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Withdrawn/Redacted Material

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Note	[Note] - To: Pete Wehner. - From: Susan [Ralston]	1	09/09/2003	P5;
002	Report	[Reason Magazine]	1	10/2003	P6/b6;
003	Email	RE: Presidential Unit Citation for the 3ID [with attachments] - To: Gregory Schulte - From: Karl Rove	12	09/09/2003	P5;
004	Email	FW: Book on the President's Faith - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	2	08/27/2003	PRM;
005	Email	RE: Terry Hunt - To: Barbara Goergen, et al. - From: Claire Buchan	1	09/09/2003	P5; P6/b6;
006	Email	FW: - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	09/08/2003	PRM;
007	Email	FW: Note - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	09/08/2003	P2; P5; P6/b6;

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Records Management, White House Office of

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008	Email	FW: Information Concerning Sierra Club Future Campaign... - To: William Greene - From: Rich Nolan	3	09/09/2003	PRM;
009	Email	Re: Secure Question - To: Karl Rove - From: Ed Gillespie	1	08/31/2003	PRM;
010	Email	FW: Hello and Meeting with Peter Wehner [page 1] - To: Peter Wehner - From: DJ Gribben	1	08/19/2003	P6/b6;
011	Memorandum	The Discrepancy Between the Household and the Payroll... - To: N. Gregory Mankiw - From: Andrew Samwick, et al.	3	09/15/2003	P5;
012	List	[List]	1	09/15/2003	P5;

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Accidental Genius

Is Karl Rove really Bush's brain?

John J. Pitney Jr.

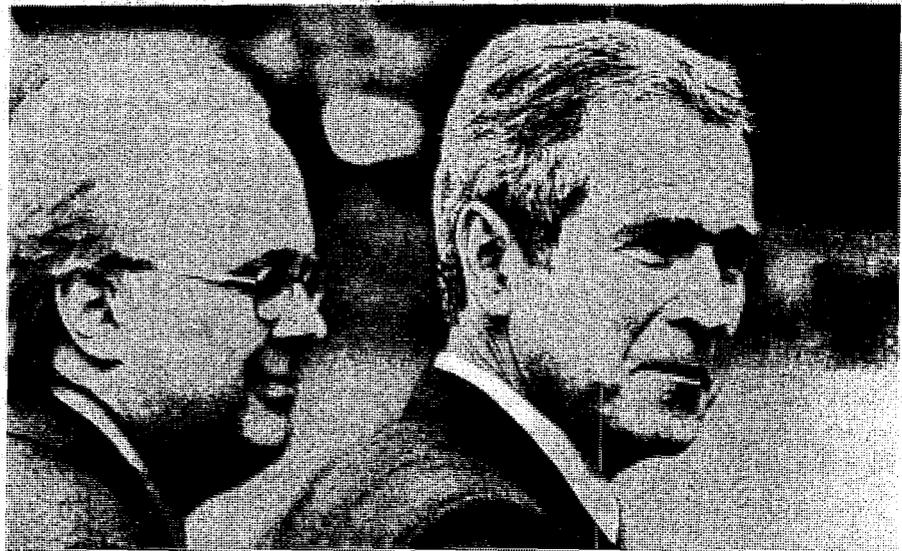
Boy Genius: Karl Rove, the Brains Behind the Remarkable Political Triumph of George W. Bush, by Lou Dubose, Jan Reid, and Carl M. Cannon, New York: PublicAffairs, 253 pages, \$15

Bush's Brain: How Karl Rove Made George W. Bush Presidential, by James C. Moore and Wayne Slater, Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 395 pages, \$27.95

POLITICAL CONSULTANTS are like movie actors. A few achieve wealth and celebrity, even branding their tag lines onto our collective consciousness. James Carville's "It's the economy, stupid" is almost as familiar as Robert DeNiro's "You talking to me?" Seeing these examples, ambitious youngsters may try to follow their career path, not realizing that most people in the field never make the big time. Instead of clinking champagne glasses at ritzy receptions, the silent majority of consultants and actors must settle for store-brand beer and Cheez Whiz.

Elections turn on a wide array of forces, including economics, demographics, and sheer chance. Amid all of these variables, a well-executed campaign can lose, just as a troubled one can win. As soon as the outcome is clear, however, pundits credit the winners with brilliance and blame the losers for incompetence. The former become the subjects of books and the latter become questions in the political-junkie version of Trivial Pursuit.

When the Long Count of 2000 finally ended in a Bush victory, eyes turned to his lead strategist Karl Rove, the 52-year-old stalwart who has worked with Bush since his unsuccessful 1978 race for Congress



and who has helped many Texas Republicans win in a onetime Democratic stronghold. Ever since the Supreme Court ruled that Bush was president, numerous press reports have analyzed Rove's influence, and he was even a character in the mercifully short-lived sitcom *That's My Bush!* Now we have two full-length biographies: *Bush's Brain* and *Boy Genius*.

There's no question that Rove is a smart political operative who deserves careful study. But it's important to remember how easily things could have been different. If a few hundred more voters in Florida's Palm Beach county had understood simple ballot instructions, Rove would be back in Texas, Gore would be in the White House, and Gore campaign manager Donna Brazile would be on the cover of a book titled *Girl Genius*.

Any study of a current political figure has inherent limitations. It is hard to get candid comments from people who must continue to work with the subject after the book is out. And aside from the occasional leak, private papers will stay out of reach until the archives open, far in the

future. Within those constraints, both of these books about Rove have at least something to offer. Though one of them is often obscured by factual errors and reckless speculation, combined the two books paint a picture of an intelligent operative thrust by the exigencies of politics into an exalted position of perceived influence. That perception benefits both friends and foes of the Bush administration.

Boy Genius, by reporters Lou Dubose, Jan Reid, and Carl M. Cannon, is by far the better of the two. It offers a workmanlike analysis of the Texas political wars where Rove honed his skills and an overview of his role since Bush moved into the White House. Dubose and Reid wrote the Texas sections, and they show how Rove successfully halted a Democratic counterattack against burgeoning GOP dominance in that state by running a series of tough statewide campaigns. Drawing on the state's underlying conservatism and aided by Democratic missteps, Rove helped open the way for Bush's governorship and the GOP's near-total dominance in Texas politics today.

Veteran Washington journalist Carl Cannon wrote the section on the

Bush's Brain (cover detail)

Existential America (cover detail)

2000 election and the early Bush presidency. His treatment of the 2002 midterm is particularly valuable, as the president's party managed the unusual feat of gaining seats in both the House and Senate. Notwithstanding the GOP's rhetorical devotion to decentralization, Cannon describes a "top-down Bush era Republican Party" in which Rove made many of the key campaign decisions, including the emphasis on tax cuts and the recruitment of strong Senate candidates such as Norm Coleman of Minnesota.

In *Bush's Brain*, Texas journalists James C. Moore and Wayne Slater credit Rove with a vital decision

In Washington, there are two kinds of politicians with a stake in hyping Rove's influence: Republicans and Democrats.

that won Bush the 2000 campaign. Though West Virginia had long voted Democratic in close presidential races, Rove noticed that Clinton-Gore policies on gun control and the environment had irked the state's many hunters and mineworkers. He had the Bush campaign fight hard for the state while the Gore forces took it for granted. On election night, Bush won its five electoral votes, without which he would have lost the race.

The authors' account of the battle of West Virginia sheds some light on Bush's policies as president. Since the state is so pivotal, do not expect the administration to tack leftward on the Second Amendment or mining regulations. Supporters of limited government will find that much encouraging. On the other hand, the votes of West Virginia steelworkers

were on policy makers' minds when they hiked steel tariffs last year.

Unfortunately, this intelligent account of Rove's West Virginia strategy is the only good thing about *Bush's Brain*. The rest is a mess—not just bad, but bad the way Steven Seagal movies, Yugo convertibles, and muskrat-flavored yogurt is bad.

To begin with, the book is disturbingly laden with factual errors. Moore and Slater say, for example, that Rove styled the 2000 Bush campaign "after the work of Mark Hanna, an industrialist at the turn of the twentieth century." Rove has indeed compared the current period to the McKinley era. But he has explained that the better-known Hanna was just the GOP's money man, whereas its chief strategist—and Rove's role model—was not Hanna but Charles Dawes. Then an obscure thirtysomething lawyer, Dawes went on to a stellar career as budget director, vice president, and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

Moore and Slater's error is important. By missing Rove's true influence, they botch an important lead. Rove's fascination with Dawes could offer important clues about his worldview. (*Boy Genius* does get the Dawes reference right, but doesn't do much with it. Any future biography of Rove ought to develop it in depth.)

Moore and Slater also say that Rove tried to counter the Bush-as-Dumbo image by planting a story in the *National Review* listing all the big books that Bush had read. John J. Miller, the author of the story, replied in the *National Review Online*: "This is flatly wrong—or at least seriously misleading. Rove was not 'the source of the article.' I did speak with him and quote him, but he was one source among many. He was not even the originating source of the story, in the sense that I got the idea for it somewhere else."

Where *Bush's Brain* is not provably wrong, it relies overmuch on uneducated speculation. For instance, the authors devote two chapters to a 1986 incident in which Rove claimed that someone had bugged his office. He was running the

in his or her own way with the four *Ds*, yet always refusing to make a "fetish out of nihilism."

If *Existential America* falls short in any way, it is that Cotkin at times inveighs against contemporary America as "a culture saturated with the consolation of easy salvation" through easily gotten material goods and worldly success. Such a culture, he fears, breeds smugness, shallowness, and superficiality.

In such moments, he fails to appreciate that it is precisely the relative richness of lifestyle options, including banal ones, which predisposes us to existentialism and its insistence that "we must act." The freedom—however incomplete it may be—that has allowed Americans to constantly reinvent themselves in ways unimaginable in Europe is hardly an impediment to a deep and continuing appreciation of existentialism.

