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Records Management, White House Office of
Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
W	11	4	4	2	9715	22578	10797	10739

Folder Title:

549271 [1] - [2]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Email	Fw: For My Meeting with Dr. Rice - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	2	12/19/2002	P5; P6/b6;
002	Email	Interesting - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	1	12/13/2002	P5;
003	Report	Medicare Reform and Prescription Drug Coverage: Critical Issues	4	N.D.	P5;
004	Memorandum	NEC/CEA/OMB Views on Substantive Framework... - To: Larry Lindsey, et al. - From: Chuck Blahous	3	11/14/2002	P5;
005	Email	New Draft of Questionnaire [with attachment] - To: Karl Rove, et al. - From: Lauren Willson	7	12/08/2002	PRM;

COLLECTION TITLE:

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SERIES:

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549271 [1]

FRC ID:

9715

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
006	Memorandum	Tracking Suggestions on Characteristics - To: Karl Rove - From: Lauren Willson	4	12/10/2002	PRM;
007	Email	Tonight's Strategy Meeting [with attachment] - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	3	12/18/2002	P5;
008	Briefing	[Issues with attachments]	4	N.D.	P5;
009	Memorandum	Evangelical Voter Registration and Turnout - To: Matt Schlapp - From: Blaise Hazelwood, et al.	4	08/12/2002	PRM;
010	Note	[Thanks] - To: Karl [Rove] - From: Jeanne Johnson	2	N.D.	PRM;
011	Draft	National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction	9	N.D.	P5;

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549271
FG006-27

Sarah Gesiriech

11/15/2002 09:08:02

Record Type: Record

To: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP@EOP, Alicia P. Clark/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message
Subject: National Adoption Day Event - Bruce Willis and Sec Thompson

On Saturday, Nov. 23, an unprecedented number of courts from coast to coast will open their doors to finalize the adoptions of more than 1,100 children from foster care and to celebrate all families who adopt. In honor of National Adoption Day, events will be held in 34 jurisdictions across the country including D.C., New York, Atlanta, Dallas, Seattle, and L.A. The national press conference will be held in Los Angeles.

Secretary Thompson and Bruce Willis will kick off events at the Edmund D. Edelman Children's Court in LA. The Secretary and Bruce will speak at the press conference and assist with adoption finalizations. Bruce will read a message from the President.

A press conference will also be held in D.C. and Assistant Secretary Wade Horn will represent the Administration. Other D.C. participants include Mayor Williams, Senator Craig (invited), Reps from Target, Freddie Mac Foundation, and former Miss USA Lynnette Cole.

National Adoption Day is sponsored by a coalition of national partners – The Alliance for Children's Rights, Casey Family Services, Children's Action Network, The Congressional Coalition on Adoption Institute, Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption, Freddie Mac Foundation and Target Corporation – dedicated to raising awareness of the more than 130,000 U.S. children in foster care waiting for adoption and to celebrating the joys of adoption.

Message Copied To:

Margaret M. Spellings/OPD/EOP@EOP
Brian R. Besanceney/OPD/EOP@EOP
Jay P. Lefkowitz/OPD/EOP@EOP
Chris Henick/WHO/EOP@EOP
Dee Dee Benkie/WHO/EOP@EOP

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: For My Meeting with Dr. Rice - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	2	12/19/2002	P5; P6/b6;

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FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

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549271
FG000-27

 Lauren L. Willson
12/17/2002 07:58:48 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Barry S. Jackson/WHO/EOP@EOP
Subject: Pew Survey Information

Susan,
Yesterday morning Karl had asked that I pass along the points to them. I e-mailed to them the following. Just let me know if I should do something different/additional.
Thanks,
Lauren

----- Forwarded by Lauren L. Willson/WHO/EOP on 12/17/2002 08:05 AM -----

 Lauren L. Willson
12/16/2002 03:10:37 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Stephen J. Hadley/NSC/EOP@EOP, Lawrence A. Fleischer/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: Pew Survey Information

Karl asked that I pass these points along to you:

- Last Thursday, December 12, Pew released a report entitled "Terrorism Worries Spike, War Support Steady."
- However, rather than holding steady, the percentage favoring taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule has **increased** from 55% in late October, to 62% in November, to 65% now.
- Pew finds since October, "there has been a sizable increase in support for the use of force among Democrats (13 points) and independents (12 points). Democrats, who opposed military action by 40%-51% in late October, now support it by 53%-36%."
- Among those very worried about another terrorist attack in the U.S., 71% favor the use of force in Iraq.
- Also, by a 55% to 28% margin, Americans say the U.N. weapons inspection team is **not** going far enough to ensure Iraqi weapons will be discovered.

(Survey conducted December 4-8, 2002; 1,205 Adults)

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Email	Interesting - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	1	12/13/2002	P5;

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FC006-27

SR. STAFF
(put w/ Lauren's
email to me on
this.)

From: Barry S. Jackson on 12/12/2002 11:42:14 AM
Record Type: Record
To: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
Subject: New Poll on Iraq, Internationalism, Politics

can you print for karl - thanks

----- Forwarded by Barry S. Jackson/WHO/EOP on 12/12/2002 11:45 AM -----



Andrew Kohut <kohuta@people-press.org>
12/12/2002 10:57:47 AM

Please respond to kohuta@people-press.org
Record Type: Record

To: kohuta@people-press.org
cc:
Subject: New Poll on Iraq, Internationalism, Politics

Americans continue to hold more internationalist views than they did prior to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. A growing proportion of the public favors cooperation with the U.N. and taking into account the views of key allies. And the number who say the United States should mind its own business internationally has declined from 41% in 1995 to 30% today.

The latest Pew Research Center national survey also finds rising public concerns over the possibility of a new terrorist attack and continuing strong support for military action in Iraq. President Bush's approval ratings are holding steady at 61%, but partisan divisions over the president's performance are as wide now as they were in his first days in office.

This survey is embargoed for release on Thursday, Dec. 12 at 4:00 PM. It also will be available on our website at www.people-press.org.

Andrew Kohut
Director
Pew Research Center
202-293-3126

 - att1.htm



THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER
For The People & The Press

NEWS Release
1150 18th Street, N.W., Suite 975
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 293-3126
Fax (202) 293-2569

EMBARGOED

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2002, 4:00 P.M.

Terrorism Worries Spike, War Support Steady
PUBLIC MORE INTERNATIONALIST THAN IN 1990s

Also Inside ...

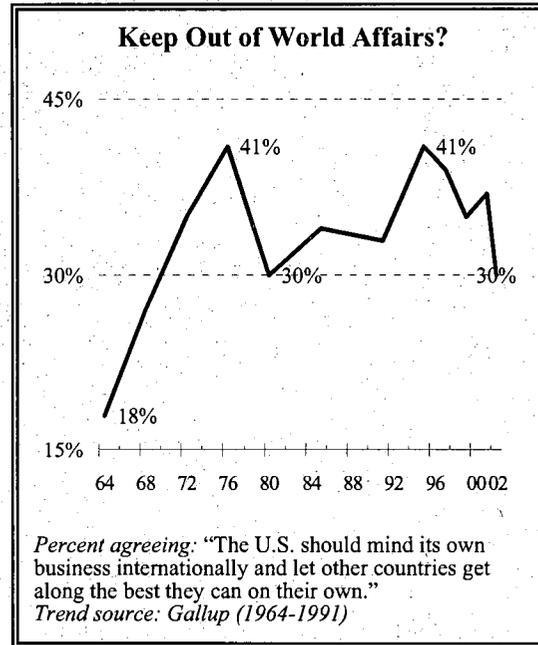
- * Resurgent partisanship
- * Government ratings fall
- * Muted reaction to GOP victory
- * Republicans like government more!
- * Oil spill ignored

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Associate Director
Carroll Doherty, Editor
Michael Dimock, Research Director
Elizabeth Mueller Gross, Special Projects Director
Nilanthi Samaranayake, Peyton Craighill and Nicole Speulda, Project Directors
Pew Research Center for The People & The Press
202/293-3126
<http://www.people-press.org>

Terrorism Worries Spike, War Support Steady
PUBLIC MORE INTERNATIONALIST THAN IN 1990s

Americans continue to hold more internationalist views than they did prior to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. The public favors cooperation with the United Nations and taking into account the views of U.S. allies to a greater extent than in the 1990s. Most notably, there has been a decline in the percentage of Americans holding the hardcore isolationist view that the U.S. should mind its own business internationally. Just three-in-ten agree with that statement today, compared with 41% in 1995 and 37% in early September 2001, just prior to the terrorist attacks.



These trends may help explain the public's strong and consistent insistence that the United States get allied support for a war with Iraq. In that regard, the Pew Research Center's latest survey finds continued *general* support for possible military action against Iraq. However, a plurality of Americans (44%) also believes that there has been too little discussion of ways to deal with Saddam Hussein other than using military force. And the public remains closely divided over whether President Bush has made his case for war.

Amid talk of war with Iraq and government warnings of the continuing threat from al Qaeda, public concerns over a new terrorist attack are at their highest level since summer. More than seven-in-ten Americans (73%) say they are at least somewhat worried there will soon be another attack in the U.S., with three-in-ten (31%) *very* concerned about such an attack. Fears of terrorism are now as high as last June, following the arrest of an American accused of planning a "dirty bomb" attack.

Terrorism Worries Rise Again

	Very worried %	Some-what %	Total %
Dec 2002	31	42	73
Oct 2002	20	46	66
Aug 2002	16	46	62
June 2002	32	44	76
Jan 2002	20	42	62
Dec 2001	13	39	52
Oct 2001	28	45	73

The Pew Research Center's latest national survey, conducted Dec. 4-8 among 1,205 adults, finds 65% supporting potential military action against Iraq. That is virtually unchanged from November, when 62% backed military action, but higher than in October when 55% favored the use of force to remove Saddam Hussein from power.

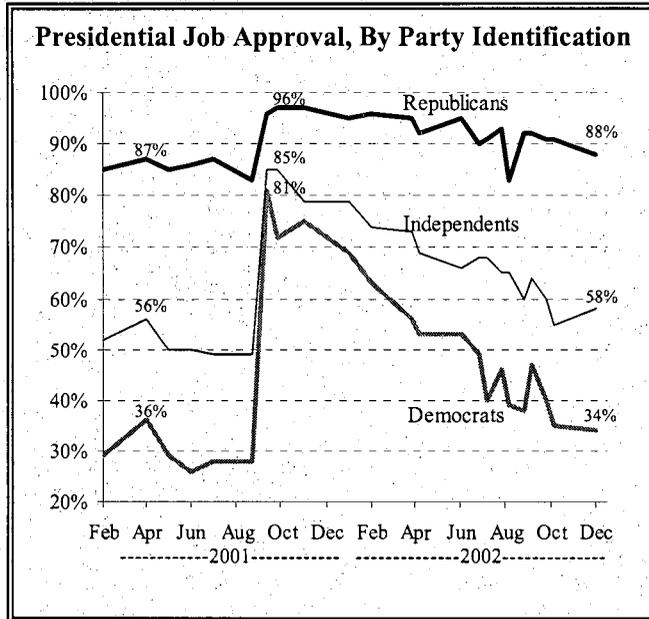
Fears that an attack on Iraq could increase the threat of terrorism in this country are much greater than they were during the Persian Gulf War. After the war began in January 1991, just a third expressed a great deal of concern that war might result in domestic terrorism. But in October of this year, half (51%) expressed a high level of concern there would be increased terrorism.

Yet there are no signs that these concerns are dampening support for military action against Iraq. In fact, Americans who are most worried about the threat of terrorism are even more supportive of military action against Iraq than those who express little or no concern. In the current survey, roughly seven-in-ten (71%) of those who are very worried about another terrorist attack in the U.S. favor the use of force in Iraq. By comparison, 54% who voice relatively little concern over a new terrorist attack back military action.

Bush's Ratings Steady, Partisanship Resurgent

After a brief spike around the one-year anniversary of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, public approval of President Bush's job performance has remained steady over the fall and early winter. Currently, 61% approve of his performance while 28% disapprove. That is largely unchanged since late October (59% approval).

But partisan divisions over President Bush's performance, which diminished dramatically following the terrorist attacks, are once again as large as they were during his first days in office. While 88% of Republicans are happy with the president's job performance, 58% of political independents and just 34% of Democrats agree. This is comparable to an April 2001 Pew Research Center survey in which Bush won the approval of 87% of Republicans, 56% of independents, and 36% of Democrats.



This partisan divide also is evident in personal evaluations of the president. Currently, 68% of Americans say they have a favorable impression of Bush, up slightly from 61% in July 2001. The president is viewed favorably by 94% of Republicans, 68% of independents, and just 42% of Democrats. As was the case before Sept. 11, more Democrats feel unfavorably toward the president (53%) than feel favorably (42%).

Despite these modest ratings from Democrats, there is no question that Bush has rallied the intense support of his partisans. Not only do 94% of Republicans rate the president favorably, fully 61% give him *very* favorable reviews, up from 45% in July 2001. At no time in his eight years in office did President Clinton receive comparably strong ratings from Democrats.

Election Reaction: Nothing Like '94

On balance, the public is pleased that the Republican Party gained control of the Senate on Nov. 5. But the public's overall reaction to the election result is no more enthusiastic than it was in 1998, when the GOP lost seats and narrowly maintained control over Capitol Hill.

Just under half (48%) say they are happy that the Republican Party won control of the Senate; 34% say they are unhappy. This is distinctly less than the level of enthusiasm following the 1994 Republican sweep of the House and Senate, when 57% expressed satisfaction with the outcome. Republicans and Democrats, not surprisingly, hold opposing views on the election outcome, while the opinions of political independents match the overall trend.

