

# FOIA Marker

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Records Management, White House Office of

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

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
W	11	4	3	1	9711	22574	10793	10735

Folder Title:

536041

# Withdrawn/Redacted Material

## The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Email	FW: Homeland Briefings/Battles [page 1] - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	07/16/2003	P6/b6;
002	Memorandum	Jubilee of Pope John Paul II - To: Steve Hadley - From: Karl Rove	1	07/02/2003	P2; P5; P6/b6;
003	Memorandum	United States Delegation to the Jubilee of the Holy Father... - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein, et al.	1	06/23/2003	P5;
004	List	U.S. Delegation to the Vatican Recommendations	10	N.D.	P2; P5; P6/b6;
005	Letter	[Letter with attachment] - To: Karl Rove	3	02/18/2002	P2; P6/b6;
006	Spreadsheet	Call Sheet	3	N.D.	P5; P6/b6;

**COLLECTION TITLE:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

**Deed of Gift Restrictions**

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

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

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
007	Email	Flowers - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Susan Ralston	1	07/17/2003	PRM;
008	Report	Apple Puts the Eye in IM [page 3]	1	07/21/2003	P6/b6;
009	Memorandum	Lewis and Clark Project Funding Options - To: Joel Kaplan - From: Marcus Peacock	2	N.D.	P5;
010	Email	PLEASE MAKE SURE KARL SEES THIS - To: Karl Rove - From: Ken Mehlman	1	06/20/2003	b7e; b7f;
011	Briefing	Drop By with Senators Inhofe and Voinovich on Clear Skies	3	07/16/2003	P5;
012	Email	Gov. Foster LA Sugar Response - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Ruben Barrales	1	07/16/2003	P5;

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
013	Memorandum	Employer-Sponsored Prescription Drug Coverage - To: Karl Rove - From: Doug Badger	2	07/11/2003	P5;
014	Memorandum	Employer-Sponsored Prescription Drug Coverage - To: Karl Rove - From: Doug Badger	2	07/11/2003	P5;
015	Email	Fw: [Fwd: First Lady] - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	2	07/15/2003	P5; P6/b6;
016	Resume	David C. Beckwith [page 1]	1	N.D.	P6/b6;
017	Email	Heads Up - To: Susan Ralston - From: Bob Thompson	1	07/09/2003	P5;
018	Memorandum	Employer-Sponsored Prescription Drug Coverage - To: Karl Rove - From: Doug Badger	2	07/11/2003	P5;

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019	Memorandum	Employer-Sponsored Prescription Drug Coverage - To: Karl Rove - From: Doug Badger	2	07/11/2003	P5;
020	Memorandum	August Busch III - To: Karl Rove - From: William Timmons	1	07/11/2003	P6/b6;
021	Letter	[Autograph Request] - To: Karl Rove - From: Steve McDowell	1	07/09/2003	P6/b6;
022	Fax Cover Sheet	Fax Transmittal - To: Karl Rove - From: John Sullivan	1	07/11/2003	P6/b6;
023	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: John Sullivan	1	07/11/2003	P6/b6;
024	Schedule	[Intern Schedule - page 1]	1	07/11/2003	P6/b6;

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025	Email	White House Innovation Summit, PCAST - To: Karl Rove - From: Steve Papermaster	1	06/13/2003	P5; P6/b6;
026	Email	Akron Beacon Journal - Alex Arshinkoff... - To: Matthew Schlapp, et al. - From: Scott Stanzel	1	06/12/2003	P5;
027	Memorandum	Meeting with John Tyson - To: Karl Rove - From: Marc Lampkin	1	06/18/2003	P6/b6;
028	Report	Thoughts from Barry Jackson	1	N.D.	P5;
029	Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet] - To: BJ Goergen - From: Mike Meece	1	06/13/2003	P6/b6;
030	Fax Cover Sheet	Pitney Bowes Management Services - To: Mike Meece - From: Margaret Garibes	1	06/13/2003	P6/b6;

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031	Memorandum	Class Action Calls - To: Karl Rove - From: Mike Meece	1	06/19/2003	P5;
032	Email	Fw: Thinking Through the Medicare Conference - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	06/17/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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**SERIES:**

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**Ralston, Susan B.**

Dun B.  
DHS - Susan Neely

~~D. Holdy~~

53604 #

**From:** Karl Rove [kr@georgewbush.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, July 16, 2003 3:23 PM  
**To:** Ralston, Susan B.  
**Cc:** Ed Gillespie  
**Subject:** FW: Homeland Briefings/Battles

----- Forwarded Message

**From:** "thc" [redacted] (b)(6)  
**Date:** Wed, 16 Jul 2003 12:09:45 -0400  
**To:** "Karl Rove" <kr@georgewbush.com>  
**Subject:** Homeland Briefings/Battles

Karl,

Feel free to disseminate this in any way.

I attended what was billed as a "Homeland Security Briefing" in Memphis. Harold Ford was the sponsor.

Attended by about 50 opinion makers -- mayors, chiefs, hospitals, industry, law enforcement.

Ford handed out the CFR "woefully unprepared" document.

Ford specifically criticized the tax cuts as putting us at "risk".

Said DHS "process" is "not adequately described by the administration."

Said there was "growing unease" with the process. Said he opposed DHS from the beginning.

Critical of ODP specifically. Said he may bring them to Memphis for explanations.

Chief Deputy Marshall for Western District brought up the budget/six months behind/hurtful to process. Ford pounced on that as reason to be more critical.

State Homeland Security Director for Bredesen was somewhat critical. Said feds were slow. Contradicted himself on whether money had come down yet or not. I strongly suspect states are sitting on this grant money letting it draw interest because of the shortfalls.

The intended message is that nobody knows where the money is, and that it's the

administration's fault.

Should you ever need to say that Dems are politicizing Homeland Security, this is an extreme example of it. I had a rep from USMS with me, so there is a more credible witness than myself. I also suspect some of the chiefs there would be willing to comment off the record. Some appeared disgusted.

There were also FOUR TV cameras there. No one defended the administration. I couldn't, because I was there for information analysis/intelligence purposes for the chairman of the city council. But someone should have. I suspect Ford is an extreme example, but his remarks may be some indicator of what the Dems will be saying.

I'm happy to do anything I can to help with this, other briefings, try to get talking points into the hands of someone who can speak up, etc. Whatever you need.

I hope this is helpful. If there's someone else you prefer I send stuff like this to, I'll be glad to. You are my only contact at this point.

tommy

----- End of Forwarded Message

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/17/03

To: Keith Hennessey  
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: \_\_\_\_\_

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

53604  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/17/03

To: Barry  
From: Strategic Initiatives (Karl)

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

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

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

From: Bob Novak  
XC: KH - Full  
BJackson

**Sign-on letter to Sens. Allen and Corzine, Reps. Reynolds and Matsui:**

**Circulated by Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC), Rep. Charlie Stenholm (D-TX) and Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ)**

We believe that strengthening Social Security is one of our most important domestic policy priorities. The long-term financial outlook of Social Security is deteriorating and, absent structural reforms, it will impose an unsustainable financial burden on today's workers and future generations.

The white-hot rhetoric surrounding Social Security modernization is creating an environment that punishes those who discuss reform options openly and honestly. The American people deserve a modernized Social Security system that provides true retirement security for all Americans, while reducing the pressure on future taxpayers and on other budgetary priorities.

This goal will only be achieved if we make a commitment to discuss the need for Social Security reform candidly. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case. Social Security has often been used as a weapon to achieve short term political goals. 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.

To this end, we pledge to defend candidates – Republican or Democrat – who support Social Security modernization and are willing to make tough choices to address the fiscal challenges facing Social Security. We will no longer turn a blind eye to political attack ads that accuse responsible reform advocates of wanting to dismantle Social Security or slash benefits of current retirees. These attacks are untruthful and poison the bipartisan cooperation that will be required to enact the necessary reforms.

