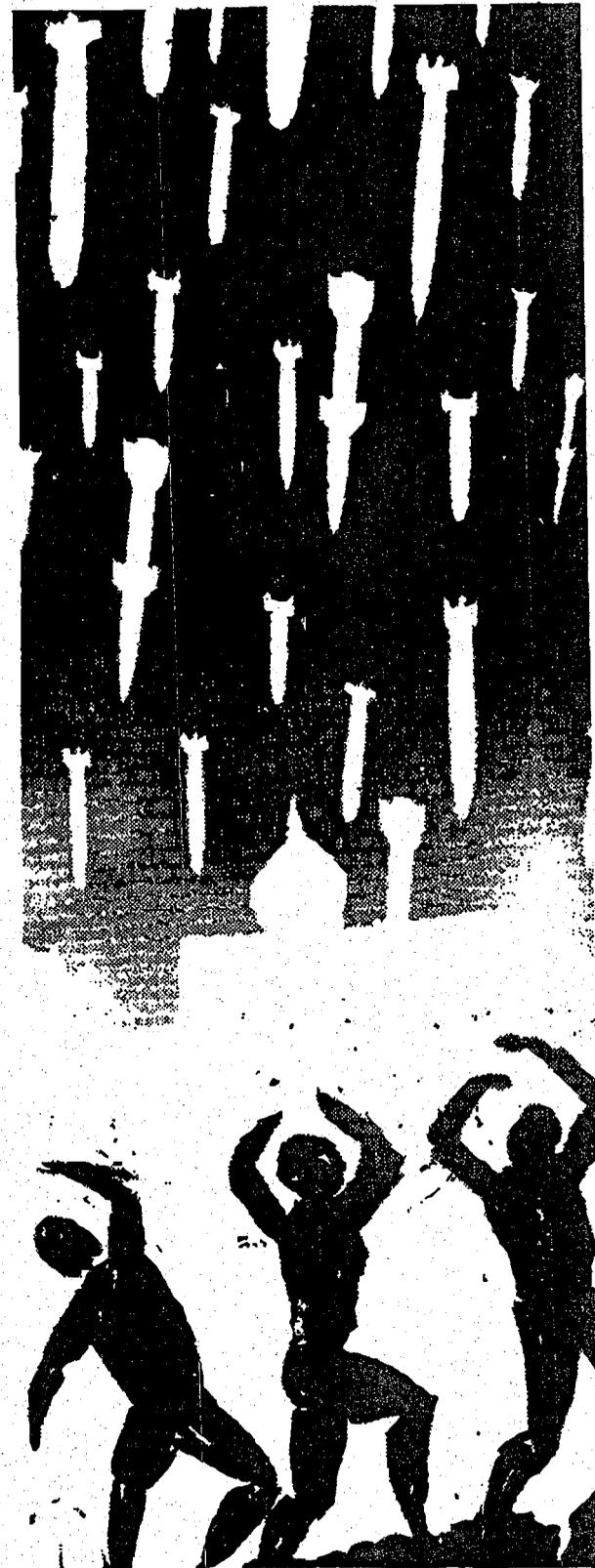
Estimating casualties in a war that hasn't happened yet is very difficult to do. As we shall see, estimating casualties in a war that has just ended isn't easy. The U.N.'s track record of prognostication is poor. Some officials of U.N. humanitarian agencies predicted there would be tens of thousands of civilian casualties in the Afghan war. A survey by the Associated Press last year found fewer than 600.

Casualty estimates from the Gulf war are, a dozen years later, still a political football. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, got the misinformation ball rolling by fatuously estimating, at a press conference at war's end, that as many as 100,000 Iraqi soldiers had been killed in the fighting.

God knows where "Stormin' Norman" was getting his numbers. The current consensus estimate of military analysts is that between 20,000 and 25,000 Iraqi soldiers, and between 1,000 and 3,000 Iraqi civilians were killed in the fighting. But two who have done some of the most detailed analytical work — former Defense Intelligence Agency analyst John Heidenrich, and John Mueller, head of the political science department at Ohio State University, think the numbers were much lower.