Indeed, the acts of choosing we necessarily make on a daily basis—in the marketplace, in the workplace, in how we live—are its very essence.

Nick Gillespie (gillespie@reason.com) is *reason's* editor-in-chief.



Republican campaign for governor of Texas, and he hinted that Democrats might be responsible. At the time, some reporters suspected that Rove had concocted the whole thing in order to discredit the other side. "Maybe Rove did not plant the bug," say Moore and Slater, but it is "hard to disconnect him from culpability in the incident."

Why exactly do they think this? Rove had spoken of seeing *Power*, the

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silly Richard Gere movie about political consulting. In that movie, Gere finds a listening device in his phone. So that's where Rove must have gotten the idea, right? (I've seen *The Godfather* dozens of times, but I have not put a single horse's head in anybody's bed, or even thought about doing so.)

The ratio of speculation to fact in *Bush's Brain* goes way up as its story stretches into the Bush presidency. Moore and Slater have few sources in Washington's GOP community, so they depend on conjectures from fellow outsiders. It's like covering the Super Bowl by talking to people who couldn't get tickets.

After the September 11 attacks, they note, a former associate of Rove wrote an editorial saying that American foreign policy had helped spawn terrorism. He e-mailed a copy to Rove, who never answered. (It's possible that a senior White House aide might have been a tad busy at the time.) A right-wing Web site then posted the editorial, drawing volumes of angry e-mail to the author's inbox. Was Rove responsible, as his former friend suspects? "There was simply no way of knowing, not for sure," Moore and Slater admit, but nevertheless dwell on the tale at some length.

The authors' assessments of the power Rove wields in the Bush White House makes them sound like the coke-addled Sherlock Holmes ranting about Professor Moriarty in *The Seven-Percent Solution*: "He is the organizer of half that is evil and of nearly all that is undetected in this great city. He is a genius, a philosopher, an abstract thinker. He has a brain of the first order." They even refer to the Cuban embargo as "the Rove doctrine." Egad, Eisenhower imposed

a partial embargo in 1960, and JFK expanded it the next year. Talk about a "boy genius"—Rove was in grade school at the time. Would Bush drop the embargo if Rove went off the payroll? And given the Cuban vote in the pivotal state of Florida, would Gore have dared to change it?

Moore and Slater also blame Rove's evil genius for the decision "to fight the war on terrorism, which was a just cause, and use the pureness of that purpose to advance the Republican political agenda." They start with a smidgen of fact. In June of 2002, a

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White House intern lost a computer disk in Lafayette Park. A Democratic Senate aide happened to find it, discovering a PowerPoint presentation by Rove and White House political director Ken Mehlman. Moore and Slater find dark significance in one slide that urged Republicans to "focus on war and the economy." Democrats damned that advice as a Rove effort to "politicize" terrorism. The plain fact is that those *are* the administration's top policy priorities, and would be if Karl Rove had never been born.

Carl Cannon gets the story straight in *Boy Genius*: "In truth, most of the stuff in the presentation, delivered to GOP donors at the posh Hay Adams Hotel, was boilerplate political fare. Still, it

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was embarrassing to misplace your own campaign materials. Hardly the stuff of genius.”

But Moore and Slater go even farther: Not only is Rove responsible for a political focus on the war—he was behind the war itself. The failure to catch Osama and crush al Qaeda was threatening Bush’s political standing, the argument goes, so the administration redefined the war on terrorism as a global conflict with evil. The war on terror was big enough, they say, but now we would go after any enemy whose destruction could gratify American souls and boost Bush in the polls. “Rove’s political strategy for the president transformed a policy whose scope and tenets were unprecedented in American history. All it needed was a little justification. And Iraq was handy.”

One of their “sources” on this point is a “political operative who has closely observed Rove’s tactics for many years.” This person says that Rove and Bush can now take their fight against evil and “apply that to anyone they want. Tom Daschle or Hussein.” Another operative calls the Iraq war “the most evil political calculation in American history.”

Despite the gravity of their accusation, the authors fail to offer a single scrap of evidence for Rove’s masterminding the war. The “Rove-wags-the-dog” scenario does not even make sense on its own terms. Just suppose that Rove did have the power to start a war for its political payoff. When he was allegedly plotting the map to Baghdad, the generals could not guarantee swift victory. There was a small but serious chance that the conflict might drag on and on, leaving Bush and Rove in political body bags.

In a cold electoral calculation,

would the probable benefits of victory have outweighed the risks of defeat? Not bloody likely. As an amateur historian, Rove would have known that successful wars are seldom good for the party in power. After World War I, the nation spurned Wilson’s Democrats and turned to Warren Harding. In the first midterm election after World War II, Republicans took control of Congress. And the year after the first Bush won the first Gulf War, he lost re-election with the lowest popular-vote share of any incumbent since Taft.

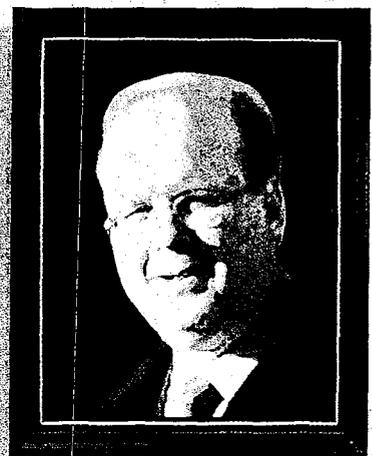
Though they take the theory to loony extremes, Moore and Slater are hardly alone in painting Rove as the real power of the Bush administration. The cover artist of *Boy Genius* illustrates the idea by placing a photo of Bush above the word *Boy* and Rove

above *Genius*. (Lest anyone miss the point, there is also a light bulb over Rove’s head.)

Journalists can easily find people who will agree that Rove is Professor Moriarty. In Washington, there are two kinds of politicians with a stake in hyping Rove’s influence: Republicans and Democrats. When Republicans disagree with the administration but do not want to criticize their president, they blame Rove. In 2001, for instance, the administration yielded to Hispanic groups that wanted to end Navy bombing tests in Vieques, Puerto Rico. Sen. James M. Inhofe, an Oklahoma Republican who backed the tests, grumbled to *The Washington Post*: “It was Karl Rove who made the decision. It was politically motivated.”



BOY

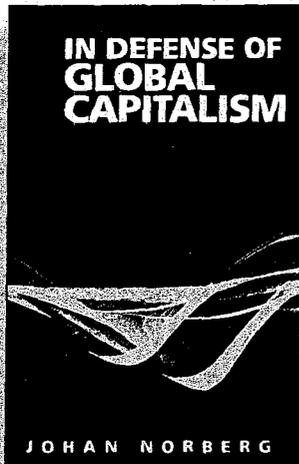


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And when Democrats have to admit that anything intelligent comes out of the Bush administration—headed by a man they dismiss as a grinning, brainless frat boy—they need Rove to take the credit. They simply cannot bring themselves to believe that that dummy Bush could have beaten Ann Richards, Al Gore, and the Taliban. In January, Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) addressed House Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) on the Senate floor about economic policy: "I ask my distinguished friend from Tennessee, I know you will see Karl Rove, and I want him

Despite these two biographies and a fair amount of press coverage, Rove remains a mystery—which is a good position for a loyal political aide to be in.

to see he is leading his distinguished president into the same trap that Bush 41 got led into."

It's hard to assess just how much Rove has guided the policies and strategies of the administration, since Bush is running a notably leak-free operation. White House aides and Republican operatives feel a genuine loyalty to the president, so they seldom talk out of turn to the press.

One who did was political scientist John DiIulio, who briefly headed the office of faith-based initiatives. In an e-mail to journalist Ron Suskind, DiIulio said: "Little happens on any issue without Karl's okay, and, often, he supplies such policy substance as the administration puts out. Fortunately, he is not just a largely self-taught, hyper-political guy, but also a very well informed guy when it comes to certain domestic issues. (Whether, as some now assert, he even has such

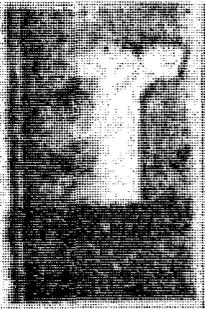
sway in national security, homeland security, and foreign affairs, I cannot say.)"

The e-mail also suggested that Rove and his fellow "Mayberry Machiavellis" have what DiIulio called a "libertarian" streak. So are they channeling the thoughts of Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek into substantive decisions? Alas, neither the e-mail nor Suskind's *Esquire* article was clear on this point, and DiIulio later backed away from his comments. (Policy outcomes have been a mixed bag for libertarians, who may applaud the tax cuts but worry about the enormous power of the Department of Homeland Security.)

Despite these two biographies and a fair amount of press coverage, Rove remains a mystery—which is a good position for a loyal political aide to be in. For a clearer picture of his role, we will have to wait for books that can analyze the Bush administration in retrospect. Will such works depict Rove as a success? The answer will depend on the 2004 election. A Bush defeat would diminish Rove's stature, even if it happens for reasons beyond his control.

Any future analyst of Rove, or of any political aide or consultant, would do well to keep in mind these words from Ecclesiastes: "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favor to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all." ■

Contributing Editor John F. Pitney Jr. (jpitney@mckenna.edu) is a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College.



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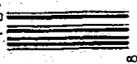
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CAN BUSH FINALLY FINISH OFF THE GREAT SOCIETY?

With Republicans in control of both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, it's not a great time for the Great Society. President George W. Bush and GOP leaders on Capitol Hill are seeking to restructure some of the signature social programs of the free-spending Golden Era of American Liberalism to fit the cash-strapped Age of Compassionate Conservatism. Among the mainstays targeted for overhaul: Head Start, Medicaid, and federal housing programs.