In 2000, then-candidate Bush said, "Too many times, Social Security has been demagogued to frighten the elderly for political advantage. Too many candidates have traded on the problems of the system instead of correcting them, shoving them off for others to handle – to some future generation, some other president and some other Congress."

We agree. It is time for this Congress and this President to solve the problems plaguing Social Security. Inaction is no longer an option. The longer we wait to tackle the necessary reforms, the harder the task becomes.

Although we all come from different political backgrounds and ideologies, and we have different ideas on how to modernize Social Security, we are proud to stand together in this effort to address Social Security and we encourage others to join us.

536040

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/17/03

Date: 7/17/03

To: Dan Bartlett

To: Karen Hughes

From: Strategic Initiatives

From: Strategic Initiatives

Karl Rove

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

- FYI
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Comments: \_\_\_\_\_

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

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Don  
Kover  
Hughes  
Fy)  
Reading

Karl:

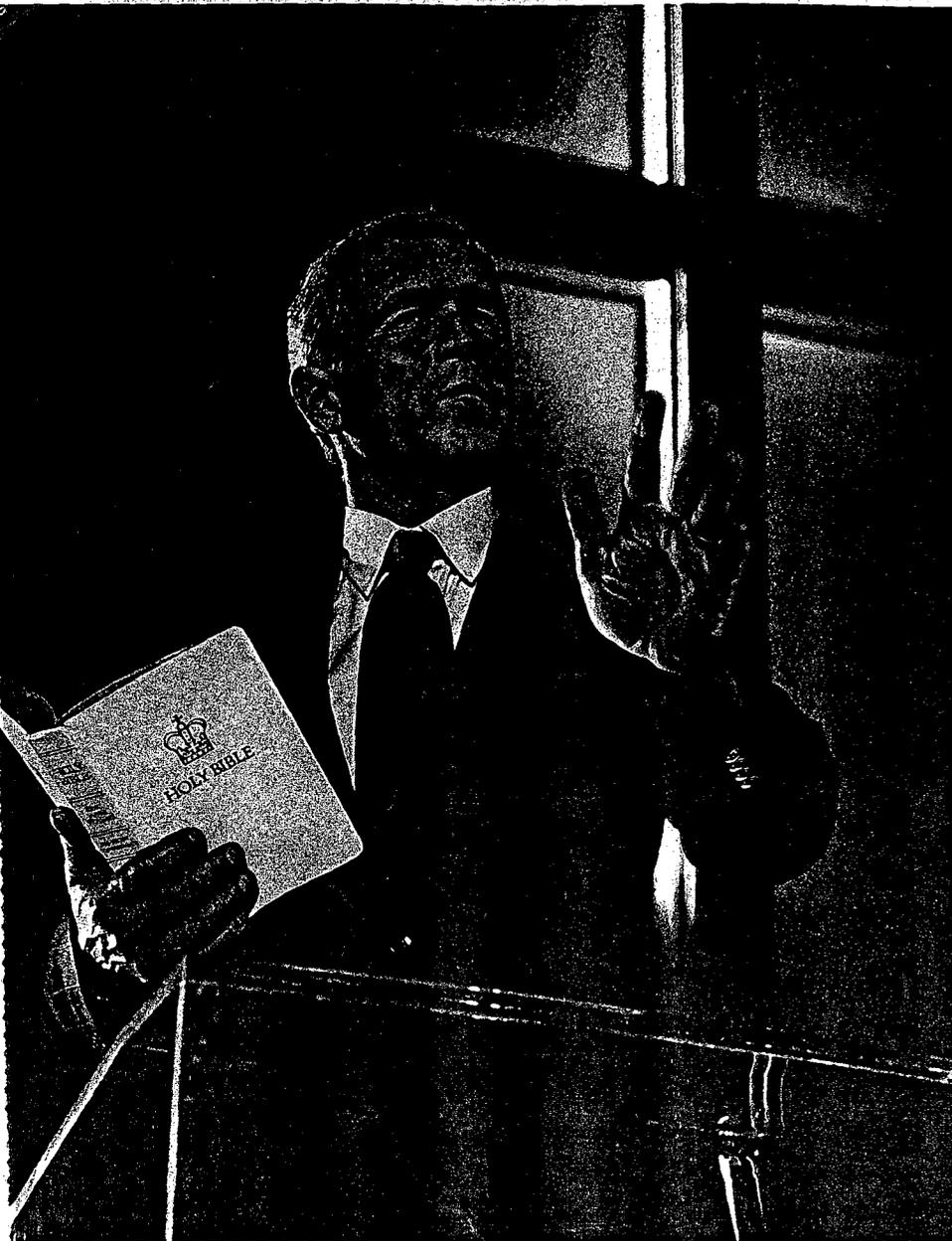
Given the topic ("God and George W. Bush"), the writer (Christopher Hitchens, a devoted and vocal atheist), and the publication (Vanity Fair), I think this piece turned out okay.

Pete

Susan

discuss

well



**ONE PRESIDENT UNDER GOD**  
George W. Bush's deep religious belief has resulted in a "faith-based initiative," among other questionable policies.

I am a strict constructionist and a firm believer in original intent. This is why I believe that the Pledge of Allegiance, in its current phrasing, is two words too long. The superfluous words—"under God"—were inserted during a jittery McCarthy-era moment in 1954, and after President Eisenhower had been unduly impressed by a preacher. The same preacher sermonized that the pledge, in its form as then recited, could be uttered by any schoolchild in Moscow. Quick remedial action was required, and so it was determined that the rhythm and harmony of the pledge, along with its main point, should be ruined by a crude editorial insertion.

Francis Bellamy, the former Baptist minister and Christian socialist who wrote the original pledge, was looking for a form of words that would be genuinely "inclusive." At the time he did this, in 1892, children in the South were still watching Civil War veterans swear allegiance to the Confederate flag, and in the North there was much Protestant bigotry against Catholic immigration. Thus, reasoned Bellamy, it was necessary to have a civic and secular patriotism, based upon the idea of "liberty and justice for all." That simple notion

managed to get the country's children through two World Wars before it was trashed. Now the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in California has upheld a complaint brought by an atheist parent. So we'll soon see the Supreme Court debating something apparently trivial but actually essential. How stands the "wall of separation" between church and state, in a country locked in furious battle with armed and dangerous theocrats?

Over at the Department of Justice, Attorney General John Ashcroft is in righteous mode and prepared for spiritual warfare. You might think that he would be too busy pursuing the god-inflamed and god-intoxicated enemies of the Republic, but he's taking time out to keep the pledge the way it is: a standing insult to secular Americans. After the appellate court voted 2-1 to find the current wording of the pledge unconstitutional, he swore that his department would "spare no effort to preserve the rights of all our citizens to pledge allegiance to the American flag." This is the intellectual equivalent of saying that the Constitution upholds the right of all Americans to worship Santa Claus in their own way. But then, Mr. Ashcroft has also made another famous statement, telling his audience that "America has been different. We have no king but Jesus." This proclamation is also two words too long. We have no king at all, and we have no state church, or official religion, and that's that. It's also supposed to be

## GOD AND MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE

The Supreme Court will soon consider the 1954 addition to the Pledge of Allegiance of two short words: "under God." The Bush administration has sworn to keep them there. What is happening to the wall separating church and state—the key distinction between America and the fundamentalists it is fighting?

AND  
PHO

the essential difference between ourselves and the homicidal fundamentalists.