Basing his calculations on the number of Iraqi bodies actually found (577), and the normal crew strength of the vehicles we destroyed, Mr. Heidenrich estimated the number of Iraqis killed at between 1,500 and 6,000, with the lower number being the more likely. The number of civilian deaths from bombing was less than 1,000, Mr. Heidenrich said.

## Casualty n



## ARMSTRONG WILLIAMS

## Bush's AIDS attack

**P**resident Bush's plans for Iraq have obscured the other major battle in which he is currently engaged — the war to combat the spread of AIDS in Africa.

The disease is ravaging the continent. Nearly 30 million Africans, including 3 million children under the age of 15, are infected with the disease that claims more than a million lives annually. Only a fraction has access to life extending drugs. The rest are slowly dying, leaving a generation of orphans in their wake. According to a recent government study, by the year 2010, an estimated 30 million African children will lose at least one parent to the disease. Most of these children will have to drop out of school, exacerbating the cycle of poverty, ignorance and fear that is pulling apart Africa's economic and social structures.

To date, the U.S. government's response has been largely symbolic. Despite the toll in human life and suffering, for the past decade, the U.S. budget for total nonmilitary aid, including AIDS prevention, literacy programs, health-care systems, etc., has remained stuck at \$10 billion. In 2001, U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan said Africa required roughly \$10 billion to manage AIDS alone.

Last week, President Bush heeded this call, by dedicating \$15 billion over five years to combat the spread of AIDS/HIV in Africa. That triples what our government previously spent on AIDS prevention and represents the largest boost in non-military foreign aid in years. The goal of the plan is to cut the death rate in Africa from HIV infections by half and new infections by 60 percent over the next three years. "Facilities across Africa will [now] have the medicine to treat AIDS, because it will be purchased with funds provided by the United States," said the president.

So why aren't America's civil-rights leaders praising the president for combating the African holocaust? After all, several such organizations have listed the AIDS epidemic in Africa as one of their chief concerns. In their legislative agenda for the 107th Congress, the Congressional Black Caucus recognized "the devastating im-

pact of HIV/AIDS on . . . Africa" and pledged "to support a comprehensive global policy aimed at ending the scourge of HIV/AIDS around the globe." Jesse Jackson similarly observed that "The AIDS plague in Africa is the worst global threat since the bubonic plague . . ." and acknowledged that "billions are needed" to fight the plague abroad.

These same groups have regularly blasted the president for not doing more to stymie the African holocaust. "They [the Republicans] could not even mention the words Africa, Appalachia or AIDS once," snarled Mr. Jackson at the 2000 Democratic National Convention. In June, Sen. Dick Durbin, Illinois Democrat, warned "if we follow the course the White House has charted, in just a few years, we will be dealing with millions more poor, hungry, desperate orphans whose mothers have died from AIDS because we did not address treatment as well as prevention." And when the president recently canceled a scheduled trip to Africa, a senior research fellow at Africa Action, the oldest U.S.-based advocacy group on African affairs, accused the president in a published commentary of not valuing African lives.

All of these groups have been amazingly silent on the president's commitment to combating the spread of AIDS in Africa. No apologies. No retractions. And no offers to help.

"You would think this would be an opportunity for the African-American medical community to step up and say thank you and this is how we can make a difference," observes former U.S. ambassador, Harold Dolcy. "Instead there is deafening silence, and that is wrong."

Columnist Cedric Muhammad attributes this silence to cultural conditioning: "Whenever President Bush does something that may be good for black people around the world or in harmony with a civil-rights agenda his motives are questioned by these groups. . . . They are so compromised by partisan attachment that they would rather be on the opposite side of the administration than support any good work that it does or even take the opportunity to influence it for the better. The movement has been completely absorbed by partisanship."

Sad. If a person takes steps to end a holocaust, you don't question why they stepped forward. The important thing is that the holocaust has been eradicated.

