

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Email	Pierre Falcone - To: Karl Rove - From: Jim Click	1	12/04/2003	P6/b6;
002	Email	Fw: African American Outreach and the Washington Post - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/03/2003	PRM;
003	Email	Fw: Breaking Ice Among African Americans in Gubernatorial Races - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/03/2003	PRM;
004	Magazine	Time	1	11/17/2003	P6/b6;
005	Magazine	Time	1	11/17/2003	P6/b6;
006	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: George Ki Kron	1	10/21/2003	P6/b6;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [2]

FRC ID:

9725

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).

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)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
007	Memorandum	Spending - To: Andrew Card - From: Joshua Bolten	1	12/01/2003	P5;
008	Draft	Op-Ed on Spending	3	12/01/2003	P5;
009	Email	Fw: Cheers - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	2	11/24/2003	PRM;
010	Memorandum	Federal Marriage Amendment Conference Call - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein	1	11/24/2003	P5;
011	Memorandum	Marvin Pomerantz, Doug Gross, Becky Beach Meeting - To: Karl Rove - From: Lori Raad	1	11/21/2003	PRM;
012	Email	Re: From Ken Auletta - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Ken Auletta	1	11/21/2003	P6/b6;

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013	Email	From Ken Auletta of the New Yorker Magazine - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Ken Auletta	1	11/03/2003	P6/b6;
014	Briefing	Policy Time - Domestic	2	12/18/2003	P5;
015	Handwritten Note	[Notes]	2	N.D.	P5;

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600826

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Ruben Barrales*

From: **Strategic Initiatives** *BJ Goergen*

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

Comments: _____

Ruben Fuji



OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
136 STATE CAPITOL BUILDING
DENVER, COLORADO 80203

TEL 303-866-6433
FAX 303-866-6454
E-MAIL marc.holtzman@state.co.us

MARC HOLTZMAN
SECRETARY OF TECHNOLOGY

April 15, 2002

Honorable Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Karl:

President Kwasniewski of Poland has shared with me the good news about the President's upcoming state visit to Washington, D.C. this July. As you may recall, President Kwasniewski has been a close personal friend for more than a decade. It was a pleasure and honor to join President Bush for the State Dinner in Warsaw this past year. In addition, I am most pleased to be assisting General Walters as a volunteer in his effort to sell the F-16 package to Poland. I have kept Condi posted.

Karl, I would be honored and most grateful to be included among the guest list for the upcoming State Dinner in honor of President Kwasniewski. Thank you for your consideration.

Congratulations on the outstanding work that you and your team are doing. I am enormously proud of the President. Hope that our paths cross soon.

Sincerely,

Marc

Dear Karl - special thanks. M.

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES
2002 DEC -5 PM 1:22

600826

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/4/03

To: *Barry Jackson*

From: Strategic Initiatives *B.J. Goergen*

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

Comments: _____

To Barry To respond

Everglades Farm Equipment Co., Inc.
2017 Northwest 16th Street
Post Office Box 910
Belle Glade, Florida 33430
Phone: (561) 996-6531
Fax: (561) 993-3326



FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Mr. Karl Rove

FAX: 202-456-0191

FROM: Roger Walker

DATE: 12-3-03

PAGES: 2 **INCLUDING THIS COVER**

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL PAGES, PLEASE CONTACT SENDER AT (561) 996-6531.

Nothing Runs Like a Deere



EVERGLADES FARM EQUIPMENT CO., IN

2017 NW 16th Street
P.O. Box 910
Belle Glade, FL 33430
(561) 996-6531
(561) 996-4229 Fax

December 3, 2003

The White House
Attention: Mr. Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

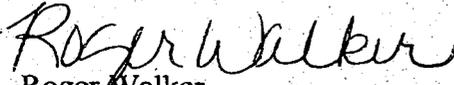
Dear Mr. Rove:

We are a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. Their business is important to our state and local economy as well as all the employees that work for our company. Giving away our jobs for the sake of a "successful trade agreement" under CAFTA would be a disaster for our state and our company.

We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



Roger Walker
General Manager



JOHN DEERE

Calcium Silicate Corporation

P.O. Box 405
Lake Harbor, Fl. 33459
(863) 902-0217 (863) 902-0107 fax

*Burny -
respon*

Via: Fax

December 4, 2003

Mr. Karl Rove
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20502

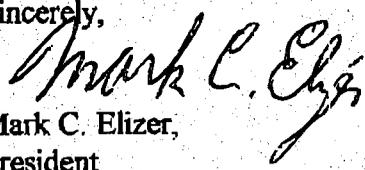
Dear Mr. Rove,

Calcium Silicate Corporation, Inc. is a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. This business is important to state and local economy as well as the employees that work for our company. Compromising jobs and industry for the sake of a successful trade agreement under CAFTA would be an unfortunate choice for the many Americans who depend on this industry for employment, and for the larger economic picture of the region.

We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and we now look to you to support our business.

Please don't jeopardize our jobs, our enterprises and our economic foundation... Don't trade us for CAFTA!

Sincerely,



Mark C. Elizer,
President

MCE/jmc

Calcium Silicate Corporation, Inc.

P.O. Box 405
Lake Harbor, Fl. 33459
(863) 902 - 0217 (863) 902 - 0107 fax

VIA FAX:

DATE: December 3, 2003

TO: The White House

ATTENTION: Mr. Karl Rove

FAX NUMBER: 202-456-0191

Pages to Follow: 1

FROM: Mark C. Elizer

COMMENTS:

*Barry
Pls respond.*

December 4, 2003

The White House
Attn: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

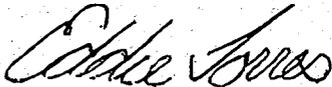
Dear Mr. Rove;

We are a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. Their business is important to our state and local economy as well as all the employees that work for our company. Giving away our jobs for the sake of a "successful trade agreement" under CAFTA would be disaster for our state and our company.

We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



Eddie Torres
Branch Manager
326 W.C. Owen Ave.
Clewiston, Florida 33440

Draft

202/456-2369
FAX 202/456-0191

The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

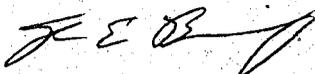
Dear Mr. Rove:

We are a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. Their business is important to our state and local economy as well as all the employees that work for our company. Giving away our jobs for the sake of a "successful trade agreement" under CAFTA would be a disaster for our state and our company.

We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



FRANK E BROWNING
REXEL Consolidated Electrical Supplies
P.O. Box 2477
Stuart, Fl. 34995

Disston Island Harvesting

5500 Flaghole Road * Clewiston, FL 33440
Tel: (863) 983-5111 * Fax: (863) 983-6976

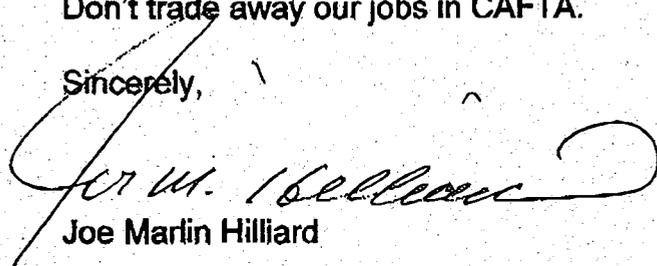
The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Rove:

We are a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. Their business is important to our state and local economy as well as all the employees that work for our company. Giving away our jobs for the sake of a "successful trade agreement" under CAFTA would be a disaster for our state and our company.
We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



Joe Martin Hilliard

*Bamy -
Please
respond
directly to
us on your
response.
Thanks.
B.J.*

Sugarcane Harvesting

5500 Flaghole Road * Clewiston, FL 33440
Tel: (863) 983-5111 * Fax: (863) 983-6976

The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

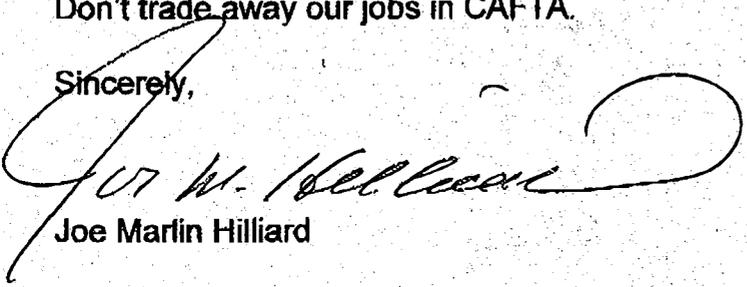
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We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



Joe Martin Hilliard

H & S Harvesting

5500 Flaghole Road * Clewiston, FL 33440
Tel: (863) 983-5111 * Fax: (863) 983-6976

The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

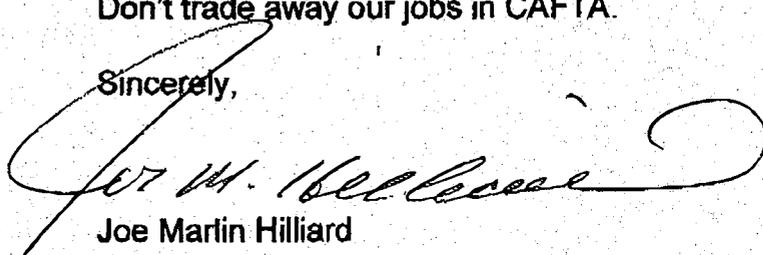
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Sincerely,



Joe Martin Hilliard

J & B Harvesting

5500 Flaghole Road * Clewiston, FL 33440
Tel: (863) 983-5111 * Fax: (863) 983-6976

The White House
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Washington, DC 20502

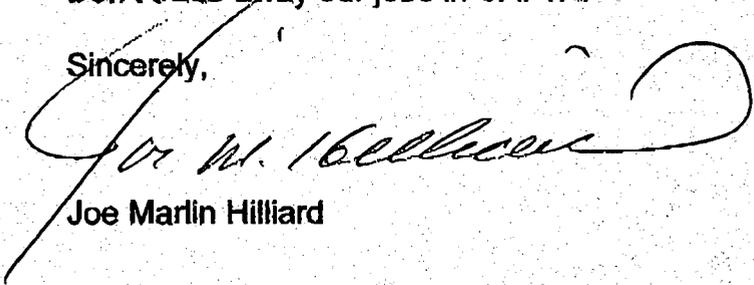
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We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



Joe Marlin Hilliard

Nine Mile Harvesting

5500 Flaghole Road * Clewiston, FL 33440
Tel: (863) 983-5111 * Fax: (863) 983-6976

The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

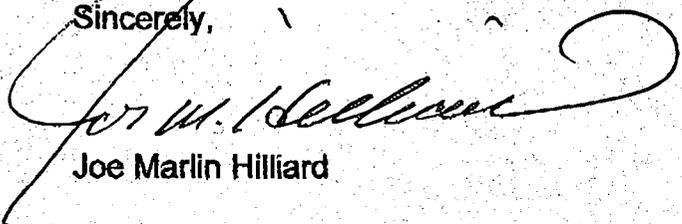
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We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



Joe Marlin Hilliard



Sugarland Harvesting Company

5500 Flaghole Road
Clewiston, FL 33440

Tel. (863) 983-5111
Fax (863) 983-6976

The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Rove:

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We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Joe M. Hilliard". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a prominent loop at the end.

Joe Marlin Hilliard

*Barry -
Please
respond directly
B.J. Gorgon*

December 4th, 2003

The White House
Attention: Mr. Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

Re: Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA)

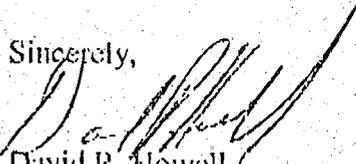
Dear Mr. Rove:

We are a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. Their business is important to our state and local economy as well as the employees that work for our company. Giving away our jobs for the sake of a "successful trade agreement" under CAFTA would be detrimental to our state, especially at this point in our nation's economic recovery.

We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,



David R. Howell

President

Southeastern Construction & Maintenance, Inc.

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Pierre Falcone - To: Karl Rove - From: Jim Click	1	12/04/2003	P6/b6;

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

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OA Num.:

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NARA Num.:

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FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

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SunBelt

ENERGY SYSTEMS, INC.

Barry -

Please respond
directly.

BJ.

Thursday, December 04, 2003

The White House
Attention: Mr. Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Rove:

As a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry I have grave concerns with regard to the Bush Administration's consideration of CAFTA, scheduled for discussion on Monday December 8, 2003.

As I understand things, such legislation would lead to a decline in the Florida sugar industry. This would not be good for my company or for those Americans that work here. Please support us as we have supported the Bush Administration.

Thank you;

Fred Odom

Fred Odom
Controls Engineer

DEC. 3, 2003 12:29 PM RIDGDILL CONSTRUCTION NO. 140 P. 1/1

RIDGDILL & SON, INC.

A CONSTRUCTION COMPANY
Morris Ridgdill, President

*Many
Please
respond*



December 5, 2003

The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Rove:

We are a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. Their business is important to our state and local economy as well as all the employees that work for our company. Giving away our jobs for the sake of a "successful trade agreement" under CAFTA would be a disaster for our state and our company.

We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,

Ridgdill & Son, Inc.

Morris Ridgdill
Morris Ridgdill,
President



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES MINT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2003 DEC -5 PM 1:32

DIRECTOR
OF THE
MINT

November 5, 2003

The Honorable Karl C. Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
2nd Floor, West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Karl,

Thank you for helping us when national coin redesign was just a concept. As of last week, the redesign of the nickel is underway for the President. This is the first redesign of the nickel in 65 years.

Secretary John W. Snow approved recommendations from the United States Mint to apply two new images to the reverse of the 5-cent coin over the next year. These images will commemorate the bicentennials of the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition. The obverse of the nickel will continue to bear the image of Thomas Jefferson. Enclosed are the first two reverse images. We anticipate the two additional reverse images in 2005 will follow the Lewis and Clark expedition west, commemorating the Native Americans and the land they traveled.

This is an exciting time for our Nation's coinage. The new nickel designs will come on the heels of the halfway point in the overwhelmingly popular 50 State Quarters[®] Program. 130 million Americans are collecting circulating coins and they are learning about the history of our Nation as it formed. In addition, their collecting coins creates a revenue that goes to the General Fund of the Department of the Treasury and is in turn used to help pay down the interest on the national debt.

Thank you again for helping us to think about the redesign of the Nation's coinage, the first such effort since President Theodore Roosevelt, and for offering your support and ideas.

Karl - I hope you like these first two designs for 2004. Henrietta

With best wishes,

Henrietta
Henrietta Holsman Fore
Director
United States Mint

Enclosure



New Nickels In 2004 Facts

In commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase, and Lewis and Clark's expedition, the President enacted Public Law 108-15 to modify the Jefferson 5-cent coin (nickel) in 2003, 2004 and 2005, to reflect images evocative of their historic expedition into the Louisiana Territory. A depiction of Monticello will return to the nickel in 2006. The obverse will continue to bear the likeness of President Jefferson.