Ashcroft was not attorney general when he made this stupid remark in 1999, while accepting an "honorary degree" from Bob Jones University. (A full degree from that historically racist and sectarian sink of ignorance would hardly count higher.) And George Bush was not president when he was asked to name his favorite political philosopher during a candidates' debate in 1999, and modestly nominated Jesus Christ. As it happens, the two favorite "political philosophers" of the American right are Leo Strauss, an agnostic, and Ayn Rand, a proud and determined atheist. But millions of people at home and abroad have now gotten hold of the idea that we have a fundamentalist and proselytizing administration, led by a born-again believer. How true is this charge?

To begin with the defense rather than the prosecution: Bush has not mentioned the name of Jesus, except when speaking to other Christians, since taking the oath of office. He only makes general invocations of the Almighty these days. It's understood that he privately asks himself, "What would Jesus do?," but there's no particular objection to that, since if he were not a Christian he would be the first president since Abraham Lincoln who did not make this claim. (Also, he clearly doesn't take the advice of his favorite "political philosopher," who generally counseled turning the other cheek.) It's true that the president employed the word "crusade" when speaking of the fight against al-Qaeda, but this word has only lately fallen under a ban of disapproval. Until very recently, every civil-rights activist in America would have described his or her movement as a crusade. Also, Bush only said it twice. And he more than balanced it by making several highly flattering remarks about the Muslim religion, going further in this respect than any of his predecessors and making a claim—that Islam is "a religion of peace"—which asks us to believe quite a lot, and which nobody living in an officially Muslim society could believe for a second.

Descending from the grand to the minuscule, the president has also told us on more than one occasion that he personally has been aided by a higher authority, and that he needed the help as much as he once needed a drink. The old choice—"It's me or Jack Daniel's, you asshole"—has been brusquely offered to many a gross Texan husband by many a pissed-off Texan wife, and there's no good reason to doubt that this story is just another version of the old, old one. Except that in Bush's case it worked. He really did choose

Jesus over the amber nectar. (Forcing myself to reflect on this choice has taken me into an area of ethereal responsibility well above my pay grade at this magazine.) Yet, not to be overly sarcastic about it, the decision did involve the future candidate in the first page-by-page, line-by-line scrutiny of any book that he had ever undertaken. As a result of a long, hard stint at "Community Bible Study," he is now as abstemious as any Muslim or strict Hindu or 1920s biblical-Protestant prohibitionist.

In a society half crazed by its own addiction to therapy and personal growth, there needn't be any great alarm about that either. Bush's marriage was saved, and his daughters and niece grew up to be barflies or prescription forgers, which shows that we are all at the mercy of heredity as well as of divine judgment. There is no final victory of good over evil. Did someone say evil? Yes, as a matter of fact, Bush did, on several occasions, adding the word "evildoers" to describe the perps themselves. I think that it's culturally shallow for liberals to assume, as they mainly do, that evil is a word only of reli-

## Bush has not mentioned the name of Jesus, except when speaking to other Christians, since taking the oath of office.

gious discourse. (Try "malefactor," for example, as a synonym for evildoer.) Hannah Arendt, an imperishable name among secular intellectuals, referred repeatedly in her analyses of genocidal Europe to the "evil-doer" Adolf Eichmann and to "radical evil" and "the banality of evil." This suggests, if we put it only briefly, that we do need a word for it. The president did not refer to an axis of sin, now did he?

Actually, his problem is more one of banality than it is of evil. Like that great Republican Dwight Eisenhower, he seems to believe that any "faith" is better than none. Eisenhower remarked rather gauchely that "our government makes no sense unless it is founded on a deeply-held religious belief—and I don't care what it is." With comparable naïveté, President Bush announced that Vladimir Putin was a fellow he could bond with because he carried a crucifix inherited from his mother and was a man of faith who could be looked in the eye, and that Turkey's new Islamist prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, was also a trusty believer in heaven's providence. Thus a cruel and shifty ex-lieutenant colonel in

the K.G.B. and a mediocre religious demagogue from Ankara both received a kiss of peace at the White House. (Both went on to watch coldly and to act cynically, after numerous Bush entreaties, as American forces took on Saddam Hussein more or less by themselves.)

The case for the defense now switches automatically to the case for the prosecution. If faith can lead to such god-awful pratfalls in foreign policy, what fresh hell might it not wreak on the domestic front? Here we find the president resorting to the softer language, not of faith but of the "faith-based," in order to imply that the federal government can and should take care of the rich, while the churches, mosques, synagogues, and cults can and should take care of the poor. To some extent this was inevitable, because the Clinton welfare policy had already dumped poor children off the rolls. But it was impressive to see how soon a doubt-based policy kicked in. Church-state relations, especially financial ones, are not a one-way street. The state should not, as our Constitution stipulates, have anything to

do with favoring religion in general, let alone any religion in particular. But neither should any religion—or all religion, for that matter—be tainted by association with the state. You cannot escape this dilemma by pretending to be neutral or indiscriminate. Do I want my taxpayer dollars to fund, say, a security detail in some housing project

that is run by Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam local recruits? Emphatically not. But how can Farrakhan himself justify taking money from a regime he regards as polluted and profane? And how can anyone justify the funding of a group such as Farrakhan's, which has, to put it squarely, discriminatory hiring practices? This is an extreme case, which did in fact come up, but it nonetheless illustrates all the other ones. The charitable instinct, or the prompting of compassion, is one thinkable defense of the religious mentality. But this is undermined and corrupted by definition if it solicits money that's already been compulsorily raised by law. There's no way around or through this contradiction, which is why the "faith-based initiative" was so eviscerated by the Senate this spring.

Embarrassed overseas and thwarted at home by his reliance on simplemindedness, Bush has resorted to a tactic of "signaling." In his speeches, and in some of his nominations and appointments, he lets the relevant constituencies know that he is on their side. He has two amazingly smart

allies in this process: Michael Gerson, his chief speechwriter, and Karl Rove, his senior adviser. Gerson is loosely describable as a Christian "evangelical," a term of art in the religion business that has no known definition. (Approximately speaking, an "evangelical" Christian is one who really believes this stuff and wants to share the good news.) Neither Gerson nor Rove has anything to do with "end time" or "pre-millennial" Christianity, and neither believes that an intense military tussle with Satan is soon to take place at Armageddon. This is an often circulated slander against them, and against Bush too. It obscures the picture rather than illuminating it. Bush had an Episcopalian boyhood, attended Presbyterian church when the family moved to Texas, and later joined his wife's United Methodist congregation. His "conversion" moment had nothing to do with any particular branch of Christianity and was complete long before he planned a political career.

But in 1994, as he was thinking about running for governor, he told a reporter from a Houston newspaper that you don't get to heaven if you don't believe in Jesus. The reporter was Jewish, and there was a minor flap. (Some Jews get upset when some Christians say there won't be a Christian-Jewish reunion in paradise. Other Jews, I have noticed, can manage to bear the idea.) Anyway, this crass remark probably helped secure a Bush base among true believers in the more brush-infested parts of Texas. He did much the same thing, running for president in 2000, when he made an emergency pit stop at—yes—Bob Jones University during a tough battle on the southern front with Senator John McCain. Since then, the signaling has become much more sophisticated, not to say refined, not to say more niche-marketed.

In his inaugural speech, written by Michael Gerson, Bush put the following question about America and destiny: "Do you not think an angel rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm?" That arresting image was, I think, first used by the 18th-century English poet and essayist Joseph Addison. But it was actually drawn in this case from a letter written by John Page, during the American Revolution, to the deistical skeptic Thomas Jefferson. The idea was as ecumenical as you could get.