	Dec <u>1994</u> %	Nov <u>1998</u> %	Dec <u>2002</u> %
Happy	57	47	48
Unhappy	31	32	34
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100

Nearly six-in-ten Americans (59%) rate the Republican Party favorably, while 54% say the same about the Democratic Party. This represents the first time in seven years that the GOP has been the higher rated party; in the late 1990s, the Democrats often held a double-digit edge over Republicans in favorability. This shift has occurred gradually: Republican favorability is up only slightly from two years ago (56% in January of 2001, 59% today), while Democratic favorability has slipped six points (from 60% to 54%).

The political environment was much more favorable to Republicans following their huge victory in 1994. In December of that year, favorability ratings for the Republican Party surged 21 points from their 1992 level (from 46% to 67%) while ratings of the Democratic Party dropped 11 points (from 61% to 50%). Following that year's GOP landslide, 34% of Democrats felt favorably toward the Republican Party; today, 28% of Democrats have a favorable view of the GOP.

Government Ratings Fall

Governments at all levels continue to receive favorable ratings from a majority of the public, although views are somewhat less positive than they were in the months just after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. But even with the downturn, the federal government – at 64% favorable – remains much more popular than it was prior to 9/11. State and local governments have returned to roughly the same level of favorability seen before the terrorist attacks.

Government Ratings: Down But Still Positive			
	Oct	Nov	Dec
<i>Favorable</i>	<u>1997</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2002</u>
<i>opinion of...</i>	%	%	%
Your local govt.	68	78	67
Your state govt.	66	77	62
The federal govt.	38	82	64
Republican	32	91	78
Independent	32	79	57
Democrat	50	79	59

Two-thirds (67%) have a favorable view of their local government, while ratings of state government are slightly lower (62%). Favorable ratings for local government are down 11 percentage points since November 2001. Ratings of state governments – most of which are now confronting serious financial problems – are down 15 points since November 2001 and stand four points below their 1997 level.

Ratings of the federal government have suffered a larger decline than ratings of state and local governments, falling 18 percentage points from their high of 82% last fall. But the current 64% favorable rating still stands considerably higher than the 1997 rating of 38%.

Opinions about the federal government are a mix of feelings about government in general and views of current public officials. Republicans today are much more positive toward the federal government (78% favorable) than are Democrats or independents (59% and 57%, respectively). In 1997, the pattern was reversed: Democrats had the most positive attitudes toward the federal government (50% favorable), while Republicans were less favorable (33%).

Republicans have similar views about state government. Among Republicans living in states with Republican governors, views of state government are very positive (73% favorable). In states with Democratic governors, Republicans are less positive: 56% have a favorable opinion of their state government. But the same pattern is not seen among Democrats, roughly two-thirds of whom view their state government favorably whether they have a Democratic or a Republican governor.

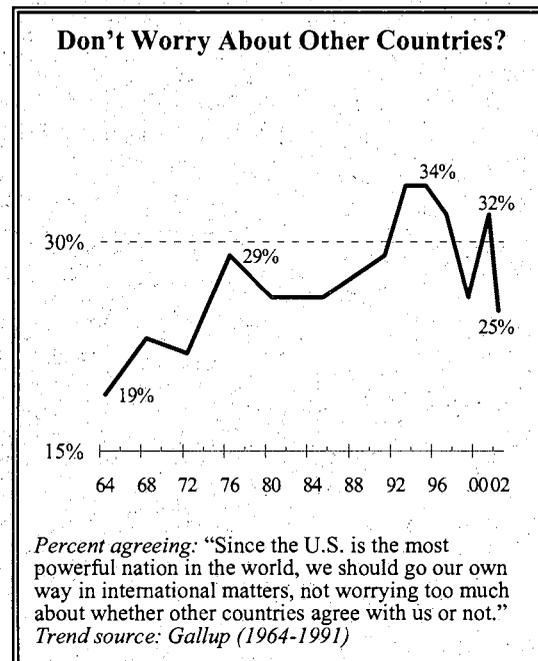
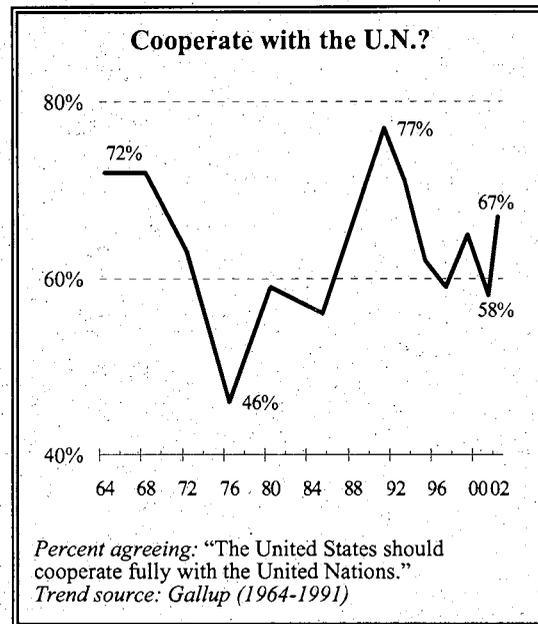
Increased Backing for the U.N.

The survey shows that, in general, public support for a cooperative approach with the U.N. and major U.S. allies has risen since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. Two-thirds say the U.S. should cooperate fully with the U.N., up from 58% in early September of last year. Similarly, 85% believe the United States should take into account the views of its major allies, compared with 80% in September 2001.

Americans also reject the notion that the U.S. should go its own way in international affairs: 72% disagree with that statement, up 10 points since early September 2001. And while most Americans (65%) continue to believe that the United States should focus less on international issues and more on building prosperity at home, a greater proportion disagrees with that view (31%) than any point since the mid-1980s. In the 1990s, after the Cold War ended, there was much less dissent from the notion that the U.S. should concentrate more on domestic problems.

Significantly, much of the shift in the direction of greater internationalism has come among Republicans. For example, in the summer of 2001, 38% of both Republicans and Democrats said the U.S. should mind its own business and not get involved in other nations' problems. Far fewer Republicans say that today (22%), while Democrats have shown little change on this question (40%).

Interestingly, at the same time that Republicans have become more internationalist, they have also become more multilateralist. Prior to the terrorist attacks, Republicans were



significantly more likely than Democrats (40% to 29%, respectively) to say America should pursue its own interests internationally and not worry about whether other countries agree with us. Again, Democrats have not changed their view on this question, but far fewer Republicans (22%) say we should not be concerned about gaining cooperation from other countries.

Both parties have become more supportive of the idea that the United States should cooperate with the U.N. Before the terrorist attacks, fewer than half of Republicans (47%) felt the U.S. should cooperate fully with the United Nations; today, 58% subscribe to that view. There have been comparable increases among Democrats, but overall Democrats remain much more supportive than Republicans of the U.N. (79% vs. 58%).

Most Want U.N. Inspectors to Get Tougher

Most Americans want the United States to closely cooperate with the U.N., but when it comes to Iraq, they want the U.N. to take a more aggressive stance in investigating Iraq's weapons program. A solid majority (55%) believes that U.N. inspectors are not going far enough in ensuring that weapons will be discovered, while about half as many (28%) believe the inspectors have gone far enough.

Supporters of military action, in particular, believe that the inspectors have not been aggressive enough. More than six-in-ten of those who favor the use of force against Saddam Hussein's regime say the inspection team is not going far enough; just a quarter are satisfied with the level of scrutiny. Opponents of military action, by comparison, are divided: 42% say the inspectors are not going far enough while 40% believe they are.

For the most part, public attitudes on Iraq have changed little over the past few months. Roughly six-in-ten are paying a great deal of attention to the debate over whether to use force to oust Saddam from power. That is slightly more than the number who closely followed the debate in early October and mid-September (54%, 55%).

Americans remain divided over whether the president has offered a clear rationale for why the United States should take military action against Iraq. Fewer than half (48%) say Bush has made such a case, while nearly as many (45%) say he has not. If anything, the president has lost ground on this issue since mid-September, following his widely praised speech on Iraq before the United Nations, when 52% felt he was clearly explaining the stakes in Iraq, while 37% did not.

Force Favored, But Interest in Alternatives

Public support for military action is not only broad, but it remains strong as well. While 65% favor the use of force to remove Saddam from power, fully half (51%) say they feel strongly about this, while just 13% say they could change their minds. Overall, a quarter oppose military action, but just 16% are strong opponents and 9% say they still could change their minds.

Support for military action has risen only slightly since last month (62%), but has increased by 10 points since late October. Since then, there has been a sizable increase in support for the use of force among Democrats (13 points) and independents (12 points). Democrats, who opposed military action by 40%-51% in late October, now support it by 53%-36%.

	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
	%	%	%	%
<i>Military action in Iraq</i>				
Favor	69	67	66	53
Oppose	20	24	25	32
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Discussion of alternatives</i>				
Too little	56	42	40	42
Right amount	26	33	28	25
Too much	11	21	24	15
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Has Bush clearly explained</i>				
Yes	43	53	53	37
No	49	40	42	53
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100

As in previous surveys, older Americans are clearly the most wary about going to war. Just over half of those age 65 and older favor the use of force against Iraq, the lowest proportion of any age group. By comparison, nearly seven-in-ten (69%) of those under age 30 favor military action against Iraq. Similar age patterns on the use of force have been evident for decades, including during the Vietnam War. (See "Generations Divide Over Military Action in Iraq," Pew Research Center Commentary, Oct. 17, 2002).

Yet young people also are the most likely to say there has been too little discussion of alternatives to using force. A solid majority of those under age 30 (56%) believe nonmilitary options have received too little attention. Among other age categories, only about four-in-ten hold that view. That is the case for those age 65 and older, despite their reservations about military action.

There is greater agreement between the young and old that the president has not explained clearly the stakes involved for the U.S. in Iraq. Roughly half of those under age 30 and age 65 and older believe Bush has not clearly explained what's at stake in Iraq. Those age 30-64 are more likely to say that the president has offered a clear rationale for why force may be needed in Iraq.

Iraq Debate Tops News Interest

The public is paying more attention to the ongoing debate over the possibility of war with Iraq than to any other news story this month, with fully half (51%) saying they are following the story very closely.

Interest is on par with earlier measures in September and October, and this remains among the top news stories of the year. More than eight-in-ten Americans are following this story at least fairly closely. Proponents and opponents of military action express the same level of interest in the story, as was the case during the fall.

News Stories Followed "Very Closely" in December	
	%
Possible military action in Iraq	51
Condition of U.S. economy	38
U.N. weapons inspectors in Iraq	35
Middle East violence	29
Terrorist attacks in Kenya	21
Oil spill in Spain	15

Fewer Americans are following reports about the work of United Nations weapons inspectors in Iraq. About a third of the public (35%) says they are following this story very closely, with another 39% following it fairly closely. Interest is as high as it was in February 1998, when President Clinton was threatening air strikes over weapons inspections in Iraq.

About three-in-ten (29%) are following very closely news about the continued violence between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Interest in this continuing news story has dropped significantly since the spring. In early April, fully 44% were following news about the Passover suicide bombing and Israeli forces entering the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Terrorist attacks in Kenya against Israeli citizens garnered the close attention of only about one-in-five Americans (21%), with another 34% following fairly closely. This is almost identical to American news interest in the terrorist bombing in Bali, Indonesia earlier this fall (20% very closely, 34% fairly closely).

A large oil spill polluting the coast of Spain was closely followed by only 15% of the public, considerably lower than the 52% who reported following the Exxon-Valdez oil spill off the coast of Alaska in 1989.

Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy attracted the close attention of about four-in-ten Americans (38%). As is generally the case, people with household incomes above \$50,000 were more likely to follow this story very closely than those with lower incomes (47% compared

with 32%). At the same time, more Democrats than Republicans are following this story very closely (48% vs. 32%).

In terms of public awareness, roughly half of the public (49%) knew that legislation had been enacted creating the new Department of Homeland Security. Majorities of Republicans and independents (55%) were aware of the establishment of the new department, compared with 41% of Democrats. Far more Americans knew this than were aware of the enactment of accounting reform legislation earlier this year; just 28% knew that bill had become law.