*Armstrong Williams is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

# A Q

# D

Dear Diary,  
It was a ansas. The and slet  
was on my way to Senate majority — nority — leader. T in Little Rock to d low Democrat B who was announc re-election to the I had prepared. I speech Mr. Daschl he voted for the c lution authorizing ahead. And I'd not since showed less, "We do know,"

October, "that Ira thousands of gallo other deadly biol know that Iraq ma of some of the chemical weapon sarin and musta that Iraq is develo to deliver these l including unmai long-range ballis we know that Sa committed to on nuclear weapons. pen, instead of si Gulf region, he co stead of threaten bors, he would threat to U.S. sec security. The thir dam Hussein ma But it is real. It cannot be ignore

That was last O months ago, and it cned. So how con been sniping awa tion's position eve ample; "Senate I ity Leader Tom D South Dakota De said, "We have yet any evidence tha dam still has we of mass destruct —the Associated Jan. 25, 2003.

Just where d stand? I asked hi the senator as me, he still be Saddam is dang and shouldn't allowed to get awa his game indef

So how long is initely? Oh, not than a few wee said. I checked th on my watch March 1? I asked he said. Glad we that cleared up even a date cert

champions of the little guy. Today, the liberal establishment is so wedded to the rhetoric of class warfare that they condemn the proposal as a "sop to the super rich."

Yet, analyses of dividend distribution data by Scott Hodge of the Tax Foundation and Norbert Michel of the Heritage Foundation indicate that most taxpayers receiving dividend income are anything but rich.

As Mr. Hodge wrote in an article for the Jan. 8 issue of National Review Online, "of all taxpayers that claimed . . . dividend income in 2000, nearly half (45.8 percent) earned less than \$50,000 in adjusted gross income (which includes dividends), and almost two-thirds, 63.8 percent . . . earned less than \$50,000 in just wages and salaries." Even under the most elastic definition of rich, this ain't them.

Mr. Hodge noted that 34.1 million tax returns reported dividend income in 2000, representing some 71 million individuals. "Clearly, dividend tax relief would benefit far

*No age group is hit harder by double-taxing dividends than seniors, who have scrimped and saved for decades so they can support themselves in their golden years.*

more than just the top income groups," the Heritage Foundation's Mr. Michel added.

The president's tax reform plan includes additional good news for senior citizens as well, including the elimination of the hated "death" or estate tax, which reaches into the grave to rob families of their rightful due.

Once again, the president's critics denounced the proposal as a sop to the rich. But I say it's time to dismount from that dead horse. The truth is that the rich have the resources to hire fancy lawyers and accountants to set up trusts and foundations to avoid the tax. So the burden falls mainly on the owners of small family businesses and family farmers.

No age group is hit harder by double-taxing dividends than seniors, who have scrimped and saved for decades so they can support themselves in their golden years without being a burden on either the taxpayers or their children, who have problems enough of their own.

So Thank you, President Bush. We owe you one.

*James L. Martin is president of the 60 Plus Association in Arlington, Va.*

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## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Routing Memo	[Note with attachments]	3	02/19/2003	PRM;

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Records Management, White House Office of

#### SERIES:

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

#### FOLDER TITLE:

508639 [2]

#### FRC ID:

9707

#### OA Num.:

10731

#### NARA Num.:

10789

#### FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

#### RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

508639

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From: Strategic Initiatives Karl

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Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: James Robison	1	02/18/2003	P5;

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## **The Difference Between The Liberal and Conservative**

### ***"Debate Over The War On Terrorism"***

#### **Question:**

You're walking down a deserted street with your wife and two small children. Suddenly, a dangerous looking man with a huge knife comes around the corner and is running at you while screaming obscenities. In your hand is a .357 Magnum and you are an expert shot. You have mere seconds before he reaches you and your family.

What do you do?

#### **Liberal Answer:**

Well, that's not enough information to answer the question! Does the man look poor or oppressed?

Have I ever done anything to him that is inspiring him to attack?

Could we run away?

What does my wife think?

What about the kids?

Could I possibly swing the gun like a club and knock the knife out of his hand?

What does the law say about this situation?

Is it possible be happy with just killing me?

Does he definitely want to kill me or would he just be content to wound me?

If I were to grab his knees and hold on, could my family get away while he was stabbing me?