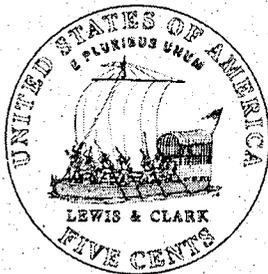
2004 Spring Design: *"Louisiana Purchase/Peace Medal"*



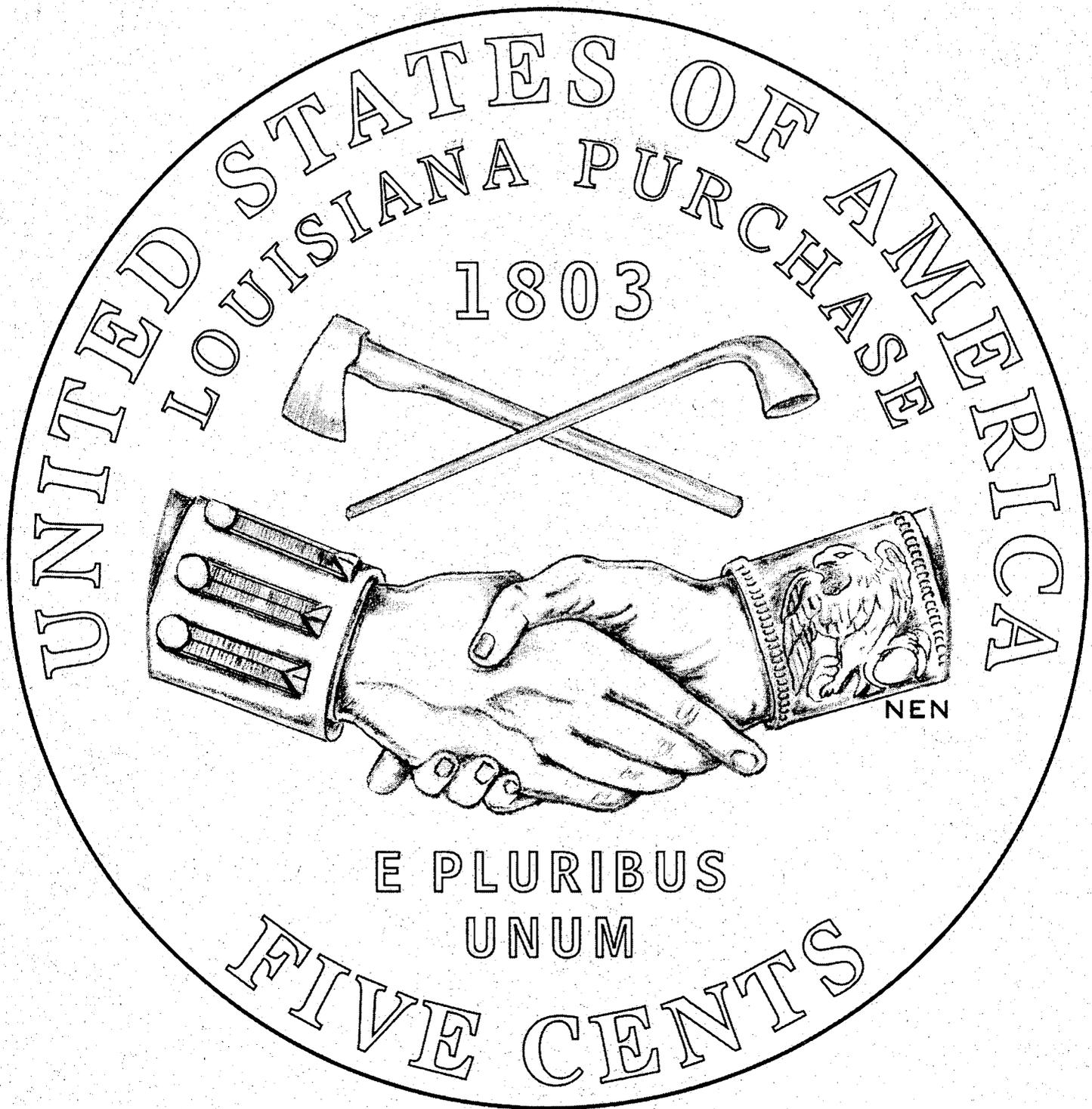
The first of two new reverses on the 2004-dated Jefferson nickel will feature a rendition of the reverse of the original Indian Peace Medal commissioned for Lewis and Clark's expedition, bearing the likeness of America's third president on one side, and symbols of peace and friendship on the other. The medals were presented to Native American chiefs and other important leaders as tokens of goodwill at treaty signings and other events.

The design, by United States Mint sculptor / engraver Norman E. Nemeth, features two hands clasped in friendship – one with a military uniform cuff, symbolizing the American government, and the other with a silver band adorned with beads and a stylized American eagle, representing the Native American community with whom the United States sought good relations.

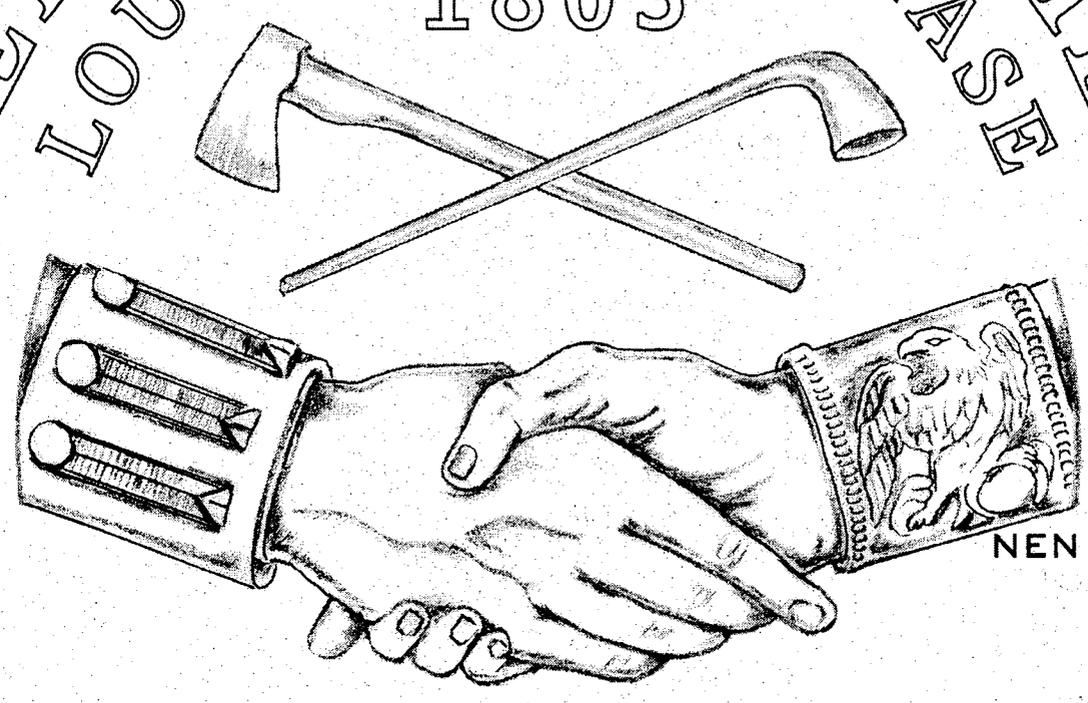
2004 Fall Design: *"Keelboat"*



In late 2004, the 2004-dated Jefferson nickel will feature an angled, side-view of the keelboat with full sail that transported members of the expedition and their supplies through the rivers of the Louisiana Territory in search of a northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean. Built to the specifications of Captain Lewis, the 55-foot keelboat could be sailed, rowed, poled like a raft, or towed from the riverbank. The design, by United States Mint sculptor / engraver Al Maletsky, shows Captains Lewis and Clark in full uniform in the bow of the keelboat.



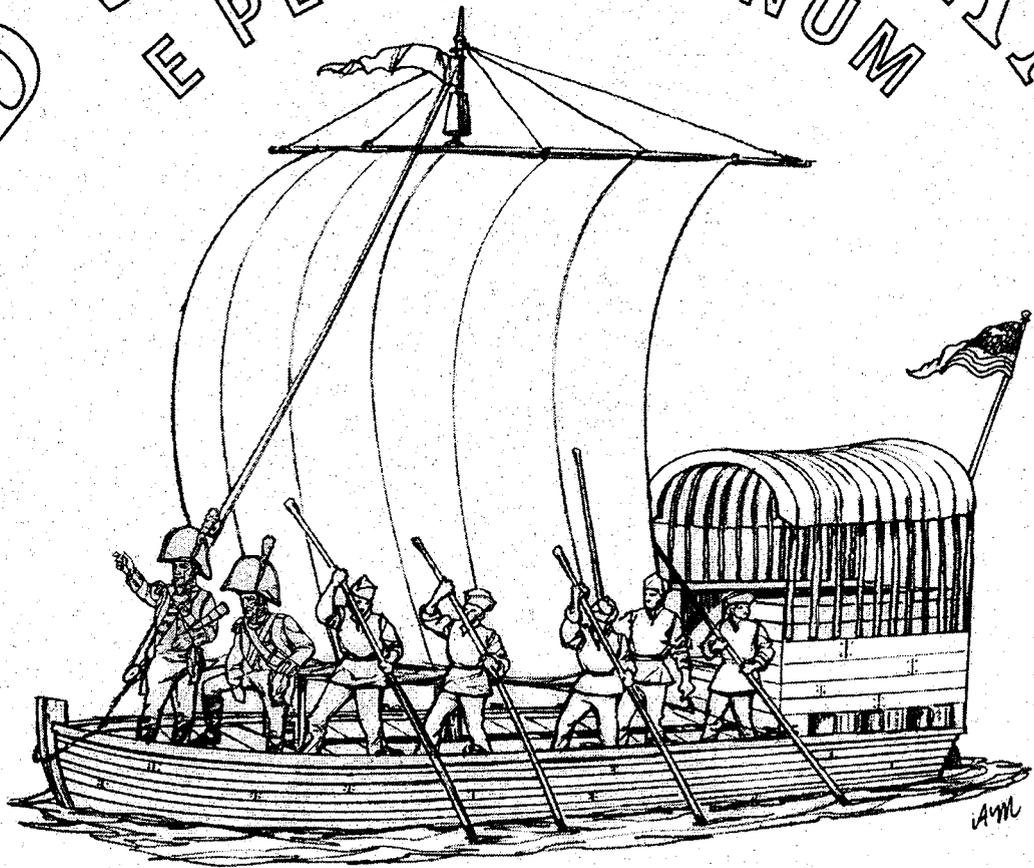
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
1803



NEN

E PLURIBUS
UNUM
FIVE CENTS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
E PLURIBUS UNUM



LEWIS & CLARK
FIVE CENTS

600826

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Barry Jackson*

From: Strategic Initiatives *Karl Rove*

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

Comments: _____

GEORGE V. VOINOVICH
OHIO

*Busby to
TR Kalk*

ENVIRONMENT AND
PUBLIC WORKS

CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON CLEAN AIR,
CLIMATE CHANGE AND NUCLEAR SAFETY

ETHICS
CHAIRMAN

FOREIGN RELATIONS

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
OVERSIGHT OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT,
THE FEDERAL WORKFORCE AND
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

317 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
(202) 224-3353
TDD: (202) 224-6997
senator_voinovich@voinovich.senate.gov
http://voinovich.senate.gov

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3504

December 3, 2003

Joshua Bolten
Director
The Office of Management and Budget
725 17th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20503

Dear Director Bolten:

Thank you for your letter dated November 12, 2003 regarding the Euclid Corridor Transportation Project in Cleveland, Ohio. It was also good to talk to you about this important project in person during our meeting in October. I am writing to reiterate my strong support of the project and to provide you with an update on the progress being made to make this project a reality for the Cleveland community.

The Euclid Corridor Transportation Project is my top transportation priority. I have worked personally on the project since the late 1970s, and we are so close to seeing it through. Over the last several months I have been working with the Federal Transit Administration (FTA) and Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (GCRTA) to enable us to break ground on the project next fall. As a result, I understand from Administrator Dorn that she has recommended the project for funding in the President's fiscal year 2005 budget and for a Full Funding Grant Agreement.

In order to make it a priority project, GCRTA has had to cut costs. The project's budget is now \$168.4 million, down from \$246 million a year ago and \$184.5 million just two months ago. The federal government will pay for nearly 50 percent of the cost, with other funding coming from GCRTA, the Ohio Department of Transportation (ODOT), the local Metropolitan Planning Organization, and the City of Cleveland.

About \$20 million worth of Euclid Avenue and Transit Zone sidewalks, streetscapes, and landscaping - the non-transit component of the project - has been removed from the scope of the Euclid Corridor Transportation Project in order to reduce the overall project cost. Funding for this component of the project will be provided by ODOT.

Furthermore, the Omnibus Appropriations bill for fiscal year 2004 provides \$11,992,550 for the Euclid project. Combined with \$21.6 million in previous federal appropriations, \$33.6 million towards the federal share of the project (41 percent) will soon be committed to the project. I am hopeful you will support FTA's request for funding for the project in the President's fiscal year 2005 budget submission to Congress, as well as for a Full Funding Grant Agreement in the upcoming months.

STATE OFFICES:

38 EAST SEVENTH STREET
ROOM 2615
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45202
(513) 694-3265

1240 EAST NINTH STREET
ROOM 2955
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44199
(216) 522-7095

37 WEST BROAD STREET
ROOM 320 (CASEWORK)
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 469-6774

27 WEST BROAD STREET
ROOM 310
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43215
(614) 469-6697

417 SECOND AVENUE
P.O. Box 758
GALLIPOLIS, OHIO 45631
(740) 441-6410

420 MADISON AVENUE
ROOM 1210
TOLEDO, OHIO 43604
(419) 259-3895

12/03/00 10:11 AM 202202000 VOINOVICH STAFF

Together, we can get this project done. We are so close. This is a top priority of mine and of the Cleveland community, and I look forward to your support.

Sincerely,



George V. Voinovich
United States Senator

cc: Karl Rove

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: African American Outreach and the Washington.Post - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/03/2003	PRM;

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

COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [2]

FRC ID:

9725

OA Num.:

10749

NARA Num.:

10807

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).

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)]

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

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Breaking Ice Among African Americans in Gubernatorial Races - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/03/2003	PRM;

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

COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [2]

FRC ID:

9725

OA Num.:

10749

NARA Num.:

10807

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Lezlee Westline*

From: Strategic Initiatives *Karl Rove*

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

Comments: _____

XC: lezlee
F: Newt Gingrich



OFFICE OF THE SENIOR ADVISOR

202-456-2369

202-456-0191 FAX

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: Senator Voinovich	FROM: Karl Rove
COMPANY: US Senate	DATE: DECEMBER 5, 2003
FAX NUMBER: 202-228-0497	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 2
PHONE NUMBER: 202-224-3353	SENDER'S PHONE NUMBER: 202-456-2369
RE: Response to earlier fax	SENDER'S FAX NUMBER: 202-456-0191

- URGENT
 FOR REVIEW
 PLEASE COMMENT
 PLEASE REPLY
 PLEASE RECYCLE



FAX COVER SHEET
The Honorable George V. Voinovich
United States Senator
State of Ohio
317 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-3504

PHONE: (202) 224-3353

FAX: (202) 228-1382

TO: Karl Rove

FROM: Sen. Voinovich

FAX #: 456-0191

DATE: 12/4

Number of Pages Including Cover Sheet: 3

COMMENTS:

Thanks for the copy of your note
to John on the Euclid Corridor Project.
I appreciate you putting this on my
radar scope.

** ERROR TX REPORT **

TX FUNCTION WAS NOT COMPLETED

TX/RX NO 3832 92281382
CONNECTION TEL
SUBADDRESS
CONNECTION ID
ST. TIME 12/04 21:45
USAGE T 00'00
PGS. SENT 0
RESULT NG #018 BUSY/NO SIGNAL

001



FAX COVER SHEET
The Honorable George V. Voinovich
United States Senator
State of Ohio
317 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-3504

*Will you call
their office &
find out where
to fax Karl's
response?
MC!*

PHONE: (202) 224-3353

FAX: (202) 228-1382

TO: Karl Rove
FROM: Sen. Voinovich
FAX #: 456-0191
DATE: 12/4

Number of Pages Including Cover Sheet: 3

COMMENTS:

Thanks for the copy of your note
to John on the Euclid Corridor Project.

1 message to...