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the *December News Interest Index* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,205 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period December 4-8, 2002. Based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"

	Possible U.S. military <u>action in Iraq</u>	Reports about U.S. <u>economy</u>	U.N. Weapons <u>Inspectors</u>	Violence in the <u>Middle East</u>	Terrorist attacks in <u>Kenya</u>	Oil Spill off the Coast <u>of Spain</u>	(N)
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	51	38	35	29	21	15	(1205)
Sex							
Male	55	41	39	31	22	15	(591)
Female	48	35	31	27	21	14	(614)
Race							
White	52	38	35	29	20	14	(1033)
Non-white	49	41	35	31	26	20	(152)
Black	54	43	35	34	27	21	(96)
Hispanic†	44	34	29	26	26	16	(75)
Age							
Under 30	37	22	22	17	12	7	(203)
30-49	54	38	36	27	21	14	(494)
50+	57	48	42	37	27	20	(496)
Education							
College Grad.	61	48	44	33	24	15	(384)
Some College	51	37	32	31	20	13	(292)
High School Grad.	49	37	33	26	21	14	(419)
<H.S. Grad.	43	27	31	25	20	19	(106)
Region							
East	54	47	38	32	24	20	(220)
Midwest	47	36	29	24	13	10	(309)
South	55	37	38	30	25	15	(418)
West	49	34	35	30	23	16	(258)
Party ID							
Republican	54	32	35	28	20	11	(438)
Democrat	57	48	39	32	25	19	(344)
Independent	50	40	34	30	21	16	(335)
Internet User							
Yes	55	40	37	29	21	13	(831)
No	45	35	32	28	21	18	(374)

† The designation, Hispanic, is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I will read a list of some things that have been in the news this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

TREND IN OPINION OF U.S. COOPERATING WITH UNITED NATIONS

	--- Early September 2001 ---			--- December 2002 ---			Change in <u>Agree</u>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	58	31	11=100	67	28	5=100	+9
Sex	57	35	8	63	34	3	+6
Male	59	27	14	70	23	7	+11
Female							
Race							
White	56	33	11	65	30	5	+9
Non-white	65	22	13	75	20	5	+10
Black	63	21	16	71	23	4	+8
Hispanic†	77	16	7	73	20	7	-4
Age							
Under 30	65	30	5	72	25	3	+7
30-49	61	31	8	63	33	4	+2
50-64	53	33	14	65	30	5	+12
65+	47	33	20	72	19	9	+25
Education							
College Grad.	57	35	8	64	35	1	+7
Some College	52	39	9	64	33	3	+12
High School Grad.	59	30	11	69	25	6	+10
<H.S. Grad.	65	17	18	71	16	13	+6
Family Income							
\$75,000+	59	33	8	65	33	2	+6
\$50,000-\$74,999	50	45	5	69	27	4	+19
\$30,000-\$49,999	63	29	8	60	34	6	-3
\$20,000-\$29,999	63	23	14	72	25	3	+9
<\$20,000	63	25	12	77	18	5	+14
Region							
East	64	27	9	68	29	3	+4
Midwest	57	29	14	66	27	7	+9
South	53	35	12	65	30	5	+12
West	60	31	9	68	26	6	+8
Party ID							
Republican	47	45	8	58	38	4	+11
Democrat	65	24	11	79	15	6	+14
Independent	63	28	9	65	32	3	+2

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements... the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.

**TREND IN OPINION OF U.S. MINDING
ITS OWN BUSINESS INTERNATIONALLY**

	--- Early September 2001 ---			--- December 2002 ---			Change in Disagree
	Agree %	Disagree %	DK %	Agree %	Disagree %	DK %	
Total	37	55	8=100	30	65	5=100	+10
Sex							
Male	37	56	7	27	69	4	+13
Female	37	55	8	33	61	6	+6
Race							
White	35	58	7	28	67	5	+9
Non-white	45	45	10	43	54	3	+9
Black	46	48	6	49	50	1	+2
Hispanic†	52	32	16	39	58	3	+26
Age							
Under 30	44	52	4	32	64	4	+12
30-49	35	59	6	29	67	4	+8
50-64	34	58	8	27	68	5	+10
65+	39	49	12	35	57	8	+8
Education							
College Grad.	22	73	5	16	81	3	+8
Some College	31	60	9	25	70	5	+10
High School Grad.	44	49	7	35	60	5	+11
<H.S. Grad.	53	36	11	50	40	10	+4
Family Income							
\$75,000+	20	76	4	17	81	2	+5
\$50,000-\$74,999	35	63	2	25	72	3	+9
\$30,000-\$49,999	41	51	8	25	70	5	+19
\$20,000-\$29,999	39	56	5	38	58	4	+2
<\$20,000	51	43	6	47	46	7	+3
Region							
East	42	52	6	28	67	5	+15
Midwest	36	56	8	35	61	4	+5
South	37	54	9	31	64	5	+10
West	33	60	7	26	69	5	+9
Party ID							
Republican	38	56	6	22	73	5	+17
Democrat	38	55	7	40	56	4	+1
Independent	36	59	5	27	68	5	+9

† The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements... the U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
DECEMBER 2002 NEWS INTEREST INDEX
FINAL TOPLINE
December 4-8, 2002
N=1205

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president? [IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
July, 2002	67	21	12=100
June, 2002	70	20	10=100
April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
February, 2002	78	13	9=100
January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
August, 2001	50	32	18=100
July, 2001	51	32	17=100
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
May, 2001	53	32	15=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

Q.2 Now I will read a list of some things that have been in the news this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	38	34	17	10	1=100
February, 2002	35	40	15	9	1=100
January, 2002	30	44	16	9	1=100
December, 2001	37	40	13	8	2=100
Mid-November, 2001	41	36	15	7	1=100
June, 2001	24	41	18	16	1=100
May, 2001	34	36	15	15	0=100
April, 2001	36	34	16	13	1=100
February, 2001	30	39	18	12	1=100
January, 2001	32	38	17	11	2=100
June, 1995	26	41	22	11	*=100
March, 1995	27	45	19	9	*=100
February, 1995	23	41	22	13	1=100
December, 1994	28	43	20	9	*=100
October, 1994	27	40	20	12	1=100
June, 1994	25	42	23	10	*=100

Q.2 CONTINUED...

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
May, 1994	33	40	16	10	1=100
January, 1994	34	39	16	10	1=100
Early January, 1994	36	44	13	7	*=100
December, 1993	35	41	15	8	1=100
October, 1993	33	38	20	9	*=100
September, 1993	37	40	14	8	1=100
Early September, 1993	39	39	14	9	*=100
August, 1993	41	36	14	9	*=100
May, 1993	37	38	18	6	1=100
February, 1993	49	36	10	5	*=100
January, 1993	42	39	12	7	*=100
September, 1992	43	37	13	6	*=100
May, 1992	39	39	15	6	1=100
March, 1992	47	38	11	4	*=100
February, 1992	47	37	10	6	*=100
January, 1992	44	40	11	5	*=100
October, 1991	36	38	16	9	1=100
b. Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq					
Late October, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100
Early October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100
Early September, 2002 ¹	60	28	6	5	1=100
48	29	15	6	2=100	
c. Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis					
Early October, 2002	29	36	22	12	1=100
June, 2002	32	39	20	8	1=100
April, 2002	38	33	18	10	1=100
Early April, 2002	38	37	14	10	1=100
December, 2001	44	33	13	9	1=100
Early September, 2001	31	40	19	9	1=100
April, 2001 ²	21	33	25	20	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	22	34	24	19	1=100
Early October, 2000	30	38	18	13	1=100
January, 1997	21	30	27	21	1=100
October, 1996	12	23	29	35	1=100
May, 1988	17	34	26	23	*=100
18	37	34	9	2=100	
d. The work of United Nations weapons inspectors in Iraq					
August, 1998 ³	35	39	15	10	1=100
February, 1998	18	31	23	27	1=100
January, 1998	36	40	16	8	*=100
December, 1997	32	35	18	15	*=100
November, 1997	34	33	15	17	1=100
October, 1991	44	32	10	13	1=100
35	38	15	11	1=100	

¹ In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "...U.S. will invade Iraq."

² In April 2001 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East." In Mid-October 2000 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In Early October 2000 the story was listed as "Renewed violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In January 1997 the story was listed as "Renewed tensions between Israelis and Palestinians over Hebron." In October 1996 the story was listed as "Renewed violence between Israelis & Palestinians on the West Bank and in Jerusalem." In May 1988 the story was listed as "The conflict in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the occupied territories."

³ In August 1998 the story was listed as "The current dispute with Iraq over U.N. weapons inspections." In February 1998 the story was listed as "The conflict in Iraq over U.N. weapons inspectors and U.S. threats to retaliate with air strikes." In January 1998 the story was listed as "The conflict in Iraq over U.N. weapons inspectors." In November and December 1997 the story was listed as "(the conflict over) Iraq's refusal to let Americans participate in weapons inspections." In October 1991 the story was listed as "The standoff in Baghdad between the Iraqis and U.N. weapons inspectors."

Q.2 CONTINUED...

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
e.	Terrorist attacks in Kenya against Israeli citizens August, 1998 ⁴	21 27	34 37	26 18	17 18	2=100 *=100
f.	The large oil spill polluting the coast of Spain	15	29	28	27	1=100

Q.3 Do you happen to know whether a new Department of Homeland Security has been created in Washington, or is it still being considered?

49	Has been created (Correct Answer)
17	Still being considered
34	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.4 In general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Senate?

		May 2001 ⁵	Nov 1998	Jan 1996	Aug 1995	June 1995	April 1995	March 1995	Dec 1994
48	Happy	44	47	47	50	46	52	55	57
34	Unhappy	38	32	43	39	41	36	31	31
18	Don't know/Refused	18	21	10	11	13	12	14	12
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.5 I'd like your views of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, would you describe your opinion of [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE] as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
a.	The federal government in Washington	11	53	20	7	*	9=100
	Mid-November, 2001	17	65	12	3	0	3=100
	Late October, 2000 (RVs)	7	47	30	10	*	6=100
	October, 1997	4	34	41	18	0	3=100
b.	Your state government	15	47	21	10	1	7=100
	Mid-November, 2001	15	62	14	4	*	5=100
	October, 1997	10	56	22	7	*	5=100
c.	Your local government	16	51	16	9	*	7=100
	Mid-November, 2001	15	63	13	4	*	5=100
	October, 1997	12	56	18	7	*	7=100

⁴ In August 1998 the story was listed as "The bombings at U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania."

⁵ From December 1994 to August 1995 the question was worded: "In general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Congress?" In January 1996, the question was worded: "Generally, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Congress in November 1994?" In November 1998 and May 2001 the question was worded: "In general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress (last year)?"

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
d. The Republican Party	18	41	22	11	*	8=100
July, 2001	11	37	27	15	*	10=100
January, 2001	13	43	22	13	*	9=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	11	42	28	12	0	7=100
August, 1999	8	45	31	12	*	4=100
February, 1999	7	37	36	15	0	5=100
January, 1999	10	34	27	23	0	6=100
Early December, 1998	11	35	27	20	*	7=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	9	43	28	14	0	6=100
Early September, 1998	9	47	26	11	*	7=100
March, 1998	10	40	31	12	*	7=100
August, 1997	9	38	36	11	*	6=100
June, 1997	8	43	31	11	1	6=100
January, 1997	8	44	33	10	*	5=100
October, 1995	10	42	28	16	*	4=100
December, 1994	21	46	19	8	*	6=100
July, 1994	12	51	25	8	*	4=100
May, 1993	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100
e. The Democratic Party	15	39	27	10	*	9=100
July, 2001	18	40	24	10	*	8=100
January, 2001	18	42	21	9	1	9=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	16	44	23	12	*	5=100
August, 1999	14	45	28	9	*	4=100
February, 1999	11	47	26	11	0	5=100
January, 1999	14	41	26	12	0	7=100
Early December, 1998	18	41	24	10	0	7=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	11	45	29	9	*	6=100
Early September, 1998	13	47	25	8	*	7=100
March, 1998	15	43	26	10	*	6=100
August, 1997	11	41	32	10	0	6=100
June, 1997	10	51	25	8	*	6=100
January, 1997	13	47	28	7	*	5=100
October, 1995	9	40	37	11	0	3=100
December, 1994	13	37	31	13	*	6=100
July, 1994	13	49	27	7	*	4=100
May, 1993	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100
f. George W. Bush	35	33	16	11	0	5=100
July, 2001	22	39	21	14	*	4=100
January, 2001	24	36	21	12	0	7=100
May, 2000	18	40	19	12	1	10=100
March, 1999 ⁶	21	40	14	7	4	14=100
November, 1997	13	41	12	6	9	19=100

6

In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

We have just a few questions about America's place in the world.

Q.6 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (ROTATE LIST)

a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991 ⁷	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
67	Agree	58	65	59	62	65	64	71	77	56	59	46	63	72	72
28	Disagree	31	26	30	30	29	28	22	17	35	28	41	28	21	16
5	DK/Ref	11	9	11	8	6	8	7	6	9	13	13	9	7	12
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
85	Agree	80	82	72	74	--	--	80	86	82	79	72	80	84	81
10	Disagree	11	12	18	18	--	--	13	10	12	13	18	12	9	7
5	DK/Ref	9	6	10	8	--	--	7	4	6	8	10	8	7	12
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
25	Agree	32	26	32	34	--	--	34	29	26	26	29	22	23	19
72	Disagree	62	69	62	60	--	--	63	66	70	66	62	72	72	70
3	DK/Ref	6	5	6	6	--	--	3	5	4	8	9	6	5	11
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
30	Agree	37	35	39	41	--	--	37	33	34	30	41	35	27	18
65	Disagree	55	57	54	51	--	--	58	60	59	61	49	56	66	70
5	DK/Ref	8	8	7	8	--	--	5	7	7	9	10	9	7	12
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
65	Agree	68	68	72	78	--	--	79	78	60	61	73	73	60	55
31	Disagree	25	27	24	18	--	--	18	16	34	30	22	20	31	32
4	DK/Ref	7	5	4	4	--	--	3	6	6	9	5	7	9	13
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁷ All data from 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

Now a few questions about the situation in Iraq.

Q.7 How much have you yourself thought about whether the U.S. should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? [READ]

		Early Oct 2002	Mid-Sept 2002	Late Aug 2002	Jan 1991 ⁸
58	A Great deal	54	55	46	66
29	Some	32	27	35	24
8	Only a little – OR –	8	9	11	6
4	Not at all	5	6	6	2
1	Don't know/Refused	1	3	2	2
100		100	100	100	100

Q.8 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?

ASK IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE ("1" OR "2" IN Q.8):

Q.9 Do you feel strongly about this, or do you think you might change your mind?