Then, in his most recent State of the Union address, the president announced that there was "power, wonder-working power," in "the goodness and idealism and faith of the American people." The wording was corny enough—all presidents say something like that—but if you were an old-time gospel type you couldn't have failed to "get" the reference to a favorite

hymn, "There Is Power in the Blood," which says that there's "power, power, wonder-working power, in the precious blood of the lamb." This same "lamb," as we know, is the human sacrifice represented by Jesus. A similar "message" was sent in the very title of Bush's campaign biography. As you will all at once recall, this was *A Charge to Keep*—which derives from a famous hymn by Charles Wesley, brother of the founder of Methodism. It speaks of the duty "to serve the present age" and "to do my Master's will." But such hinting and indirection is imposed on the president, who must also try to please Catholic and Jewish and Muslim voters as well as a surprising number of secular ones, and who has—in Karl Rove—a polycentric and polymorphous organizer who got him most of the Muslim vote last time. Bush's appeal to Catholics, by way of statements on cloning, stem-cell research, and partial-birth abortion, completes this holy triangulation. As for the Jewish vote, still muted as a force in G.O.P. circles, that's perhaps why we hear, from time to time, that Ariel Sharon is "a man of peace" as well. (If religion is so goddamned peace-

## As a result of "Community Bible Study," Bush is now as abstemious as any Muslim or strict Hindu or 1920s biblical-Protestant prohibitionist.

ful, then why are we fighting zealots and fundamentalists on so many fronts?)

One provisional conclusion would be that Bush does better when speaking in devotional codes, or in the words of Michael Gerson, than he does when improvising for himself. (The gift of speaking in tongues has emphatically not yet descended upon him when he talks ad lib.) I have spoken to numerous thoughtful people who work or who have worked for Bush, none of whom wanted to be quoted, none of whom go to the same place of worship as he or as one another, and most of whom are more devout than he, who all agreed on one point. The president is neither a religious fanatic nor a man who just uses religious rhetoric as a cynical tactic. He takes his religion as a confirmation, or as a reinforcement. He doesn't think he's a prophet. He prefers to be a fatalist and to say that all is in God's hands. "It relieves him of the things of this world," one of them said. "It means he's less worried." Bush, in other words, could have made a very plausible Muslim, and why is this more of a stretch?—a fairly good Hasidic Jew.

America is a most religious country and has a most decidedly secular constitution. Only state secularism, after all, can guarantee religious pluralism. This is an easy paradox to grasp. Has Bush grasped it? He has appointed not just John Ashcroft but also Rod Paige. And he has nominated Dr. W. David Hager. Mr. Paige is secretary of education and appears to believe that in a future, ideal America the churches and not the government should be in charge of the instruction of the young. Dr. Hager, who is Bush's idea of an adviser to the F.D.A., is an opponent not just of abortion but also of contraception outside of marriage, and has been quoted as saying that women suffering pre-menstrual syndrome should turn to prayer and Bible reading. (If this man is wedded, I think Congress must subpoena his wife, or—if he should turn out to be from Utah—all his wives.) One of Bush's first presidential acts was to forbid federal funding for any group overseas that even gives advice on abortion. This is, by all reports, just the compassionate treatment that the African AIDS epidemic needs. And the foregoing implicitly raises

the very fraught question: If this is Bush's idea of a political nomination, what might his judicial nominations be like? (The current nightmare of the Democrats, and fund-raising tool for advocacy groups, is J. Leon Holmes, proposed for a district-court judge-

ship in Arkansas in spite of his expressed opinion that rape victims hardly ever get pregnant and thus won't be needing access to abortion.)

The wider picture might clarify a bit if Bush's critics did not also attack him in the name of god. During the prelude to the war against Saddam Hussein, a spokesman for Bush's own United Methodist Church was quoted in a bit of peace-loving propaganda as saying that such a conflict "violates God's law and the teachings of Jesus Christ." How the bishop could know this is quite beyond me. How the Pope presumed to say what Jesus would do is also quite beyond my power of surmise (I do know that it came as a huge shock to the White House to discover that it was *Christianity* that was the religion of peace). If religion is to be kept separate from politics, or at the very least separate from government, then everyone, including so-called liberation theologians and candidates running under the assumed title of "Reverend," must learn to contribute their own brick to the wall of separation. □

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Jubilee of Pope John Paul II - To: Steve Hadley - From: Karl Rove	1	07/02/2003	P2; P5; P6/b6;

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

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**FRC ID:**

9711

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	United States Delegation to the Jubilee of the Holy Father... - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein, et al.	1	06/23/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	U.S. Delegation to the Vatican Recommendations	10	N.D.	P2; P5; P6/b6;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter with attachment] - To: Karl Rove	3	02/18/2002	P2; P6/b6;

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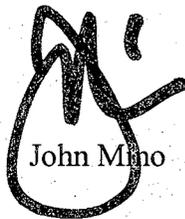
Mr. Karl Rove  
Senior Advisor to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20502-0001

Dear Mr. Rove:

Thank you for taking the time to meet with Alex Arshinkoff, Tom Wagner and me last week. We appreciated the opportunity to share our views on the state of the steel industry and put forth some considerations as the President shapes his steel policy in the coming weeks.

We were pleased to provide input on the legacy cost issue as well as bring to your attention the liquidity issues facing a substantial portion of the steel industry. Certainly, we are prepared to provide further input upon request.

Sincerely,



John Mino

cc: Thomas E. Wagner, Esq.

Alex Arshinkoff

1400 McDonald Investment Center 800 Superior Avenue Cleveland, Ohio 44114-2688 216/622-8200 Fax 216/241-0816

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Email	Flowers - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Susan Ralston	1	07/17/2003	PRM;

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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

F: Ken Mehlman

536041

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FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

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TO: Ken Mehlman	FROM: BJ Goergen for Karl Rove
COMPANY:	DATE: 7/17/2003
FAX NUMBER: 703-647-6996	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 3
PHONE NUMBER:	SENDER'S REFERENCE NUMBER: 202-456-2369
RE: Article	YOUR REFERENCE NUMBER:

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URGENT     FOR REVIEW     PLEASE COMMENT     PLEASE REPLY     PLEASE RECYCLE

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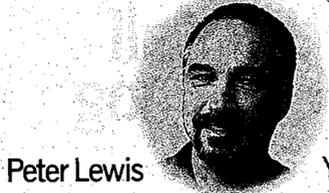
NOTES/COMMENTS:

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X6: Peter (front and back) and return

# tech

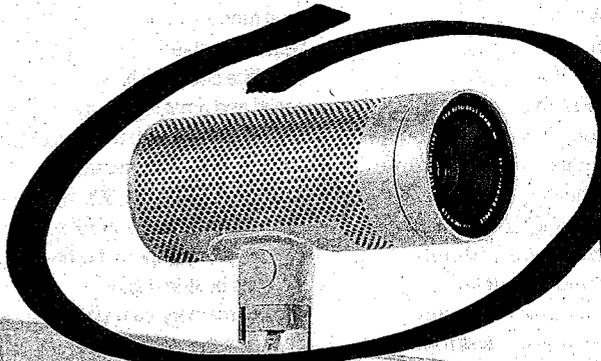


Peter Lewis

Your buddy

Feedback? [tech@fortunemail.com](mailto:tech@fortunemail.com)