600826

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: Ismael Hernandez

From: Strategic Initiatives Rac Ron

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

Comments: _____

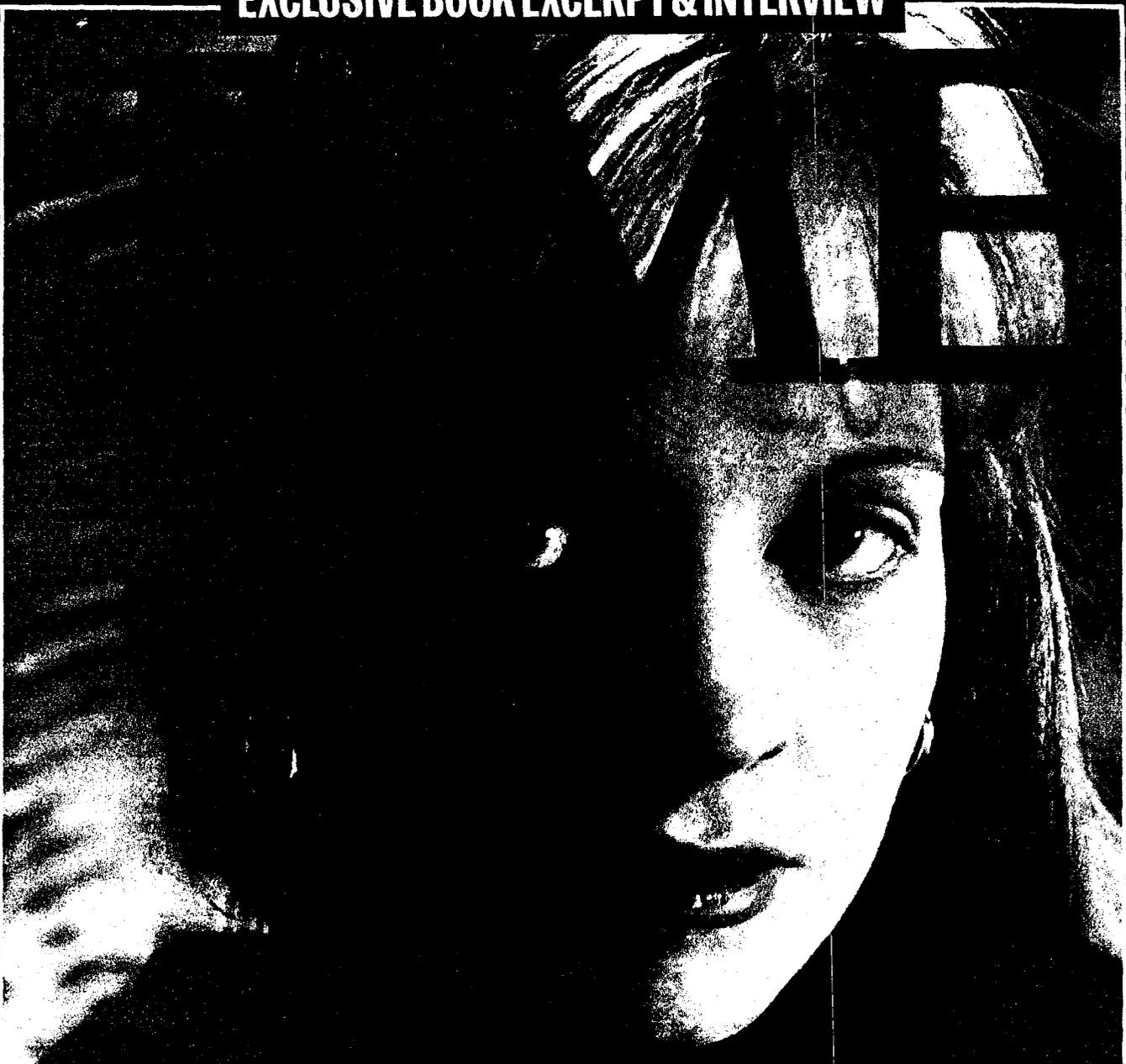
Izzy,
Karl wanted you
to have this info.
for the phone call
w/ the President.
Secretary Wolfritz
sent it to him.
BJ.

THE STORY OF

#BXBDJLX *****COR-WT 101**C-047
#1509 7959 870HTD 0711DC04 D DECO3
KORR ROVE- III- PRES 0043
#05199
P00396

(b)(6)

EXCLUSIVE BOOK EXCERPT & INTERVIEW



THE STORY OF

#BXNDJLX *****CAR-RT LUT**C-047
#1509 7959 670#TD 8711DC04 D DEC83
KANK NOVL-III-PRES 0043
#05199
P00336

(b)(6)



THE OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1010 Defense Pentagon
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1010

Facsimile Cover Sheet

To:	Susan Ralston for Karl Rove
Office:	White House
Fax:	202/456-0191
From:	Susan Crowder
Phone:	703/692-7154
Fax:	703/697-7374
Date:	November 25, 2003
No. Pages with Cover:	8
	<p>Susan –</p> <p>At very long last, I am sending the Time Magazine article about Jessica Lynch, which Mr. Wolfowitz has marked on pages 5 and 6 to indicate the passages he discussed with Mr. Rove.</p> <p>I am so very sorry for the delay. Hope it's still useful.</p> <p>Susan</p>

Source: [News & Business > News > News, All \(English, Full Text\)](#)

Terms: [jessica lynch and time magazine and date geq \(11/1/03\)](#) ([Edit Search](#))

Select for FOCUS™ or Delivery

Time Magazine, November 17, 2003

Copyright 2003 Time Inc.

Time Magazine

November 17, 2003

SECTION: COVER STORY/JESSICA LYNCH/AT HOME; Pg. 24

LENGTH: 4148 words

HEADLINE: The Private **Jessica Lynch**;

Spend some time visiting with her, and you'll discover not only what really happened in Iraq but who her heroes are, what haunts her and how she plans to find her way back to normal

BYLINE: Nancy Gibbs, With reporting by Mark Thompson/Washington

BODY:

Forty steps. Each one is a gamble: lift, lunge, tilt, then land with a stab of the foot she can't feel. The soldier who came out of Iraq on a stretcher and back to the States in a wheelchair can now, seven months later, take 40 steps by herself. Each one is a victory.

It's getting dark and cold in this part of West Virginia. But here in rehab the lights are bright and **Jessica Lynch** is in shorts, a baggy T shirt and sneakers from Wal-Mart that are a half size too big, to make room for the brace that keeps her left foot from dragging.

"Good, Jessi, that's good." Physical therapist Burt Reed seems about twice her size as he holds her steady so she can practice walking forward and backward between the padded tables and weight machines. For just a moment, you can imagine they are dancing. And then the time comes when Reed steps back and she's on her own, as if she's walking a wide tightrope, careful, dangerous. "Good, Jessi"--her hands are fists, her jaw is set--"keep going," and you sense she is counting the steps under her breath.

Amid the jagged scars all over her body, there is a neat line of six holes from left knee to ankle, like vicious bites, where the rods of the external fixator held the bones in place for the first two months after her legs were broken. That came off June 26, she recalls. Lynch has a crisp memory for dates: how long she was in which hospital, which day she made which breakthrough--everything except the first, darkest moments of her captivity. Of those, she says she has no recollection. Otherwise, she is organized, thorough, precise. Perfect qualities for a supply clerk. And she is pale, skinny, with thin, straight legs that look as if they would be easy to snap. Hardly ideal for surviving the most deadly ambush of the war: 11 of the 32 soldiers with her died that day, six were captured, eight wounded. She's the only one in her wrecked humvee who survived.

Lynch joined the Army when she was 18 because she wanted to see the world. Now it seems as though the whole world wants to see her, hear the truth about what happened to her and in the process confirm every instinct about the war: what went right, what went wrong, what it means. People will have their chance this week with the publication of Rick Bragg's spare, wrenching account of her life and her war. Diane Sawyer went down to Palestine to see her; this week Lynch will visit New York City for the first time, make the rounds, do Letterman and learn whether the toughness she has shown to make it this far will protect her now.

It is a fearsome thing to be turned into an icon, draped with powers and meanings of other people's choosing. To the thousands who wrote letters, sent teddy bears and flowers and handmade quilts, to the millions who prayed for her safety, Lynch is an archetypal American soldier, a symbol of courage under fire. As the challenge in Iraq grows, as the nightly body count reminds us of the terrible risks the soldiers face, people want to show they care. Lynch's is the name they know, and so the letters keep pouring in, and old women press notes scribbled on napkins into her hands when she goes to the mall: "Thank you for your service."

But to others she is useful as a symbol of something else. The news of her rescue, complete with the spooky green night-video footage, came at just the moment when the nation was hungry for good news out of a hard war. "She was fighting to the death," an anonymous source told the Washington Post, in an account of her capture and dramatic rescue that seemed more like a movie pitch than a news story. "She did not want to be taken alive." It was all so well timed, such an emotional turning point, that questions began to arise: How had her unit got lost in the first place? Had she actually fired her weapon or been shot herself? Was it really such a daring rescue if there was no one guarding her anymore by the time the commandos whisked her out? Before long, she had become a symbol for war critics of many of their complaints: bad information and worse planning; soldiers insufficiently trained or ill equipped for the mission they confronted; a Pentagon seen as willing to stretch the truth to boost morale. One BBC report dismissed the rescue operation as "one of the most stunning pieces of news management ever conceived." And so the uncertainty fluttered around her: Was she a hero or a pawn?

However many people are bothered by that question, **Jessica Lynch** is not among them. She knows she spent nine days in an Iraqi hospital with 10 broken bones, unable to move and leaking blood--and she has only praise for the Army and the soldiers who saved her. "The whole idea that the rescue was staged or the soldiers were shooting blanks, that's just obvious stuff," she says. "Why would you do that in the middle of a war? It's just crazy." She never claimed to have mowed down the attacking Iraqis; she never had the chance--her sand-clogged rifle wouldn't fire. She never said she'd been shot or stabbed, as early reports suggested; it was the doctors in Landstuhl, Germany, who broke the news to her about the full extent of her injuries: the multiple fractures of arm and legs, the spinal damage that robbed her of control of her bowels and bladder--and the trauma that could not be explained by the humvee crash. Sometime after the crash and before she was delivered to Nasiriyah hospital--a period that could have been as long as three hours--she appeared to have been forcibly penetrated by someone or something: "The exam in Landstuhl," Dr. Greg Argyros, her primary doctor during her 100 days at Walter Reed Medical Center, told TIME, "indicated that the injuries were consistent with possible anal sexual assault." The Iraqi physician who saved her life that first day with emergency surgery and blood transfusions told the Associated Press that during his exam he saw no such evidence. Lynch says she has no memory of what happened immediately after the crash. That's not surprising, Argyros says, because "she was so unbelievably sick and probably in shock for most of the time in the Iraqi hospital."

She does not call herself a hero, because the word hurts too much when so many died, and her best friend's body was pulled out of a shallow grave on the hospital grounds by the same commandos who rescued her. That friend, Lori Piestewa, is her hero, for staying so calm under fire, as are the soldiers who fought bravely all around her. Lynch herself did not fire a shot and spent most of her time in the humvee huddled in a protective ball. Ask her what she would like to symbolize, and there is a long, long pause. "I haven't really thought about that," she says, even if everyone else has. "I guess," she says, searching for the meaning of her story as the soldier recedes and the aspiring kindergarten teacher emerges, "I could be, you know, the person that shows little kids that giving up isn't something that you should do."

Lynch is too intent on moving forward to spend a lot of time looking back. She has read Bragg's book but says she skipped the parts that were too hard to relive, the things that made her parents cry. Ever since she was a child, both her parents say, she was strong-minded, determined. That tenacity, so crucial to her physical recovery, may also be what saves her from being crushed by the attention that now surrounds her. "When it's all over," says her father Greg Lynch, "she'll just be an old country girl"--the label a shorthand for the virtues that matter, like kindness and toughness. For all the attention, all the books and banners and presents and parades, her parents understand that **Jessica Lynch** has become a convenient emblem for this war, its first name and memorable face. "But there's other soldiers with names and faces and families just like us," says her mother Dee Lynch. "I hope people don't forget. They need just as much prayer and support as us. This is not just about Jessi--it's about all the soldiers."

Dee was never one for letting go of her kids, never big on sleepovers. She had a hard time when Greg Jr. went off to college. He did his first year on scholarship and was trying to work, but he didn't have the money for his second year. When the Army recruiter came from Parkersburg, all three Lynch kids--Greg, Jessica and Brandi--were interested in what he had to say. He talked about the travel and the training they would get. This was the summer of 2001, before there was even a whisper of war in the air. But "he did not lie to the kids," Dee says. He said there was always the possibility of war in the future. "But at that time it was before Sept. 11, and there was no terrorism," Jessica recalls, "so we were like, 'That would never happen to me.'"

For someone who loved the idea of traveling, wanted to go to college and believed deeply in duty and service, the Army was a natural choice--and yet pretty much everyone, her classmates, her family, was surprised that Jessica would join up along with Greg. She was, Dee says, "a prissy tomboy, if there is such a thing," the girl for whom, even when she was out playing on the hillside, "her socks and hair bows had to match." In third grade when she broke her arm, the doctor gave her a pink cast, and she went out and got new pink shoelaces for her sneakers. She figures she could have found a job somewhere near home, "but that wasn't me," Jessica says. "I wanted to improve my life and not just be there in Palestine forever. I wanted to get out and do something."

She left for basic training on Sept. 19, 2001, barely a week after the terrorist attacks; she wound up in Texas at Fort Bliss, where she made about \$ 1,100 a month as a supply clerk, keeping records, ordering toilet paper. She thought it would be good business experience and steady, safe. "They told me I'd never probably see the frontline area," she says. It was at Fort Bliss that Lynch found her soul mates: her boyfriend Ruben Contreras and her roommate Lori Piestewa, best friend and protector. Lori was a Hopi Indian, the single mother of two. "We were completely opposite people--two different worlds it seemed like we came from," Lynch says. "But we clicked. She was like my sister, the big sister that I never had."

In January they heard they would be shipping out to Iraq. "Of course I had a mother's sick feeling when I heard the word deployment," Dee says. "But I thought, Oh, she's in supply, she'll be safe, she'll never be close to any actual fighting. I trusted her unit, trusted the Army that she got the proper training." Jessica even had a special advantage. She had grown up with her dad's Kenworth cabover truck in the front yard; he gets \$ 1 a mile driving anywhere from Florida to Connecticut. Now she would be the one steering five-ton trucks full of supplies to the front. "It's always in the back of your mind that something can happen," says Greg Lynch. "You wonder, Is the equipment ready? Have they trained enough? I don't know." He knows all the things that can go wrong even under the best circumstances. "They trained with those trucks on concrete. Bases don't have sand, and they don't have sand like over there. You put one of those machines in sand for eight, 10 hours. That's when you see what you really got."

What they got, in **Jessica Lynch's** case, was not just one bad break but one after another in the first days of the war. The battle plan didn't allow for engines ambushed by sand. And judgment and reflexes are not sharpened by three days with no sleep. "To me, we weren't ready," Lynch says. "But obviously they wouldn't have sent us over there if they didn't think we were ready." The 507th Maintenance Company was at the very end of an 8,000-vehicle, 100-mile-long supply convoy. From the start, Lynch says, "it just didn't feel right. It really kicked in once we got into Iraq."

Because it was a support unit, the 507th was equipped for duty behind the front lines--except that the front turned out to be beside and behind and all around them. There were no antitank weapons, no heavy artillery, just a .50-cal. machine gun that--like the soldier's M-16 rifles--didn't work very well, clogged and jammed with three days' worth of blowing sand. By the time her lost convoy came under fire in the streets of Nasiriyah, Lynch's rifle was about as useful as a hockey stick. The soldiers had been instructed to clean their weapons "anytime we got the chance," Lynch says, "but we never really had a chance."

Her unit, says the official Army report on what happened, "found itself in a desperate situation due to a navigational error caused by the combined effects of the operational pace, acute fatigue, isolation and the harsh environmental conditions. The tragic results of this error placed the soldiers of the 507th Maintenance Company in a torrent of fire." During the roughly 1 1/2-hour-long fire fight that they endured, the report concludes, "every soldier performed honorably and did his or her duty."

As for how that battle and Lynch's cameo in it turned into a breathless movie script, that was less a conscious public relations ploy, Pentagon officials say, than "a comedy of errors." According to several officials, a "single-source intelligence report, nonconfirmed," surfaced detailing the 507th's battle just about the time Lynch was rescued. "It said that our people who ran were killed, and those who put up resistance were captured, and that there was a female who fought to her last breath," a senior Pentagon official said. "It was like a five-line report that wasn't grounded in anything, but it got distributed anyway--and someone exaggerated what it said. It was somebody grasping at straws, someone who was on the periphery and not knowing really what was going on." And that someone guessed that the female in question must have been **Jessica Lynch** and told the Washington Post. "I think," another senior military official admits, "it was the Army looking for a hero."

You turn down a road that is made, at best, for two skinny cars to get to her house in the hollow. Greg Lynch grew up half a mile from here, in the house his great-grandmother lived in. He picked out the spot for his future home when he was 11 years old. "We raised three kids in four rooms, and we were happy and content," Dee says, "but with Jessi's disability, we just knew there was no way." When they learned their daughter was alive but in a pretty broken state, they debated what they were going to do when she came home. "We talked about building her a room downstairs, with a bathroom," Dee says. There were neighbors over at the house, as there always were during those hard days, and they asked if they could help. Next thing the Lynches knew, a team of friends had set to work on the house as the family headed to Germany on a Heinz Corp. jet ("It was my first experience of flying," Dee says, "and it was like a Cadillac!").