		Nov 2002	Late Oct 2002	Early Oct 2002	Mid- Sept 2002	Late Aug 2002	----- Gallup ⁹ -----				
		June 2002	Nov 2001	Feb 2001	June 1993	March 1992					
65	Favor	62	55	62	64	64	59	74	52	70	55
	51 Feel Strongly			49							
	13 Might Change mind			12							
	1 Don't know/Refused			1							
25	Oppose	26	34	28	23	21	34	20	42	27	40
	16 Feel Strongly			17							
	9 Might Change mind			11							
	* Don't know/Refused			*							
10	Don't know/Refused	12	11	10	13	15	7	6	6	3	5
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.10 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

		Late Oct 2002	Mid-Sept 2002	Late Aug 2002	New York Times Aug 1990 ¹⁰
48	Explained clearly	48	52	37	50
45	Not clearly	45	37	52	41
7	Don't know/Refused	7	11	11	9
100		100	100	100	100

Q.11 In your view, has there been too much, too little, or the right amount of discussion of ways to deal with Saddam Hussein other than using military force?

		Late Oct 2002
19	Too much	16
44	Too little	50
29	Right amount	25
8	Don't know/Refused	9
100		100

⁸ In January 1991 the question was worded "How much thought have you given to the question of whether the U.S. should use military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its forces from Kuwait?"

⁹ Gallup trend was worded "Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?"

¹⁰ New York Times trend was worded "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

Q.12 In conducting their inspections in Iraq, do you think the U.N. weapons inspection team is going far enough to ensure that any Iraqi weapons will be discovered, or do you think they aren't going far enough?

28 Going far enough
 55 Aren't going far enough
 17 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

Thinking more generally,

Q.13 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

		Early Oct 2002	Late Aug 2002	June 2002	Jan 2002	Dec 2001	Oct 15-21 2001	Oct 10-14 2001	Early Oct 2001
31	Very worried	20	16	32	20	13	29	27	28
42	Somewhat worried	46	46	44	42	39	42	40	45
18	Not too worried	22	25	17	28	27	18	19	15
8	Not at all worried	11	12	7	9	19	10	12	11
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.

Q.14 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?

IF "1; YES" (USE A COMPUTER) IN Q.14, ASK:

Q.15 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

	Computer User			Based on Total Respondents: Goes Online		
	Yes	No	DK/Ref	Yes	No	DK/Ref
December, 2002	76	24	*=100	67	33	*=100
Early October, 2002	75	25	*=100	63	37	*=100
June, 2002	74	26	*=100	66	34	*=100
May, 2002	75	25	*=100	66	34	*=100
April, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
February, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
January, 2002	73	27	0=100	62	38	0=100
June, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100
January, 2001	71	29	*=100	61	39	0=100
July, 2000	68	31	1=100	55	45	*=100
January, 2000	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100
July, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	0=100
January, 1999	69	31	*=100	47	53	*=100
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100	41	59	*=100
January, 1998	65	35	*=100	37	63	0=100
June, 1997	60	40	0=100	--	--	--
July, 1996	56	44	*=100	23	77	0=100
January, 1996	59	41	0=100	21	79	0=100
June, 1995 ¹¹	--	--	--	14	86	*=100

¹¹ The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions: (1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?) (2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

ASK ALL:

R.1 How important would you say religion is in your own life — very important, fairly important, or not very important?

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Fairly Important</u>	<u>Not very Important</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
December, 2002	60	27	12	1=100
March, 2002	63	24	12	1=100
Mid-November, 2001	61	24	14	1=100
March, 2001	64	23	12	1=100
March, 2000 (<i>Gallup</i>)	61	27	12	*=100
June, 1998 (<i>Gallup</i>)	62	25	12	1=100
June, 1996	59	26	15	*=100
March, 1994 (<i>Gallup</i>)	59	29	11	1=100
March, 1988 (<i>Gallup</i>)	54	31	14	1=100
March, 1984 (<i>Gallup</i>)	56	30	13	1=100
April, 1978 (<i>Gallup</i>)	52	32	14	2=100
November, 1965 (<i>Gallup</i>)	70	22	7	1=100

R.2 People practice their religion in different ways... Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

	<u>March 2002</u>	<u>March 2001</u>	<u>June 1996</u>
38 Several times a day	35	37	29
22 Once a day	24	22	22
15 A few times a week	15	17	19
15 Once a week or less	16	14	18
7 Never	8	8	10
3 Don't know/Refused	2	2	2
100	100	100	100

Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Medicare Reform and Prescription Drug Coverage: Critical Issues	4	N.D.	P5;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

549271 [1]

FRC ID:

9715

OA Num.:

10739

NARA Num.:

10797

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	NEC/CEA/OMB Views on Substantive Framework... - To: Larry Lindsey, et al. - From: Chuck Blahous	3	11/14/2002	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	New Draft of Questionnaire [with attachment] - To: Karl Rove, et al. - From: Lauren Willson	7	12/08/2002	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Tracking Suggestions on Characteristics - To: Karl Rove - From: Lauren Willson	4	12/10/2002	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Tonight's Strategy Meeting [with attachment] - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	3	12/18/2002	P5;

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Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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549271 [1]

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2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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NRW

*549271
F006-27*

CHUCK HAGEL

— FAX —

U.S. SENATOR — NEBRASKA



To: Karl Rove
Of: White House
Fax: (202) 456-0191
Subject: Press Release on Missile Defense
Pages: 2, including cover
Date: December 17, 2002

Attached is a press release Senator Hagel sent out today on the President's announcement regarding missile defense.

Please call me if you have any questions. Thanks.

-Beth Lee

From the desk...
Beth Lee
Press Secretary
Senator Chuck Hagel
248 Senate Russell Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510
Phone: (202) 224-3474 Fax: (202) 228-2086
beth_lee@hagel.senate.gov



UNITED STATES SENATOR • NEBRASKA

CHUCK HAGEL

P R E S S R E L E A S E



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Tuesday, December 17, 2002

Contact: Mike Buttry
(202) 224-4224

Hagel Backs President's Decision to Move Forward on Missile Defense

Washington, D.C. – U.S. Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) today strongly endorsed President Bush's announcement that the United States would begin fielding an initial set of missile defense capabilities starting in 2004. In 1999, the Senate voted 97-3 that America should build a missile defense system as soon as possible.

"The defense of our country is our most important responsibility. The President's announcement to move forward with our missile defense program is a responsible step towards a fully integrated defense strategy," Hagel said.

"September 11th awoke the world to the new realities that face all mankind. Recent developments in North Korea have brought those new realities into sharp focus. We must continue to work with our allies to ensure the security of America and our allies. A responsibly deployed missile defense system is a critical link in our defense capabilities."

The decision today includes:

- Ground-based midcourse interceptors;
- 15-35 sea-based midcourse interceptors;
- Additional Patriot (PAC-3) units; and
- Ground, sea, and space-based sensors.

The United States will also begin consultations with the United Kingdom and Denmark on upgrading early warning radars.

The process will be evolutionary, building upon new technologies and capabilities as they become available. It is expected to cost an additional \$1.5 billion over the two-year period beginning Fiscal Year 2004.



549271
 FG006-7
 ok

Sent via email
 12/14/02

PHOTO OFFICE

TO: Susan Ralston

FAX: 629107

PHONE: 623109

FROM: Brandyn Hood / Lyndin Steele
 Photo Office

PHONE: 202-456-1721

FAX: 202-456-2883

COMMENTS:

Number of pages including Cover Page 3

Institutional Investor

December 10, 2002

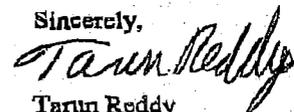
Miss Parker Hamilton
c/o The White House

Dear Miss Parker Hamilton,

I am a reporter with *Wall Street Letter* in New York and am requesting a headshot photo of Karl Rove, senior adviser to the President. The photo will be used in an upcoming issue as part of our ELAN Awards, which recognizes people whose work on the regulatory and legislative fronts have had the greatest impact on the securities industry. We are planning on running the photos in the Jan. 6 issue of the newsletter and would like to receive it as soon as possible in order to meet our production deadline.

Please send the photo as a JPG file, since this seems to have the best resolution for our publication. If you have any questions please feel free to contact me at treddy@iinvestor.com or 212 224-3012.

Sincerely,



Tarun Reddy
Associate Editor
Wall Street Letter

225 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, 7TH FLOOR, NEW YORK, NY 10003

TEL: (212) 224-3300

To: Miss Parker Hamilton

From Tarun Reddy

Company: Wall Street Letter

RE: Karl Rove photo

RINO Hunter

The Club for Growth had a great election day. RINOs (Republicans In Name Only) watch out.

"Do you want a Republican Congress, but don't want to give your contributions to Republicans who vote like Democrats? Or who vote for Republican pork instead of Democratic pork?"

That's the war cry of the Club for Growth—the tax-cutting, free-trading, social security-privatizing conscience of the Republican party. SPECTATOR readers will remember Bob Novak's February 2001 cover story, "The Return of the Supply-Side Cavalry." November's GOP blowout sent us back to Club co-founder and president Steve Moore for an update.

Founded in 1999, the Washington-based Club—its membership recently topped 8,000—is a political action committee focused on the supply-side's core agenda: cutting taxes to spur economic growth. Moore and the Club's strategists direct members' contributions to the most free-market-oriented candidates in tight, but winnable races. They back that up with political artillery—targeted issue advertising.

The Club is on a roll, deploying \$8 million in this year's election cycle—more than triple its 2000 total. Club-backed candidates won eighteen out of twenty races. That's bad news for liberal RINOs—see "RINO Watch" at www.clubforgrowth.org. And Sen. John McCain—look out.

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR talked with Moore by telephone from the Club's K Street headquarters.

The American Spectator Going into the November elections, defending the Republican majority in the House was supposed to be object one. Things turned out rather differently!

Moore This election really did exceed our wildest expectations. It wasn't just a good night for Republicans—it was a good night for conservative, free-market Reaganite Republicans. Club for Growth can-



didates won eighteen out of twenty races. And they didn't do that by running away from social security privatization—they ran on it. They didn't run away from free trade—they ran on it. They didn't run away from expanded tax cuts—they ran on them. It was a big victory for Bush and the Republicans, but it was also a big victory for pro-growth causes.

Is the idea that those aren't "loser" issues getting through to the larger GOP?

It's a little early to tell. Of course the left is trying to spin this as, 'Well, Republicans won, but they ran away from social security reform and other conservative issues.' But look at the winners and losers—it doesn't hold up. To give you one example, in Bergen County, New Jersey—a congressional district where the conventional wisdom for the last twenty years has been that you can't win there as a conservative—the party establishment just moaned when the Club for Growth helped Scott Garrett win the GOP primary. Well, not only did Garrett win on November 5, he

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won by twenty points. And meanwhile "moderate" Republican candidates in the district—people running for things like county supervisor—had a horrible night. Garrett was one of the only bright spots in the entire state.

My rule has always been that when Republicans move to the middle, they lose; when Democrats run for the middle, they win. And a twenty-point victory, exceeding anybody's wildest expectations, is confirmation that conservative values can win, even in the liberal Northeast.

Not California, though . . .

Gray Davis was the winner, and Californians were the losers—they're stuck with him for four more years. Bill Simon didn't lose because he was a conservative, but because there were so many problems with his campaign.

The GOP leadership had wanted a "more moderate" candidate . . .

The Republican establishment did not lift a finger to help Bill Simon—so much for the "big tent" idea. It's a big tent when they nominate liberals and we all have to rally around them. But when the party nominates a stalwart free-market conservative and the party establishment isn't happy, apparently they'd rather see a liberal Democrat elected.

Several years ago, you wrote the piece for us titled "Is the Northeast Necessary?" Well, is California necessary now for the GOP?

That's a really good question. California has turned to the loony left, and it's going to be difficult for the state to recover economically. We're seeing the same pathologies that destroyed the Northeast—an outward migration of talented people and investment and businesses. I'm very bearish on California—it's dominated politically by tax-eaters rather than taxpayers.

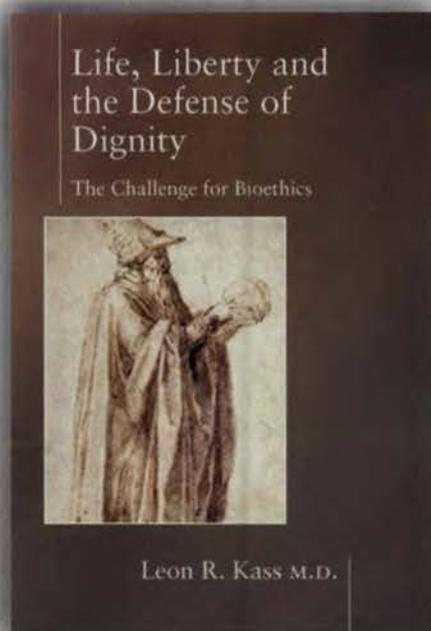
Is there a lesson in that?

If you look at a map of the congressional districts that went Republican and Democrat, you essentially have what you had after the 2000 presidential election: the Democratic party has become bicoastal with almost no appeal in Middle America, except some of the inner cities. If the Democrats stay on this left-wing course, they're doomed as a party—they'll never be able to capture any of what they call "fly over" states that are now more solidly Republican than they were even in the Reagan years.

Life, Liberty and the Defense of Dignity

The Challenge for Bioethics

By Leon R. Kass



ISBN 1-893554-58-9, \$24.95, 297 pages

"That this book will, as it is intended to, stimulate intense discussion may be an understatement."

—Booklist

"Luminous, meticulously argued, and deeply honest examinations of the paradoxes and ironies that the 'medicalization of life and death' lay before us."

—Washington Monthly

"His cry will strike as a clarion call to protect human freedom from the excesses of biotechnology."