# Apple puts the eye in IM

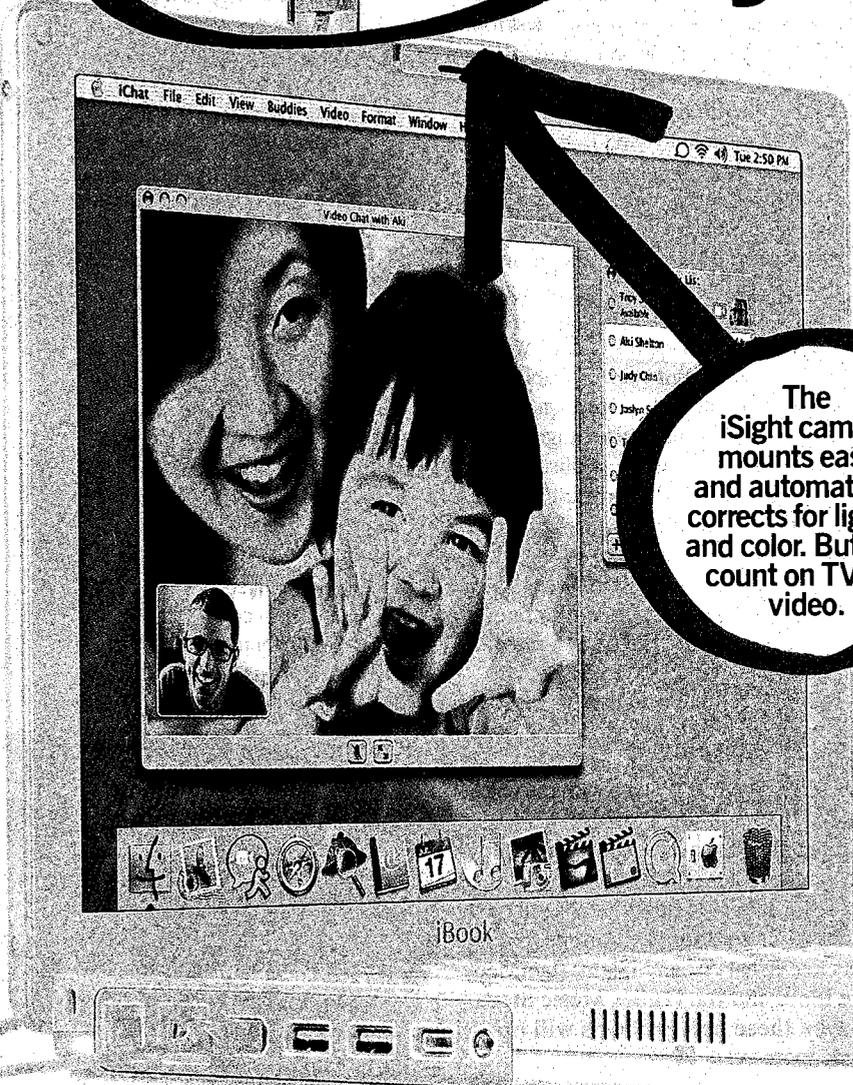


Crossing video with AOL Instant Messenger is a winner. Better start wearing clothes when working from home.

Video teleconferencing over the Internet isn't new. Just minutes after scientists discovered how to transmit two-way voice, video, and text streams between computers, sex-starved nerds were offering their credit card numbers to interactive peep-show services. Before long, travel-averse businesses started exploring Internet-based video teleconferencing. Even so, until now rigging a computer to act as a videophone generally has been more trouble than it's worth, with tiny, fuzzy pictures and walkie-talkie voice delays.

Apple is changing all that with software that makes Internet-based video chats cheap and simple, using the popular AOL Instant Messaging (AIM) and its own .Mac services. With the new iChat AV prototype software (free, for now) and an iSight digital web camera (\$149), a Mac

The iSight camera mounts easily, and automatically corrects for lighting and color. But don't count on TV-like video.



tech

With its iChat AV software, Apple has adopted the Milli Vanilli effect: synchronizing voice and video delays.



user with a high-speed connection can "call" home from a business trip, sympathize as his youngster shows off a skinned knee (or a new piercing), make goo-goo eyes or grouse with the spouse for an hour, and never pay a dime to the phone company.

Microsoft is cooking up something similar with its MSN Messenger version 6.0, now in testing. It's not as simple or satisfying as Apple's offering. Still, Windows outsells Apple's Mac OS X more than ten to one, so it's bound to expose more people to the idea of Internet-based video chat.

Once video chat is built into operating systems, as it soon will be, we're not going to be able to work at home in our underwear. Text-based chatting is phenomenally popular among young people and is poised to become a major new method of business communications. The addition of voice and video chat is a profound advance in the instant messaging medium.

But we're not there yet. Apple's "public beta" software and webcam both have rough edges. However, like almost all of Apple's recent products, they are elegantly designed and crafted to take advantage of Apple's control over both its operating system and hardware. The software will be included in the next major revision of Mac OS X, code-named Panther, which will go on sale before the end of the year for \$129. Those who balk at paying Apple \$129 every time it revises its OS will have the option of paying \$30 for iChat AV once it exits beta mode. Mac OS 9 users need not apply.

The iChat AV software allows Mac users to create "buddy lists," familiar to tens of millions of IM aficionados, which let you know if friends are online and able to chat via text, voice, or video. One catch: Your buddies must be on AOL's Instant Messenger service, which is free, or Apple's Mac service, which costs \$100 a year. Although AOL keeps promising to interconnect with users of MSN, Yahoo, and other IM providers, it has yet to

do so. (Disclaimer: AOL is FORTUNE's buddy in AOL Time Warner.)

Any webcam or digital videocamcorder will work with iChat AV as long as it has a high-speed FireWire connection, which is standard on all newer Macs. However, for sheer simplicity it's hard to beat the iSight color webcam. It's a lightweight cylinder 3.5 inches long and less than 1.5 inches in diameter, with a 50-millimeter autofocus lens and a built-in microphone. It's easily mountable on a notebook, a desktop monitor, or just a desktop.

Here's the installation procedure for setting up an iChat AV video chat: Download software. Plug in camera. Find a buddy. Click. If all goes well—and in my tests, it took some tinkering—a window pops open, and suddenly your Mac is a videophone. (One problem: Corporate firewalls almost always block video chats, meaning you'll likely be blindfolded and gagged on company networks.) Apple claims you'll see full-motion, TV-quality video. Maybe on their network. But over my cable modem and DSL lines, the picture quality of my buddies 1,500 miles away ranged from abstract to impressionist to realist.

The iSight camera is surprisingly good. It automatically corrects for lighting and color, and it's easy to place close to the screen, minimizing the *Taxi Driver* "You talkin' to me?" effect, where your buddy is looking at you on the screen instead of into the camera, and vice versa.

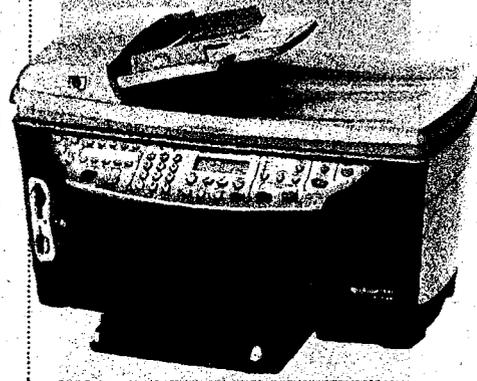
Talking is another matter. Voice over the Internet is subject to delays that can be disconcerting. Apple has figured out a way to lip-synch the video with the voice delays, though it's not perfect.