Reviving the rhetoric of Ronald Reagan's unfulfilled "New Federalism" initiative, Bush and his allies want to give governors more authority and flexibility in administering social safety net programs. But while most governors are attracted to the concept of "devolution"—as the Bush battle cry is called—many worry that Washington is just shifting responsibilities to them without guaranteeing long-term support. The result, they fear: a series of huge unfunded mandates that would force politically risky decisions such as raising taxes or cutting benefits.

"If there is a way to standardize and simplify these programs, that would be a plus," says Democratic Governor John E. Baldacci of Maine. "At the same time, we have to be careful because when you shift these programs from [the federal government] to block grants, states could be left holding the bag."

Now under the congressional microscope is Head Start, the \$6.7 billion program that provides nutrition, health care, and early education to nearly 1 million low-income 3- and 4-year-olds. Bush originally proposed giving governors lump sums to serve the nation's poorest preschoolers. Proponents argue this would allow state officials to integrate Head Start into existing educational offerings. Georgia, which has a pre-kindergarten program for all 4-year-olds, for example, would be a prime candidate for a block grant. "If you can coordinate Head Start with other state programs, poor children will get more help," says moderate Representative Michael N.

Castle (R-Del.), a former governor and sponsor of the bill. Even opponents of devolution acknowledge that Head Start could be improved by focusing it more on early-childhood learning. But critics fear that cash-strapped states would simply divert block grants to other priorities.

The first skirmish in the devolution wars was won by Bush's armies of compassion, but at a price. Concluding that a wholesale revamp of Head Start was too radical, the House Education and the Workforce Committee on June 12 voted to allow eight governors whose states already offer pre-K services, like Georgia and New Jersey, to receive block grants to run their Head Start operations for five years.

While that's less than Bush had sought, friends and foes see it as a White House win. "They couldn't get a Head Start block grant this year, but...they've taken a major step toward doing just that," says Representative George Miller (D-Calif.), a leading critic. The Administration agrees. "We're very pleased with the House bill because it moves us in the direction of the President's vision," says Wade F. Horn, Health & Human Services Assistant Secretary for children and families.

The pilot project looks likely to pass in the GOP-dominated House, but Senators Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) vow to block it in the Senate. Under state control, they fear, Head Start will skimp on health and nutrition. The outcome, when the Senate considers the legislation this summer, remains uncertain.

But if the President wins a second term, he is almost sure to step up efforts to reshape more costly low-income assistance programs, including Medicaid, which provides health care to the poor and disabled, and federal housing. Four more years, and Reagan's deferred dream of shrinking the federal government could be realized by Bush.

By Alexandra Starr



HEAD START: First target

CAPITAL WRAPUP

THE REAL PARTY OF FAT CATS

A new study by the nonpartisan Center for Responsive Politics confirms Democrats' worst fears: They rely far more on fat cats than the Republicans. Despite Democratic claims that the GOP is the party of the rich, the analysis of more than 2.4 million contributors in the 2002 election cycle shows Dems got 82% of million-dollar-plus checks—the kind now banned unless the Supreme Court invalidates campaign finance reform later this

year. Small, hard-money donors gave 64% of their money to Republicans.

The first evidence of the hard-money gap in two weeks in late June. Bush is expected to have raised more than all nine Democratic Presidential hopefuls did in the past three months.

A silver lining for Dems: They may have a incentive target in professional women. Income-earning women in the 1990 study found gave 61% of their money to Dems. Women who call themselves nonmakers, however, tilted the coin.

REVENGE ON THE NILE

Having already cut the developing nation on board, Egypt was considered critical when the Administration brought a veto case against the European Union over the top on new forms of genetically modified food. But under pressure from its major trading partner, Europe, Egypt has now dropped out of the U.S., Argentina and Canada sanctions. Now, something White House has privately said it plans to negotiate free trade deal with Cairo.

LOS ANGELES TIMES PHOTO BY GARY FRIEDMAN 2003

536137

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COMMENTARY

By Howard Gleckman

THIS MEDICARE REFORM IS NO CURE

After a decade of debate, Congress is moving to approve the biggest expansion of Medicare since the program was created 40 years ago. On June 27, the House and Senate each passed separate versions of a restructuring package and, by fall, Congress is likely to send a final bill to President George W. Bush. Supporters aren't shy about promoting its benefits, including its centerpiece—a new prescription-drug plan projected to cost taxpayers at least \$400 billion over the next decade.

Although lawmakers still must slog through scores of contentious details, they're likely to reach a compromise that finally will bring the massive federal health program for seniors into the world of modern medicine, backers say. Retirees will get some medicines paid for, a key benefit offered by nearly every private insurance plan in the U.S. but never added to Medicare. At the same time, the legislation aims to fundamentally overhaul the program by luring seniors into more efficient managed-care plans run by the private sector. The theory: The shift will improve treatment and save taxpayers money, helping to rein in ballooning Medicare costs while offsetting the expense of the drug benefit.

Those are laudable goals. Unfortunately, Congress isn't likely to achieve them. In an effort to compromise between Democratic demands for a big drug benefit and GOP efforts to open Medicare to market-based competition, lawmakers will accomplish neither. Originally, Bush wanted to require seniors to join managed-care plans in order to get drug insurance. But that approach was rejected on Capitol Hill. The likely compromise will allow retirees to switch voluntarily out of traditional fee-for-service Medicare.

Problem is, there won't be much incentive for them to do so. The GOP hopes private insurers can save enough



money through managed care to eventually offer better coverage to seniors who sign up. But experts are skeptical. And insurance companies, fearing the coverage will be unprofitable, are demanding extra subsidies to participate.

Health analysts are even more doubtful that the elderly will flock to new managed-care networks. Instead, most probably will remain in traditional Medicare, producing few savings to fund drug insurance. "Everybody can claim victory, but the extent to which the damn thing works isn't clear to me," says Bruce C. Vladeck, who ran Medicare for President Clinton. Adds University of Minnesota health economist Roger Feldman, a staunch supporter of privatizing the program: "I'm disappointed. Politics has trumped reform."

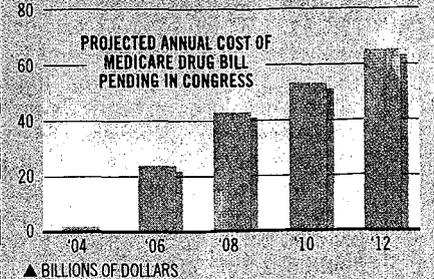
It won't be the

first time. Washington experimented with managed care starting in 1997 with a program called Medicare+Choice, which allowed companies to offer extra coverage to seniors who joined their plans. But federal payments to the insurers failed to keep up with double-digit cost increases, so they trimmed benefits. Eventually, many dropped the program altogether. At its peak, about 16% of retirees participated. Now, only about 11% are enrolled.

The new reforms try to avoid the pitfalls of that effort. For one, under

DRUGS FOR SENIORS: PRICIER THAN YOU THINK

A SOARING PRICE TAG...



PHOTOGRAPH BY CLAUDIA KUNIN/CORBIS; CHART BY LAUREL DAUNIS-ALLEN/VIEW

Medicare+Choice, the government set prices it paid to insurers. The new law will let companies bid for contracts. To further encourage them to participate, the government is likely to provide extra subsidies, such as reinsurance, to protect them against losses. Insurance lobbyists are already pushing for Con-

"Everybody can claim victory, but the extent to which the damn thing works isn't clear," says former Medicare chief Bruce Vladeck

gress to sweeten the pot. But that would only add to the taxpayer's tab.

Before the bill is finalized, the House and Senate will have to settle two big issues: Should the government offer a backup drug plan in regions of the country where private insurers will not, and how much competition should be permitted after 2010? Still, at their core, the two versions are remarkably similar. Seniors will get a drug discount card starting next year. Beginning in 2006, they will be eligible for Medicare drug insurance. To get it, they will

have to pay a monthly premium of about \$35 for a benefit that will cover about 25% of their costs.

While seniors won't have to switch to managed care to get their drug benefits, most of them will have to buy the insurance from private companies. They will either get it as an add-on benefit to go with old-style Medicare, or as part of a private plan that will cover the costs of hospital and doctor care as well as drugs. "We need to keep rewarding innovation and protecting competition," Bush said in a June 23 speech on the new legislation.

But real savings will come only if seniors opt to get all of their coverage from the private sector, not just the drug benefit. Insurers say they can cut costs and improve care for Medicare patients if the government gives them the flexibility. One way to do that is through disease management, a system of identifying patients at risk for high-cost chronic illnesses and working closely with them to control their conditions before they suffer a medical crisis.

The idea has shown promise among employer-based health-care plans and it could be a big help to the elderly. After all, almost half of all Medicare funds are spent on just 5% of seniors—43% of whom suffer from diabetes and 59% of whom suffer from congestive heart failure. But health-care experts aren't sure that such preventive measures can work with many seniors, especially the 30% of high-cost patients suffering from impairments such as Alzheimer's disease.

Another potential advantage for private insurers is their ability to cut costs by removing high-priced, low-quality doctors and hospitals from their managed-care networks. But that would force seniors to find new doctors, something most are loath to do.