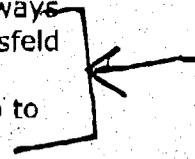
Their joy at Jessica's survival smacked headlong into her actual condition. When her parents first saw her in the intensive-care unit in Landstuhl, "we didn't know where we could touch her," Dee recalls. "She's this tiny thing in this big bed, and the first thing I saw was the bag of blood. Then you really know it was serious." The front of her head was shaved because of a laceration; the perfect bangs were gone. "It was so sad," Dee remembers. She had brought her camcorder--and never took it out of its case. These weren't memories to save. "But we held her hand and kissed her, and she looked up and said, 'Hi, Mommy. You made it.'"

As the doctors briefed them on Jessica's prognosis, they realized they would be taking one

day at a time. "I thought, O.K., she's here, she's alive," Dee says. "We'll deal with the rest as we go." Jessi hadn't eaten in days. "She really wanted hot, real mashed potatoes, not those instant ones, and turkey gravy," Dee says. Jessica's memory of those days is hazier. "I think the whole ordeal was just a terrible thing to happen to anyone," Jessi says. And of the missing three hours she is vague but matter-of-fact. "Since I don't know what happened--I was unconscious through that whole thing--it's like reading a book that really wasn't about me."

She had no idea that during the nine days of her captivity, and then with her rescue, her name and face had been beamed all around the world. She had no idea that the rescue video had been released by the Pentagon. "I didn't think that anyone out there even knew I existed, let alone write me a letter," she says. "I was asking my mom, 'Did I make the hometown Journal?' She was like, 'Yeah, you made it, plus all these world papers.'"

Jessica came home from Iraq via Germany and Walter Reed Medical Center. "It took six of us to move her from the bed to the gurney the first day," her father says. "A week later, it was five. A week after that, it was four. Then she had two crutches. Now she has one. She always did have high spirits. She could always make you laugh." Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld came to see her. "That was rewarding," Greg says. "Not every day that you meet the big boys." The President hasn't called, but Jessica would never expect him to. "He's got a job to do," her father says.



It was at Walter Reed that the Lynches saw for themselves that Jessica is only the most famous of a new breed: returning soldiers who in other wars at other times might never have made it home, given the extent of their injuries, but have survived thanks to better armor, better technology, better battlefield medicine. "You would not believe the number of amputees at Walter Reed," Dee says. "But you would talk to them, and they're just like Jessi. They weren't whining about their problems. They were worried about their fellow soldiers, and they were grateful to be out of there and alive."

During Jessica's 100 days there, Bragg first met with her and carefully, gently began to interview her for the book, which he would complete in four months. "The first day I met her, I felt guilty," he says. "She looked awful. It was like she was translucent, like you could see right through her. She was hurting. I didn't want to ask her questions as to how she got that way." Bragg is a Pulitzer prizewinning journalist and author who resigned last May from the New York Times after criticism that he had failed to credit a free-lancer with helping report an article.

Over time Jessica was more able to talk about what she remembered. Bragg chose not to report the story from Iraq; given his deadline, he says, there wasn't time. The story is told from the whole family's point of view, both what they remember and what the medical records revealed. It was the parents, he said, who felt that the details of her condition and of the sexual assault needed to be in the book, "because if we didn't put it in, the story wouldn't be complete," Bragg says. "It would be a lie."

Lynch finally got home to West Virginia to find her valley decorated with ribbons and flags and prayers for her safety. THANK YOU GOD 4 SAVING JESSICA says the spray-painted banner on the side of the converted barn at the entrance to town. The neighbors had moved, if not heaven, then a lot of earth to get the house ready for her when she came home. They had scraped mountains of dirt off the nearest ridge to level the front yard and spread it with crunchy new gravel, widened the porches, replaced the narrow doors with double French ones, built a wheelchair ramp and accessible bedroom and bathroom, a new kitchen. There are six American flags hanging from the porch, and a white flag with two red stars that a man from the VFW dropped off to show that the family had two children in the service. Lori's belongings are in a bedroom upstairs; she and Jessica had stored their possessions together under Lynch's name when they left Fort Bliss, so the Army shipped them all to Palestine.

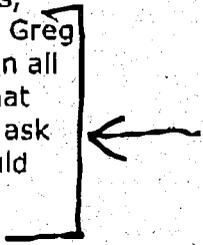
There will come a day soon when Lynch will have to sort through her best friend's things.

The house might have changed, but other things hadn't. The Lynches made sure sister Brandi got to go to her high school prom, even amid all the commotion. Brandi enlisted in the Army and was supposed to have reported by now. "But Jessi said, 'Don't go,'" Dee says. "And, of course, Brandi's going to do what she wants." It wasn't easy explaining to her little nieces why Jessica couldn't get down and play under the table with them anymore. "We take it for granted that we can get out of bed, stroll to the kitchen, without a thought," Reed, the physical therapist, says. "Everything Jessi does is a challenge. She has to climb those mountains every day."

Now Lynch spends at least 1 1/2 hours a day at Mountain River Physical Therapy because the doctors at Walter Reed told her she has a two-year window; after that, what hasn't healed probably won't. Her right hand was useless when she got to Walter Reed; she couldn't so much as brush her teeth or comb her hair. Now she has full use back. She has not recovered control over her bowels and bladder. "Certainly the longer it goes the less likely it is that you're going to recover function, but nothing is impossible," says Argyros. "Anatomically, the nerves are intact--there's not a spinal-cord injury that would allow us to say this is never coming back." Perhaps the foot will recover as the hand did--but that's a harder fight. She still takes half a dozen pills a day, to help her nerves mend and for pain as needed. "She's going to have a good life just the way she is, but it's not going to be easy," Reed says. "The fight's not over yet."

As for the emotional trauma, Jessi talked with the "repatriation team" in Germany and psychologists there and at Walter Reed. She's not seeing any counselors now, Dee says, but "she knows that it's there for her if she needs it." Dee herself admits to a certain amount of hiding. Asked about her daughter's trauma, she says, "That's another one of those things I just want to shut out of my mind and not think about. And I know that sounds like a coward, but it's just a mom thing. Who do you get angry at? What's anger going to do? We just focus on her. She's alive, she's getting better."

The whole family is working at returning to a place they can call normal: after the interviews are over and the phone quiets down, they will have a chance to write the next chapter. It is something of a relief that people are starting to take the signs and banners down; the one over the courthouse was delivered to the Lynches as a souvenir, blue with yellow ribbons, proclaiming JESSI IS FOUND. PRAISE THE LORD. REMEMBER OUR REMAINING TROOPS. Greg Jr. is still on active duty, and they view his deployment as inevitable. "He'll get his part in all of this," his father says. "You don't like it, but he's got a job to do. Every day we pray that this war will be over." But that doesn't mean he thinks it was a mistake. "People always ask us if we think we went in too quick," he says. "If we hadn't gone in over there, they would have been over here next."



As for Jessica, she still wants to travel (she wants to see Hawaii, she says, and Jamaica ...), go to college, still wants to teach, but only after she has come further in physical therapy and can hope to keep up with the kindergartners. "It's time," she says, sitting on the stationary bike, gritting her teeth. "It just ... takes ... time." She has that now, and other advantages as well. "She is a good kid, and her parents are good people," Argyros says. "If there's anybody who's going to come out of this and get back as normal as she possibly can, it's going to be Jessica." --With reporting by Mark Thompson/Washington

BOX STORY:

JUST A COUNTRY GIRL

GROWING UP Greg and Dee Lynch raised Greg Jr., Brandi and Jessica, right, in a house built on land Greg picked out as a child; the local community was a constant source of support

through their ordeal

A PRISSY TOMBOY That's how Dee describes her daughter, whose socks and hair bows always matched

LYNCH'S GOALS Graduate, join the Army, have a family someday

BACK TO BACK Brandi and Jessi pose for a Halloween snapshot a year before Jessi went into the Army

SOUL MATES It was at Fort Bliss that Jessi met boyfriend Ruben Contreras and her best friend, Lori Piestewa, who died in the Iraqi assault; at home in Palestine, Jessi keeps a picture of Lori and herself in her room

BOX STORY:

"We raised three kids in four rooms, and we were happy and content, but with Jessi's disability, we just knew there was no way." --DEE LYNCH

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO: PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY GREGORY HEISLER, TRUE GRIT: A hopeful Lynch stands in front of the newly renovated family home; FOUR COLOR PHOTOS: PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY GREGORY HEISLER, JESSICA'S LONG ROAD BACK Daily physical therapy, here with Burt Reed, has brought Jessica far. Wheelchairbound only a few months ago, she now practices walking on her own. The left foot, in a brace, still has no feeling. Doctors give her a two-year window for most of the healing to occur; COLOR PHOTO: PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY GREGORY HEISLER, ONE STEP AT A TIME Greg Lynch helps Jessica out of the family pickup; she mostly uses a single crutch these days; COLOR PHOTO: LYNCH FAMILY PHOTO, COLOR PHOTO: SPLASH NEWS, THREE COLOR PHOTOS: LYNCH FAMILY PHOTO (3), COLOR PHOTO: GREGORY HEISLER FOR TIME, COLOR PHOTO: SPLASH NEWS, PRE-RENOVATION The Lynch family home in Palestine before the neighbors went to work on it; COLOR PHOTO: PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY GREGORY HEISLER, MAKE ROOM FOR JESSICA Greg, Dee and Brandi with Jessica in their new kitchen; they all take turns providing care

LOAD-DATE: November 10, 2003

Source: [News & Business > News > News, All \(English, Full Text\)](#) 

Terms: [jessica lynch and time magazine and date geq \(11/1/03\)](#) ([Edit Search](#))

View: Full

Date/Time: Tuesday, November 25, 2003 - 11:25 AM EST

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600 826

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Barry Jackson*

From: Strategic Initiatives *BT Goergen*

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

Comments: _____

*Barry
please
respond*

Harcros Chemicals Inc

5132 Trenton St.
Tampa, FL 33619
Tel 813/247-4531
800/282-5047
Fax 813/247-7917



HARCROS

202/456-2369
FAX 202/456-0191

The White House
Attention: Karl Rove
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Rove:

We are a major supplier and vendor for the Florida sugar industry. Their business is important to our state and local economy as well as all the employees that work for our company. Giving away our jobs for the sake of a "successful trade agreement" under CAFTA would be a disaster for our state and our company.

We have been strong supporters and advocates for the Bush administration and now we need you to be strong supporters and advocates for our business.

Don't trade away our jobs in CAFTA.

Sincerely,

RON KLAMBOROWSKI
HARCROS CHEMICALS INC
5132 TRENTON ST.
TAMPA, FL 33619

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/4/03

To: Matt Schlapp

From: Strategic Initiatives BJ. Goergen

FYI

Appropriate Action

Direct Response

Prepare Response For My Signature

Per Our Conversation

Let's Discuss

Per Your Request

Please Return

Deadline

Other

Comments: _____

2003 DEC -4 PM 7: 21

October 21, 2003

George Ki Kron

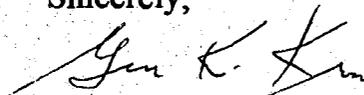
(b)(6)

Dear Karl Rove:

Senator Kennedy's hate speech gives us an opportunity to have the president's mother (she can always get TV time) tell the Kennedy family how sorry she feels that the Senator has started saying hateful, untrue things in his declining years.

She should suggest that he apologize to every man and women in the armed service for this attack on the Commander and Chief and for the comfort that this gives the enemy. That before he embarrasses himself or his family further he should resign his seat in the Senate.

Sincerely,



George Ki Kron

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Spending - To: Andrew Card - From: Joshua Bolten	1	12/01/2003	P5;

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

COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [2]

FRC ID:

9725

OA Num.:

10749

NARA Num.:

10807

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

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

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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

12/01/03

12:27 PM

PRESIDENT'S REQUEST COMPARED TO ENACTED LEVELS
(discretionary budget authority, in billions of dollars)

	<u>President's Request</u>	<u>Enacted Levels</u>	<u>Congressional Change</u>
FY 2002			
Defense	343.5	343.7	0.2
Homeland Security	12.7	12.7	0.0
Other	<u>322.9</u>	<u>331.5</u>	<u>8.6</u>
Subtotal	679.2	687.9	8.8
Supplementals	47.1	43.8	-3.4
<i>Defense</i>	21.4	17.9	-3.5
TOTAL	726.3	731.7	5.4
FY 2003			
Defense	383.0	382.2	-0.9
Homeland Security	26.8	23.5	-3.3
Other	<u>340.5</u>	<u>351.4</u>	<u>10.8</u>
Subtotal	750.4	757.0	6.6
Supplementals	86.6	91.2	4.5
<i>Defense</i>	72.6	72.6	0.0
TOTAL	837.0	848.1	11.1
FY 2004			
Defense	399.2	394.2	-4.9
Homeland Security	28.2	28.8	0.6
Other	<u>356.1</u>	<u>362.9</u>	<u>6.8</u>
Subtotal	783.5	786.0	2.5
Supplementals	87.0	87.0	0.0
<i>Defense</i>	65.5	65.1	-0.3
TOTAL	870.5	873.0	2.5

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	Op-Ed on Spending	3	12/01/2003	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

F: Legislative Activity

600826

F. Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Ingols, Adam B.
Sent: Tuesday, November 25, 2003 7:39 AM
To: Thompson, Carol Jean; Buchan, Claire ; Campbell, Anne E.; DeFrancis, Suzy; Duffy, Trent D.; Goergen, Barbara J.; Kupfer, Jeffrey F.; Mamo, Jeanie S.; Miers, Harriet; Pelletier, Eric C.; Sherzer, David; Stidvent, Veronica V.
Subject: Legislative Activity

11/24/03 Senate Action:

Motion to invoke cloture on the Conference Report to H.R. 1, the Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act was agreed to by a vote of 70 (47 R's, 23 D's) to 29 (3 R's and 26 D's).

Motion to waive all Budget Act points of order lying against H.R. 1, the Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act was agreed to by a vote of 61 (11 D's) to 39 (2 R's).

By Unanimous Consent:

S. 610, NASA Workforce Flexibility Act
 S. 1537, regarding the New Hope Cemetery Association
 S. 33, regarding Ozark-St. Francis and Ouachita National Forest
 S. 1499, regarding Green Mountain National Forest
 H.R. 1367, National Veterinary Medical Services Act
 S. 425, Wind Cave National Park Boundary Provision Act
 S. 391, Wild Sky Wilderness Act
 S. 434, Idaho Panhandle National Forest Improvement Act
 S. 435, Sandpoint Land and Facilities Conveyance Act
 S. 452, commemorating and interpreting the Cold War
 S. 714, regarding Oregon Dunes National Recreation Area
 S. 1003, regarding Salmon River
 H.R. 622, regarding the Coconino and Tonto National Forest
 H.R. 1012, Carter G. Woodson Home National Historic Site Establishment Act
 H.R. 1006, Wildlife Safety Act
 S. 1947, regarding credit to financial institutions
 S. 811, American Dream Downpayment Act
 S. 1768, National Flood Insurance Program Reauthorization Act
 S. 1522, GAO Human Capitol Reform Act
 S. Res. 274, authorizing production of records

11/25/03 Senate Action

The Senate will convene at 8:15 a.m. and resume consideration of the Conference Report to H.R. 1, the Medicare Prescription Drug and Modernization Act, with the time equally divided between the Chairman and the Minority Leader. In addition, the first 5 minutes of the final 10 minutes will be under the control of the Minority Leader and the last 5 minutes will be under the control of the Majority Leader. At approximately 9:15 a.m., the vote on final passage will occur.

Goergen, Barbara J.

F: Paul Weyrich
60826

From: Goeglein, Tim
Sent: Tuesday, November 25, 2003 7:19 AM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.; Silverberg, Kristen
Subject: FW: fcfnnn112503 Paul M. Weyrich's Commentary: Gearing Up Against Gay Marriage

Karl and Kristen:

Fyi.

Tsg

Notable News Now
November 25, 2003

The Free Congress Commentary
Pillars Of A Constitutional Marriage Amendment
By Paul M. Weyrich

I have done a host of media interviews over this past week on the ruling by the Massachusetts Supreme Court on so called "gay marriage." Every single reporter asked the same thing. Will gay marriage be an issue in the 2004 elections?

The answer is not a simple one. First, it depends on who the Democratic nominee is and what position he takes on the issue.

Secondly, it depends on the Bush Administration and what it is willing to say about the matter next year.