Apple's market share remains disproportionately small compared with the large impact it is having on the computer industry through innovative products like iChat AV and iSight, the iMac, the iPod, and the iTunes Music Store. Maybe these new products will open some more eyes. **E**

Foursome

## HP's do-it-all desk hog

HP's new OfficeJet 7130 All-in-One inkjet printer, flatbed color scanner, copier, and fax machine (\$499 street price, Windows and Mac OS) elevates multitasking to an art form. It's the best multifunction peripheral I've tested, capable of churning out office documents with speed and amazing clarity (legible text down to two-point size), as well as impressive color photos (up to 4,800 by 1,200 dots per inch on HP's top-line photo paper). It even includes built-in digital camera memory-card slots for printing without going through the computer. Paper handling is especially deft, with two-sided printing and copying on letter-sized documents, automatic collating, and a 50-sheet automatic document feeder. The step-up model 7140xi (\$700) is ideal for sharing, with an optional 250-sheet paper bin, bigger fax memory, and a network adapter. Downside: It hogs desk space like other flatbed multifunction printers, weighs 33 pounds, and though quiet, shakes when printing. And as usual, the USB printer cable is not included. Overall, though, this print-scan-copy-fax combo gets four thumbs up.



tech

# Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Lewis and Clark Project Funding Options - To: Joel Kaplan - From: Marcus Peacock	2	N.D.	P5;

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Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	PLEASE MAKE SURE KARL SEES THIS - To: Karl Rove - From: Ken Mehlman	1	06/20/2003	b7e; b7f;

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Goergen, Barbara J.

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F: Karl  
Briefings  
536041

From: Estes, John D.  
Sent: Wednesday, July 16, 2003 10:27 AM  
To: Goergen, Barbara J.  
Subject: Briefing



DropbyVoinovichInh  
ofeonClearSk...

Talking points I still differ to Barry.

Thanks, JD

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Briefing	Drop By with Senators Inhofe and Voinovich on Clear Skies	3	07/16/2003	P5;

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536041

Date: 7/16/03

To: Ruben Dornal

From: Strategic Initiatives BJ Grogan

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

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

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## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Gov. Foster LA Sugar Response - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Ruben Barrales	1	07/16/2003	P5;

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2018-0011-P

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M. J. "MIKE" FOSTER, JR.  
GOVERNOR

## State of Louisiana

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Baton Rouge

70804-9004

POST OFFICE BOX 94004  
(225) 342-7015

**VIA FACSIMILE AND USPS**

July 8, 2003

The Honorable Karl Rove  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Karl:

Attached for your review is a letter to the President regarding the administration's free trade policies as they relate to the sugar industry.

As I mentioned in my letter to the President, the sugar industry is a vocal, powerful and important element of Louisiana's economic and political landscape. As you recall, the concerns brought up by the sugar farmers in the recent U.S. Senate race in Louisiana were a point of contention which I believe not only influenced the outcome, but decided the race in favor of the Democratic candidate.

I truly and emphatically believe that this issue will again be a key factor in the governor's race in Louisiana in October, and ultimately could move Louisiana from a Republican state to the Democratic camp next year.

Karl, I am not sounding a false alarm or trying to use some scare tactic to get your and the President's attention. The administration's position on free trade and its effects on the sugar industry can and will, in my opinion, prove to be detrimental to the GOP and our chances of securing a Republican predecessor to my office, and could greatly erode the overwhelming support from Louisiana's citizens which the President has thus far enjoyed.

Please call me to discuss this matter so that I can personally give you the political landscape and my thoughts on this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mike".

M. J. "Mike" Foster, Jr.

jdm



M. J. "MIKE" FOSTER, JR.  
GOVERNOR

## State of Louisiana

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

Baton Rouge

70804-9004

POST OFFICE BOX 94004  
(225) 342-7015

**VIA FACSIMILE AND USPS**

July 8, 2003

The President  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

~~Chief~~  
Dear Mr. President:

It is with great concern that I ask for your assistance in a matter of potentially drastic economic magnitude for Louisiana, and for a significant part of the nation's farming industry. The matter about which I write is your administration's policy which would require all negotiated free trade agreements to be all-inclusive for agricultural commodities. I write to you directly as to this matter because the policy issue is on a fast track, and there is insufficient time within which Louisiana's congressional delegation may act.

The Louisiana sugar industry has been a very important economic engine in this state for over 200 years. Sugar cane is the number-one row crop in Louisiana and is produced in 25 of the 64 parishes (39% of the parishes). There are approximately 29,000 people in Louisiana whose livelihood is directly tied to this historic and efficient industry. The state's fiscal well being is anchored by agriculture, as this state ranks fourth in the nation in agricultural commodity production. The sugar industry cultivates approximately 500,000 acres annually. Just imagine that amount of land reverting back to non-productive pasture or open land. The tax base of each parish would be decimated, and the banks that finance the farmers, sugar millers, refiners and vendors for this great industry will topple like dominos.

The purpose of this letter is to ask that you direct your trade representative to exempt all sugar from the bilateral trade agreements which your administration is currently negotiating. There are currently many well known exemptions in all free trade agreements around the world. The exemption for sugar does not set any new precedent, nor is it a new exemption in free trade agreements. As a point of reference, Canada opted out of NAFTA with respect to sugar, and all of the South American, Mexican and Central American present free trade agreements do the same. The United States and Mexico are the only two countries that have sugar included in NAFTA. To be left out is what the United States and Louisiana sugar industry wanted in the original NAFTA agreement, but that request was not granted. As you are aware, in spite of a negotiated side letter on sugar insisted upon by Congress, the matter has caused many years of unsettled disputes between our country and Mexico, and negotiations over the matter seem endless.

Mr. President  
Page 2  
July 8, 2003

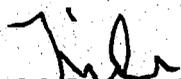
The Louisiana sugar industry and the other states involved in its production support free trade, but none of the United States sugar industries can survive competition subsidized by foreign governments. These industries are only asking to be allowed to sit at the international table, at the World Trade Organization level, with all sugar-producing countries in multilateral negotiations. At such time, all countries would negotiate the abolishment of trade distorting policies, and all nations would be required to abandon support mechanisms for sugar, which all other nations now have. In this manner, no nation would gain an undue advantage. The Louisiana sugar industry has survived only because of imaginative innovations implemented over the years of its existence. Because Louisiana and the remaining United States sugar industries are efficient producers of sugar by all world standards, such efficiency would allow United States producers to have the opportunity to compete in a free market. That is what I truly believe all Americans desire. It is entirely inappropriate to deprive the Louisiana sugar industry and the remaining United States sugar industries of the opportunity to compete fairly in the world market.

During the U.S. Senate election in Louisiana, the issue of sugar arose in the waning weeks and the failure of your administration to address the issue caused the Republican front runner to lose the election. I also look at your election and I see all of the rural, "red", agricultural states that were responsible for your victory. To ignore the request of these good Americans who have billions of dollars collectively invested, and whose only wish is to be given the opportunity to compete in a free world market, is not a fair response on the part of your administration.

I may not be the most astute politician, but I can assure you that this industry's downfall, because of a few in your administration who won't listen or haven't learned from past experiences, could very easily put Louisiana in the Democratic "blue" states column, for not only the Presidential election, but for some of the seats presently held in the House by Republicans. Please know, too, that sugar producers are not the only agricultural commodity producers asking for an exemption. I sincerely hope that you will seriously consider the exemptions these other producers seek. They are simply asking for the right to be allowed to remain in business so that they will have the opportunity to fairly compete in a free world market.

The rugged conservative American farmer has always been the backbone of the Republican Party. That rugged individualist has certainly demonstrated unfailing support for you. Remember, the Democrats will never forsake labor, or the Hollywood gang. Please don't let the Republican Party forsake the American farmer. I trust you will accept my suggestions in the spirit intended, and I hope that you will direct your administration to respond to this crisis in a positive manner, for the good of this country and our party.

Sincerely,

  
M. J. "Mike" Foster, Jr.

Date: 7/16

To: Barry

From: Strategic Initiatives Susan

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

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## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Employer-Sponsored Prescription Drug Coverage - To: Karl Rove - From: Doug Badger	2	07/11/2003	P5;

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## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Employer-Sponsored Prescription Drug Coverage - To: Karl Rove - From: Doug Badger	2	07/11/2003	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:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) 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.**

536041

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/16/03

To: Tim Goeglein  
From: Strategic Initiatives Karl

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

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

Copies - Director (TG)  
- Ken M.