—Publishers Weekly

"In a time when many professional bioethicists have become sophisticated apologists for the scientific community or biotech industry, Leon Kass is one of the few who has kept a persistent focus on the central moral issues raised by technological change.

A thinker with a marvelous ability to write, teach, and engage, this book is indispensable for understanding the past and future of the biotech revolution."

—Francis Fukuyama

In *Life, Liberty and the Defense of Dignity* Leon Kass summons us to think carefully about the new biomedical technologies threatening to take us back to the future envisioned in *Brave New World*. In a series of meditations on cloning, embryo research, the human genome, the sale of organs, and the assault on mortality itself, Dr. Kass, Chair of the President's Council on Bioethics, thinks deeply about the life and death issues we face today. His reflections on bioethics and its discontents are informed not only by his training as a scientist, but also by the wisdom of philosophy, theology and common sense.



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Where does Florida fit?

This election in Florida was a return to normalcy. How much did Bush win by? Twelve or fourteen points. If Republicans are going to give up New York and California from the start—which they'll virtually have to do in future elections—they will have to have an equally tight grip in Florida and Texas. The good news from this election is that both states delivered heavily for the GOP.

A lot of people are talking about this election as a watershed . . .

For better or for worse, this is now George W. Bush's party. I say "for better or for worse" because we don't really know what the core economic values of the Bush team are. The first two years have not been very encouraging. We've had a huge expansion of government; we had a movement away from free trade. Does Bush move to the right now because he has the voter mandate that he didn't have before? I don't know.

What are the tea leaves saying?

The thing that scares me is I am afraid that he's the most conservative person in his administration. And meanwhile there are a lot of liberal Bushies around who are making it the party of Bush and not the party of Reagan. Fundamentally I think Bush is a conservative, but I'm not convinced that a lot of his cabinet and a lot of his entourage are.

Karl Rove?

Karl is first and foremost a political operative—he's mostly concerned about winning, which he should be. What I don't know is whether his instincts are really to move forward with the conservative agenda or try to move to the fifty-yard line.

It beats gridlock . . .

The Democrats have evidently made a decision to move to the left, endorsing people like Nancy Pelosi for minority leader. A lot of Republicans have been celebrating this—they're saying that it gives us more of the middle to move into, to solidify this Republican majority. Personally, I would rather see two competitive parties vying for the voters on behalf of economically sane ideas. The fact that Democrats have moved toward even more insane positions makes me worry that the Republicans will simply try to occupy the mushy middle.

The first words out of House Majority leader

'Bush is a conservative, but I'm not convinced that very many of his cabinet are.'

Dennis Hastert after the election were "health care." Trent Lott came out talking about the deficit. We thought the Democrats lost on November 5?

One of the consequences of this election is that the Republican caucus in the House has become a lot more conservative and free-market oriented, thanks in part to the success of Club for Growth candidates. But the Republican caucus in the Senate remains dominated by liberals, and I think you're going to see a widening schism—the intramural fights within the Republican party may become even more pronounced.

Even the White House is saying that jobs, health care, and corporate reform are at the top of the agenda—calling FDR!

If Bush is smart, he'll use this election to have the honeymoon he never had—he can push through a lot of historic legislation, very much the way Republicans did in 1995, when we passed the capital-gains cut, welfare reform, and an historic farm restructuring system. We actually cut the budget, for the first time since 1981. Bush has the opportunity to lead that way.

What would be numbers one, two, and three on your Christmas wish list?

Number one would be a capital-gains cut, to try to re-energize the economy. A zero rate is ideal, but I'd take 10 percent. Number two would be to get the ball moving on social security private accounts. And number three would be a concerted effort to find cabinet agencies and government programs that are unnecessary and that should be de-funded. There are thousands of useless federal programs, but in the first two years of the Bush administration, the White House hasn't talked about terminating even one. If we don't start getting tough on the budget, Republicans will be vulnerable to the charge that they presided over one of the biggest extensions of government in history. We can't have another two years of stampeding federal spending.

The *New York Times* recently quoted an unnamed White House official saying "it's going to take a long time to build political support for an overhaul of the tax code."

How would you translate that?

The tax code is the big enchilada when it comes to fixing what's wrong in Washington. If George W. Bush wants to be an FDR or Reagan-type of president, he needs to devote the next two years to building broad-based support for social security private accounts and for fundamental tax reform. Then he can come back in 2005 with an enormous political mandate to actually fix these two gigantic millstones that are hung around the economy's neck.

Did anyone notice the nearly 50 percent vote in Massachusetts for abolishing the state income tax?

That was amazing—in Massachusetts! Maybe even Northeasterners are starting to lean in a free-market direction.

Every major party including the Republicans opposed it. It got no press coverage. Are we going to see more things like that?

One of the problems with this year's election generally was that the left used the initiative and referendum process much more ambitiously than our side did. That's a shift—from the late '70s into the '90s, free-marketers used the ballot-initiative process to advance reforms like term limits, tax cuts, and expenditure limitations, things you could never get through the legislatures. Now the left has caught on that they can get through some of their populist initiatives—taxing cigarettes, corporate spending limits, things like that. In 2004 we've got to load up the ballots in referendum-and-initiative states with populist issues—abolishing state income taxes, term limits, spending limits.

There was a huge battle in northern Virginia over a proposed tax hike for mass transit and highway construction. The Democratic governor, Mark Warner, and Republicans like Sen. John Warner and Rep. Tom Davis all supported it.

We led the fight against it, and it was a big victory for the anti-tax movement. Not only did we defeat what I call the "Warner Brothers," we also defeated the big developers and the chamber of commerce and the business-industry council—all these business groups that basically wanted

'The most selfish group in America today is senior citizens. Their message is: Give us more!'

middle-income people to pay more taxes for their developments.

That put the Club for Growth in bed with environmentalists . . .

We actually reached out to the environmental groups, to try to have a left-right coalition, but there wasn't anything there. They have no grass roots—just a handful of anti-development rich people who already have their mansions and want to keep everyone else out. The environmental movement is a Potemkin village.

The new campaign finance law went into effect the day after the election—what's going to be the impact on groups like the Club for Growth?

We come into the new campaign finance reform world in as strong a shape as any candidate-financing organization in the country. We have the ability to raise millions of dollars for pro-growth candidates in direct campaign contributions. We can also still accept soft-dollar contributions, money for radio and TV ads, for turning out the vote, which is crucial to winning. A month before the election, I was saying that our goal was to reach \$6 million this year; we actually ended up reaching \$8 million, split about half and half between direct candidate contributions and soft dollars for ads.

So to answer your question, we come out of this new campaign law smelling like a rose, even though John McCain keeps touting this as a way of putting groups like the Club for Growth out of business. And by the way, if I may gloat a little bit . . .

Sure . . .

The Club for Growth went head-to-head against ultra-liberal EMILY's List in five races this year. In general-election races we often find ourselves stacked up against Hillary Clinton-type liberal feminists, and we won four out of five of those races. We're now nine-and-three lifetime against EMILY's List.

Send them flowers!

Exactly.

But the Club's real specialty is taking on incumbents, no?

That was the one gray cloud in this elec-

tion—we didn't defeat any incumbents. We had great success in open seats, making sure we get the best person in, which is the other part of the Club's bread and butter. But the next big task is to defeat some incumbent Republicans.

Anyone in particular?

It probably isn't too smart to give that away, but one of the guys who should certainly be on notice is [Rep. Sherwood] Sherry Boehlert in New York. We gave his opponent a few thousand bucks in the last primary, and Boehlert only won by something like fifteen hundred votes, even after outspending his opponent by about eight to one. He could be our priority 1A in the 2004 primaries.

Another interesting one, just to throw out some red meat, is that if Mr. McCain runs for re-election, we are going to try to recruit [Rep.] Jeff Flake to run against him in the primary. It would be the cherry on top of the sundae if we could defeat McCain. If we can convince Jeff to run against McCain—and I don't think I'm blowing smoke here—I can raise a million dollars for him. That is how despised John McCain has become among conservative Republican donors.

Could you actually knock him off?

McCain is off the charts with independent voters—85 percent approval. He's got about 60 percent approval with Democrat voters and about 40 percent with Republicans. But this is a closed primary—you have to be a resident Republican voter in Arizona to vote. We could never defeat John McCain in a general election, but we may be able to beat him in a primary.

You'll have Democrats registering Republican . . .

That's what McCain would try to do. But the rules are fairly tight in Arizona, which works to our advantage.

Back to this year—how about John Sununu in New Hampshire?

John's win is one of the most important in the country—he was our top-priority candidate in the Senate. John is an unadulterated supply-sider. Like Phil Gramm, he gets it; he can articulate the free-market message.

And he had an exceptional voting record in the House, where he was on the budget committee. It's almost as if he never met a government program he likes.

Can he have much impact as a freshman?

Sununu will not just vote right, he'll champion the right ideas. Lord knows we need that—without Phil Gramm, Republicans in the Senate could just be lost in the wilderness. I hope I'm wrong, but I fear conservatives are going to become very quickly disenchanted, even infuriated by the actions that we're likely to see from this group. We've added a lot of moderates—people like Elizabeth Dole and Lamar Alexander. They're not going to bat anywhere near a thousand. And there's no more blaming Clinton or Tom Daschle for economic problems, as much fun as that was. If Bush doesn't get on the dime and pursue a supply-side, pro-growth economic set of ideas, we could be very depressed two years from now.

The White House is saying, 'We'll make the 2001 tax cut permanent'—is that really enough to turn the economy around?

I'm very much in favor of making the tax cut permanent, but you're right—it's not enough. Making last year's cut permanent will once and for all put a stake through the heart of the death tax. That's important. But we also need an immediate tax-cut stimulus plan, to guarantee that this economy doesn't slide back in the ditch of recession. If you look forward and ask, 'What is the one thing that could really go catastrophically wrong for the GOP?' it would be a double-dip recession.

Democrats are talking about cutting payroll taxes on the first \$15,000 or \$20,000 of income?

Any payroll tax cut would be smart, but I would do it in a supply-side way: cut the rate by one percentage point, on both the employer and the employee. If you do that, you'll cut the tax penalty for businesses to hire new workers at the same time as you put more money into the hands of consumers and workers, so they can spend it. Add a capital-gains tax cut and things will really start moving.

You can make an argument that the Democrats will have no choice but to start taking the idea of a broad-based investor class more seriously. Otherwise they're left with an ever-shrinking minority.

I hope so. The counter-argument is that as

we grow the government, we make more and more people dependent on it, until we get a majority dependency class. Consider senior citizens: here we are with an economy that's on the rocks; the stock market has been sliding; we've been losing manufacturing jobs; and what is the top priority of both the Republican and Democratic parties? Giving senior citizens free drug benefits! It's nuts! And it could really and truly bankrupt this country. These are the richest people in the country in terms of the age group, and if you wanted to, you could spend the whole GDP giving them free drugs. Nobody is asking: Who will pay? Well, it's going to be paid for by their grandchildren.

I can say this because I'm not an elected official: the most selfish group in America today is senior citizens. Their demands on Washington are: 'Give us more and more and more.' They have become the new welfare state, and given the size and political clout of this constituency, it's very dangerous. One of the biggest myths in politics today is this idea that grandparents care about their grandkids. What they really care about is that that social security check and those Medicare payments are made on a timely basis.

How about Hispanics—any light there for the GOP?

I've seen some preliminary data that suggests Republicans did fairly well with Hispanics in November. In Florida Jeb Bush got 80 percent of the Cuban vote, but even the non-Cuban Hispanics went with him—50 percent or even higher. That is excellent news. It suggests that Republicans can win Hispanic votes, if they don't present themselves as the anti-immigrant party, as the part of 'We-Don't-Want-Any-More-of-You-Here.' Some of our restrictionist friends at *National Review* say that immigration is political suicide for the Republicans, but they may have been telling the wrong story. If we're losing 90 percent of the black vote, we have to pick up Latinos, and I think we may have found a formula to do so.

Were corporate scandals a major voter issue?

I've made the case that investors are more terrified of the actions of Congress than they are of the corporate crooks. The corporate financial responsibility act, the so-called Oxley-Sarbanes bill, included 2,500 new pages of SEC regulations, and it was

'Big business by and large is not an advocate of free markets and capitalism.'

written in two and a half weeks. You can't do that. You just can't write that volume of regulations in so short a time—we're going to be sorting out this mess for years. It's an overreaction by Congress—both parties—that has created a very bearish environment in Washington.

The White House hasn't helped much...

The Bush administration and most of the people in Congress seem to think that if we just lock these people up and throw away the key, that somehow the market will come back. That's fantasy. The market isn't going to rebound until there is a pro-growth economic agenda in Washington. The investor class—the 100-million people who are in the market because they want to make money—will be pacified when they start seeing robust returns again. It's really that simple.

Are they a real political force?

The 2000 election was the first time a majority of voters were investors. We're estimating that it could have been as high as two out of three voters this year. Put another way, three times as many people who went to the polls in November 2002 were investors than were union members. The investor class is the most important demographic voting group there is.

Calling Karl Rove...

One of the problems I've had with the Republican establishment is that they're much more interested in cultivating the Christian coalition or going after these small demographic groups. The political pros who formulate the message of the party will say something like: 'Here's what we're going to do for the blacks, for the Hispanics, for the Jews, for the women.' Well what are you going to do for the conservatives? What are you going to do for the investors who are the heart and soul of your party? I don't mean those interchangeably, but the two most important components of the party are investors and conservatives. Oftentimes their interests align; other times they don't. **Starting with people like Robert Rubin and Jon Corzine!**

The Corzines and the Rubins and the George Soros of the world are aberrations.