This is all so confusing! I need to debate this with some friends for a few days to try to come to a conclusion.

#### **Conservative Answer:**

Shoot the son of a bitch! Then take your family to a baseball game, eat some hot dogs, apple pie, sing the national anthem, go to church and praise the Lord for one more day of freedom.

508639

Date: 2/19/03

To: ~~Matthew Schlapp~~  
From: Strategic Initiatives Kan

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

Comments: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Democratic Appointments to Certain Boards and Commissions - To: Andrew Card - From: Alberto Gonzales	3	02/18/2003	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  
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#### COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

#### SERIES:

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

#### FOLDER TITLE:

508639 [2]

#### FRC ID:

9707

#### OA Num.:

10731

#### NARA Num.:

10789

#### FOIA ID and Segment:

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

##### Deed of Gift Restrictions

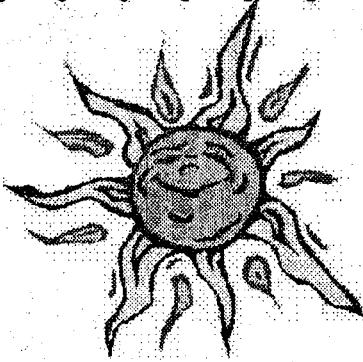
- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
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##### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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6:00-7:30 PM

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Tenth Floor

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Washington, D.C.

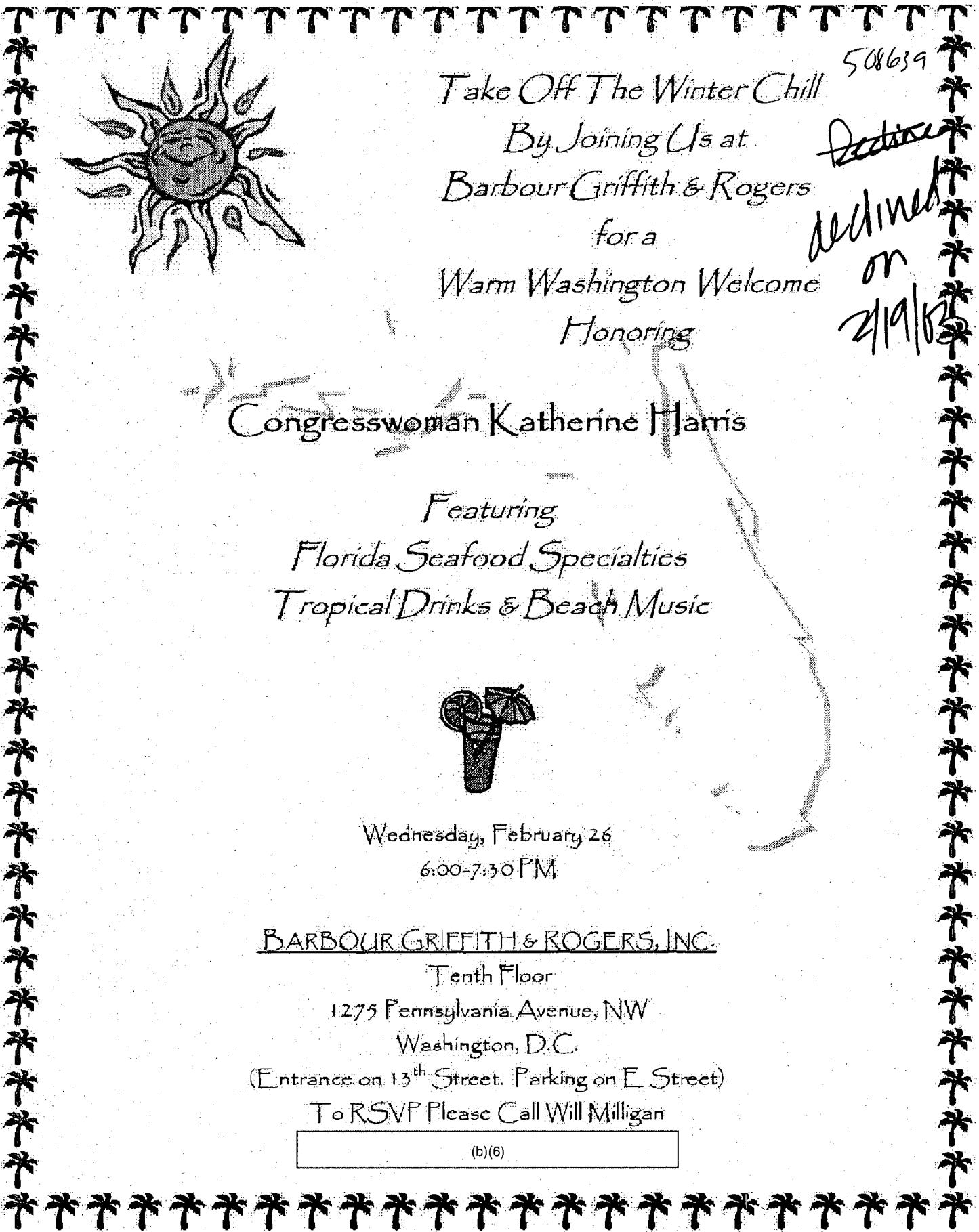
(Entrance on 13<sup>th</sup> Street. Parking on E Street)