Whether such tactics work or not, the muddled compromise that is in the works on Capitol Hill means they won't

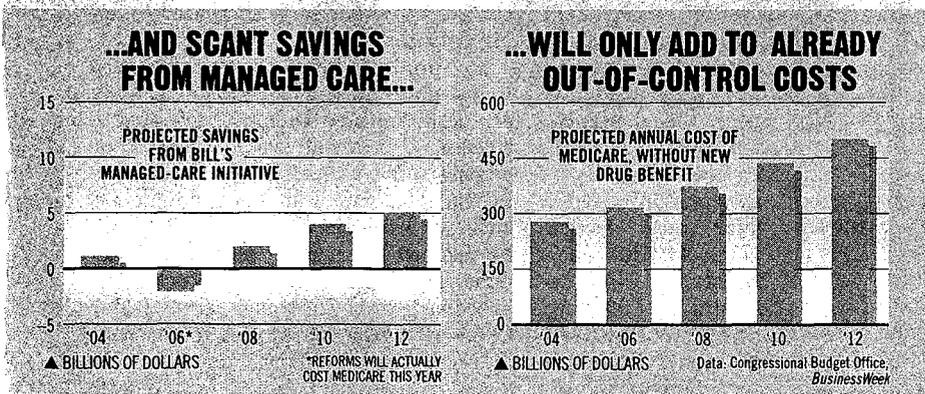
be put to the test for years. At least at the outset, private plans will be limited in their ability to compete with traditional Medicare. The House bill would open the system to more competition, but not until 2010. So far, no insurer has yet committed to selling Medicare coverage. Companies worry whether they will be able to profit from the arrangement, says Edward L. Wristen, CEO of First Health Group Corp., a managed-care company based in Downers Grove, Ill.

At the same time, less than 10% of seniors are likely to join a private-sector plan, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office. Some advocates insist that as retirees see the benefits of private plans, more will make the shift. For example, the Administration's Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS) thinks that eventually some 40% of the elderly will join the new plans. But even CMS Administrator Thomas A. Scully doubts that that will happen anytime soon. "The majority of seniors for the rest of my lifetime will be in fee-for-service Medicare," he says.

If managed care doesn't catch on, the savings will come to a paltry few billion dollars a year, the CBO estimates. Meanwhile, even skimpy drug coverage will cost the nation's taxpayers a lot more than the advertised \$400 billion over a decade. Indeed, the program's tab could hit \$70 billion a year by 2013. Given that the annual cost of Medicare is already expected to double by then, to a staggering \$500 billion a year, the extra \$70 billion would only worsen the program's fiscal woes. The legislation just delays "a serious discussion down the road about how we are going to finance Medicare," says Stuart H. Altman, a Brandeis University health policy professor.

All of this uncertainty is one reason why Urban Institute economist Marilyn Moon calls Medicare reform "faith-based health care"—that is, a massive bet on unproved theories and wishful thinking. Privately, many lawmakers concede that the new law will fall far short of expectations on all sides. Congress will pass Medicare reform this year because it is afraid to incur the wrath of seniors if it doesn't. But don't expect this political compromise to improve the health of most retirees—or boost the solvency of the troubled Medicare program.

Gleckman follows health policy from Washington.



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Sunday, August 31, 2003

*Budger
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Bush's Challenge

Domestic priority is finishing Medicare bill

When President Bush returns to Washington today, he faces his second largest domestic challenge: overhauling Medicare. His first big test was getting Congress to approve an education bill in 2001.

The president won then by building a bipartisan coalition. The same potential exists with Medicare, but Mr. Bush must work hard at sustaining support. These areas deserve his attention:

■ **Ensure seniors have access to generic drugs.** Generic drugs can shave \$60 billion off the cost of medicines for patients, employers and the government. Congress is right to add a prescription drug benefit for seniors, but there's nothing wrong with thinking wholesale.

■ **Allow seniors to import medicines from Canada.** The drug companies hate this, but imported medicines from Canada can knock down costs. Legislators should include this option and let the Food and Drug Administration ensure the medicines' safety.

■ **Require wealthier seniors to pay more for their benefit.** The House's Medicare bill trumps the Senate's here. It requires seniors with more than \$60,000 in annual income to pay more for their prescription drug benefit. This is fair, and it will help keep the drug benefit price tag around \$400 billion over the next decade.

■ **Subsidize seniors up to 160 percent of poverty.** The Senate wants Washington to underwrite the full cost of prescription drugs for seniors in a two-person family with income up to \$20,000 annually. That's right, and it is better than the House proposal, which subsidizes

fewer lower-income seniors.

■ **Encourage former employers to keep covering prescriptions.** One-third of seniors receive drug coverage from their former employers, but some fear the reform bill will cause them to lose this option. That's not right. Congress should give employers incentives to keep covering their retirees.

■ **Make Medicare more competitive.** The House does a far better job here. By 2010, it would turn Medicare into the equivalent of the popular federal workers plan. Seniors would select annually from a range of health care options.

The competition among plans would give seniors more choices and hold down Medicare's galloping costs.

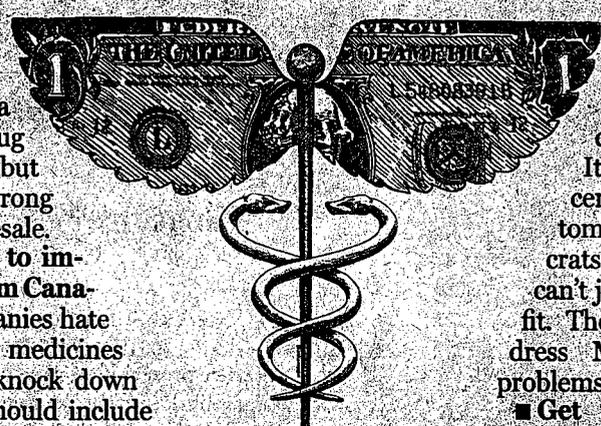
It could knock 1 percent off Medicare's bottom line. Some Democrats balk, but legislators can't just add a drug benefit. They also need to address Medicare's financial problems.

■ **Get stakeholders to think sensibly.** Example One:

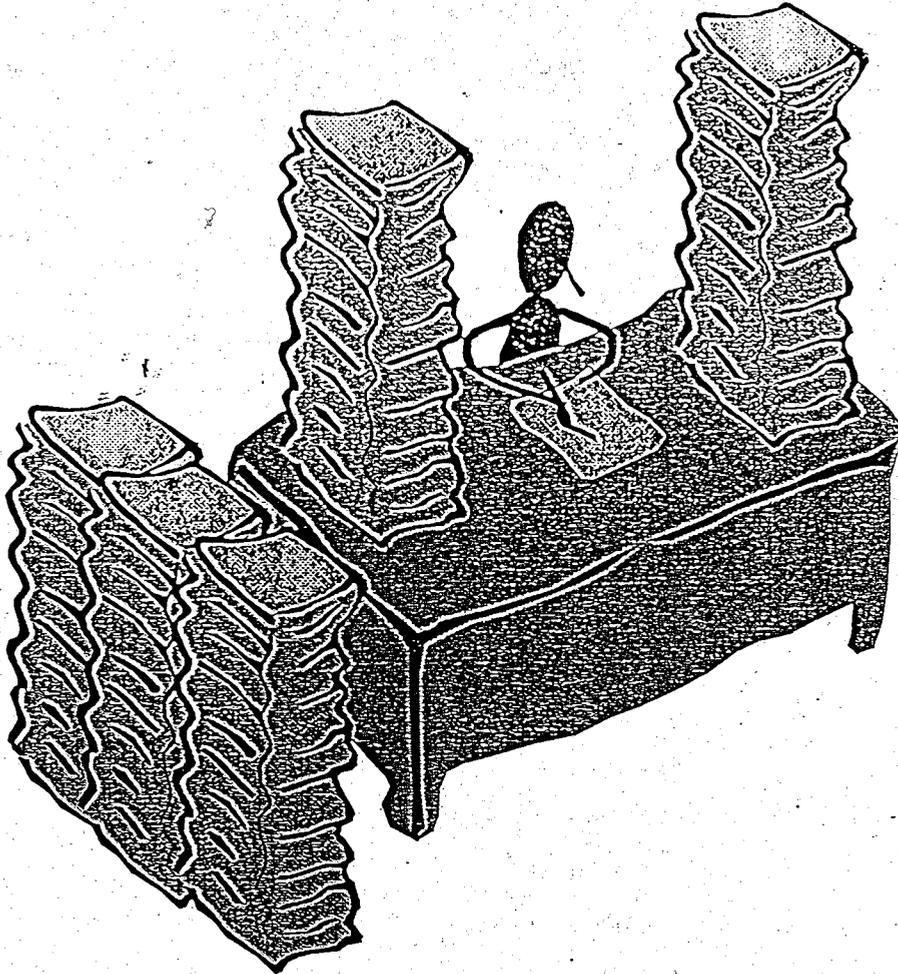
Strike a compromise with medical technology advocates. They want Medicare to make faster decisions about covering the latest advancements. Fine. In return for speed, advocates should realize Medicare can't cover every discovery.

Example Two: Strike a deal on cancer care drugs. Pay doctors less for the medicines, but pay them more for administering them. Judging from our interviews with cancer care advocates and Medicare experts, this equation should be satisfactory.

It's possible to finally reform Medicare. But the president needs to lead the effort after Labor Day. This strategy will help him. Congress and Medicare patients secure a big triumph.