Most people on Wall Street are capitalists, and they support the policies we're trying to get enacted. It's really distressing to listen to the nutty anti-capitalist ideas that people like George Soros put out. How can someone who made a billion dollars under capitalism not understand how the free-market system really fundamentally works? Soros probably wouldn't even be able to tell you why what he did added value.

Big business does a lot of strange things politically...

If you look at where big business gives its money, if you look at the lobbying they do in Washington, big business is not an advocate of free markets and capitalism. To the contrary—and you can go back to Adam Smith, who warned about this—big business is in large part the adversary of a true capitalist system. Why does corporate America have no interest in a capital-gains cut? Because they understand that it's going to benefit the upstart company that will compete with them. I've always believed that the Republican Party should not be the party of big business—we're the party of the young gazelle companies that are going to make our economy so much more competitive. In the races that the Club for Growth has been involved in, I would say half the time we're on the opposite side of the local chamber of commerce or the business and industry council.

You're a rabble-rouser!

I'm generally in favor of anything that will make it easier to defeat incumbents. The cancer in our political system right now is not big money—it's that it is virtually impossible to defeat an incumbent. Unless they are essentially convicted of a felony, you just can't get rid of these people. That's why I am such a huge fan of term limits. These politicians should serve three terms in the House and two terms in the Senate and then get on with their lives. A lot of the best candidates we've discovered scouring the country tend to be people who will limit their own terms. And by the way, a lot of these people have never even run for office before. We do not like the professional political class. ▶

LEARNING FROM ISRAEL

Even a superpower can't cure
what ails the Middle East

BY EDWARD GROSSMAN



Edward Grossman has written for THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and Buzz.

— J E R U S A L E M —

Feelings of *déjà vu* run strong here these days. Once again the experts can't agree on whether Saddam has toys capable of hitting Israel. Nevertheless, the shelters and hospitals are being prepared and the gas masks have been given out. It reminds you of the last months of 1990 and the first two weeks of 1991, when the Americans and British were gathering their armies in case Saddam defied the UN and refused to quit Kuwait. He refused, the Allied bombing started, and a few hours later the Scuds were flying over this city and dropping on Tel Aviv.

There's an interesting thing about wars, however: while they may seem to repeat themselves, in fact they never do, not exactly. Circumstances, actors, goals change—something intelligent politicians and generals never forget. Now is no exception. When George H. W. Bush waged the last Middle East war, his goal was to remove Saddam from Kuwait; whereas now if there's a war—and most people here consider it inevitable—George W. Bush's goal will be to remove Saddam altogether. For this reason and others, it's predictable that if war comes it won't be a replay of the Gulf War—not for the world, not for the Middle East, and not for the Jewish state.

Everybody knows Bush the Younger has bigger plans than his father. So anybody with a long memory is reminded not just of 1991, but 1982. In that year, Prime Minister Menachem Begin and defense chief Ariel Sharon ordered the Israeli Defense Force all the way to Beirut. The circumstances were as follows: Lebanon, a nation-state invented after World War I and the deconstruction of the Ottoman empire, had kept a quiet border with the Zionists until the Palestine Liberation Organization showed up in the '70s. In no time, West Beirut and south Lebanon became Arafat's Kingdom. It was an enterprise zone and rest stop for terrorists, sponsored by Arab regimes from Libya to Iraq, plus the Red Brigades, the Baader-Meinhof Gang, the IRA. Known as the Arab world's sole democracy, home of its sole halfway genuine university, its sole halfway genuine newspaper, Lebanon collapsed bloodily into enclaves of its various tribes—Maronite and other Christians, Sunni Moslems, Shi'ite Moslems, Druze.

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CENTER FOR RECLAIMING AMERICA
Outreach of Coral Ridge Ministries

Fax cover sheet

Date: May 17, 2002

To: President George Bush, Attention: Karl Rove

Fax #: 202-456-2967

From: Janet L. Folger **Fax #:** 954-351-3325
National Director **Phone:** 954-351-3353

Pages including cover: 2

Hello Karl,

Hope all is well. I was hoping to schedule a meeting with the President by the middle of June if that is at all possible. It's very important to all of the key players (see letter) in the pro-family movement. Thanks for all your help.

I look forward to hearing from you,

Janet

**P. O. Box 632
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33302
954-351-3353 Fax: 954-351-3325
<http://www.reclaimamerica.org> and www.YesGod.org
E-Mail cfra@crministries.org**

May 17, 2002

President George W. Bush
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

RE: Request for meeting

Dear Mr. President:

We, the undersigned, write to you today, proud to be under your leadership. We sincerely appreciate your efforts as you fight the war on terrorism, and we are committed to praying for you daily.

While recognizing the importance of America's current international commitments, we are writing this letter to request a meeting with you to discuss domestic matters that we feel are of the utmost importance to the millions of Americans our organizations represent.

We are more unified than we have ever been. We believe this new unity, in collaboration with the stated goals of your administration, has great potential and can bring positive, long-lasting results to the future of America.

We are so very glad that God has placed you in the White House for such a time as this.

On behalf of these pro-life, pro-family citizens, we look forward to meeting with you to discuss critical issues and ways we might assist your administration in accomplishing its pro-life, pro-family goals. For further information and to organize the scheduling of a meeting, please ask your staff to contact Janet Folger, coordinator of the Shake the Nation Back to Life campaign and national director of the CENTER FOR RECLAIMING AMERICA, at (954) 351-3353.

We thank you for your consideration of our request.

Dr. D. James Kennedy
President,
Coral Ridge Ministries

Dr. James Dobson
Founder and President,
Focus on the Family

Ken Connor
President,
Family Research Council

Don Wildmon
President,
American Family Association

Andrea Lafferty
Executive Director,
Traditional Values Coalition

Janet L. Folger
National Director,
Center for Reclaiming America

Dr. John Willke
Founder and President,
Inter'l. Right to Life Institute

Sandy Rios
President,
Concerned Women For America

Phyllis Schlafly
Founder and President,
Eagle Forum

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT
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**THE PRESIDENT'S ADVISORY BOARD FOR CUBA BROADCASTING
OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN**

September 3, 2002

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

My dear Mr. President:

It is an honor to recommend Dr. Rolando E. Bonachea for the position of Ambassador to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. I have known and worked closely with Dr. Bonachea for the past twelve years and know him to be a man of the highest intellect and integrity.

Since my appointment to the President's Advisory Board of the Office of Cuba Broadcasting by your father in 1991, I have worked with Dr. Bonachae diligently to promote the policies of and administration of Radio and Television Marti. I am proud to say that during Dr. Bonachea's tenure, the stations had the highest audience rating ever (75% to 85% according to audience studies of the United States Information Agency). His integrity and high ethical standards permeated throughout the stations and provided the Board with thorough information and insight.

For ten years Dr. Bonachea served the United States government with distinction, honor, integrity and loyalty and I know, if appointed, he will continue to do so. Therefore, I wholeheartedly endorse his candidacy for the position of Ambassador to the Commission on Human Rights.

Sincerely,

Christopher D. Coursen
Chairman
President's Advisory Board for
Cuba Broadcasting

cc: Karl Rove
Colin Powell
Elliott Abrams

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In 2002: 158

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Many companies talk about opportunity for women. But we let the hard facts speak for themselves. Our Women's Initiative is achieving its goals: to discover, nurture, and advance talent, to provide unlimited potential, and to help our people manage their work/life commitments. We want everyone coming to work every day knowing that they're this firm's greatest competitive advantage. And that we didn't raise the bar of opportunity to be politically correct — we did it because we know that people do their best work when they know there are no limits to their success. This is just one of many reasons why *Working Mother* magazine named us to its prestigious list of the "100 Best Companies for Working Mothers" for eight years in a row. It's an honor we're proud of. And one we didn't earn by simply going through the motions.

The answer is the people of Deloitte & Touche

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& Touche**

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Carly Fiorina

1 Chairman and CEO
Hewlett-Packard

2001 RANK: 1 | AGE: 48

The battle that won her Compaq and knocked HP scion Walter Hewlett off the board was rougher than a Vegas title fight. But Fiorina says she expected her job "to be difficult and tumultuous." Now comes the hard part: running the \$81 billion company.

Betsy Holden

2 Co-CEO
Kraft Foods

2001 RANK: 9 | AGE: 46

Her co-CEO title belies her power. Holden oversees nearly 75% of the \$34 billion in revenues at the world's second-biggest food company, which went public in June 2001. This year she's helped push the stock up 18%; that's more than all of Kraft's major competitors.

Meg Whitman

3 President and CEO
eBay

2001 RANK: 2 | AGE: 46

She rules the Net. Under Whitman, eBay's revenues and net income are still doubling year to year, margins—30% operating—are stellar, and the company will handle an estimated \$14 billion in merchandise during 2002. In the beaten-up tech sector, her stock is up 30% this past year.

Indra Nooyi

4 President and CFO
PepsiCo

2001 RANK: 10 | AGE: 46

This strong-willed, electric-guitar-playing financial strategist wields huge clout with CEO Steve Reinemund, maybe because she's helped engineer \$30 billion worth of deals in the past few years. Pepsi's earnings per share are expected to rise 13% this year. But the company's battle with a newly energized Coke is likely to make Nooyi's job harder than ever.



No. 4

ERINA LARSEN

Andrea Jung

5 Chairman and CEO
Avon Products

2001 RANK: 4 | AGE: 44

Global brand maven Jung continues the cosmetic company's turnaround with hardly a hitch. She's on track to lift earnings 10% in 2002. And she continues to inspire fierce loyalty. Says Avon director Ann Moore (No. 11): "Her people would die for her."

Anne Mulcahy

6 Chairman and CEO
Xerox

2001 RANK: 6 | AGE: 49

Now chairman as well as CEO, Mulcahy pulled Xerox from the brink of bankruptcy. Since last year, she's appointed a new CFO, paid down \$2.8 billion on Xerox's credit line, and returned the company to profitability—barely. But serious accounting questions loom.

Karen Katen

7 EVP; President, Pharmaceuticals Group
Pfizer

2001 RANK: 7 | AGE: 53

Although Wall Street reacted warily in July to Pfizer's \$60 billion bid for rival drugmaker Pharmacia, Katen has reason to smile. When the merger is completed at year-end, she'll probably gain another \$11 billion a year in sales, for a total of \$39 billion—and counting.

Pat Woertz

8 EVP, Downstream
ChevronTexaco

2001 RANK: 8 | AGE: 49

Woertz's revenues almost tripled, to \$81 billion, when Chevron merged with Texaco last October to create America's eighth-largest company. But operating profits from her "downstream" activities—getting oil from the rig to your car—are mucky, off \$1.2 billion in the first half of this year.

Abigail Johnson

9 President
Fidelity Management & Research

2001 RANK: 12 | AGE: 40

True, she's the boss's daughter. But in her first full year in Fidelity's No. 3 spot, this \$10 billion woman (she owns a quarter of the company) increased the market share of Fidelity's funds even as fund performance slipped.

Oprah Winfrey

10 Chairman
Harpo Entertainment Group

2001 RANK: 3 | AGE: 48

Oprah isn't losing power—she's giving it away. The queen of talk spun off ratings-grabber Dr. Phil to his own television show, dropped her hit-making book club, and said she would retire from TV talk in 2006. Woe is O: Her magazine is down 10% in subscriptions and 29% on newsstands.



Ann Moore

11 Chairman and CEO, Time Inc.
AOL Time Warner

2001 RANK: 21 | AGE: 52

Moore's July promotion put her in charge of \$4.5 billion worth of the world's most widely read magazines (including this one). Though AOL lost \$5 billion in 2001 and its stock is down 63% since last fall, Time Inc. is a bright spot: Profits are rising, and market share has increased to nearly 25%.

Judy McGrath

12 President, MTV Networks Music Group
Viacom

2001 RANK: 15 | AGE: 50

It's getting hot in here, because Judy is smoking. Promoted last spring to run all MTV music properties, she scored big with four-mouthed reality show *The Osbournes*. The show lifted MTV's ratings to an all-time high and commanded as much as \$150,000 per 30-second spot—an MTV record.

Colleen Barrett

13 President and COO
Southwest Airlines

2001 RANK: 20 | AGE: 58

When is a 58% drop in first-half profits a good thing? When you're running an airline in 2002. By maintaining low costs and on-time flights, Barrett has kept the company's market cap at \$10 billion, more than that of its seven biggest rivals combined.

Shelly Lazarus

14 Chairman and CEO
Ogilvy & Mather Worldwide

2001 RANK: 11 | AGE: 55

It's still a bear market for advertising—profits at Ogilvy parent WPP declined 30% in the first half of the year—but Lazarus keeps the coffers filled. Her agency won the global accounts for Coke brands Sprite and Fanta, worth \$100 million, plus more than \$400 million in other new business this year.

the power

Meet nine newcomers—and two who clawed their way back this year.

By Alynda Wheat with Matthew Schuerman

Pat Russo

15 President and CEO
Lucent Technologies
2001 RANK: 26 | AGE: 50

Kamikaze Pat leads where others fear to tread. After less than a year at Kodak, she returned to Lucent in January to right former CEO Rich McGinn's wrongs. Easier planned than done: Sales (\$21 billion last year) are shrinking, and the stock recently dropped below \$1.

Betsy Bernard

16 President and CEO, AT&T Consumer
AT&T
2001 RANK: 23 | AGE: 47

Bernard is making inroads into the local telephone market. She has to, since her revenues shrank by 20% in 2001, to \$15 billion, and continue their decline. Operating profits are falling too. But simply earning a dime in telecom is a feat these days.