Thirdly, it depends on the Congress and what action might be forthcoming in the form of a Constitutional amendment.

Fourthly, it depends on the pro-family coalition and just how much effort it is willing to put into a national debate on the issue.

Most of the Democrats running, with the exception of the lowest tier candidates (Dennis Kucinich, Carol Mosely Braun and Al Sharpton) say while they support Vermont-style civil unions they oppose gay marriage. The test for some of them will be when they have to vote on a Constitutional amendment on that issue. If they vote "no" on a Constitutional amendment, it will be hard for them to credibly maintain that they are against gay marriage.

The Bush Administration is not terribly comfortable with the issue. The President is a genuine compassionate conservative and does not want to come across as overly harsh. The President needs to be reminded that it is possible to hate the sin and love the sinner. Practicing sodomy is still a sin, the U.S. Supreme Court notwithstanding. It is not necessary to stand in judgment of anyone by taking a strong stand that, as Governor Mitt Romney of Massachusetts has made clear, is in tune with thousands of years of recorded history.

It is not clear what Congress will do. Senators are considering language for a Constitutional amendment that would make it clear that civil unions are not marriage as well as insisting that true marriage is between one man and one woman. Senators are interested in the strongest language possible but have made it clear to the pro-family movement that they want to pass an amendment. They are not just involved with this issue for the purpose of a debate. Surprisingly, one Senator who really wants to move on an amendment is Gordon Smith of Oregon. It is interesting that Mormons on both coasts, elected in the most liberal states in the nation, are showing real leadership on the issue.

As to the pro-family movement, some are serious about passing an amendment. Others such as Bill Bennett, say we should have a national debate in lieu of Congressional action unless we can get Congress to outlaw civil unions and not just gay marriage.

My guess is that if Constitutional amendments begin to move in Congress, the pro-family movement will likely get behind them. The question is how much behind them? Some leaders say that their people won't go all out unless the strongest possible language is being pushed. Others believe if their leadership blesses the Congressional action, their folks will go along.

The pro-family coalition, which includes such diverse groups as the Southern Baptists and the Knights of Columbus, has powerhouse potential. Rev. Don Wildmon, whose ministry includes the ownership and operation of a couple hundred radio stations, has said that when the pro-family movement is united, it is a force for good that can't be outdone by even the very powerful homosexual lobby.

Right now, public opinion is rising against gay marriage. About 60% are saying they oppose it. Among those who attend church regularly, the number is upwards of 80%. Intensity most often determines the outcome in the political process. The homosexual lobby is intense on this issue. So is the pro-family community. This will be a test for the pro-family coalition. Do they believe in the family strong enough to go all out to defeat those forces determined to destroy the family as we know it?

"God is on our side", one of the leaders of the movement intoned at a recent meeting. Taking a leaf from Ronald Reagan, I told her and the group, "Better we should worry that we're on God's side." I believe in this instance we are, and if that is the case perhaps we will be able to enlist His power to help us along. It is going to take God's strength and power for right to prevail.

Paul M. Weyrich is Chairman and CEO of the Free Congress Foundation.

The Debt To the Penny

11/20/2003	\$6,914,582,248,909.88
11/17/2003	\$6,904,718,859,459.11
11/10/2003	\$6,871,630,935,397.46
10/14/2003	\$6,816,232,489,123.39

<http://www.publicdebt.treas.gov/opd/opdpenny>

"The art of taxation consists in so plucking the goose as to obtain the largest possible amount of feathers with the smallest amount of hissing." Jean Baptiste Colbert

Today's FCF News on Demand

Visit www.fcfnewsondemand.org to hear this story:

Wes Vernon, Washington Correspondent, NewsMax: There is evidence that a low-level, Democratic staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, who has yet to be identified, may have written a memo that outlined a plan intended to undermine the President's re-election chances by using classified information obtained on the job.
William J. Murray, Chairman, Religious Freedom Coalition: It's clear, after the Republican's all-night-long protest, that Senate Democrats will not tolerate any judge on a circuit court who has, "deeply held religious beliefs."

People are listening to FCF News on Demand. Be sure to let your friends know that they can hear leading conservatives talk about issues that are important to the future of our country. Please tell your local radio stations and talk show hosts about FCF News on Demand!

For media inquiries, contact Jill Farrell <mailto:jfarrell@freecongress.org>

Visit us on the web at www.freecongress.org/, www.judicialselection.org/, and <http://www.fcfnewsondemand.org/>.

Letters to the editor are welcome and may be published in future issues.

Goergen, Barbara J.

6 00 826

From: Goeglein, Tim
Sent: Tuesday, November 25, 2003 2:04 PM
To: Silverberg, Kristen; Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: FW: column

Karl and Kristen

Fyi, from Wm F Buckley Jr.

Tsg

> On the Right

>
> Does Marriage Suck?

>
>
> The swirl of opinion that came in after the ruling of the
> Massachusetts court tells its own story, which is that the judicial
> arm has achieved a moral standing not even dreamed of by Cotton
> Mather, or mere popes and rabbinical councils. Witness the failure of
> the two major political parties to take corporate positions on gay
> marriage. The Republicans, reflecting the 75 percent of their members
> who disapprove the ruling, have criticized it but have not gone so far
> as to call formally for a constitutional amendment. There is talk of
> an amendment, but talk also of the unwisdom of traveling in that
> decisive way. And on the other side, 52 percent of Democrats
> disapprove of gay marriage, but there is certainly no talk of
> constitutional intervention by any Democratic candidate for president.
> This is substantially owing to the training we have had over three
> generations to the effect that the court is the moral arbiter of
> behavior. Democracy's temple.

>
> There are lines of a political character drawn. The
> Defense of Marriage Act (1966) specifically relieves the states from
> Full Faith and Credit obligations in the matter of same-sex marriages.
> Andrew Sullivan, the Catholic gay activist writer, hails the
> Massachusetts decision warmly and informs his considerable
> constituency that all that is established by the Massachusetts ruling
> is that in that state, gay marriage must be sanctioned. This does not
> mean that Utah has to sanction it, because the Defense of Marriage Act
> successfully makes its way across the divide of Article IV of the
> Constitution. We have then an opportunity for the full bloom of
> federalism: gay marriages in those states that go along, forbidden where forbidden.

>
> A qualifying legal point derives from the opinion itself.
> What the court narrowly (4-3) ruled was that the language of the State
> Constitution of Massachusetts simply forbids the kind of distinctions
> that are enforced by limiting marriage to two-gender participants.
> The Commonwealth has 180 days in which to contrive language that is
> not discriminatory, but-is. The Constitution might say that marriage
> is a union between two people who can create a third person. A
> different approach would be to distinguish between the nature of
> benefits conferred on couples who take on the burdens of raising
> children, and those who do not; though there would surely arise a
> Philadelphia lawyer conjoining with another Philadelphia lawyer to
> find something constitutionally objectionable in the very idea.

>
> Dramatic revisions are coming up from the fever swamps of

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Cheers - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	2	11/24/2003	PRM;

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SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [2]

FRC ID:

9725

OA Num.:

10749

NARA Num.:

10807

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Federal Marriage Amendment Conference Call - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein	1	11/24/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Marvin Pomerantz, Doug Gross, Becky Beach Meeting - To: Karl Rove - From: Lori Raad	1	11/21/2003	PRM;

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Goergen, Barbara J.

600826

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Friday, November 21, 2003 10:19 AM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: Re: from ken auletta

Barbara,
Thank you.

I'll prepare questions this weekend, but what follows are some areas I will want to cover on Monday:

- Every WH complains about a negative press corps and tries to circumvent the press filter and talks about a speeded up news cycle, just as every WH press corps complains that the President is not accessible, etc. But is there anything fundamentally new about the way this WH deals with the press?
- Review how Bush administration crafts its communications strategy?
- A description of the culture and mores of the WH press corps?
- A description of the Bush WH culture?
- President Bush's view of the press and how to deal with it?
- Where the press has done its job well, and where it has not?
- Where the Bush administration's communications policy has been well done, and where it has fallen short?
- Is there an argument to move the WH press back to the Executive Office Building?

Best,
Ken Auletta

Goergen, Barbara J.

600824

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Monday, November 03, 2003 5:32 PM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: From ken auletta of the new yorker magazine

Per our conversation this afternoon, I cover the media for The New Yorker and have been in regular contact with Dan Bartlett, who suggested I phone Carl Rove. Over the years I've done pieces on the Washington press corps and several different Presidents. I have also profiled Howell Raines and the fat lecture fees earned by Washington correspondents. I am now reporting a piece on the White House press corps and President Bush. Among other questions I will explore are: Is there anything fundamentally different about relations between this President and this press corps? What is the approach -- and the assumptions -- that animate the White House and the press corps? Has the press been too soft, or too harsh, on President Bush?

I have been interviewing former White House officials and reporters, have had two sessions with Dan Bartlett and have read each of the press briefings and gaggles on your excellent website. I plan to spend the week of November 10 in D.C. and to embed myself in the press room. Since I know the President is traveling on Monday, I was hoping that if you are not on the road that day that I might pay a visit for an interview. If Monday doesn't work, perhaps Tuesday or Wednesday might (I plan to travel with them on Thursday) work?

Thank you.
Ken Auletta

(b)(6)

11/21/2003

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Briefing	Policy Time - Domestic	2	12/18/2003	P5;

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WHITE HOUSE HISPANIC APPOINTEES BRIEFING

Thursday, December 18, 2003

3:00 p.m. -- 4:00 p.m.

Room 450

I. PURPOSE

To address 100 Hispanic Political appointees including Schedule C and Senate Confirmed (PAS) appointees.

II. BACKGROUND

Since taking office, the White House Hispanic Workgroup provides briefings to the Hispanic Appointees. The briefings occur every quarter whereby invited appointee hear from various White House officials on the latest political climate, policy developments and personnel needs.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Karl Rove, Senior Advisor to the President

Al Gonzales, Assistant to the President and Counsel to the President

Abel Guerra, Associate Director of Public Liaison

Ruben Barrales, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director for Intergovernmental Affairs

100 Hispanic Political Appointees.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed Press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Abel Guerra delivers welcoming remarks and introduces Judge Gonzales.
- Judge Gonzales delivers brief remarks.
- Judge Gonzales concludes remarks and departs.
- Abel Guerra introduces Ruben Barrales.
- Ruben Barrales delivers remarks.
- Ruben Barrales concludes remarks and introduces Karl Rove.
- Karl Rove delivers brief remarks.
- Karl Rove concludes remarks and departs.
- Abel Guerra delivers closing remarks.

VI. REMARKS

N/A

VI. ATTACHMENTS

N/A

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Handwritten Note	[Notes]	2	N.D.	P5;

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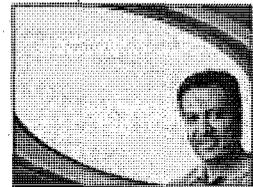
Los Angeles Times
latimes.com.

<http://www.latimes.com/news/politics/la-na-bushsocial30nov30,1,84215.story?coll=la-headlines-politics>

THE NATION

Bush Now Directing Attention to Revamping Social Security

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The president believes his plan to allow private investment will help the GOP and his legacy.

By Edwin Chen
Times Staff Writer

November 30, 2003

CRAWFORD, Texas — President Bush is completing plans to campaign next year for a restructuring of Social Security, a potentially divisive drive that he believes is "a winning issue" for Republicans — and for his own legacy.

Even as lawmakers and the president twisted arms to reach agreement on expanding Medicare and providing seniors with prescription drug coverage, White House aides were working with allies on Capitol Hill to fine-tune a strategy on Social Security.

The nation's bedrock social insurance program since its enactment in 1935, Social Security is funded by a payroll tax that is slated to pay for \$470 billion in retirement benefits this year to more than 46 million elderly and disabled Americans. Bush's goal of allowing workers to divert some of those payroll taxes into private investment accounts faces even more political obstacles than the just-passed Medicare legislation.

"This issue scares older Americans more than the bill that just passed," said Robert Blendon, a Harvard analyst who specializes in entitlement programs. "This is more powerful, more threatening."

But Bush may enjoy advantages over predecessors who tried to revamp Social Security. His success in overseeing change in Medicare could give weight to his 2000 campaign claim of being a "reformer with results." And the sense of anxiety over Social Security is mounting as the day of the program's inability to pay promised benefits — now estimated to occur in about 2039 — draws closer.

"Politically, the safest course would be to say nothing about it; historically, Social Security has been a Democratic issue," said John J. Pitney, a professor of government at Claremont McKenna College. "But on the other hand, hard-core opposition to Social Security reform has receded, if only because the day of reckoning is getting closer, and most people in their 40s and 50s realize that some kind of change is necessary."

When he ran for the White House, Bush embraced an overhaul of Social Security as a central plank of

his campaign. A few months after taking office, he named a bipartisan 16-member commission to recommend ways to preserve the program. Since then, though, he has been preoccupied with other matters — most notably the war on terrorism.

Yet Social Security did not fully recede from Bush's mind. He often tells listeners, especially at Republican fund-raising events like those in Nevada and Arizona last week, that he does not intend to pass the buck on challenging tasks.

"I came to this office to solve problems, instead of passing them on to future presidents and future generations," Bush told supporters at the Venetian Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas.

Fiscal conservatives, however, have voiced unhappiness with Bush because of the government's return to massive deficit spending under his watch, with Washington facing a budget shortfall approaching \$500 billion for fiscal year 2004. Such huge deficits loom as a potentially crushing financial burden on future generations. But Bush has justified them on the basis of unavoidable spending for the war on terrorism while arguing that his two across-the-board tax cuts would stimulate the economy and thus generate tax revenues to whittle down the deficit.

At the White House, where senior aides have been working to complete Bush's 2004 agenda, deputy communications director Suzy DeFrancis said that "it shouldn't surprise anyone" when the president begins promoting changes in Social Security in the coming months.

There is no dispute that, without major intervention, Social Security is headed for insolvency. The annual cost of its benefits represents about 4.4% of the gross domestic product. But because America is an aging nation, that is projected to rise to 7% of the GDP by 2077.

In the beginning, about 40 workers paid Social Security taxes for every one retiree receiving benefits; today, the ratio is three workers per retiree.

To compensate, the Social Security tax has grown from 2% to more than 12%. Given the number of baby boomers — those born between 1946 and 1964 — the payroll tax would need to be 18% or more if retirees are to continue receiving the same benefits, unless new ways are found to finance the program.

At the current rate, Social Security would, in 2018, begin paying out more in benefits than it collects in taxes, and would be insolvent by 2042.

When Bush established the Social Security commission in May 2001, he laid out six "guiding principles" that included no changes for retirees or near-retirees regardless of the commission's recommendations; no increase in the payroll tax; and the creation of individually controlled, voluntary personal retirement accounts, which dovetails with the president's vision of an "ownership society."

In October 2002, the panel produced an array of options, including the controversial private investment accounts, that the commissioners predicted would make Social Security solvent and permanently sustainable.

Many Democrats in Congress vociferously oppose the creation of such accounts, saying that such a move toward "privatization" would be a prescription for financial ruin for seniors whose investment choices do not pan out, especially if the stock market experiences another slump.

While touring a BMW manufacturing plant near Greenville, S.C., recently, Bush spoke with Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.) about plans to overhaul Social Security, describing it as "a winning issue,"

Graham said in an interview last week.

Working with the White House Office of Legislative Affairs, Graham drafted and recently introduced a bill to create the personal investment accounts. Without them, he said, Social Security would have to raise payroll taxes by up to 50% and cut benefits by 30%.

Graham, who campaigned on Social Security reform when he ran for the Senate, is circulating a letter on Capitol Hill beseeching fellow lawmakers to avoid using "white-hot rhetoric" against those "who discuss reform options openly and honestly."

"Social Security has often been used as a weapon to achieve short-term political goals," Graham said. "Indeed, both parties seemingly compete to outbid each other in ruling out options for restoring the fiscal health of Social Security. It is time for the demagoguery to stop."

But as the Medicare debate in the Senate suggested, there is unlikely to be a letup in Social Security discussions. As Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) charged during his unsuccessful filibuster against the GOP-written Medicare bill: "Hold on to your hat. Today, Medicare. Tomorrow, Social Security."

Such rhetoric is unlikely to deter Bush, said Pitney of Claremont McKenna College, who heard Bush talk about Social Security reform during a 2000 campaign stop in Rancho Cucamonga.