To RSVP Please Call Will Milligan

(b)(6)

508639

*Declined*  
*declined*  
*on*  
*2/19/03*



Susan - where are we? 5086039  
Working w/ Lazlo's office

**Ralston, Susan B.**

**From:** Ellison, Kimberly  
**Sent:** Wednesday, January 29, 2003 4:42 PM  
**To:** Ralston, Susan B.  
**Subject:** Fw: Meeting with Karl Rove

hey there...

Sam Baptista of Morgan Stanley wants to bring Phil Purcell in to meet with Karl. Barry says Karl has okayed the meeting.

He's available on 2/24 after 4pm and 3/4 - 3/5.

Can KR do any of those times?

----- Forwarded by Kimberly Ellison/WHO/EOP on 01/29/2003 04:46 PM -----



Barry S. Jackson  
01/29/2003 04:44:43 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Kimberly Ellison/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Fw: Meeting with Karl Rove

Ask susan what works. Karl said ok to a mtg at some point

----- Original Message -----

From: Sam.Baptista@morganstanley.com  
To: Barry S. Jackson/WHO/EOP@EOP  
Cc:  
Date: 01/29/2003 03:36:08 PM  
Subject: Meeting with Carl Rove

Barry -

Per our discussion, we have a call in to Rove's office requesting a meeting for Phil Purcell. Phil would be available on the 24th of Feb in the afternoon after 4:00. I know this is a limited window but he's on a short leash. If this doesn't work he can come back to town on the 4th or 5th of March.

By the way, we've generated over 9,000 letters of support for the package (focusing on the deductibility of dividends).

Regards,  
Sam

Otto, Eric H.

508639

**From:** N. G. Mankiw [ngmankiw@fas.harvard.edu]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 13, 2003 8:55 AM  
**To:** Friedman, Stephen  
**Subject:** economists

Steve,

Here is the list of prominent conservative economists you asked me about yesterday:

Robert Barro (professor at Harvard, columnist for Business Week) Martin Feldstein (president of NBER, chairman of CEA under Reagan) Kevin Hassett (resident scholar, American Enterprise Institute) William Niskanen (chairman of Cato Institute, member of CEA under Reagan)

Greg

PS Please confirm receipt of this email, as I have not used this address before.

~~KARL ROVE~~

DINA POWELL

508639

**Ralston, Susan B.**

**From:** Westine, Lezlee J.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 12, 2003 2:45 PM  
**To:** Ralston, Susan B.  
**Subject:** Proposal

I'll explain what Dan Danner is looking for in tomorrow's staff mtg.