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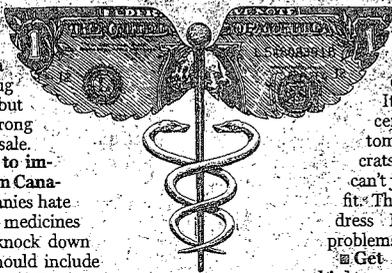
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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536137

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/9/03

To: *David Leitch*

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
 - Deadline
 - Other
- Comments: _____

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Note - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	09/08/2003	P2; P5; P6/b6;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536138 [1]

FRC ID:

9721

OA Num.:

10745

NARA Num.:

10803

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]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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OFFICE OF THE SENIOR ADVISOR

202-456-2369

202-456-0191 FAX

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: Ed Gillespie	FROM: Karl Rove
COMPANY: RNC	DATE: SEPTEMBER 9, 2003
FAX NUMBER: 202-863-8774	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 4
PHONE NUMBER:	SENDER'S PHONE NUMBER: 202-456-2369
RE:	SENDER'S FAX NUMBER: 202-456-0191

- URGENT
 FOR REVIEW
 PLEASE COMMENT
 PLEASE REPLY
 PLEASE RECYCLE

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Information Concerning Sierra Club Future Campaign... - To: William Greene - From: Rich Nolan	3	09/09/2003	PRM;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536138 [1]

FRC ID:

9721

OA Num.:

10745

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10803

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Re: Secure Question - To: Karl Rove - From: Ed Gillespie	1	08/31/2003	PRM;

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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:

536138 [1]

FRC ID:

9721

OA Num.:

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FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

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536137

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/16/03

To: *Steve Hadley*

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
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: _____

Steve - did you

2 copies for
St. Staff

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Wehner, Peter H.
Sent: Tuesday, September 02, 2003 11:39 AM
To: Rove, Karl C.
Cc: Goergen, Barbara J.; Ralston, Susan B.

and don't see this?

lme

Subject: "Willpower: Why the Public Can Stomach Casualties in Iraq" (the New Republic cover story this week)

WHY THE PUBLIC CAN STOMACH CASUALTIES IN IRAQ.

Willpower

by Lawrence F. Kaplan

Post date: 09.02.03

Issue date: 09.08.03

Incidents like last week's destruction of the U.N. headquarters in Baghdad, combined with the steady drip of American casualties, have prompted many opinion-makers to conclude the American public has had enough. "Those are good kids that we're sending into the shooting gallery called Iraq," noted *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert, adding that his readers "have to be nursing the sick feeling that each death is a tragic waste, and this conflict is as much a fool's errand as the war in Vietnam." Nor is this reading confined to the op-ed pages. "[T]here are an awful lot of Americans who are kind of sleepless these days," presidential aspirant Howard Dean informed a crowd last weekend. "They are sleepless wondering whether their kid is going to be the next to die in Iraq." Complaining that American troops have become targets in Herbert's "shooting gallery," Ted Kennedy wants to know, "How do you console a family by telling them that their son or daughter is a casualty of the postwar period?"

But the casualties generated in Iraq's "shooting gallery" rile the likes of Dean and Herbert more than they do the public at large. Well before the first shot was fired, a mass of polling data suggested the country's willingness to tolerate battle deaths in Iraq exceeded even the figures predicted in worst-case scenarios. In 1999, a massive opinion survey conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) asked people to name the highest number of American military deaths they would accept in a war to "prevent Iraq from obtaining weapons of mass destruction." The mean response: 29,853. A CBS News/*New York Times* survey last October found that 54 percent of respondents favored military action even in the event of "substantial" American casualties. Despite the failure to locate weapons of mass destruction, the war's bloody aftermath hasn't elicited much of an outcry, either. In the face of mounting casualties, 58 percent of those questioned in a July *Wall Street Journal*/NBC poll said American troops should stay in Iraq "as long as necessary to complete the process, even if it takes as long as five years." Another poll in July, this one for *The Washington Post* and ABC, found three in four respondents expected significantly more American deaths, yet seven in ten still believed U.S. forces should remain in Iraq "until civil order is restored there, even if that means continued U.S. military casualties." The most recent *Washington Post* survey, taken during the second week in August, shows the number of Americans who support the U.S. presence in Iraq--seven in ten--remains unchanged. Even a *Newsweek* poll taken in the aftermath of last week's U.N. bombing found that 60 percent of respondents support maintaining current force levels in Iraq for more than a year, with twice as many favoring staying ten years or more as supporting immediate withdrawal.

There is a story behind these numbers. In recent years, the public's unwillingness to tolerate combat deaths has become an article of faith for America's leaders. The first President Bush justified the

decision to halt the Gulf war short of Baghdad on the grounds that doing otherwise would have entailed further American losses. President Clinton imbibed the same lesson after the October 1993 slaughter of crack American troops in Somalia, subsequently offering assurances to the public that any military action would endanger as few lives as possible. Clinton-era Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Hugh Shelton even devised a "Dover Test" for the use of force: "Is the American public prepared for the sight of our most precious resource coming home in flag-draped caskets into Dover Air Force Base?"

According to the TISS data, the architects of U.S. foreign policy believe the answer is no. Seventy-eight percent of officers and a nearly identical percentage of their civilian counterparts agreed with the statement: "The American public will rarely tolerate large numbers of U.S. casualties in military operations." America's foes agree as well. Prior to the first Gulf war, Saddam Hussein insisted that Americans could never tolerate "ten thousand dead in one battle." For his part, Osama bin Laden boasted that the collapse of U.S. support for the operation in Somalia "convinced us that the Americans are a paper tiger." But those who insisted the American public has no stomach for casualties were wrong then, and they are wrong now. The real challenge for America's leaders will not be convincing the public to stay the course in Iraq. It will be convincing themselves.

The public has long been less fearful of casualties than America's political and military elites assume--and, for that matter, less fearful than the elites themselves. According to polls taken by the American Institute for Public Opinion (AIPO), the level of support for World War II never slipped below 75 percent, even though more than 200,000 Americans had been killed by mid-1945. World War II, of course, was the "good war." But the absence of a correlation between casualties and public support holds true even in more controversial conflicts. Survey data dating back half a century consistently shows that what determines the public's willingness to tolerate casualties has little to do with casualties themselves.

Specifically, polls demonstrate that Americans will sustain battle deaths if they think the United States will emerge from a conflict triumphant, if they believe the stakes justify casualties, and if the president makes a case for suffering them. Each of these measures has important implications for the operation in Iraq. "The public is defeat-phobic, not casualty-phobic," Christopher Gelpi and Peter Feaver conclude in their forthcoming book, *Choosing Your Battles: American Civil-Military Relations and the Use of Force*, which culls a mountain of data to prove the point. In Korea, for example, an AIPO survey found that public support for the war in August 1950 was a sturdy 66 percent--despite the death of 5,000 American soldiers in the two-month-old war. By December 1950, however, that number had plummeted to 39 percent. Because of battle deaths? Probably not. Between November 1950, when Chinese forces intervened in the conflict, and the time of that survey, the United States suffered a series of devastating battlefield defeats. A few months later, once U.S. forces halted the Chinese offensive and launched their own, public support climbed--even as the number of American deaths passed the 20,000 mark. A 1994 RAND corporation study even concluded that the Korea toll "led not to cries to withdraw but to a desire to escalate."

Even Vietnam, where the myth of a risk-averse public was born, proves nothing of the kind. There, too, the public's sensitivity to casualties depended on its faith in the eventual success of the mission. And, prior to the Tet Offensive in 1968, that faith remained substantially intact. Despite the more than 10,000 Americans killed by then, numerous opinion polls taken on the eve of Tet found a clear majority favored either continuing or escalating the war. According to a Harris Poll, 31 percent of those surveyed in mid-1967 cited American casualties as the most disturbing feature of the war. But, in the aftermath of Tet, which the media portrayed as a major defeat, "the impact of casualties on support tripled in size," according to Gelpi and Feaver. Within a month, the percentage of those most troubled by American losses rose to 44 percent. Even so, those favoring a withdrawal from Vietnam never comprised a majority before the Nixon administration's decision to "Vietnamize" the war, when withdrawal became

official policy.

Moreover, victory isn't the only source of public resolve in the face of battle losses--a fact that has become fairly obvious throughout the past decade. "[W]hen important interests and principles have been at stake, the public has been willing to tolerate rather high casualties," Eric Larson writes in his 1996 book, *Casualties and Consensus: The Historical Role of Casualties in Domestic Support for U.S. Military Operations*. "In short, when we take into account the importance of the perceived benefits, the evidence of a recent decline in the willingness of the public to tolerate casualties appears rather thin."

The paramount example of this tolerance was the 1991 Gulf war. As John Mueller's book *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War* shows, American casualty estimates prior to Operation Desert Storm ranged into the tens of thousands. The public was well aware of these figures. A poll taken by the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation on the eve of the ground war found that 67 percent knew about a Pentagon estimate forecasting 30,000 American deaths. Far from prompting a collapse in support, a Gallup Poll taken during the same period reported that a majority felt the Gulf crisis was worth going to war over, even if that meant up to 40,000 American deaths. Looking back at the polls, Larson details how the public's willingness to incur casualties derived from the promotion of a "number of foreign policy goals or principles in the Gulf that majorities of the public generally thought were very important"--among them, to deter further aggression by Iraq, to prevent Saddam from developing weapons of mass destruction, and to reverse Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

Needless to say, the first Bush administration tirelessly advertised each of these interests--just as the present Bush administration mounted a p.r. offensive to explain to the country its reasons for going to war in Iraq. The point may seem obvious, but members of the public do not pinpoint vital interests by themselves; the president usually does it for them. Or doesn't. In Lebanon, for example, public support for the U.S. intervention *increased* after the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut. But, when President Reagan backed away from the operation, that support evaporated. Similarly, when 18 Rangers were killed in Mogadishu, NBC, ABC, and CNN polls found that 61, 56, and 55 percent, respectively, favored sending more troops to Somalia. That support, too, disappeared as it became clear the president himself no longer backed the mission. Numbers like these lead the Program on International Policy Attitudes' (PIPA) Steve Kull and Clay Ramsay, writing in the book *Public Opinion and the International Use of Force*, to conclude that "polls show little evidence that the majority of Americans will respond to fatalities by wanting to withdraw U.S. troops immediately and, if anything, are more likely to want to respond assertively." Neither Reagan nor Clinton, however, made use of the public's inclination.