"It's always possible to give the appearance of doing something without really trying. One can make speeches, but at the end of the day, blame the political establishment," Pitney said.

"But my sense is this is something he's really serious about, even though I don't think it's going to be a big plus for him in the 2004 campaign. This is something he thinks about when he considers his legacy."

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December 1, 2003

Reading
From Pek
*Wehner***SECTION:** NATION & WORLD; THE NATIONAL INTEREST; Vol. 135 , No. 19; Pg. 26**LENGTH:** 707 words**HEADLINE:** Those divided Democrats**BYLINE:** By Michael Barone**BODY:**

The country is closely divided between Republicans and Democrats, but it's not a symmetrical division. The Republicans are united and the Democrats are divided. Republicans are solidly behind George W. Bush. Democrats are about evenly divided on issues like military action in Iraq and gay marriage (a possible election-year issue given the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court last week). About a third of all Democrats give Bush a positive job rating.

The Democrats seem divided roughly evenly between Bush haters and people who have mixed feelings about the president. Howard Dean has made himself the favorite for the Democratic nomination by forging a bond with the Bush haters through his early and consistent opposition to military action in Iraq. His campaign has used the Internet brilliantly to establish personal links with 230,000 contributors, 505,000 supporters--orders of magnitude more than any other Democrat. Other candidates have responded by imitating his scathing contempt for Bush and all his works, in the hope of peeling off his supporters and preventing him from running away with the race by winning the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary. The Democratic race has become a contest for the left-most 20 percent of the electorate.

The un-Dean. The other Democrats have had little success. Dick Gephardt does have a narrow lead in Iowa, but winning the caucuses there means turning out people on a cold Monday night, and it's not clear that Gephardt's supporters can match the enthusiasm of Dean's. Dean has a wide lead over John Kerry in New Hampshire and runs at or near the top in national polls. So Dean's competitors have started to take a different tack. At the November 15 Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Des Moines, Kerry and John Edwards said that the party needs a nominee with answers, not anger. Gephardt and Joe Lieberman have struck similar notes. They hope to be the un-Dean--the candidate who survives Iowa, New Hampshire, and the gantlet of February 3 contests and then faces off against Dean in the big states starting with Michigan February 7. Dean campaign manager Joe Trippi expects that someone will emerge as the un-Dean. And it's not clear that in the big states Bush haters will outnumber more ambivalent Democrats. Either Dean or the un-Dean, whoever he turns out to be, could win.

But Democrats will have a problem either way. If the un-Dean wins, Dean's enthusiastic supporters will be bitterly disappointed. Some will not want to vote for a Democrat who voted for military action in Iraq. The Green Party nominee, whether Ralph Nader runs or not, could easily exceed the 3 percent Nader won in 2000. That would hurt with the electorate this closely divided. Just ask Al Gore.

The Democrats' problem will be different if Dean is nominated. Their problem will be with American exceptionalism. That is the idea, shared by most Americans, that this country is unique and special, with unique virtues and special responsibilities--a city on a hill, as John Winthrop and Ronald Reagan put it, with the responsibility to spread freedom and democracy around the world. Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, John Kennedy and Ronald Reagan were all American exceptionalists. So, as we have seen with ever increasing clarity, is Bush. Dean doesn't seem to be, and neither do most of his followers. When they say they want to take their country back, they mean they want the United States to take its place as just one of many nations, with no claim to moral superiority, heeding the cautions of France, Germany, and Russia; deferring to the United Nations or NATO; seeking the respect of the protesters in the streets of London or the opinion writers in Le Monde.

Bill Clinton, with his political genius, managed to straddle his party's division on American exceptionalism by speaking eloquently about America's commitment to freedom and democracy on some occasions and apologizing for America's past sins on many others. Howard Dean doesn't seem to have this gift. Americans have seldom, if ever, voted for a presidential candidate who does not seem to believe in American exceptionalism. Dean's nomination would give them a clear choice in 2004.

GRAPHIC: Picture, LEADER OF THE PACK. The former Vermont governor, at the recent Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Des Moines (KENNETH JARECKE--CONTACT FOR USN&WR); Picture, no caption

LOAD-DATE: November 24, 2003

Document 1 of 5 [next](#) ►

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November 25, 2003, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A03**LENGTH:** 1213 words**HEADLINE:** Other Candidates Question Dean's Record, Experience**BYLINE:** Dan Balz, Washington Post Staff Writer**DATELINE:** DES MOINES, Nov. 24**BODY:**

Former Vermont governor Howard Dean found himself in the crosshairs at a Democratic presidential debate Monday, with several rivals accusing him of balancing his state budget on the backs of vulnerable people, inconsistency on Iraq and inexperience on national security policy.

In a debate that included eight of the nine Democratic candidates, President Bush came under even sharper attack over his Iraq policies, and the candidates united to voice their opposition to the bill heading toward a final vote in the Senate that would add a prescription drug benefit to Medicare.

The debate ranged across a variety of domestic and foreign policy issues, including the recent court decision in Massachusetts saying that same-sex marriages should be legalized there. On that issue, the candidates, many of whom had been on record against same-sex marriages, so tempered their language that it was difficult to know whether they supported or opposed such unions.

But with the Iowa caucuses less than 60 days away, the intensifying battle between Dean and Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) brought some of the most significant exchanges of the forum. The argument continued a debate among the candidates over the tradeoffs between spending on favored Democratic priorities and reducing the federal budget deficit.

Dean and Gephardt are in a close battle here. Some Democrats believe that, if Dean wins the Jan. 19 caucuses and then the Jan. 27 New Hampshire primary, where he holds a solid lead, he will be difficult to stop in his bid for the nomination.

Gephardt on Sunday called Dean "a man without compassion," and charged here that the former governor had repeatedly singled out programs for the poor, the elderly and the disabled whenever he faced revenue shortages in the 1990s. "You don't just cut the most vulnerable in society," he said.

Gephardt said Congress balanced the budget in a different way in the 1990s, although he opposed the 1997 budget deal between President Bill Clinton and congressional Republicans that was the first to produce a surplus in almost three decades.

Dean said he had left Vermont in better fiscal shape than he found it, and that his budget prudence had saved his successor from having to make deep cuts at a time when other states were forced to do so.

Dean said Gephardt was a "good guy" who was the victim of faulty staff research. But Dean pressed the argument he has made all year -- that the party needs a fresh face to challenge Bush. "I think we need new leadership in this party," he said. "And I think we need new leadership in this country."

Sen. John F. Kerry (Mass.), who has fallen behind Dean in New Hampshire and is trying to refocus his candidacy, joined Gephardt, accusing Dean of raising prescription drug costs for seniors and of raiding the state teachers' pension fund to balance his budget.

Dean said he had never taken money from the teachers' pension fund, calling Kerry's charge "grossly irresponsible." Kerry then pressed Dean, who has said he would consider going after federal entitlement programs to reduce the budget deficit. "Are you going to slow the growth, governor? Yes or no?" Kerry demanded.

"We will not cut Medicare to balance the budget," Dean responded.

The squabbling among Gephardt, Dean and Kerry prompted Sen. John Edwards (N.C.) to warn all the candidates that voters would not want intra-party battling. "People are tired of listening to politicians yell at each other," he said. "What they want from us and what we have to offer in order to win is something other than anger and something other than criticism."

The two-hour debate, moderated by NBC News anchor Tom Brokaw and broadcast on MSNBC, was the fifth session facilitated by the Democratic National Committee. It required some last-minute rearrangements because of the Senate debate on the Medicare bill: Kerry and Edwards remained in Washington because of the votes there and appeared via satellite.

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.), who is not competing in Iowa and earlier announced he would skip this debate, asked to be included by satellite as well but his request was rejected. "I always thought we Democrats were the party of inclusion, not exclusion," he said in a statement after the debate, blaming rivals for keeping him out.

Iraq brought some of the loudest rhetoric of the debate. Retired Gen. Wesley K. Clark, his voice rising, denounced Bush, saying he had "misled" the country and Congress in going to war.

"This administration took us to war recklessly and without need to do so, and it was wrong," he said. "And that is the issue in this election, and that is the issue we should be taking to the American people."

Clark, asked why, if he felt so strongly, he had so much trouble when he announced his candidacy in answering whether he would have supported the congressional resolution on Iraq, responded, "I bobbled the question."

Al Sharpton said Bush's assertion that Iraq was a threat because of weapons of mass destruction was "a lie. It was a fraud." Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich (Ohio) called on the major candidates to join him in demanding a U.S. withdrawal from Iraq. But former ambassador Carol Moseley Braun said, "I want to bring them home, too," but I think we have to bring them home with honor," adding that the United States has a responsibility to rebuild the country.

Gephardt and Kerry, while criticizing Bush on the war, also focused on Dean. Gephardt accused Dean of being "all over the lot," saying that at one point the former governor had said he favored language for a war resolution not significantly different from what Congress approved. Gephardt also noted Dean had said he would not make a political issue of the war but has been running ads attacking Gephardt for supporting Bush.

Dean said Gephardt was wrong on the facts, but Kerry came to Gephardt's defense on the resolution issue. He also charged that Dean had hedged back then on how to confront then-Iraqi President Saddam Hussein: "Howard Dean said he believed that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction, but he offered no way to try to deal with it."

Asked whether Dean is incapable of serving as commander in chief, Kerry responded, "I've never suggested that he's incapable of it. I've said that the experience is a very important and critical issue in our ability to challenge George Bush in the time of war."

Dean responded that Kerry, despite his experience, had voted the wrong way on the war, and called it

an "abdication" of leadership. "I don't think that's the kind of experience we need in foreign affairs in the White House," he said.

Dean was asked by Brokaw the circumstances of the medical deferment for a back ailment he received that kept him out of military service during the Vietnam War, even though the problem did not prevent him from spending time skiing in the West during those years.

Dean noted that only Clark and Kerry among the candidates had served in Vietnam, and said of his situation, "I told the truth. I fulfilled my obligation. I took a physical. I failed the physical. If that makes this an issue, then so be it."

Researcher Lucy Shackelford in Washington contributed to this report.

LOAD-DATE: November 25, 2003

◀ [prev](#) Document 4 of 4

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November 29, 2003, Saturday, Final Edition**SECTION:** A SECTION; Pg. A01**LENGTH:** 1267 words**HEADLINE:** Two See Iowa as Crucial Battleground**BYLINE:** Dan Balz, Washington Post Staff Writer**DATELINE:** DES MOINES**BODY:**

The state of Iowa always plays an outsize role in the presidential nomination process, but perhaps never more so than in 2004. An intensifying battle here between former Vermont governor Howard Dean and Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) suggests that the first major contest in the Democratic race may also prove to be the most important.

Dean has never made a secret of his strategy for capturing the Democratic nomination: beat Gephardt in Iowa, beat Sen. John F. Kerry (Mass.) in New Hampshire and dare any of his opponents to stop him. In New Hampshire, he already holds a solid lead over Kerry, but in Iowa, Gephardt stands squarely in his path. A Gephardt victory on Jan. 19 could significantly complicate Dean's path to the nomination.

"It's pretty hard to construct a scenario where somebody gets started from a standing start in all these states that come after that," Gephardt said in an interview when asked about the chances of stopping Dean if he wins the first two big contests. "But it's a question that we don't need to ask, because I'm going to win Iowa."

The Dean-Gephardt fight is rich in substance and symbolism, offering a window into the state of the Democratic Party and the power of its resurgent liberal wing as its activists prepare to select a nominee to challenge President Bush next November.

Neither Gephardt nor Dean pretends he is a New Democrat. Instead, both are fighting from and for the left, reflecting not only the liberal makeup of the caucus participants in Iowa, but also the ideological shift in the party during Bush's presidency, one that could leave the center open to Bush in the general election.

Dean has used Gephardt's support for going to war in Iraq to try to drive a wedge between the former House Democratic leader and the antiwar activists in the party here. Gephardt has used Dean's past, and perhaps future, support for reining in the growth of federal entitlement programs such as Medicare and his support for the North American Free Trade Agreement to drive a wedge between Dean and the party's traditional economic liberals.

Their fight has divided the party along classic lines: Dean appeals to upscale, well-educated Democrats; Gephardt, to blue-collar workers and seniors. Gephardt has the party regulars; Dean is the darling of the newcomers.

The Dean-Gephardt battle, here and nationally, also has created a schism in the ranks of organized labor, reflecting divisions among unions over the predominance of international trade. Gephardt has the backing of major industrial unions -- Steelworkers, Teamsters, Machinists -- while Dean has the

support of the two big service and public employee unions, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Gephardt and Dean have hurled charges at each other in speeches, in debates, on television and through the mail. A poll released last week showed Dean surging and up by 10 points -- a margin his advisers, who do not underestimate Gephardt, say is decidedly optimistic. An earlier poll showed Gephardt ahead by five points, after trailing in the summer. Both sides believe the race will remain close to the end.

Iowa Democrats see Dean and Gephardt in a two-person battle for first place at this point. Kerry has a well-regarded organization, but Mark Smith, president of the AFL-CIO's Iowa Federation of Labor, which has not taken sides said, "He just doesn't seem to have traction." Kerry hopes to change that, and he has moved to strengthen his operation with a goal of being part of a photo finish with Dean and Gephardt. Sen. John Edwards (N.C.) is also running hard, looking to overtake Kerry for third.

Iowa Attorney General Tom Miller (D) called Dean and Gephardt well-matched. "Dean has had just an amazing rise here and has a lot of support and has new people," he said. "He probably has broader support geographically, which is important on caucus night. And Gephardt hasn't blinked. He's got good labor support here, he's got his friends from 16 years' standing, he works hard, and I think he's distinguished himself in the campaign."

Gephardt brings notable assets to the battle, which he and his advisers regard as a must-win contest to keep his hopes for the nomination alive. He has a message tailor-made for Iowa Democrats, heavy on themes of jobs, the economy, health care and opposition to free trade.

Gephardt also has experience, having won the caucuses in 1988, and an almost plodding discipline to his campaign style, captured in campaign T-shirts that say, "Fear the Turtle." And he has the unions - 21 international unions that have endorsed his candidacy -- and his most important prize here, the Iowa chapter of the United Auto Workers.

Dave Neil, who heads the Iowa UAW's political operation, said trade is the reason his union stands with Gephardt. "When you see it firsthand and witness the community devastation once the plants close, why would you abandon somebody who's been a champion of your causes all along?"

"The people who have endorsed Dick have felt the brunt of job loss and trade policies," said Chuck Rocha, Gephardt's labor liaison in the state. "Those guys get it. They're self-motivating."

Dean has plenty of assets of his own. His opposition to the war has great appeal in a state with a long history of activism in the peace movement. And in winning the SEIU and AFSCME, he has union resources to aid in organizing for the caucuses. Of the two, AFSCME is the more significant in Iowa, a union with members in all 99 counties and a reputation for political organizing equal to that of the UAW.

To complement his labor support, Dean has built an impressive organization, and, according to veterans of the caucus process, may have stumbled upon an unexpected organizing tool: monthly sessions for supporters organized through Meetup.com. Dean's advisers have turned those meetings into training sessions for supporters who have not participated in past caucuses, and they appear to be highly motivated.

Dean also has one asset Gephardt cannot match: money. Having chosen to forgo public financing of his campaign, Dean is free to spend as much as he wants in Iowa, while Gephardt, who will receive federal matching funds in January, must stay within state spending limits.

Kerry, too, has opted out of public financing, and Gephardt said he knows they will outspend him down the stretch. "I think they'll run more TV ads than I'll run," he said. "I think they'll put out more mailers than we'll have. I think they'll have more employees in the state. I think they'll rent more buses than we will. They'll do more of everything." But he said his labor support will overcome Dean's additional resources. "I think even if they [Dean and Kerry] double up on spending, I'm going to win Iowa," he said.

Paul Maslin, Dean's pollster, said Gephardt's union base alone makes him formidable. "We respect Gephardt's strength," he said. "But there is something this year about Iowa's going first and being able to make a statement to the country and the party. Our campaign is the campaign with new energy. That's what differentiates Howard Dean this year. That may be a pretty decisive factor."

Miller, the attorney general, earlier endorsed Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.), only to see his candidate pull out of the state to concentrate his energies elsewhere. Now Miller is an enthusiastic spectator, anticipating the last days of the campaign. "It's going to be a great battle in Iowa," he predicted.