----- Forwarded by Lezlee J. Westine/WHO/EOP on 02/12/2003 02:43 PM -----



**"Danner, Dan" <Dan.Danner@NFIB.ORG>**  
02/12/2003 12:04:59 PM

Record Type: Record

**To:** Lezlee J. Westine/WHO/EOP@EOP  
**cc:**  
**Subject:** Proposal

---

Lezlee: Here's the outline I promised. I really appreciate all your help.  
Dan

<<Proposal for Karl Rove audiotape\_.doc>>



Proposal for Karl  
Rove audiota...

- Proposal for Karl Rove audiotape\_.doc

## Proposal for Karl Rove audiotape to NFIB President's Club Winners

**Proposal:** 1 to 3 minute Karl Rove audiotape to NFIB President's Club winners.

**Background:** NFIB has approximately 435 individual sales representatives who call on small businesses every day selling NFIB memberships.

These are commission sales jobs, and the individuals are huge believers in free enterprise ... lower taxes, less regulation, less government, etc. That's what they are selling. And they love this President.

Every year, the "best of the best" (approximately 80 individuals and their spouses) win a trip for their sales achievements. This year's prize is a Caribbean Cruise in late March.

These are the people on the line who make NFIB successful. The members they sign up and renew are the people who call their legislators, testify, write letters, volunteer for campaigns ... and vote.

A brief message of congratulations and encouragement from Karl would not only make their day ... but make their whole year.

It would mean a lot to them and a lot to us here in Washington to have Karl acknowledge all that they do to make NFIB successful.

**Message:** We certainly understand Karl's busy schedule, and something very short and very simple would be great.

Maybe like:

-“You all are the engine that makes NFIB go ...”

-“You're out there on the ground every day”

-“I know it's not an easy job but want you to know that because of you NFIB does make a difference in Washington.”

-“We join the NFIB management team in thanking you for your commitment to free enterprise.”

If Karl agrees, I'm sure we can make the arrangements to make this very quick and easy. Our objective is to have it done by the week of March 17.

Thanks for your help.

2/16 - per Matt S. 508639  
Pat Robertson also  
Spoke w/ POTUS abt this  
So note is not necessary.

**Ralston, Susan B.**

**From:** Smith, Matthew E.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 19, 2003 11:44 AM  
**To:** Goeglein, Tim; Ralston, Susan B.; Hernandez, Israel  
**Subject:** Christian Coalition of America Memo

FYI -

----- Forwarded by Matthew E. Smith/WHO/EOP on 02/19/2003 11:48 AM -----



**field3@cc.org**  
02/17/2003 11:45:30 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Matthew E. Smith/WHO/EOP@EOP  
cc:  
Subject: Christian Coalition of America Memo

---

CHRISTIAN COALITION OF AMERICAN

M E M O

Date: 2/17/2003

Today Pat Robertson, Founder and President emeritus of Christian Coalition of America successfully underwent prostate surgery and is said to be doing well. I would like to thank you for the many prayers for Pat since learning of his necessity for surgery.

Pat has been an inspiration to me and Christian Coalition of America and has had a tremendous impact on this country. God has used Pat to bless the hearts and lives of millions of people and to help inspire Christians to stand up for Christian values in government though his vision of Christian Coalition of America.

Please continue to pray for Pat and his family during his time of complete recovery. May God's blessings be upon you and your family.

If you would like to send Pat a get well card, please send to:

Pat Robertson

Christian Coalition of America  
P.O. Box 37030  
Washington, D.C. 20013

Roberta Combs,  
President  
Christian Coalition of America

---

Please **CLICK HERE**

<[http://server5.cc.org/Users/pages/Members.asp?User=matthew\\_e.\\_smith@who.eop.gov](http://server5.cc.org/Users/pages/Members.asp?User=matthew_e._smith@who.eop.gov)> to edit your interests or to unsubscribe.