## THE PRESIDENT'S 16 PENDING NOMINEES TO THE U.S. COURTS OF APPEALS SHOULD RECEIVE PROMPT SENATE CONFIRMATION

**America continues to face a judicial vacancy crisis in the federal courts of appeals.**

- The U.S. Courts of Appeals are 11% vacant, with 18 vacancies out of 167 authorized seats in the 12 regional appeals courts.
- The Sixth Circuit (Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee) has 4 vacancies on a 16-judge court, and the D.C. Circuit has 3 vacancies on a 12-judge court.
- Caseloads in the federal courts continue to grow dramatically. Filings in the federal appeals courts reached an all-time high again last year.
- The Chief Justice recently warned that the current number of vacancies, combined with the rising caseloads, threatens the proper functioning of the federal courts. He asked the Senate to provide every nominee a prompt up-or-down vote.
- The Secretary of the Judicial Conference stated in 2002 that the shortage of judges is "staggering," and the American Bar Association called the situation an "emergency."

**President Bush has submitted 42 nominees for the federal appeals courts, and 16 of them are still pending before the Senate. President Bush's 16 pending appeals court nominees have been subjected to extraordinary and unprecedented delays. They deserve up-or-down Senate votes as soon as possible.**

- Of the 16 pending nominees, 8 were nominated in 2001 and have had to wait two years for Senate votes. Indeed, 3 of the President's 11 original nominees from May 9, 2001, still await Senate votes (Estrada, Boyle, and Owen).
- A recent study by independent judicial historian Sheldon Goldman concluded that the Senate under Democrat control in 2001-02 was the worst Senate ever in obstructing and delaying appeals court nominees.
- More appeals court nominees have had to wait over a year for a hearing in President Bush's Presidency than in the last 50 years combined.
- In the first two years of the Presidency, only 53% of the President's appeals court nominees received votes, compared to more than 90% during the first two years of the past three Presidents.
- The delays have occurred despite the crisis in the appeals courts. Of the 16 pending nominees, 12 have been nominated to fill seats classified as "judicial emergencies" by the Judicial Conference of the United States.

- In recent months, Democrat Senators have filibustered Miguel Estrada to prevent an up-or-down Senate vote even though he has bipartisan support of a majority of the Senate. They have sought memos never before sought from the Department of Justice for an appeals court nominee. And they have forced Estrada to answer questions about his personal views that past nominees have not been required to answer.
- Some Democrats are now filibustering Priscilla Owen, not because they do not know enough, but because they differ with her alleged philosophy. This ideological use of the filibuster is unprecedented.
- Senate Democrats are threatening to filibuster several other appeals court nominees, including Charles Pickering, Carolyn Kuhl, and Bill Pryor. All three are well-qualified and well-respected by Republicans and Democrats in their home States.
- This is an extraordinary escalation of the obstruction and bitterness that President Bush has sought to permanently overcome. There has never before been a successful filibuster to prevent an up-or-down floor vote on an appeals court nominee.

**The delays on consideration of nominees create two major problems for American justice.**

- First, the Senate delays prevent vacancies from being filled, which means that courts are overloaded and cannot ensure prompt and fair justice.
- Second, the delays and obstruction deter good people from being willing to serve on the bench because they cannot or will not put their lives and careers on hold for years.
- These two effects combine to greatly diminish the quality of justice Americans receive from the federal courts.

**The President has proposed a commonsense plan that will end the vacancy crisis and ensure an orderly and predictable judicial appointments process, no matter who is President or which party controls the Senate.**

- The President has proposed a plan in which judges provide at least one-year notice before retirement, Presidents submit nominations within 180 days of learning of a possible vacancy, and the Senate holds a hearing within 90 days of a nomination and holds an up-or-down vote within 180 days of a nomination. This plan should apply now and in the future, no matter who is President or which party controls the Senate.
- The President's plan ensures (i) that a new judge is ready to take office at or near the time that a current judge actually retires, (ii) that the Senate has ample time to evaluate nominees, and (iii) that all Senators have their voices heard and votes counted.
- The President's plan is consistent with and builds upon recommendations of the Chief Justice, the American Bar Association, and independent outside groups -- as well as statements on multiple occasions in 2000 by Senator Leahy in which he expressly agreed

with then-Governor Bush that every judicial nominee is entitled to a timely up-or-down Senate vote. The 2002 ABA report stated the basic principle: "Vote them or down, but don't hang them out to dry."

- Two of the three Branches have acted on the President's plan. The Judicial Conference of the United States adopted the President's proposal for advance notice by judges, and President Bush issued an executive order ensuring timely nominations by Presidents.

**President Bush's 16 pending appeals court nominees are highly qualified and respected individuals of experience, intellect, character, and bipartisan support.**

- Of the 16 pending nominees, 10 have served as judges (including 1 on a state supreme court, 3 on federal district courts, and 6 on state lower courts). Of the 6 remaining nominees, 2 have served in high-ranking positions in the U.S. Department of Justice, 2 as state attorneys general, 1 as Deputy Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services for President Bush, and 1 as Solicitor of the Department of Interior.
- All of the nominees who have been rated have received "well-qualified" or "qualified" ratings from the American Bar Association, which Democrat Senators Leahy and Schumer have referred to as the "gold standard."

**The 8 appeals court nominees who have been waiting since 2001 for a vote are:**

- **Miguel Estrada**, nominee to the D.C. Circuit, has argued 15 cases before the U.S. Supreme Court and has worked as a federal prosecutor, Assistant U.S. Solicitor General, and Supreme Court law clerk for Justice Kennedy. Estrada came to America as a teenager who spoke virtually no English, and if confirmed would be the first Hispanic to serve on the D.C. Circuit. He represented a capital defendant pro bono before the Supreme Court. He is supported by prominent Democrat lawyers such as Seth Waxman and Ron Klain and received a unanimous well-qualified ABA rating.
- **Judge Terrence Boyle**, nominee to the 4th Circuit (North Carolina), was unanimously confirmed to be a federal district judge in 1984 and has served with distinction since, now as Chief Judge. Judge Boyle has been appointed twice by Chief Justice Rehnquist to serve on Judicial Conference committees and has sat by designation on the Fourth Circuit. The former chairman of the state Democratic Party supports Judge Boyle's nomination, stating that he gives everyone "a fair trial."
- **Justice Priscilla Owen**, nominee to the 5th Circuit (Texas), has served on the Texas Supreme Court since 1994. In her successful reelection bid in 2000, every major newspaper in Texas endorsed her. She is supported by a bipartisan group of 15 past Presidents of the state bar, 3 former Democrat Justices of the Texas Supreme Court, and the former head of Legal Aid of Central Texas. She received a unanimous well-qualified ABA rating.