Reagan and Clinton may have been reticent because the group most likely to recoil from casualties happens to be the very elites who attribute the tendency to the public. The TISS survey found that military leaders consistently show less tolerance for casualties than civilian leaders, who, in turn, show less tolerance for casualties than the mass public. (In Iraq, for example, the TISS survey showed the public would tolerate, as a mean figure, 29,853 deaths, civilian elites would tolerate 19,045, and military elites would tolerate 6,016.) Hence, when policymakers use casualties as an excuse for inaction, Gelpi and Feaver argue, "they are either tying their own hands or responding to constraints imposed by the military." Tying their own hands because, among civilian policymakers, assumptions about a battle-shy public and the steep political cost of casualties have been axiomatic ever since Vietnam. The "lessons" of Vietnam have also become canonical among senior officers, who fear that, as in Southeast Asia, they will be the ones blamed for battlefield losses. Nor, in the years since, have skittish commanders-in-chief or generals done anything to relieve that fear. On the contrary, they have instilled in the officer corps a zerodeflect mentality, under whose terms casualties have become synonymous with failure. During the '90s, for example, the core mission of the Army's European Command was "To Protect and Take Care of the Force."

All this may seem like proof of heightened moral awareness on the part of America's leaders--and, in the sense that casualty-phobia translates into a greater concern for human life, it surely is. But, in other ways, it has ensnarled the United States in thorny dilemmas to which these same leaders have yet to provide an adequate response. The habit of advertising our fears as if they were virtues has emboldened the likes of bin Laden, Saddam, and Slobodan Milosevic. Closer to home, casualty-phobia has confused the military's mission and ethos, which is to defend the nation, not itself. It has also led to operations like Kosovo, in which civilians below paid the bill for orders that kept U.S. bombers safely above an altitude of 15,000 feet, and the 1998 missile attack on a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, where the availability of risk-free weapons allowed the White House to employ force casually and without due reflection.

Fortunately, the Bush team has begun to jettison the elites' casualty obsession. To be sure, the White House has benefited from a hardening of public resolve in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Before the war began in Afghanistan, for example, polls showed large majorities supporting military action even if it meant thousands of American deaths and a war that lasted years. Still, fearing casualties and a repeat of the Soviet misadventure in Afghanistan, Pentagon officials relied too heavily on proxies and air power. But, after the battle of Tora Bora, where the proxy strategy enabled hundreds of Al Qaeda operatives to flee the area, the United States reversed course, putting large numbers of troops on the ground. Nor did the administration bend when its risky thrust toward Baghdad cost the lives of as many as 20 Americans on a single day. Neither, for that matter, has the war's aftermath prompted any public second thoughts from the president. "There are some who feel like, that if they attack us, that we may decide to leave prematurely," Bush said last month. "They don't understand what they're talking about."

The magic question, of course, is whether the public agrees with the president. The evidence so far suggests that it does. To begin with, unlike Nixon in Vietnam, Reagan in Lebanon, and Clinton pretty much everywhere, the public trusts and approves of Bush's stewardship of postwar Iraq. A CBS News poll taken during the second week of August found that 57 percent approve of "the way George W. Bush is handling the situation with Iraq," while a *Newsweek* poll, taken after last week's bombing, put that number at 54 percent. "So long as the president is not panicking at the sight of casualties, neither will the public," says Feaver. Far from panicking, Bush has been criticized for excessive bellicosity--his "bring 'em on" taunt, for example. Perhaps not the wisest choice of words, but Bush's challenge to the Iraqi guerrillas did telegraph a certain resolve. Responding to the attack on the U.N. headquarters compound, he made the point more eloquently. The bombers, Bush said, "are finding that our will cannot be shaken. Whatever the hardships, we will persevere."

Second, according to the most recent polls, a majority continues to interpret restoring stability in Iraq as a vital national interest. Hence the 58 percent who told *The Wall Street Journal/NBC* survey that American troops should remain in Iraq for "as long as necessary, ... even if it takes as long as five years" and the 72 percent who told *The Washington Post/ABC* poll that they should stay in Iraq "until civil order is restored there, even if that means continued U.S. military casualties." This, despite the fact that 75 percent of respondents to *The Wall Street Journal/NBC* poll believe that "most of the challenges in Iraq remain ahead." Nor does the public have any illusions about the human cost this will entail. "There is a public perception that we cannot afford to lose in Iraq," says Andrew Krepinevich, the author of an influential book on counter-insurgency strategy and director of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, "and the public's tolerance of casualties will be considerably stronger as a result." Bush's vulnerability comes from the growing number of Americans who see events going the wrong way on the ground. In the most recent CBS News poll, only 45 percent see "the United States in control of events taking place in Iraq"--a figure that has declined from 71 percent in April. Similarly, 53 percent of respondents to the latest PIPA survey think the "process of rebuilding Iraq is going 'not very well' or 'not at all well.'" These findings do spell trouble for the president. For public willingness to tolerate casualties remains as much a function of success as anything else. And, for the time being at least, poll

respondents believe that the United States has yet to achieve it in Iraq.

How exactly, then, does the public measure success in Iraq? Opinion surveys point to America's ability to promote stability and democracy as two key tests. Of course, measuring order is easier than measuring democracy, and, given polls that show the public believes the United States has lost control of events there, it may also be the more important measure. Rampaging mobs, acts of sabotage, incendiary clerics, terrorist bombings--these are the sorts of things Americans can do without on the evening news. And, if the president intends to sustain public support, he will have to see that Iraq does without them as well. Even if that means more money, more troops, and, yes, more casualties.

536137



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/16/03

To: Hezlie Westine
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
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: _____

PACEC
PanAfrican
Charismatic Evangelical
CONGRESS

ledee-disun.

Headquarters: PACEC, 3045 South Crenshaw Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90016 (323) 733-1048
www.pacec.org PACEC, 411 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02124 (617) 373-7273

May 26, 2003

Condoleezza Rice
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Dr. Rice,

I am writing, first, to express my profound appreciation to and your superb staff for all the excellent behind-the-scenes work you did to make the recently passed Global AIDS bill H.R. 1298 a reality for fighting HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean. We have admired you for the fine job you have done in your role as National Security Adviser to the President. You have made the black community proud as an example of excellence and intellectual achievement.

We are well aware of much of the hard work you have done on behalf of the issue of HIV/AIDS in Africa since President Bush first took office in 2001. God bless you for your commitment to that continent and its people.

Also, we commend Dr. Jendayi Frazer for her fine work that we witnessed in full display at a recent White House briefing on the Global AIDS legislation before a group of testy religious fundamentalists.

I am also writing to invite you to come to be honored at the West Angeles Cathedral at a Sunday morning service on August 24, 2003. This service comes at the conclusion of our **First National Black Church Summit on AIDS, Africa and United States Foreign Policy**, that is being held from August 19 - 22, 2003. As you may know, I am the pastor of a 24,000-member church in Los Angeles. I would be honored to publicly recognize the extraordinary work that President Bush has done on behalf of Africa and her orphans.

I would appreciate hearing from your office whether you would be able to visit with us on August 24. I may be reached at my Los Angeles office above.

In His Service,

BISHOP CHARLES E. BLAKE
Chair, Steering Committee, Pan African Charismatic Evangelical Congress
Pastor, West Angeles Church of God in Christ, Los Angeles, California

PACEC

PanAfrican

Charismatic Evangelical

CONGRESS

Headquarters: PACEC, 3045 South Crenshaw Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90016 (323) 733-1048
www.pacec.org PACEC, 411 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02124 (617) 373-7273

May 26, 2003

Colin L. Powell
Secretary of State
U.S. Department of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Secretary Powell,

On behalf of the Pan African Charismatic Evangelical Congress (PACEC), I would like to invite you to be the keynote speaker for our August 19 - 22, 2003 event, the **First National Black Church Summit on AIDS, Africa and United States Foreign Policy**. The Congress seeks to shape humanitarian responses to the development crisis in Africa on the part of the black church in the U.S.

This event, to be held at the West Angeles Cathedral in Los Angeles, will invite 1000 black pastors, informed laypersons, as well as other U.S. policy elites from government, academia, and research institutes. The summit's goal is to develop bipartisan partnerships between the Bush Administration and the U.S. black church with respect to foreign and development policy toward Africa.

Its objectives are to: applaud the Bush Administration for its efforts on behalf of Africa; identify Africa policy areas of mutual interest; position the PACEC as a key actor in policy debates on Africa, and; educate black clergy about Africa policy issues in order to equip them to advocate effectively.

The Congress is well aware of Africa's rising national security importance. In recent years, the spread of radical Islam through frontline states on the continent, such as Nigeria, Kenya, and elsewhere has necessitated the re-examination of Africa's role in geopolitics. Moreover, the instability of Middle Eastern sources of oil and the analysis of the HIV/AIDS pandemic as a national security threat have caused Africa to rise to the top of the agenda of United States foreign and development policy elite. Your visit to key African states underscored the increased importance of the continent in the Bush Administration's agenda.

The Congress welcomes the Bush Administration's new course of action with respect to the foreign and development policy of the United States toward Africa. We share much of the concern that governmental institutions in developing countries can be inefficient, ineffective, and too far removed from the problem to be effective in the area of development assistance.

03/02/2000 10:17:00 AM 2000

Moreover, as a network of non-state actors, we recognize the value of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), which are often more transparent, accountable, and efficient. Finally, we are pleased that the Bush Administration recognizes the key role that faith-based programs can play in carrying out development work. In sub-Saharan Africa, such institutions play a central role in addressing a range of development issues, including the HIV/AIDS pandemic. (Another of our institutions, the Pan African Children's Fund (PACF) has been raising substantial amounts of money from the black church and the entertainment industry to address the continent's burgeoning AIDS orphan population. We fund orphan care institutions in several African countries.)

In addition to inviting you to be our keynote speaker, my wife and I would like you to attend a special reception for about 25 people at my residence in Beverly Hills after your address. U.S. policy elites and selected celebrities will attend. We hope to further the discussion of Africa-related issues in a more comfortable, informal setting.