This email was sent to [matthew\\_e.\\_smith@who.eop.gov](mailto:matthew_e._smith@who.eop.gov)  
<[mailto:matthew\\_e.\\_smith@who.eop.gov](mailto:matthew_e._smith@who.eop.gov)> , by Christian Coalition of  
America <<http://cc.org/index2.html>> .  
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att1.htm (2 KB)

- att1.htm

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Kenneth Tomlinson	1	02/19/2003	P5; P6/b6;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.  
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**COLLECTION:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

508639 [2]

**FRC ID:**

9707

**OA Num.:**

10731

**NARA Num.:**

10789

**FOIA ID and Segment:**

2015-0037-F

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

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**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.**

508639

**Ralston, Susan B.**

**From:** Rove, Karl C.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 19, 2003 12:41 PM  
**To:** Ralston, Susan B.  
**Subject:** FW: CSP MEMORANDUM FOR LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMUNITY--- Next meeting, 24 February 2003 at the American Legion HQ

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Goeglein, Tim  
**Sent:** Wednesday, February 19, 2003 11:36 AM  
**To:** Rove, Karl C.; Westine, Lezlee J.; Tulbah, Ali H.  
**Subject:** CSP MEMORANDUM FOR LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMUNITY--- Next meeting, 24 February 2003 at the American Legion HQ

fyi

tsg

----- Forwarded by Tim Goeglein/WHO/EOP on 02/19/2003 11:40 AM -----



**Center for Security Policy <[Info@centerforsecuritypolicy.org](mailto:Info@centerforsecuritypolicy.org)>**  
02/19/2003 11:27:37 AM

Record Type: Record

**To:**  
**cc:**  
**Subject:** CSP MEMORANDUM FOR LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMUNITY--- Next meeting, 24 February 2003 at the American Legion HQ

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**MEMORANDUM FOR LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMUNITY**

**FROM:** Frank Gaffney, Jr.

**Re:** Next National Security Working Group (NSWG) Meeting 24 February 2003 from 12:30-2:00 p.m;

**N.B.** Different Venue: American Legion Headquarters, 1608 K Street, N.W.

At the end of the last NSWG meeting, it was agreed that the focus of our next meeting would be a discussion of an increasingly topical and possibly quite dangerous development: the cumulative effect of an array of activities funded or otherwise supported by Saudi Arabia and its violent and intolerant state religion, Wahhabism.

These activities are aimed, first and foremost, at dominating the Islamic faith and marshaling its adherents into a force for "holy war" against Christians, Jews and others -- including Muslims -- considered to be infidels. A key target of this jihadist theology, however, is the United States, the country viewed by Wahhabis as the home of many "non-believers" and their most powerful defender. There are, as a result, clear national security implications arising from this phenomenon.

On 24 February, we will present the results of research the Center for Security Policy has been conducting into the Wahhabi "footprint" in America, its organizational make-up and its efforts to recruit followers (notably, via U.S. prisons, college campuses, mosques and -- of special interest to the NSWG -- the armed forces). We will also address the nature and achievements to date of Saudi/Wahhabi political influence operations within the United States. (My column which addressed the latter, troubling subject in yesterday's Washington Times is attached.) It is my hope that every organization participating in the NSWG will be represented at this important briefing.

We are most grateful to our colleagues at the American Legion for making their conference room at the Legion's National Headquarters (Sixth floor, 1608 K Street, N.W.) available for this special briefing. PLEASE NOTE THIS CHANGE OF VENUE. Luncheon will be served, as usual.

The Legion location necessitates that we have an accurate attendee list so please be sure to RSVP to Maj. Mike Saleh either via phone, (202) 835-9077, or email: [saleh@centerforsecuritypolicy.org](mailto:saleh@centerforsecuritypolicy.org).

Looking forward to seeing you after the snow clears. In the meantime, best personal regards.

forwarded by:

Major Mike Saleh  
U.S. Marine Corps  
Marine Corps National Fellow  
The Center for Security Policy  
1920 L St. NW, Ste. 210  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Tel: (202) 835-9077  
Fax: (202) 835-9066  
<mailto:saleh@centerforsecuritypolicy.org>

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Who is with President Bush?

<http://www.washtimes.com/commentary/gaffney.htm>

Frank J. Gaffney Jr.

February 18, 2003

President Bush has characterized the choice to be made in this war on terror: "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists." The stark clarity of this binary decision has served the United States well in marshaling a large number of nations in the fight against al Qaeda and a smaller, but still ample, number for the next phase of this war: the liberation of Iraq.