Amy Brinkley

17 Chief Risk Officer
Bank of America
2001 RANK: 31 | AGE: 46

So far, BofA hasn't had nearly the number of loan disasters of its big-bank rivals. And by naming Brinkley the head of risk in December, CEO Ken Lewis shows he wants to keep it that way. A 24-year veteran, Brinkley could one day run the bank, America's second largest by revenues.

Lois Juliber

18 COO
Colgate-Palmolive
2001 RANK: 18 | AGE: 53

Juliber and Colgate seem to be standing still. Though P&G leads Colgate in innovation and stock performance, Juliber is a rock, bringing in 63% of the company's \$9.4 billion in revenues. Is she still longtime CEO Reuben Mark's leading candidate to succeed him? Some wonder.

Stacey Snider

20 Chairman, Universal Pictures
Vivendi Universal
2001 RANK: 24 | AGE: 41

Give Snider—who delivered four Oscars with *A Beautiful Mind*—credit for keeping her *tête* when her French bosses at Vivendi were losing theirs. Box-office revenues (\$620 million) aren't stellar, but this fall's *Red Dragon* and Eminem vehicle *8 Mile* look strong.

Judy Lewent

21 EVP and CFO
Merck
2001 RANK: 22 | AGE: 53

The No. 3 drugmaker waffled on spinning off its Medco benefits division this year, but at least Lewent moved forward. The CFO, who also arranges partnerships and licensing deals with other drugmakers, took her first steps into P&L territory by picking up marketing and sales duties for much of Asia.

Sherry Lansing

19 Chairman, Motion Picture Group,
Paramount, Viacom
2001 RANK: 16 | AGE: 58

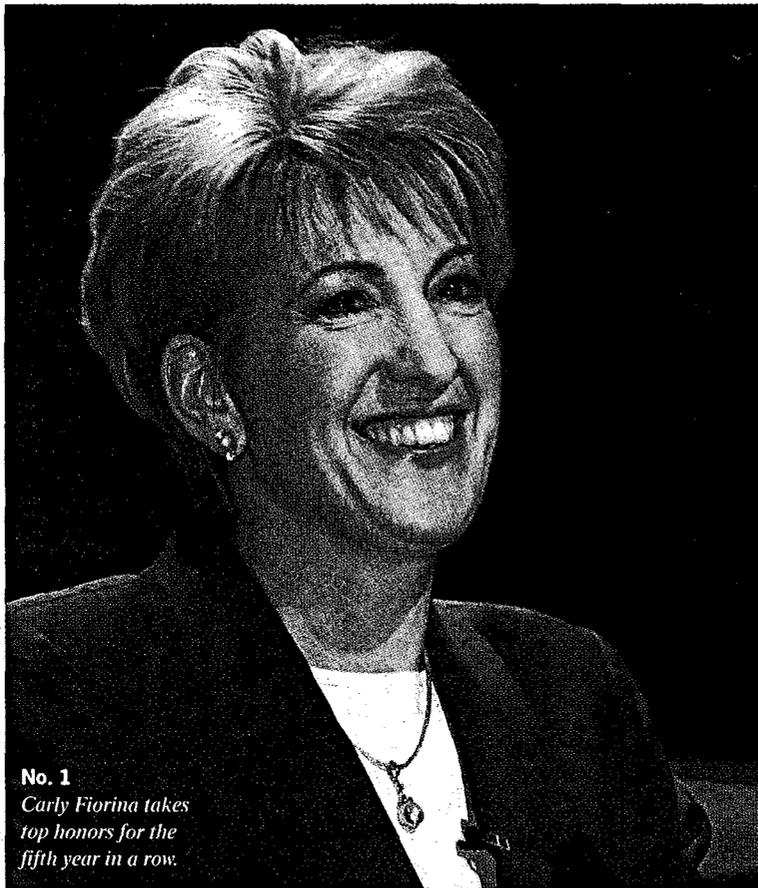
Paramount has dropped to No. 7 in share of box office this year, but parent Viacom is one of the few healthy media conglomerates. Lansing's co-productions with other studios have kept risk down and profits up. This fall's *Four Feathers* is lightweight, but *The Hours* (also with Miramax) could be an Oscar contender.

Marjorie Magner

22 COO, Global Consumer Group
Citigroup
2001 RANK: 33 | AGE: 53

"I've never done the sexy jobs; I've done the heavy lifting," says the recently promoted Magner. Thank goodness. In a dismal year for Citi, her division provides about the only good news. Net income, \$7 billion on \$35 billion in revenues last year, is growing. She runs one of the world's most profitable consumer businesses.





KIM KULISH—CORBIS SABA

No. 1
Carly Fiorina takes top honors for the fifth year in a row.

box-office gross has already surpassed Hollywood's annual record; film profits are the best ever for parent Sony.

In finance, power players no longer boast about big deals. If they boast at all, it's about preserving the franchise. At Verizon, the most valuable company in the ravaged telecom sector, CFO Doreen Toben (No. 25) is busy reducing debt and increasing cash flow. "No deals!" she says proudly. Bank of America's Amy Brinkley rises to No. 17, from No. 31, because her new position, chief risk officer, is

key to CEO Ken Lewis's mission to manage risk throughout the company. Insiders say that Brinkley, a meticulous manager who has worked all over BofA, has a decent shot at succeeding Lewis someday.

Meanwhile, at troubled Citigroup, Marge Magner is COO of the crown jewel, Citi's global consumer group, which generates \$35 billion in annual revenues and \$7 billion in net profits. "We don't get caught up in trends or flashy things," says Magner, a diligent manager who has had five promotions in five years. We're promot-

ing her too—to No. 22 on the list, from No. 33 last year.

No. 50 is a Citi alum and FORTUNE 50 returnee. Heidi Miller was No. 2 on our list in 1999, when she was Citigroup's CFO. Convinced that a woman could not reach the top there, she quit, drifted awhile—to Priceline.com, then to Marsh & McLennan—and recently joined Bank One as CFO. As the influential right hand to Bank One CEO Jamie Dimon, another Citi alum, Miller's on the rebound.

It's a matter of debate whether power is harder to get or to keep. But for women on the FORTUNE 50, keeping power seems to be an especially daunting challenge. When we asked them to identify their greatest strength and weakness, virtually every woman said she felt pressed to soften the very thing that got her here: her powerful style. Verizon's Toben says that bosses (male ones) urged her to be less forthright—and she tries to be. BofA's Brinkley admits, "I had to learn not to be too tough." PepsiCo's passionate president Nooyi, a mother of two, says, "My biggest issue is that I view PepsiCo as an extension of my family. My husband says, 'You've got to make up your mind whether Pepsi is your spouse or I am.'" (She adds, "I assure him he's my first love and always will be.")

Even Carly Fiorina, whose ferocious self-determination has fueled her success, feels some responsibility to rein it in. "My strength is my strength," she says. "But it can also be a weakness." You probably wouldn't hear Bill Gates or Jeff Immelt say that. But even if these women don't wear their power quite as comfortably as men do, they've got every bit as much backbone. ■

turn this page and open
 the foldout for FORTUNE's list of the
50 most powerful women
 in American business.

Ann Livermore
23 President, HP Services
Hewlett-Packard
 2001 RANK: 28 | AGE: 44

Workhorse Livermore rises on her newly doubled revenues of \$15 billion after the Compaq merger. She just signed a \$1.3 billion services deal with CIBC—the biggest in HP's history. But her profit margins are shrinking as customers cut back spending.

Cathleen Black
24 President
Hearst Magazines
 2001 RANK: 29 | AGE: 58

The Coca-Cola and IBM board member is the only magazine chief in serious launch mode: She plans *Chic Simple* and *Lifetime* magazines for 2003. Lately she's been cleaning house: She shut up *Talk* and shared the reported \$54 million hit with partner Miramax.



Doreen Toben
25 EVP and CFO
Verizon
 NEW | AGE: 52

In telecom, "CFOs have more influence now than the operating guys," says Toben. She should know: She got that title at the nation's 11th-largest company last April. A 30-year telecom veteran who begins her days at 3:30 A.M., Toben is our highest-ranking newcomer.

Amy Pascal
26 Chairman, Columbia Pictures
Sony
 NEW | AGE: 44

Pascal has fewer responsibilities than the other studio heads (she's not in charge of marketing or home video), but she gets credit for green-lighting Sony's way to a record \$1.3 billion box office haul so far this year. *Spider-Man* alone snared \$404 million, making it the fifth-biggest hit ever.

Vivian Banta
27 Vice Chairman, Insurance
Prudential Financial
 2001 RANK: 42 | AGE: 52

It's not easy to modernize a traditional life insurance company just as it goes public. Yet Banta is doing it, successfully cutting \$210 million in costs in the first half of the year. In August she was promoted to head the \$16 billion insurance division.

Janet Robinson
28 SVP, Newspaper Operations
New York Times Co.
 2001 RANK: 39 | AGE: 52

Others pull back in tough times. Robinson makes the *Times* tough. Ad intake at the newspaper of record (which won seven Pulitzers this year) is down, but circulation revenues are up 11%, thanks to recent price hikes that generated \$60 million.

Pam Strobel
29 EVP, CEO, Exelon Energy Delivery
Exelon
 NEW | AGE: 50

This rising star got into the energy-delivery business as a lawyer. She turned to line management in 2000, just as the Chicago and Philadelphia utilities combined to form Exelon, a \$15 billion company that last year was the nation's most profitable utility.

Dina Dublon
30 EVP and CFO
J.P. Morgan Chase
 2001 RANK: 25 | AGE: 49

Dublon has had a lot of explaining to do this year—billions in bad loans to Enron and the telecoms, weak trading revenues, plummeting earnings, stock down 45%—but analysts praise her candor. Says Prudential's Mike Mayo: "She's a pretty straight shooter."



Nancy Peretsman
31 EVP and Managing Director
Allen & Co.
 2001 RANK: 34 | AGE: 48

At a dire time for investment bankers, Peretsman's reputation has held up. "She's opinionated, she's informed, and she's usually right," says longtime client Barry Diller. Last December she helped him sell the TV and film assets of USA Networks to Vivendi Universal for \$11.7 billion.

Susan Arnold
32 Pres., Personal Beauty & Feminine Care
Procter & Gamble
 NEW | AGE: 48

"I have guts," says the 22-year P&G vet. "I'm decisive." Indeed: She beautified her division's bottom line by focusing on winners like Olay and Cover Girl. This year she added Always, a \$1 billion brand, to her portfolio. She brings in about \$8 billion of P&G's \$40 billion in sales.

Mary Kay Haben
33 Group VP, Kraft Foods North America
Kraft Foods
 NEW | AGE: 46

Haben, who controls \$6.9 billion in revenues from such brands as Kraft cheese and Minute Rice, and her boss Betsy Holden are so tight that they shared a hospital room after delivering their children in 1991. Says Holden (No. 2 on our list): "We've supported each other through everything."

Deb Henretta
34 President, Global Baby Care
Procter & Gamble
 NEW | AGE: 41

The first-mom to manage P&G's baby business, Henretta aims "to go beyond the diaper as a poop catcher." So she's redesigned Pampers to custom-fit various tushes. While her division isn't as large as that of colleague Arnold (No. 32), she's spoken of as a contender for CEO someday.

Carole Black
35 President and CEO
Lifetime Entertainment Services
 2001 RANK: 45 | AGE: 59

"Everybody said I was crazy when I said we'd be No. 1 within three years," says Black. She did it in less than two. Lifetime is solidly positioned as the top-rated cable network and should generate \$760 million in revenues in 2002.

Jamie Gorelick**36** Vice Chair
Fannie Mae

2001 RANK: 41 | AGE: 52

She's the No. 3 officer at Fannie Mae, in charge of government policy and minority lending. The housing boom has kept Gorelick's influence huge. Fannie Mae is expected to post a record \$6.2 billion in net income this year.

Marce Fuller**37** President and CEO
Mirant

2001 RANK: 5 | AGE: 42

This is no time to be an energy trader, even less so when your debt is attracting attention and you can't file your 10-Q on time. While Fuller has begun to pay off loans, Mirant's market cap has fallen from \$8 billion a year ago to \$1 billion today—less than the cash it has on hand.

Kathi Seifert**38** EVP
Kimberly-Clark

NEW | AGE: 53

From cradle to grave, Seifert has you covered. As head of Kimberly-Clark's personal-care business, she manages Huggies, Pull Ups, and Depends. No. 2 at the company since Wayne Sanders's recent retirement as CEO, she oversees business worth nearly \$6 billion.

Anne Sweeney**39** President, ABC Cable Networks
Walt Disney

2001 RANK: 44 | AGE: 44

With Disney's theme park profits down and ABC's broadcast network hemorrhaging money, Sweeney's division is estimated to add \$250 million in operating income in 2002—roughly one-third of Disney's total.

**Marilyn Carlson Nelson****40** Chairman and CEO
Carlson Cos.

2001 RANK: 19 | AGE: 63

The new head of a presidential advisory committee on women in business, Nelson enjoys an enviable public profile. But the economic downturn is punishing her family-owned travel company's net revenues, estimated at \$3 billion last year and likely to fall in 2002.

Anne Stevens**41** VP, North America Vehicle Operations
Ford Motor

2001 RANK: 27 | AGE: 53

As Ford struggles, so does Stevens. Management shakeups abound, and Ford trails GM in efficiency for the first time. The bright spot? Ford expects a small profit in 2002 after a loss of \$5.5 billion last year.

Sallie Krawcheck**42** Chairman and CEO
Sanford C. Bernstein

NEW | AGE: 37

CEO since June 2001, Krawcheck doesn't have to worry about the conflicts of interest that have given so many equity analysts a bad name. Bernstein doesn't do underwriting, just research. She—and the firm—were made for times like these.