It is my sincerest hope that you will lend your insight and expertise to this summit. Its analysis, focus, and capacity to generate measurable outcomes will be greatly enhanced by your participation. I may be reached at my Los Angeles office above.

In His Service,

BISHOP CHARLES E. BLAKE
Chair, Steering Committee, Pan African Charismatic Evangelical Congress
Pastor, West Angeles Church of God in Christ, Los Angeles, California

PACEC PanAfrican Charismatic Evangelical CONGRESS

Headquarters: PACEC, 3045 South Crenshaw Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90016 (323) 733-1048
www.pacac.org PACEC, 411 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02124 (617) 373-7273

FAX

To: Karl Rove, 202-456-0191
James Towey, 202-456-7387
David Kuo

From: Rev. Eugene F. Rivers 3d

Pages: 2 Date: 6/23/2003

Re: First National Black Church Summit on AIDS, Africa and U.S. Foreign Policy;
dates - TBA

- Urgent For Review Please Comment Please Reply Please Recycle

Gentlemen,

As you are all aware, Bishop Blake and the Pan-African Charismatic Evangelical Congress, on the 26th of May, sent invitations to Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice to participate in an August event at the West Angeles Cathedral. The purpose of the event was to educate the major Black Church leaders and 1000 black clergy from across the US. The related objective was to celebrate the achievements of the Bush Administration regarding Africa and to publicly communicate our support for the administration's initiatives. Additionally, Bishop Blake was going to host a VIP reception with major figures from the black entertainment community in Los Angeles. Such figures as Denzel Washington, Angela Bassett, Samuel L. Jackson, Magic Johnson, and Reginald Hudlin would be among those invited. Also, invitations were extended to Bishop T. D. Jakes, Creflo Dollar, Bishop Eddie Long, et al. This event was to be hosted by Bishop Blake at his home in Beverly Hills. It should be emphasized that we have been doing extensive outreach across denominations to make this a genuinely ecumenical initiative. We have a solid mailing list of 54,000 black churches across the US that we would utilize to publicize these events. This database comes from our work through the Pan-African Children's Fund, which is an ecumenical, humanitarian agency.

As you are all aware, Bishop Blake was the first major league Black Church leader to support and endorse the Bush administration's initiatives regarding Africa in January of 2001, in the "Pastoral letter to President Bush on Healing our Racial Divide". We were informed by Dr. Rice's office that our proposed date would not work and we are still waiting to hear from Gen.

Powell's office. This is an extremely important event for the Black Church nationally, and Bishop Blake has put his reputation and standing on the line in support of the President's faith-based initiatives. In January of 2001, we extended an invitation to the President to come to the cathedral. For understandable reasons, his schedule did not permit. Gentlemen, we are prepared to organize our summit around the availability of Gen. Powell and Dr. Rice, because we clearly recognize how extremely busy they are, for very obvious reasons. Any assistance that you could give us on getting some good dates between now and November would be deeply appreciated. On this matter, we now need your support.

Karl, we have put ourselves on the line, because what the President has done in the examples of Colin Powell, Condoleezza Rice, and his AIDS bill is the right thing. It is important that the administration show its support of black leaders just as it has done for Franklin Graham, Chuck Colson, James Dobson, et al.

Gene - yo man!

P.S. Karl, would like to do dinner with you and your buddy, Donna Brazile, to talk about areas of common interest. Also, I will be looking forward to working with Donna on organizing these events.

PACEC

PanAfrican

Charismatic Evangelical

CONGRESS

Headquarters: PACEC, 3045 South Crenshaw Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90016 (323) 733-1048
www.pacec.org PACEC, 411 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02124 (617) 373-7273

May 26, 2003

Dear President Bush,

We of the Pan African Charismatic Evangelical Congress (www.PACEC.org), a community of black Christian clergy, intellectuals, and informed laypersons, wish to publicly comment on your Administration's recent steps toward alleviating the HIV/AIDS crisis in sub-Saharan African and the Caribbean.

We want to commend you and your staff for your action in getting the House of Representatives to pass the Global AIDS bill H.R.1298, and we eagerly await its passage in the Senate, and the full appropriation of funds to transform its goals into reality. On behalf of blacks in the United States and the rest of the black world, we want to say a heartfelt "thank you."

We realize that it took great tenacity on your part to stand for honest and frank approaches to the needs of HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment among the affected populations in Africa and the Caribbean. We appreciate your realism, integrity, and courage in standing up to the radical fundamentalists of your own party who sought to dilute or derail this humanitarian initiative by the United States.

We have not forgotten that your commitment of \$15 billion dollars to fight HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean dwarfs immensely the feeble and paltry efforts of your predecessor, President Clinton, who could only find a mere \$200 million dollars for this effort during his entire eight years in office. The black American electorate and we shall remain mindful of this distinct and stark difference in tangible commitment to the most vulnerable in the human community today, as we continue to contemplate the true nature and moral and ethical compass of the two major parties.

We also should like to take this opportunity to thank and praise you for the presence of your Secretary of State Colin L. Powell, the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Condoleezza Rice, and your Senior Director for African Affairs Dr. Jendayi E. Frazer, for their tireless efforts behind the scenes in exercising an intellectually and morally robust humanitarian diplomacy in pleading the cause of millions of defenseless men and women, widows and orphans, who have suffered as a result of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

We also rise to commend your active and visible support of Secretary Powell, whom, while implementing your global diplomacy, has been the object of derision by extremist elements in the Republican Party, fringe characters in the American neoconservative movement, and agents of foreign interests, with attacks that many would regard as astonishingly un-American especially during a time of war. Your public affirmation of Secretary Powell stands as a sound and sharp rebuke to those who would otherwise undermine America's initiatives for more humane policies toward the nations of the earth.

In closing, we should like for the White House Office of Public Liaison at its earliest opportunity to host a formal briefing for black religious leaders on the implementation of the Global AIDS legislation once it is passed into law.

We pledge to continue to pray for you and your Administration, that you might continue to be guided by the Divine Wisdom.

In His Service,

BISHOP CHARLES E. BLAKE

Chair, Steering Committee, Pan African Charismatic Evangelical Congress
Pastor, West Angeles Church of God in Christ, Los Angeles, California

P.S. As you are aware, we extended an invitation through Karl Rove to invite you to come to speak at the West Angeles Cathedral. We again extend a warm invitation to you to speak on the issue of Africa and U.S. foreign policy. We would consider it an honor and pleasure to recognize your work and commitment on this issue.

08/02/2000 10:11:01 FAX

PACEC

PanAfrican

Charismatic Evangelical

CONGRESS

Headquarters: PACEC, 3045 South Crenshaw Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90016 (323) 733-1048
www.pacec.org PACEC, 411 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02124 (617) 373-7273

A Pastoral Letter to President George W. Bush on Bridging Our Racial Divide

Dear President Bush:

We write to you as black pastors and Christian intellectuals, speaking truth to power, and representing the voices and interests of millions of defenseless children from Harlem to Harare. We have a pastoral concern over the rancor and bitterness that has arisen during the past several weeks, stemming from the process of the November 2000 presidential election.

As you are well aware, many in the black community perceive themselves as having been politically disenfranchised, which is understandable due to the lamentable history of race relations in this country. Given the all-too-recent history of legalized discrimination, African-Americans can never be pleased when votes are not counted for reasons that, whatever the ultimate reality, even appear to disenfranchise American citizens. This is true regardless of the race of those affected, and rankles all the more when the offense is grounded in rank political motives. The fact that black votes were disproportionately "cast out" in Florida gives the Congressional Black Caucus and other black leaders a legitimate reason to be especially upset about the Supreme Court's resolution of the election contest in Florida.

As pastors, who care for the poor on a daily basis, we believe in the need for results, not rhetoric. On behalf of those we serve, we recognize, therefore, the need not to risk permanently alienating other Democratic leaders and burning all symbolic bridges to your Administration and white conservative Republican leaders, least of all over a few cabinet appointments. It is especially important not to inflame the debate over cabinet nominees with facile charges of racism. Such appointments, if they are to be fought, should be fought hard, on the policy merits of the respective nominees.

However, rather than further racialize what may be some fundamental and honest policy differences between your Administration and many in the black community, we think it better to focus on common areas of potential agreement where your Administration could make an historic difference in the lives of millions of black people here and abroad. We have a specific set of practical proposals that we are asking you to give substantive consideration.

First, we strongly encourage you to follow through on your previously stated commitment in your meeting with religious leaders on December 20, 2000 to make Africa "a high priority." Specifically, we call upon your Administration to work with Congress to immediately and unilaterally cancel the debts of the nations of sub-Saharan Africa, and ask other multilateral lending institutions to do likewise. Such cancellation, should be, in our judgment, conditioned on the use of said debt savings by these countries for fighting the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The specific focus of these efforts should be in the form of prevention, treatment, the creation of appropriate health care infrastructures, and the care of widows and orphans who have lost spouses and parents to AIDS. We too believe that African leaders must also be held accountable for their failures to respond compassionately to the suffering of their people.

We also call for the Administration to supplement these efforts to fight HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa by allocating an additional 2 billion dollars per year for the next ten years in humanitarian aid. At least two-thirds of these funds should be channeled through faith-based and community-based relief and aid organizations, in order to get the maximum volume of resources to those in need.

Turning to domestic issues, we ask that the Administration provide resources for, and develop a plan to implement universal medical care coverage, including a radical expansion of Medicaid child health care funding, so as to ensure every child in America, regardless of race, receives health care.

Second, we want the Administration to explicitly promise that the reauthorization of the 1996 welfare regime in 2002 will include a funded Presidential plan to radically expand child care and other auxiliary services to ease the transition to work by those on the welfare rolls.

Third, we want the Administration, and particularly the Department of Justice, to take a position against the proliferation of prisons. The Administration should create and fund a plan for achieving zero prison growth in the U.S. by the year 2005 or sooner, along with a plan to radically expand public and private help for prisoners' children.