LOAD-DATE: November 29, 2003

◀ [prev](#) Document 3 of 4 [next](#) ▶

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November 25, 2003 Tuesday Home Edition

SECTION: Main News; Part 1; Page 11; National Desk**LENGTH:** 1403 words**HEADLINE:** THE NATION;

Dean Fights Fire With Fire in Candidates' Debate;

After Gephardt and Kerry criticize him over his spending priorities, the front-runner renews attacks on the two for backing the war in Iraq.

BYLINE: Ronald Brownstein and Matea Gold, Times Staff Writers**DATELINE:** DES MOINES**BODY:**

Under fire from Richard A. Gephardt and John F. Kerry over his spending priorities, Howard Dean renewed his criticism of them for voting last year to authorize war with Iraq during a debate Monday that sharpened the arguments dominating the Democratic presidential contest.

In a series of pointed exchanges that highlighted the two-hour session, Rep. Gephardt of Missouri and Sen. Kerry of Massachusetts accused Dean of following a GOP approach to balancing budgets, while the former Vermont governor responded by tying the two to President Bush on the Iraq war.

The debate underscored the intention of Gephardt and Kerry -- Dean's principal rivals in the Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary, respectively -- to challenge his hold on liberal voters by questioning his commitment to traditional Democratic spending programs.

At the same time, the encounter highlighted Dean's belief that the war in Iraq remained his hole card in the race -- and the principal vulnerability for the other top-tier candidates.

As in all their earlier forums, the Democratic contenders were unstinting in their criticism of Bush in the debate sponsored by the Democratic National Committee and MSNBC.

All eight of the Democrats who participated, for instance, denounced the Medicare reform package that is moving toward a final congressional vote. Kerry and Sen. John Edwards of North Carolina spoke via satellite transmission from Washington, where they had remained to oppose the bill.

The ninth candidate -- Sen. Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, who has pulled out of Iowa to focus on New Hampshire -- was not allowed to participate from Washington after he had initially said he did not plan to attend.

Lieberman expressed disappointment at that decision saying, "I always thought we Democrats were the party of inclusion, not exclusion."

The debate participants were fierce in denouncing Bush's foreign policy, with retired Gen. Wesley K. Clark perhaps the most emotional. Relatively muted while the debate focused on domestic issues in its first hour, Clark heatedly denounced Bush over the war in Iraq and his handling of terrorism.

"I warned that we were going to war without a real plan of what to do next and without adequate resources," Clark said. "Now we see the consequences."

Edwards added a note of caution to the anti-administration tide, insisting, "We should be angry at George Bush, but we can't just be a party of anger."

At another point, he said, "We have to offer a positive, optimistic, uplifting vision for this country."

After the debate, Republican National Committee Chairman Ed Gillespie issued a statement denouncing the Democrats, saying, "Their message of protest and pessimism becomes clearer with each debate."

Above all, the debate underscored Dean's central role in the Democratic race. He leads in polls in New Hampshire, is running second behind Gephardt in the most recent surveys in Iowa and has raised the most money of the field.

On Monday, Dean was the only candidate to draw fire.

The major new element was the indictment from Gephardt, quickly seconded by Kerry, of Dean's fiscal priorities as governor of Vermont in the 1990s. At a speech in Cedar Rapids on Sunday, Gephardt charged that as governor, Dean repeatedly sought to cut Medicaid spending for the poor, as well as education funding, aid to seniors, the state's prescription drug program and welfare benefits.

At Monday's debate, Gephardt contrasted Dean's policies with the approach that President Clinton and the Democratic Congress took in their 1993 deficit-reduction package. "We didn't cut the most vulnerable, as [Dean] did in Vermont," Gephardt charged. "He cut Medicaid. He cut the prescription drug program... He cut funding for the blind and disabled."

Kerry quickly echoed Gephardt's criticism. And then, broaching another issue initially raised by Gephardt, Kerry asked Dean -- interrupting him several times -- if he would rule out reducing the growth in spending on Medicare to help balance the federal budget.

Dean insisted, "We are not going to cut Medicare in order to balance the budget."

But Kerry continued to press, implying that while Dean was dismissing outright reductions in Medicare, he had not rejected the idea of allowing the program to grow at a slower rate than would be required to maintain existing services as medical costs rose and the elderly population increased.

Dean aggressively defended his record on Medicare and the state budget. He insisted that as governor, he had expanded access to health care while prudently managing the state budget.

"When you're the governor, you've got to make tough decisions," Dean said. "The people of Vermont were better off when I left the governor's office than they were when I got there."

Returning to one of his central themes, Dean argued that he had made more concrete progress on health care in Vermont than Congress had achieved in recent years.

But Dean seemed to stretch beyond the facts when he charged that Congress had done nothing on health care during Gephardt's long tenure in Congress that "benefited our state or any other state." That indictment ignored the Children's Health Insurance Program, which Congress passed in 1997 and which now enrolls 5 million children nationwide.

Gephardt cited that program during the debate.

In a broader sense, Dean's response to the attacks directed at him was to sharply denounce his rivals over Iraq. "Sen. Kerry is talking about experience in foreign affairs," Dean said. Referring to the congressional resolution passed last fall that authorized an attack on Iraq, he added: "His experience led him to give the president of the United States a blank check to invade" that country.

A few moments later, Dean broadened his criticism to include Gephardt and Edwards -- who voted for the resolution -- and Clark, whom he charged had indicated support for it. "This was an abdication and a failure," Dean said.

That broadside inspired an impassioned response from Clark.

"I think this party's making a great mistake by trying to make a litmus test on who would have or did or didn't vote for that resolution last October," said Clark, who has been criticized for sending mixed signals on whether he would have backed it.

"The real issue in front of us is that this president misled the American people and the Congress into war. This administration took us to war recklessly and without need to do so and it was wrong. And that is the issue ... we should be taking to the American people."

Gephardt and Kerry also pushed back against Dean's criticism, noting that the former governor had expressed support for an alternative resolution on Iraq sponsored by Sens. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) and Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.)

Gephardt and Kerry insisted there was little functional difference between the resolution Congress ultimately passed and the alternative Dean supported. "It's no different fundamentally from what we voted on," Kerry said.

The main distinction was that the Biden-Lugar approach said Bush could not go to war without explicit U.N. authorization, unless he issued a declaration that Iraq presented a "grave" threat to U.S. security.

On other issues, Rep. Dennis J. Kucinich of Ohio, a long-shot contender, repeatedly called for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Iraq. "We need to get out of there, and the sooner the better," he said. "End the occupation."

Dean responded to recent questions about the deferment from military service he received during the Vietnam War. Dean was deferred because of a bad back, but spent much of the next year skiing in Aspen, Colo.

"Look, I did not serve in Vietnam," he said. "I was given a deferment by the United States government because they did not feel they wanted me in the Army... I told the truth. I fulfilled my obligation. I took a physical. I failed the physical. If that makes this an issue, then so be it."

While all the contenders endorsed expanded legal rights for gay couples, only the Rev. Al Sharpton and former Sen. Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois said gays should have the right to marry. "We should be celebrating the fact that these people are talking about forming solid relationships, families, because families, in the end, will keep the community stable," Braun said.

*

Times staff writer John Glionna contributed to this report.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: A DAB OR TWO: Democratic hopefuls Richard A. Gephardt, left, and the Rev. Al Sharpton get touch-ups during a break in the debate. PHOTOGRAPHER: Reuters

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◀ [prev](#) Document 8 of 8

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November 26, 2003 Wednesday THREE STAR EDITION

SECTION: MAIN, Pg. A11

LENGTH: 998 words

HEADLINE: Accountability in education isn't bad

BYLINE: Ronald Brownstein

BODY:

Under President Clinton, Democrats offered schools a new deal: more money for more accountability. Clinton increased federal spending on almost every form of educational initiative. But he also passed legislation requiring schools to demonstrate progress in improving student performance or face steadily escalating consequences. It was the schoolhouse equivalent of Clinton's approach to welfare reform: opportunity linked to responsibility.

This year, though, several of the 2004 Democratic presidential candidates are retreating toward a more questionable model: more money and less accountability.

For months, every Democratic contender has urged more federal spending on education. Now, some of the top contenders are pushing to loosen the testing and accountability provisions at the heart of the education reform bill President Bush steered through Congress in 2001.

"We have to get rid of this one-size-fits-all testing mania that is destroying the ability of people to apply discretion," says Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry.

"It is fraudulent education policy," says former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean.

These attacks come less than two years after Congress overwhelmingly approved Bush's education reform package -- the No Child Left Behind Act -- with just six Democrats voting against it in both the House and Senate.

The bill drew support from so many Democrats, including Kerry, largely because it extended the Clinton model of offering schools more help, but stiffening the demands on them to show results.

The bill Clinton signed in 1994 required districts to test students at least once at each school level -- elementary, intermediate and high school -- and demonstrate improvement over time. But experience demonstrated that tests spaced so widely apart didn't capture trends in student performance precisely enough.

So the legislation Bush signed required states to test (with the states' own tests) every student in reading and math each year from third through eighth grade. No Child Left Behind requires schools to make progress each year at increasing the share of students from all backgrounds -- not just middle-class white students but also minority and low-income students -- who demonstrate basic proficiency in reading and math on the tests.

Schools that fail to show "adequate yearly progress" for two consecutive years must give students the opportunity to transfer to other public schools; schools that miss the mark for three consecutive years must offer students after-school tutoring. Eventually, persistently failing schools must be restructured with a new principal and teachers.

Always skeptical of these provisions, the educational establishment is now in full revolt against the bill. Earlier this month, the National Education Association, the teachers union, ran full-page ads in newspapers denouncing the bill's testing requirement as "a rigid, one-size-fits-all framework that relies solely on test scores to measure children and public schools." Perhaps it goes without saying the

NEA bought these ads, whose language Kerry conspicuously echoed in his own criticism of the bill, in newspapers across Iowa and New Hampshire, the site of the first two Democratic contests next January.

What's made the teachers and educators so upset? Evidence that many schools are falling short of the new requirements. Surveying 39 states with 17,000 public schools this fall, the National Journal magazine found that one-fourth of those schools had failed to meet the bill's standards for improving student performance.

Like a teacher who rewrites a test after too many students fail, Kerry and Dean's response is to loosen the standard. Kerry's aides say he believes schools that fail to meet the requirements for improving student performance in reading and math should still be able to avoid a failing label if they show progress in other ways, such as improving attendance or offering more after-school programs. Dean agrees and would reverse course even more fundamentally, by repealing the requirement that schools test students annually.

These attacks on the 2001 reform act almost always draw applause from Democratic audiences -- not to mention groups representing teachers and other adults in the education business. But last week, an unlikely group of critics denounced these attacks on the accountability standards as nothing more than shooting the messenger.

In a statement organized by The Education Trust, a nonprofit group that advocates for low-income children, 100 black and Latino school superintendents said the threat that schools will be labeled as failing under the act is forcing administrators to focus more attention on helping the neediest kids and the most troubled schools.

"Accountability ... helps to create a sense of urgency, a sense that we need to act and do better," said Diana Lam, deputy chancellor for teaching and learning in New York City, one of those who signed the letter. Sen. Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, another Democratic hopeful, also defends the new requirements against Dean and Kerry, insisting: "The solution is not to tear down the high standards we set."

The 2001 law isn't perfect. In many cities, the provisions allowing parents to transfer their children out of poorly performing schools may not be meaningful unless students have the right to switch to better suburban schools. States must find better ways to involve more parents; teachers can't lift kids alone. And schools always need more money (especially to repair crumbling buildings).

But diluting the accountability provisions would send exactly "the wrong message" (as the minority superintendents put it) to communities that have long tolerated substandard educations for low-income and minority kids. Kerry and Dean see the squeals of protest from educators over No Child Left Behind as proof the law is failing. But that may be the best evidence it's succeeding. **Ronald Brownstein** writes for the Los Angeles Times.

LOAD-DATE: November 26, 2003

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Newsday (New York)

November 26, 2003 Wednesday QUEENS EDITION

SECTION: VIEWPOINTS, Pg. A32**LENGTH:** 822 words**HEADLINE:** The Education Act Shouldn't Be Left Behind**BYLINE:** By **Ronald Brownstein**. **Ronald Brownstein** is a national political correspondent for the Los Angeles Times, where this article first appeared.**BODY:**

Under President Bill Clinton, Democrats offered schools a new deal: more money for more accountability. Clinton increased federal spending on almost every form of educational initiative. But he also passed legislation requiring schools to demonstrate progress in improving student performance or face steadily escalating consequences. It was the schoolhouse equivalent of Clinton's approach to welfare reform: opportunity linked to responsibility.

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The bill drew support from so many Democrats, including Kerry, largely because it extended the Clinton model of offering schools more help, but stiffened the demands on them to show results.

The legislation Bush signed required states to test (with the states' own tests) every student in reading and math each year from third through eighth grade. No Child Left Behind requires schools to make progress each year at increasing the share of students from all backgrounds - not just middle-class white students but also minority and low-income students - who demonstrate basic proficiency in reading and math on the tests.

Schools that fail to show "adequate yearly progress" for two consecutive years must give students the opportunity to transfer to other public schools; schools that miss the mark for three consecutive years must offer students after-school tutoring. Eventually, persistently failing schools must be restructured with a new principal and teachers.

Always skeptical of these provisions, the educational establishment is now in full revolt against the bill. Earlier this month, the National Education Association, the teachers union, ran full-page ads in newspapers denouncing the bill's testing requirement as "a rigid, one-size-fits-all framework that relies solely on test scores to measure children and public schools."

What's made the teachers and educators so upset? Evidence that many schools are falling short of the new requirements. Surveying 39 states with 17,000 public schools this fall, the National Journal magazine found that one-fourth of those schools had failed to meet the bill's standards for improving student performance.

Like a teacher who rewrites a test after too many students fail, Kerry's and Dean's response is to loosen the standard. Kerry's aides say he believes schools that fail to meet the requirements for improving student performance in reading and math should still be able to avoid a failing label if they show progress in other ways, such as improving attendance or offering more after-school programs. Dean agrees and would reverse course even more fundamentally by repealing the requirement that schools test students annually.

These attacks on the 2001 reform act almost always draw applause from Democratic audiences - not to mention groups representing teachers and other adults in the education business. But last week an unlikely group of critics denounced these attacks on the accountability standards as nothing more than shooting the messenger.

In a statement organized by The Education Trust, a nonprofit group that advocates for low-income children, 100 black and Latino school superintendents said the threat that schools will be labeled as failing under the act is forcing administrators to focus more attention on helping the neediest kids and the most troubled schools.

"Accountability ... helps to create a sense of urgency, a sense that we need to act and do better," said Diana Lam, deputy chancellor for teaching and learning in New York City, one of those who signed the letter. Sen. Joe Lieberman of Connecticut, another Democratic hopeful, also defends the new requirements against Dean and Kerry, insisting: "The solution is not to tear down the high standards we set."

The 2001 law isn't perfect. But diluting the accountability provisions would send exactly "the wrong message" (as the minority superintendents put it). Kerry and Dean see the squeals of protest from educators over No Child Left Behind as proof the law is failing. But that may be the best evidence it's succeeding.

GRAPHIC: 1) AP Photo - The president's education reform is a campaign issue. 2) Photo - **Ronald Brownstein**

LOAD-DATE: November 26, 2003

◀ [prev](#) Document 6 of 8 [next](#) ▶

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SECTION: Main News; Part 1; Page 41; Foreign Desk**LENGTH:** 1109 words**HEADLINE:** The World;
NEWS ANALYSIS;
Bush Trip Emblematic of His Approach to Politics**BYLINE:** Ronald Brownstein, Times Staff Writer**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON**BODY:**

With his dramatic visit to Baghdad, President Bush has demonstrated again the depth of his commitment to the military mission that could decide his fate in the 2004 election.

In his speech to the troops, and even more emphatically with the symbolism of his presence in a war zone half the world away, Bush underscored his resolve to stay the course against growing violence on the ground in Iraq and growing doubts about the effort at home.

"We will stay until the job is done," Bush said.

The unexpected trip, cloaked in secrecy and received enthusiastically by the troops, drew praise not only from Republicans but aides to several of the Democratic presidential candidates.

Yet the underlying message of Bush's trip seems more likely to harden than rearrange the increasingly polarized lines of domestic debate over the struggle to reconstruct Iraq.

To Bush's supporters, the trip is likely to highlight his traits they like best: determination, forcefulness, empathy and commitment to his causes.