Carol Tomé**43** EVP and CFO
Home Depot

2001 RANK: 40 | AGE: 45

Tomé hasn't convinced Wall Street that CEO Bob Nardelli's plan for the nation's No. 2 retailer is working: The stock is down 35% this year. Investors worry that cost-control programs will cripple sales growth. But in fact, they are improving margins.

Marion Sandler**44** Co-Chairman and Co-CEO
Golden West Financial

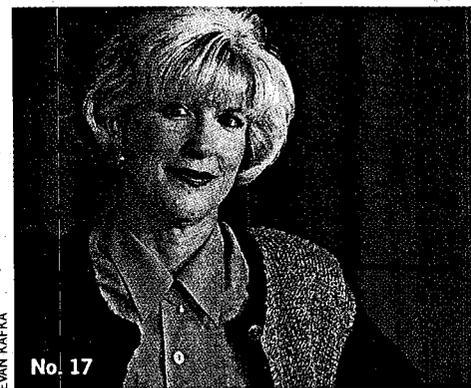
2001 RANK: 46 | AGE: 71

"A lot of times it's ego or boredom" that makes CEOs change course, says Sandler. But when she and husband Herb, her co-CEO, found a winning strategy, they stuck to it. Their prudent acquisitions, conservative lending policies, and 15% average compound annual return over the past ten years have turned the nation's No. 2 thrift into a legend.

Louise Francesconi**45** VP, President, Missile Systems
Raytheon

2001 RANK: 49 | AGE: 49

An August reorganization at Raytheon gave her a new title but kept her the go-to woman in defense. As head of the company's \$3 billion missile business (the largest in the world), Francesconi supplied the laser-guided bombs used against al Qaeda in Afghanistan.



EVAN KAFKA

Vanessa Castagna**46** EVP, CEO, J.C. Penney Stores
J.C. Penney

RETURNING | AGE: 53

Castagna is key to one of the biggest transformations in retail. She cut costs by centralizing buying operations for the company's 1,068 stores. Net income is expected to more than double this year, to \$255 million, on revenues of \$33 billion.

Larree Renda**47** EVP, Retail Operations
Safeway

2001 RANK: 48 | AGE: 44

The de facto COO at a \$34 billion company, Renda has tons of clout. But she's had a tough time lately. A sales slowdown caused Safeway to miss its targets for the first time in ten years, and the stock has fallen more than the S&P.

Dawn Lepore**48** Vice Chair
Charles Schwab

2001 RANK: 35 | AGE: 48

The brains behind the brokerage's technology systems, Lepore is taking on a broader role, which includes advising co-CEO David Pottruck on ways to operate more efficiently. But investors are underwhelmed: Schwab's stock is 72% lower than two years ago.

Fran Keeth**49** President and CEO, Shell Chemicals LP, Royal Dutch Petroleum

NEW | AGE: 56

Keeth's promotion last year made this 31-year Shell veteran the first woman to head a major U.S. chemical business. Of the Dutch/English conglomerate's \$135 billion in 2001 sales, she's responsible for \$6 billion.

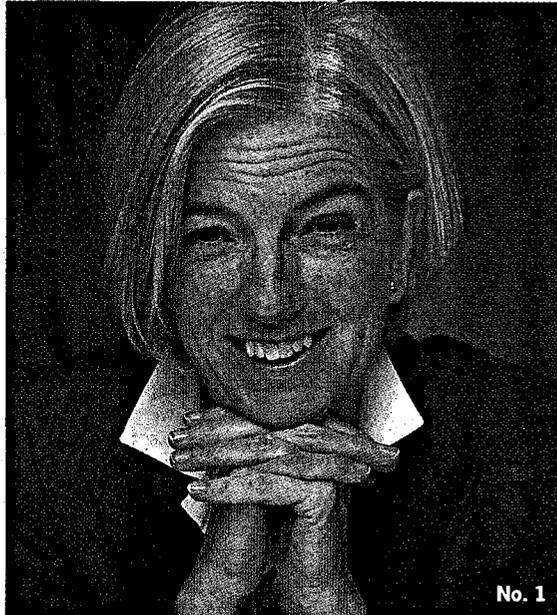
Heidi Miller**50** EVP and CFO
Bank One

RETURNING | AGE: 49

She's back! Surviving a tour in dot-com purgatory (at Priceline), Miller last spring joined Bank One CEO Jamie Dimon, her former mentor at Citigroup. Better here than there: Bank One stock is up 24% over the past 12 months, vs. Citi's 26% decline.

the international power 50

Beyond our shores, these women rule.



GRAHAM TROTT—KATZMANTOR

- | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| 1 Marjorie Scardino
CEO, Pearson, Britain | 10 Eiko Kono
President, Recruit, Japan | 19 Vivienne Cox
Group Vice President, BP, Britain | 28 Yoshiko Shinohara
Chairman, Tempstaff, Japan | 35 Nina Wang
Chair, Chinachem, Hong Kong |
| 2 Belinda Stronach
CEO and President, Magna International
Canada | 11 Linda Cook
CEO, Shell Gas & Power, Britain | 20 Ana Patricia Botin
Chairwoman, Banco Banesto
Spain | 29 Rose Marie Bravo
CEO, Burberry, Britain | 36 Marjorie Yang
Chairman and CEO, Esquel Group
Hong Kong |
| 3 Anne Lauvergeon
Executive Chairman, AREVA
France | 12 Mary Minnick
President and COO, Coca-Cola Asia
U.S. | 21 Clara Furse
CEO, London Stock Exchange
Britain | 30 Val Gooding
CEO, BUPA
Britain | 37 Carla Cico
President and CEO, Brasil Telecom
Brazil |
| 4 Patricia Barbizet
Chief Executive, Artémis, France | 13 Barbara Kux
Executive Director, Ford Europe
Germany | 22 Imre Barmanbek
CEO, Dogan Holding, Turkey | 31 Pansy Ho
Managing Director, Sociedade de
Turismo e Diversões de Macau
Macau | 38 Marluce Dias da Silva
Director General, Rede Globo, Brazil |
| 5 Mary Ma
CFO, Legend Group Holdings, China | 14 María Aramburuzabala
Vice Chairwoman, Grupo Modelo
Mexico | 23 Nita Ing
Chairwoman, Taiwan High-Speed
Railway Corp., Taiwan | 32 Brigitta Johansson-Hedberg
Chairman and CEO,
FöreningsSparbanken, Sweden | 39 Teresita Sy-Coson
President, SM Prime Holdings
Philippines |
| 6 Ho Ching
Executive Director, Temasek Holdings
Singapore | 15 Sari Baldauf
President, Nokia Networks, Finland | 24 Juliet Wu Shihong
Vice President, TCL Holdings, China | 33 Yukako Uchinaga
Managing Director, IBM Japan, Japan | 40 Britta Steilmann
CEO, Steilmann Group, Germany |
| 7 Maureen K. Darkes
Group Vice President, General Motors
U.S. | 16 Judith Boynton
CFO, Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Britain | 25 Chua Sock Koong
CFO, Singapore Telecommunications
Singapore | 34 Galia Maor
President and CEO, Bank Leumi, Israel | 41 Theresa Gattung
CEO, Telecom Corp. of New Zealand
New Zealand |
| 8 Lien Siao-Sze
Senior Vice President,
Hewlett-Packard Services Asia-Pacific
Singapore | 17 Kathleen Bader
President, Dow Styrenics & Engineered
Products, Switzerland | 26 Agnes Touraine
Chief Executive, Vivendi Universal
Publishing, France | 42 Dominique H. Dubreuil
Chair and CEO, Rémy Cointreau
France | 43 Donatella Versace
Chief Designer and CEO, Gianni Versace
Italy |
| 9 Marina Berlusconi
Vice Chairman, Fininvest, Italy | 18 Xie Qihua
Vice Chairman and President,
Shanghai Baosteel Group
China | 27 Sawako Noma
President and CEO, Kodansha, Japan | 44 Vidya Chhabria
Chairwoman, Jumbo Group, India | 45 Isabel Aguilera
Managing Director, Operations NH
Hoteles, Spain |
| | | | 46 Ofra Strauss-Lahat
Chairman, Strauss-Elite Group, Israel | 47 Wanda Rapaczynski
President, Agora, Poland |
| | | | 48 Irene Charnley
Commercial Director, M-Cell, South Africa | 49 G. Angelopoulos-Daskalaki
President, Athens 2004 Organizing
Committee, Greece |
| | | | 50 Naina Lal Kidwai Exec. Vice
Chairman and CEO, HSBC Securities &
Capital Markets, India | |

For complete details on The Most Powerful Women in International Business, go to www.fortune.com/lists/women.

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Glenn Hubbard 11/14
is this accurate?
Lend

ROB NORTON



NOT SO FAST

Don't Listen to the Consumer

Stocks slumped yesterday after a crucial gauge of consumer confidence declined, stoking fears that Americans would close their wallets and deprive the sluggish economy of one of its main props.—Reuters

Sound familiar? It should. The big question hanging over the economy like a thundercloud is whether consumer spending will falter and drag down the economy. It's been the big question for a long, long time. That particular quote, in fact, is from a story published Aug. 29, 2001.

The robustness of consumer spending was the big surprise of last year's recession, helping ensure that the downturn was mild and setting the stage for the recovery that began last winter, when GDP surged 5% in the first quarter. But now that we know that the recovery fizzled in the second quarter, when GDP growth slowed to a puny 1.1% rate, the question is back and more important than ever.

The consumer confidence indexes would seem a logical place to look for answers. They purport to reveal how consumers feel about the economy and how they're likely to behave. And like virtually all the financial and economic news this summer, they've been unrelievedly grim. Confidence plunged in July to its lowest levels since last winter.

Unfortunately for economic soothsayers, the consumer confidence indexes are poor forecasters. They've been particularly squirrely lately, often out of step with what's happening and what's about to happen. After the Sept. 11 attacks, consumer confidence sank to levels that hadn't been seen since the last recession, and although the indexes recovered a bit in December, nothing about the way they behaved hinted at the first-quarter rebound. Confidence then came surging back in March and stayed high in April and May—at the same time, it turns out, that the economy was slowing sharply.

In reality, the consumer confidence indexes have never been very reliable forecasting tools. Research indicates that they're actually more reactive. A formal investigation of their power was published in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York's June 1998 *Economic Policy Review*. The Fed economists found that of the two leading measures, data from the Conference Board's consumer confidence index made a standard economic forecast only

modestly more accurate. Data from the other one, the University of Michigan index of consumer sentiment, actually made the forecast worse. (One reason the Conference Board's index performs better, the economists conclude, is that its questions seem better designed to elicit information about the state of the economy. Another is that it's based on a bigger sample than the Michigan index—3,500, compared with 500.)

A new academic study by Johns Hopkins University's Christopher Carroll suggests what may really be going on with the consumer confidence numbers. Carroll looks back at the University of Michigan's survey of consumer expectations about inflation and unemployment for the past two decades. He assumes that most people form their opinions about the economy from the news media, which in turn report the views of professional economic forecasters. He tested the data to see whether the behavior of expectations can be explained by a statistical model in which consumers are merely reflecting the opinions of the forecasters filtered through the news media. Carroll found that this model does a "remarkably good job of capturing much of the predictable behavior of the Michigan inflation expectation index," and that in most respects it performs even better in explaining the unemployment expectations data.

So what does it all mean for consumer confidence, circa summer 2002? A good bet is that the cratering of confidence in July had more to do with what consumers were reading in the papers and seeing on TV than with how they actually felt about the economy. The news in July was about as depressing as it gets—dominated by the corporate accounting scandals, the volatile and speedy decline of stock prices, and stories about the disappearance of people's retirement savings.

What it also means is that the slump in confidence doesn't answer the big question facing the economy—whether consumers will stop spending and cause a double-dip recession. (For more, see "Is This Where the Economy Is Headed?") For that, we'll have to wait and see what consumers do over the next several months rather than listen to what they're saying now. The most recent hard data on spending, from June, were pretty positive: Personal consumption was up a strong 0.5%, and the growth of personal income was even stronger—its best increase since 2000. Even if those trends continue, as long as the news remains downbeat, consumer confidence will too. ■

The consumer confidence indexes have never been very reliable forecasting tools.

ROB NORTON, a former FORTUNE executive editor, is a freelance writer, editor, and consultant in New York City. He can be reached at rob@robnorton.com.

columns

4

Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Evangelical Voter Registration and Turnout - To: Matt Schlapp - From: Blaise Hazelwood, et al.	4	08/12/2002	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:

549271 [1]

FRC ID:

9715

OA Num.:

10739

NARA Num.:

10797

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(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Note	[Thanks] - To: Karl [Rove] - From: Jeanne Johnson	2	N.D.	PRM;

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F6006-27



Karl C. Rove
11/12/2002 11:52:18 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: WMD strategy

run off

----- Forwarded by Karl C. Rove/WHO/EOP on 11/12/2002 11:52 AM -----



Michael N. Anton
11/12/2002 11:05:18 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Karl C. Rove/WHO/EOP@EOP, Daniel J. Bartlett/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: Anna M. Perez/NSC/EOP@EOP

Subject: WMD strategy

Attached are the WMD Strategy, a SBTP, and a roll-out plan. We are also working on an op-ed (signature TBD) but it is in preliminary draft form, and needs considerable more work.



9636 Natl Strat 11-8-02.do 9636 Natl Strat SBTP 11-8-02.d WMD Strategy.doc

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction	9	N.D.	P5;

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