Regrettably, in the months since September 11, 2001, people who have made no secret of their sympathy for terrorists, provided them financial support, excused their murderous attacks and/or sought to impede the prosecution of the war against them have repeatedly been put in the company of the president. In other words, individuals and organizations who appear to be "with the terrorists" have time and again been allowed to be with the president in the White House and elsewhere. For example:

\* On Sept. 20, 2001 - just nine days after the deadly attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon - Shaykh Hamza Yusuf was the Muslim representative in a small ecumenical gathering held in the Oval Office. At the same time, FBI agents were trying to interview him at his house in California since he had declared two days before the attack: "This country is facing a terrible fate. ... This country stands condemned. It stands condemned like Europe stood condemned because of what it did - and lest people forget that Europe suffered two world wars after conquering the Muslim lands." His wife told the incredulous agents Mr. Yusuf wasn't home, he was with the president.

\* Six days later, President Bush met in the Roosevelt Room with a Muslim imam named Muzammil H. Siddiqi. Mr. Siddiqi is a long-time board member of several organizations in the United States funded by, and closely tied to, Saudi Arabia's radical state religion known as Wahhabism. Two of these groups, including one where Siddiqi still sits on the board, were raided in March 2002 by federal authorities in pursuit of terrorist financing.

This presidential meeting was all the more puzzling since the imam had shown his true colors by claiming, at a rally the previous October:

"America has to learn. ... If you remain on the side of injustice, the wrath of God will come. Please, all Americans. Do you remember that? Allah is watching everyone. God is watching everyone. If you continue doing injustice, and tolerate injustice, the wrath of God will come."

\* On Sept. 17, 2001, President Bush paid a visit to the mosque in Washington. There he was photographed flanked by Nihad Awad, the executive director of the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). CAIR has long been an admirer and public defender of terrorist organizations whose attacks against even innocent women and children it sees as legitimate acts of "liberation." Mr. Awad has personally declared, "I am a supporter of the Hamas movement."

\* Also in the picture with President Bush at the mosque was Khaled Saffuri, currently chairman of an organization called the Islamic Institute, which he

co-founded with conservative activist Grover Norquist. Mr. Saffuri previously served as the development director of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, a supporter of the Palestine Liberation Organization when it made no bones about using terrorism for political purposes. He went on to become deputy director of the radical American Muslim Council (AMC), under then-director Abduraman Alamoudi - a publicly declared supporter of Hamas and Hezbollah, whose statements of solidarity with these groups prompted the Bush 2000 campaign to return his contributions.

Under Mr. Saffuri's leadership, the Islamic Institute has attacked the Bush administration's investigations of radical Muslim groups and closures of organizations suspected of funding terrorists. The Institute has been funded by groups raided in the above-mentioned terrorist financing investigations. It lobbied intensively against portions of the USA Patriot Act. And Mr. Saffuri has personally denounced the president's listing of the Holy Land Foundation as a charity that supported terrorist organizations. He has acknowledged sponsoring the children of suicide bombers through the Foundation, even after its closure by the government.

In addition to the president, a number of his senior subordinates - including Cabinet officers - have met, in some cases more than once, with members of the aforementioned and other organizations with troubling attitudes toward jihadist terrorists. A particularly bizarre instance was FBI Director Robert Mueller's keynote address last year to the American Muslim Council.

The AMC has a long record of activities hostile to the Bush administration's prosecution of the war on terror. It has even urged Muslims not to cooperate with the FBI. Nonetheless, according to a press release dated last Thursday, Mr. Mueller has invited the AMC's chairman, Dr. Yahya Mossa Basha, to attend an upcoming meeting with him and "leaders of major Muslim and Arab-American organizations."

It is very much in the president's interest - and the nation's - that moderate, law-abiding, peace-loving and patriotic American Muslims be embraced and empowered by the Bush administration and all those who support it in waging a war on terror, not on Islam. To do so, however, the administration must not allow those who are with its enemies in that struggle to continue being with the president and his team.

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	2nd SOTU -- and Jay - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	1	01/24/2003	P5;

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