"They will perceive this as a reinforcement of the things they prize about him," said Bruce Buchanan, a political scientist at the University of Texas at Austin who has closely followed Bush's political career.

Indeed, some analysts noted that it would be difficult to imagine how Bush could have more vividly displayed his determination than to fly into a war zone on a trip considered so dangerous that the White House said it was prepared to turn back if word leaked out before he arrived.

"What the president did today was show he was willing to put himself in harm's way, like the troops," presidential historian Douglas Brinkley told CNN.

But to Bush's Democratic critics -- and the voters sympathetic to their arguments -- the trip could receive a more mixed response.

On the one hand, even critics of the war praised Bush for making the effort to show support for the troops.

"On this Thanksgiving, all Americans are grateful for our troops who are spending this day far from family and loved ones," said Tricia Enright, communications director for former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, whose candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination has been fueled by his opposition to the war. The visit "was good for the troops, certainly."

On the other hand, some Democrats argued that Bush's demonstration of support for the troops did nothing to resolve the larger questions about America's direction in Iraq.

"It's great for him to do this; you can't criticize the president for spending time with the troops," said Matt Bennett, communications director for retired Gen. Wesley K. Clark, another Democratic presidential contender who has criticized the war. "But this isn't a substitute for having a policy for success in Iraq."

Both sides agree that the trip was emblematic of Bush's approach to politics. From his repeated tax cuts to the changes in Medicare that he steered through Congress this month to his attempt to reorient U.S. national security policy around his vision of preemptive defense, Bush has consistently set out large goals -- and then pursued them tenaciously, even at the price of sharply dividing opinion at home and around the world.

When challenged, he usually digs in deeper, and that may be precisely what he intended to convey with his visit Thursday.

"It was very much him making an emphatic statement that he believes in this, that he is going to persist," one GOP strategist close to the White House said. "Instead of backing away when he is criticized, he redoubles his efforts."

From a political perspective, the trip offered a strikingly different picture than the images generated May 1, when Bush landed on the U.S. aircraft carrier Abraham Lincoln in a flight suit to declare the end of major combat operations in Iraq. At that moment, Bush seemed bursting with bravado as he stood before a banner that declared, "Mission Accomplished."

That image has seemed so out of tune with the grueling and deadly struggle in Iraq since then that it has been first used in a commercial not by Republicans, but by Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts, one of the 2004 Democratic hopefuls.

The pictures from Iraq Thursday showed a much more somber president, portraying the struggle in Iraq for the troops and the nation as closer to the beginning than the end and acknowledging the likelihood of difficult days ahead.

In his words to the troops, Bush certainly seemed to be speaking from the heart, even Democrats said. But they said that his chastened message may represent an implicit acknowledgment from the White House that the pictures of the president strutting across the aircraft carrier were now more a problem than an asset.

"This trip was born of good intentions; I don't doubt it," Bennett said. "But I also think it will provide them an opportunity to replace the swaggering imagery of the flight suit with more responsible imagery."

The trip occurred against a backdrop of growing public anxiety about the mission in Iraq. Amid the steady drumbeat of U.S. casualties, public "sticker shock" at Bush's request for \$87 billion to rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan and the inability of coalition forces to find conclusive evidence that former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction, doubts about the war have grown steadily in polls since Bush's aircraft carrier landing.

In a Los Angeles Times Poll released last week, 45% of Americans responding said they approved of the way Bush was handling the situation in Iraq, while 51% disapproved. That was a sharp drop from April, when a Times Poll found more than three-fourths of American respondents expressed approval of Bush's Iraq policy.

Similarly, the share of Americans who said the war was worth fighting fell from 77% in the April poll to 48% now. And the new poll found just 35% said the war was worth the cost in American lives.

Several analysts said Thursday that Bush's visit could temporarily shore up those doubts, but that

conditions in Iraq would undoubtedly exert more impact on American opinions over time.

The visit is likely to make a more lasting impression in public attitudes toward Bush.

For his supporters it shows a president of deep beliefs unfazed by criticism or shifts in public opinion. For his critics it may help symbolize a man who refuses to reconsider his course even when events seem to demand it.

Americans may embrace or reject Bush's approach to domestic and world affairs in next year's election, but Thursday's visit was another reminder that they are likely to have no confusion about the direction he intends to take the country.

LOAD-DATE: November 28, 2003

◀ [prev](#) Document 5 of 8 [next](#) ▶

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SECTION: Main News; Part 1; Page 1; National Desk**LENGTH:** 1420 words**HEADLINE:** THE NATION;

Both Parties Claim Entitlement From Medicare Package;

Bush may try to parlay his legislative victory to pursue changes in Social Security, associates say.
Democrats will cite shortcomings and costs.**BYLINE:** Ronald Brownstein, Times Staff Writer**DATELINE:** WASHINGTON**BODY:**

The landmark Medicare reform package President Bush steered through Congress last week seems more likely to intensify than resolve the debate in the 2004 campaign over how to provide health care and retirement security for seniors, analysts in both parties say.

The legislation itself promises to be a flashpoint, with Bush touting its new prescription drug benefit as proof that he has delivered a "compassionate conservative" agenda, and his Democratic rivals portraying the bill as a giveaway to drug and insurance companies.

Just as significant, Republicans close to the White House say Bush's success at forcing through Congress structural Medicare reforms will stiffen his resolve to pursue even more ambitious changes in Social Security -- a potentially more explosive issue in next year's election.

"This gives him the capacity to run on reforming Social Security," one GOP strategist familiar with White House thinking insisted.

The debate over entitlement reform is sharpening as seniors have become an increasingly fluid constituency, less firmly attached to either party and more influenced by the same constellation of values issues that are driving many younger voters.

"In the past, you were dealing with a monolithic bloc, and it was Democratic," said Susan MacManus, a political scientist at the University of South Florida, who has studied voting patterns among seniors. "Now you are looking at a diverse block of voters."

That means the struggle between the parties to define the prescription drug benefit next year is likely to be only one factor, and possibly not the major factor, in determining how seniors vote.

"Good or bad it's not going to be as decisive as people think," said Ruy Teixeira, a Democratic public opinion analyst.

"The prescription drug issue, per se, has always been less potent than Democrats believe. I think Democrats can turn this bill so it isn't a positive for Bush, but even if they don't, that doesn't make seniors a lock" for Bush, he said.

An enduring myth in American politics is that seniors vote reliably Democratic, largely because of the party's support for Medicare and Social Security, the two pillars of the social safety net for the elderly.

But as MacManus noted, the picture has been more complex in recent years. From the 1980s through the early 1990s, most seniors supported Democrats in congressional elections, according to network

exit polls. But the Republican presidential candidate won a majority of seniors in every presidential election from 1972 through 1984.

In 1992, Bill Clinton carried seniors by a decisive 12-point margin over George H.W. Bush; but two years later, seniors tilted toward the GOP in the midterm landslide that carried Republicans to a majority in the House and Senate.

The next year, Clinton revived his presidency by beating back an attempt from congressional Republicans to reduce the growth in Medicare spending. Yet in the 1996 election, while Clinton's performance improved among younger voters, his margin with seniors dropped to just 4 percentage points over Republican Bob Dole, and a narrow majority of seniors again backed Republicans for Congress.

In 2000, former Vice President Al Gore touted his support for a Medicare prescription drug benefit relentlessly but failed to expand Clinton's 4-point advantage among seniors. (Gore lost seniors in Florida, where he spent the most time selling his prescription drug plan.)

Nationally, seniors broke narrowly for Democrats in the 2000 congressional elections and edged back toward the GOP two years later, according to exit polls.

For 2004, the key lesson from this history may be that far from voting solely on the giant federal programs that so intimately affect their lives -- Social Security and Medicare -- many seniors are also moved by the broader events shaping any election, from the backlash among cultural conservatives against Bill Clinton in 2000 to homeland security in 2002.

In the Los Angeles Times exit poll in the 2000 presidential race, for instance, as many seniors cited moral values as Social Security as the principal reason for choosing between Gore and Bush. Less than half as many seniors cited prescription drugs as the principal motivation for their vote than either morality or Social Security in that survey.

A Times Poll this month found seniors leaning strongly toward a Democrat over Bush in 2004, largely because the poll shows them to be much more critical of Bush's policies in Iraq than younger Americans.

Republicans are confident that the drug issue will be more relevant next year than in 2000 because Bush can tout the passage of legislation creating the prescription benefit, while Gore could only promise to pursue one.

"What Bush is going to be able to do and say is he delivered on a key issue that was important," said Republican pollster David Winston. "That is going to have a positive impact on seniors."

Bush is also likely to benefit from a chorus of well-heeled supporters.

In 2000, Gore's drive to sell his plan for a prescription drug benefit was offset by a huge independent advertising effort from the pharmaceutical industry critiquing his approach. In 2004, said GOP pollster Bill McInturff, not only the drug industry but also the Republican National Committee, the Bush reelection campaign, groups representing health-care providers, and the AARP, the leading seniors' lobby, could all run advertising campaigns to support Bush's plan for providing seniors with drug benefits.

"That's a lot of weight," McInturff said.

Even so, many Democrats appear confident they can discredit and neutralize the prescription drug issue as an asset for Bush. While 11 Democratic senators voted for the legislation, every Democratic presidential candidate has already condemned it, quickly developing several lines of argument likely to remain prominent through 2004.

Because the prescription drug benefit doesn't begin until 2006, both sides recognize that it is their arguments, rather than actual experience, that will most shape public verdicts on the plan in next

year's campaign.

Down one track, Democrats are arguing that the bill provides insufficient benefits for average seniors. Down a second, they maintain that the bill will threaten traditional Medicare benefits by tilting the program toward greater reliance on private insurance companies. And finally, they are portraying the legislation as a giveaway to health-maintenance organizations (because it provides lucrative new subsidies to participate in Medicare) and pharmaceutical companies (because it precludes the federal government from negotiating for lower drug prices).

Tricia Enright, the communications director for presidential hopeful Howard Dean, says Democrats may highlight the bill as much as Bush in 2004, using it to contend the administration is too sympathetic to special interests.

"You add this bill with Halliburton and Bechtel in Iraq, and the debacles with Enron and WorldCom, and this is not going to be the easy sell that they expect," Enright said.

In response, Bush is certain to portray the legislation as a cornerstone of his effort to modernize the giant entitlement programs, providing seniors with more choices.

Bush also is likely to use the achievement as the foundation for renewing his case to restructure Social Security to provide workers the option of diverting part of their payroll taxes into individual investment accounts that they could invest in the stock market.

Like the Medicare package, Bush will present his Social Security plan as a way to expand choices for seniors and more effectively use market forces to provide social benefits. "They have at the heart of it the same sort of underlying dynamic," said one senior Republican familiar with White House thinking.

Beyond its direct effect on seniors, the prescription drug bill could provide Bush with a valuable symbol to try to convince all voters that he is "a different kind of Republican" who is pursuing a "compassionate conservative" agenda.

In that way, McInturff said, the Medicare bill may help Bush shake off traditional party stereotypes in the same way Clinton benefited from signing welfare reform in 1996.

"The Democrats' entire thesis is that Republicans do nothing but help rich folks," McInturff said. "Every time the Democrats say that [next year] we'll say, 'Huh? We're the party that just passed the largest expansion of Medicare for two generations.' "

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: IN 2000: Al Gore, with running mate Joe Lieberman, relentlessly touted his support for a Medicare prescription drug benefit. PHOTOGRAPHER: Reuters

LOAD-DATE: November 30, 2003

◀ [prev](#) Document 2 of 8 [next](#) ▶

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Ronald Brownstein / WASHINGTON OUTLOOK;
Snowballing Debt Awaits Tomorrow's Taxpayers**BYLINE:** Ronald Brownstein**BODY:**

Seniors with big prescription drug bills, health maintenance organizations awaiting lucrative new subsidies, upper-middle-class families anticipating a fat tax refund, and Iraqi cities expecting new schools or hospitals all have reason to be thankful about President Bush's extraordinary success at pushing his agenda through the Republican-controlled Congress this year.

There may be less celebration among the young people who will inherit the tab for these initiatives. Bush is funding every penny of every one of these goodies by increasing the national debt. Which is another way of saying that he's sticking the bill to the next generation.

The scale of the transfer is dizzying.

In just the last few months, Congress, at Bush's request, has doled out \$87 billion to rebuild and secure Iraq and Afghanistan; approved a \$401-billion defense appropriation bill, the largest ever; completed a \$1-trillion tax cut on top of the \$1.35-trillion reduction the president won in 2001; and approved a Medicare prescription drug benefit that will cost at least \$400 billion over the next decade, probably more. If the energy bill is revived next year, add to the list at least another \$26 billion in tax cuts for energy companies.

All of this, it's worth remembering, comes when the federal government already faces its largest deficit ever -- some \$374 billion last year, \$84 billion more than the previous record held by Bush's father, George H.W. Bush.

Several reliable analysts project the federal deficit will soar past \$500 billion this year -- and then remain near that unprecedented level for the indefinite future, even if the economy recovers. It's an understatement to conclude, as the Goldman Sachs investment bank did in a recent report, that the budget process in Washington is "out of control."

Project this forward a few years and the fiscal strain on future taxpayers could become excruciating. By 2012, Bush's tax cuts would reduce federal revenue by almost \$400 billion a year, according to calculations by Peter Orszag of the Brookings Institution.

Even without the new prescription drug benefit, the swelling number of seniors and the rising cost of care would push the annual bill for Medicare past \$500 billion by then, according to the Congressional Budget Office. The drug subsidy for seniors would add at least another \$65 billion to the tab. The CBO says that by 2012, defense spending would approach \$600 billion annually -- a number other analysts say understates the price tag for Bush's long-term national security plans.

Then comes the final indignity for tomorrow's taxpayers: huge interest payments on the debt the government is accumulating to finance this binge. When Bush took office, the CBO estimated Washington was on track to eliminate the publicly held federal debt by 2008. That meant federal interest payments on the debt, which were running about \$200 billion a year when Bush arrived, were

expected to dwindle to virtually nothing by the end of this decade.

Now, though, the latest estimates are that amid the economic slowdown of the last two years, and all the new spending and tax cuts Bush has pursued, the federal debt could soar to at least \$7 trillion by decade's end. That means future taxpayers will have to pay at least \$350 billion a year to service that debt, precisely as they are shouldering big bills for homeland security, defense and retiring the baby boom.

To call this behavior a breakdown of fiscal responsibility misses its true nature. This is a stunning abandonment of generational responsibility. Washington is behaving like a father who steals his kid's credit card and goes on a bender.

Individually, America's parents make sacrifices every day to provide opportunities for their children; but collectively, the nation is now pursuing precisely the opposite course -- indulging itself even at the price of reducing opportunity for its children.

Is anyone speaking for the next generation? At the national level, Democrats have condemned Bush's deficits and highlighted the costs of his tax cut. But they've undercut their credibility by repeatedly demanding more spending on their favorite causes; it's telling that the principal criticism from Democrats about the new Medicare bill is that it doesn't spend enough to subsidize drugs for seniors.

Most Republicans are apparently hoping they can make these deficits disappear by ignoring or discounting them; the noble exceptions are a handful of true fiscal conservatives like Sens. John McCain (R-Ariz.) and Charles Hagel (R-Neb.). "There is a larger point to all of this," Hagel lamented after the Senate approved the Medicare bill last week. "Who is looking out for the future of the country?"

It's unrealistic to expect too many legislators to take that long view. Budget discipline is as much an unnatural act for Congress as refusing campaign contributions; for legislators, the long run is always the next election. Only a determined president can prevent Washington from spending more than it is willing to collect in taxes. But Bush has led the U-turn from the policies that produced surpluses for the three years immediately before he arrived.

The best case against Bush's budget policies comes from the arguments he's made for his national security strategy. Bush often defends his vision of preemptive defense by insisting America must confront tough problems now so future generations won't face them down the road. Yet in his budget, Bush is creating enormous problems for future generations by avoiding tough choices today.

By slashing taxes while he increases spending, Bush is governing as if he is in the Matrix, where the laws of gravity don't apply. But here in the real world, what goes up still comes down, which means kids too young to protest today will pay dearly tomorrow for the massive debts Bush is charging to their future.

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Ronald Brownstein's column appears every Monday. See current and past Brownstein columns on The Times' Web site at www.latimes.com/brownstein.

LOAD-DATE: December 1, 2003

Document 1 of 8 [next](#) ►