Fourth, since prevention is such a vital part of reducing crime, we also call on the Bush Administration to focus on the needs of youth, particularly urban youth. We recommend two major initiatives: a) providing funding for academic and recreational afterschool programming in major urban centers, and b) developing a well-funded plan to assist urban and rural school systems to improve the quality of their teachers and administrators through increased salaries and higher standards for entry into the profession.

Fifth, we want the Department of Justice to fund municipalities to gather statistics on racial profiling. The Bush Administration must also fund those university-based research centers that have been assisting municipalities with the data-gathering process.

Finally, Mr. President, we request a meeting with you, Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice to discuss foreign and development policy for Africa. We also request a second meeting to discuss the other issues raised in this letter.

We think that prompt action by your Administration with the new Congress on these proposals will go far to allay the fears of many in our community concerning the meaning of "compassionate conservatism." Despite all, black Americans are prepared to know Republicans by their works. This would represent a unique opportunity for your Administration and Party to demonstrate to the world its good will toward black America.

In Christ,

January 22, 2001

BISHOP CHARLES E. BLAKE
Chair, Steering Committee,
Pan African Charismatic Evangelical Congress
Pastor, West Angeles Church of God in Christ
Los Angeles, California

BISHOP T. D. JAKES
Senior Pastor
The Potter's House
Dallas, Texas

Reverend Charles E. Brown
Pastor
Full Gospel Church of God in Christ
New Orleans, Louisiana

Operation Joseph

"African-Americans, like the biblical figure Joseph, have prospered in the land of their captivity. God is now calling the Black church in the United States to turn back and help our African brothers and sisters as they struggle against the AIDS pandemic. Millions of children await our response."

- Bishop Charles E. Blake, Sr.

Operation Joseph is an ecumenical, faith-based educational and service program created by Bishop Charles E. Blake, Sr., President of the Pan African Charismatic Evangelical Congress (www.PACEC.org), focusing on the long term need of AIDS orphans in sub-Saharan Africa. Working in collaboration with the Pan African Children's Fund's *Save Africa's Children* program, with an assortment of faith-based Protestant and Catholic NGOs, Operation Joseph will develop a new faith-based, policy-oriented class of young black Americans in the United States through service, education and training for work with the most vulnerable African AIDS orphans and their families.

MISSION

The mission of Operation Joseph is to recruit, educate, train and place black high school, college and graduate students, seminarians, clergy and lay leaders of African descent grounded in the historic U.S. black church to serve in, and provide support for, AIDS orphans care projects in sub-Saharan Africa. Operation Joseph is a Christian initiative, philosophically grounded in the Gospel values of peace and justice as taught by Jesus Christ.

GOALS

FOSTERING GOODWILL

Among the goals of Operation Joseph is to promote international cooperation, solidarity, and friendship. It also seeks to provide services to African children who are victims of the AIDS holocaust. We also want to promote better understanding between Africans on the Continent and people of African descent in the United States. The program will also be open to other groups of goodwill that would be responsive to black leadership in this effort.

Colin Powell
Dr. Rice

KR memos

Dineover's Mtg

July 28, 2003

MEMORANDUM FOR KARL ROVE

THROUGH ISRAEL HERNANDEZ

FROM: TIFFANY WATKINS

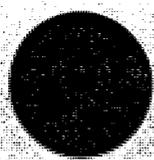
CC: LEZLEE WESTINE

SUBJECT: PanAFRICAN Charismatic Evangelical CONGRESS- First National Black Church Summit on AIDS, Africa and U.S. Foreign Policy

Bishop Charles Blake and Reverend Eugene Rivers have been supportive of the President's Africa and Faith Based Initiatives. An event with over 1,000 faith based leaders and premier African American entertainers would provide an excellent venue to celebrate and communicate the President's achievements on Africa and his other administrative initiatives. I recommend that the event be held at the convenience of Dr. Rice's and/or Secretary Powell's schedule before the end of 2003.



Senior Advisor to the President
The White House



H49442
FG006-27

Karl Rove
Phone: (202) 456-2369
Fax: (202) 456-0191

Date: Thursday, July 24, 2003

Date Due: July 28, 2003

To:

Action Requested:

SCANNED
BY
ORM

Tiffany Watkins, OPL, EEOB

Please make a recommendation

182

Correspondence Subject:

06/23/03 ltr from Rev. Eugene Rivers regarding invitations for Dr. Rice and Secretary Powell. Please let us know asap what you recommend.

Prepared by:

BJ Goergen (202) 456-2369

PACEC

PanAfrican

Charismatic Evangelical

CONGRESS

Headquarters: PACEC, 3045 South Crenshaw Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90016 (323) 733-1048
www.pacec.org PACEC, 411 Washington Street, Boston, MA 02124 (617) 373-7273

Tiffany Watkins
Recommend?
H49442

FAX

To: Karl Rove, 202-456-0191
 James Towey, 202-456-7387
 David Kuo

From: Rev. Eugene F. Rivers 3d

Pages: 2 Date: 6/23/2003

Re: First National Black Church Summit on AIDS, Africa and U.S. Foreign Policy;
 dates - TBA

Urgent For Review Please Comment Please Reply Please Recycle

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536137

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/15/03

To: Tim Goeglein
From: Strategic Initiatives BJ Goergen

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



September 12, 2003

Senator Judd Gregg
United States Senate
339 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Gregg:

On behalf of the millions of families represented by our organizations we are writing to express our strong support of Congressman Dave Weldon's amendment to the FY04 Commerce Justice State appropriations bill (HR 2799) that was adopted by the House in July. This amendment simply legislates that the Patent Office cannot approve a patent on a human organism. In short, humans should not be considered property. This is the policy currently held by the Patent Office and it is time to codify this policy in law.

As the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary begins work on the same appropriations bill, we ask you to protect the Weldon amendment. We are thankful for your commitment over the years to defend the dignity of life, especially in your work as chairman of this committee. With respect to your work with this appropriations bill, we ask that at a minimum you protect the amendment in the conference report, or in any potential omnibus bill. Life, as the President has said, should not be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold, but as a precious gift from God. This modest amendment is an important protection of life from those who would destroy life for a profit margin.

The threat of such frankensteinian science is very real, especially in light of the recent story of the creation of a male-female human embryo hybrid. It is time to enact legislation that would prohibit the manipulation of human life in this way, especially when human patenting is economically motivated and morally bankrupt. The Weldon amendment takes a step in the right direction and its protection is a top priority for our organizations.

Sincerely,

American Family Association
Christian Legal Society
Coalitions for America
Concerned Women for America

Family Research Council
Focus on the Family
Religious Freedom Coalition
Tradition, Family, Property, Inc.

cc: Karl Rove

536177

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/15/03

To: Barry Jackson

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: I showed this to KR.
OK to pass along to whomever you
deem appropriate. CER or EPA?

ETA

Wehner, Peter H.

From: Gribbin, DJ [DJ.Gribbin@fhwa.dot.gov]
Sent: Tuesday, August 19, 2003 7:34 AM
To: Wehner, Peter H.
Subject: FW: Hello and meeting with Peter Wehner

→ Jon Rauch
Recommendation
as well

Pete,

One of my old colleagues is interested in talking environment with you (see below). Alex is a Harvard graduate, former DOJ lawyer, and just a nice person. I don't know the degree to which you are interested in environmental issues, but if you are, Alex is a good resource.

(b)(6)

DJ

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

From: Beehler, Alex [mailto:BeehlerA@kochind.com]
Sent: Monday, August 18, 2003 4:47 PM
To: Gribbin, DJ
Subject: Hello and meeting with Peter Wehner

Dear D.J.,

I hope that things are going well for you and that four weeks has been relatively smooth adjustment for you.

I am wondering whether you could introduce me to Peter Wehner. Quick background. One of my goals within the Foundations environmental strategy is to reframe the focus of general policy discussion from "environmental protection" [process-oriented, protect status quo; people and nature segregated] to "environmental improvement" [focused on results- measures and willingness to experiment; innovation, forward-looking, market-based solutions; people and nature inclusive]. I have discussed the idea favorably with Jonathan Rauch, senior writer for " National Journal", and have approached Gregg Easterbrook about the possibility of the foundations funding him through Brookings Institution to write and speak on this issue. Gregg is very interested.

It occurred to me that perhaps someone within the Administration might be interested in this effort. Jonathan Rauch suggested that Peter Wehner, whom he did not know very well, might be such a person. Today, in the course of cleaning out e-mail backlog, I discovered an e-mail from Peter Wehner praising Gregg Easterbrook's work debunking environmental fatalism which had been forwarded by you to me and others in the office. This has inspired me to inquire how well do you know Peter, would Peter likely be interested in hearing about my efforts in this regard, and would you be willing to help facilitate a meeting ? I look forward to hearing from you.

Best Wishes,

Alex

8/19/2003

Alex Beehler
Charles G. Koch Charitable Foundation
655 15th Street, NW, Suite 445
Washington, DC 20005
202-737-8361 direct dial
202 737-8111 fax

536127

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/16/03

To: *Pete Wehner*

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
 - Deadline
 - Other
- Comments: _____
- _____
- _____

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The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
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Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536138 [1]

FRC ID:

9721

OA Num.:

10745

NARA Num.:

10803

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]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

536137

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/16/03

To: *Barry Jackson*

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
 - Deadline
 - Other
- Comments: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/16/03

To: *Mike Meece*

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
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/16/03

To: *Lezlee Westine*

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
- Deadline
- Other

Comments: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/15/03

To: Karl Rove

From: Strategic Initiatives Sean O' Hollaren
OLA

- 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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- Other

Comments: List on left includes
everyone undecided on FCC

Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	[List]	1	09/15/2003	P5;

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- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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