- **Judge Charles Pickering**, nominee to the 5th Circuit (Mississippi), was unanimously confirmed to be a federal district judge in 1990. He was rated well-qualified by the ABA. He has a long record of advancing race relations in Mississippi: investigating and prosecuting the KKK in the 1960's, sending his daughters to newly integrated public schools, hiring the first African-American staffer for the state party in 1976, representing African-Americans in private practice, chairing a Jones County committee on racial progress, and serving on the board of the Mississippi Institute for Racial Reconciliation. He is strongly supported by local African-Americans and Democrats, including Democrat Governor Musgrove, Attorney General Moore, and former Clinton Administration Assistant Attorney General Frank Hunger, as well as Sixth Circuit Judge Damon Keith and U.S. District Judge Henry Wingate.
- **Judge David McKeague**, nominee to the 6th Circuit (Michigan), was unanimously confirmed by the Senate to be a federal district judge in 1992. He served in private practice for 25 years before that and is widely respected for his intellect and integrity. He received a well-qualified ABA rating.
- **Judge Susan Neilson**, nominee to the 6th Circuit (Michigan), has been a judge on the Michigan 3rd Judicial Circuit Court since 1991. She has more than 10 years of experience in private practice and was co-editor and author of Michigan Civil Procedure, a two-volume treatise on all areas of Michigan civil practice that received an award from the State Bar of Michigan. Judge Neilson is also active in numerous community service organizations. She received a unanimous well-qualified ABA rating.
- **Judge Henry Saad**, nominee to the 6th Circuit (Michigan), has served since 1994 on the Michigan Court of Appeals. In his re-election, he received broad bipartisan support, including endorsements from the Michigan Chamber of Commerce and the UAW. Since 1996, Judge Saad has taught legal ethics at Wayne State University Law School. He received the Arab-American and Chaldean Council Civic and Humanitarian Award for Outstanding Dedication to Serving the Community with Compassion and Understanding in 1995. He received a qualified ABA rating.
- **Judge Carolyn Kuhl**, nominee to the 9th Circuit (California), currently serves as a state trial judge on the Superior Court in California. She clerked for then-Judge Anthony Kennedy on the 9th Circuit, worked as an adviser to Attorney General Smith, and served as Deputy Solicitor General of the United States. She then became a partner at a leading Los Angeles law firm. She is supported by prominent Democrats such as Vilma Martinez, former President of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and Ron Olson, as well as a bipartisan group of 23 women judges on the Los Angeles Superior Court. She received a well-qualified ABA rating.

**Another nominee who has been deemed "controversial" by interest groups is:**

- **Bill Pryor**, nominee to the 11th Circuit (Alabama), currently serves as Alabama Attorney General. He has earned great respect for his integrity and fairness as Alabama Attorney General. He is supported by prominent Democrats and African-American in Alabama,

including former Democrat Governor Siegelman and Dr. Joe Reed, chair of the state's African-American caucus. He began his career as a law clerk for civil rights legend, Judge John Minor Wisdom. He received a qualified ABA rating. Some interest groups are opposing him because he is pro-life.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE 536041  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/16/03

Date: 7/16/03

To: Dan Bartlett

From: Strategic Initiatives

Karl

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: Israel Hernandez

From: Strategic Initiatives

Karl

FYI

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Other

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

xc. DBartlett  
1724

**Rove, Karl C.**

---

**From:** Bishop, Nina [NBishop@pd.state.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, July 11, 2003 4:31 PM  
**To:** Rove, Karl C.  
**Subject:** Iraqi Archers

Howdy Karl,

Did you read Al Kamien today in the Post? Good news about Iraqi archers? I successfully brought 11 (maybe 12) Iraqis out of Baghdad to NYC to compete in the Archery qualifiers for the Olympics. Three of them are women. It was an amazing effort that started in May with Don Eberly in Baghdad and me at State. Homeland pitched in to help with the clearance process.

Mustafa is their leader, he wrote this in an e-mail to me.

"And for my self i would like to meet Mr.Bush andf thank him for the freedom of Iraq .  
May be it is too much to ask, but this how i feal.  
Thank you Nina and wish to see you soon."

They will be in D.C. for 3/4 days July 21-23/24.  
Abel is working with me to see if the President will meet with them. They are so thankful for their freedom and they are all native Iraqis.

Nina

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

536041

Date: 7/16/03

To: *Israel Hernandez*

From: **Strategic Initiatives**

FYI *Karl*

Appropriate Action

Direct Response

Prepare Response For My Signature

Per Our Conversation

Let's Discuss

Per Your Request

Please Return

Deadline

Other

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

\_\_\_\_\_  
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# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: [Fwd: First Lady] - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	2	07/15/2003	P5; P6/b6;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.  
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cc. DBattlett  
12/24

**Rove, Karl C.**

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Nina

*F: Americorps  
Racicot 536041*

**Goergen, Barbara J.**

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**From:** BJ Goergen [BGoergen@georgewbush.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 15, 2003 10:18 AM  
**To:** Goergen, Barbara J.  
**Subject:** FW: Americorps

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

**From:** Karl Rove [mailto:KR@georgewbush.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, July 15, 2003 10:16 AM  
**To:** BJ Goergen  
**Subject:** FW: Americorps

----- Forwarded Message

**From:** "MRacicot - Bracepatt" <MRacicot@bracepatt.com>  
**Date:** Tue, 15 Jul 2003 08:20:35 -0400  
**To:** "Karl Rove" <kr@georgewbush.com>  
**Subject:** Americorps

Karl:

I believe you should know the following if you don't already because I believe the intensity of feeling continues to mount.

As you know, Teach For America has had incredible support from the White House and from the Secretary of Education since the start of the Administration. The President spoke at a White House-arranged event under a Teach For America banner in Atlanta two days after his State of the Union in 2002 and talked about the creation of the USA Freedom Corps and expansion of AmeriCorps.

I also understand that Teach For America's growth is one of the First Lady's five official "projects," and that Mrs. Bush has done multiple events across the country for Teach For America to help with recruitment and also with building the program's community support. Moreover, Secretary Paige was one of their biggest supporters when he was superintendent in Houston and has remained a vocal advocate.

Without the supplemental funding it appears that Teach For America will have education awards for 570 corps members. LAST YEAR THEY HAD 3300. They were expecting to place those 3,300 corps members in the following cities and states:

Atlanta  
Baltimore  
Bay Area (CA)  
Chicago

7/15/2003

Detroit  
Houston  
Los Angeles  
Miami  
Mississippi Delta  
New Jersey  
New Mexico (Navajo Reservation)  
New Orleans  
New York City  
North Carolina (eastern rural)  
Philadelphia  
Phoenix  
Rio Grande Valley  
South Dakota (2004 expansion)  
South Louisiana  
St. Louis  
Washington D.C.

2800 teachers who were scheduled to go teach in poverty areas in a number of target states for little or nothing because they heard a call to service.

In addition, there will be a letter from Governors, which presently has 28 signatures, including 9 Republicans and 19 Democrats, to the House leadership urging support of the supplemental. Fourteen additional Governors, including 10 Republicans and 4 Democrats, are still considering endorsement. The list includes the following:

#### Republicans

1. Gov. Huckabee, AR
2. Gov. Sonny Perdue, GA
3. Gov. Mike Foster Jr., LA
4. Gov. Romney, MA
5. Gov. Judy Martz, MT
6. Gov. Johanns, NE
7. Gov. Guinn, NV
8. Gov. Pataki, NY
9. Gov. O Leavitt, UT

#### Democrats

1. Gov. Napolitano, AZ

2. Gov. Davis, CA
3. Gov. Minner, DE
4. Gov. Vilsack, IA
5. Gov. O'Bannon, IN
6. Gov. Patton, KY
7. Gov. Sebelius, KS
8. Gov. Musgrove, MS
9. Gov. Granholm, MI
10. Gov. Easley, NC
11. Gov. McGreevey, NJ
12. Gov. Richardson, NM
13. Gov. Henry, OK
14. Gov. Rendell, PA
15. Gov. Holden, MO
16. Gov. Warner, VA
17. Gov. Locke, WA
18. Gov. Doyle WI
19. Gov. Wise, WV

Marc

----- End of Forwarded Message

F: Jean Becker

536041

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

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TO: Jean Becker	FROM: Karl Rove
COMPANY:	DATE: 7/16/2003
FAX NUMBER:	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 2
PHONE NUMBER:	SENDER'S REFERENCE NUMBER: 202-456-2369
RE: From the Hotline...	YOUR REFERENCE NUMBER:

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- URGENT     FOR REVIEW     PLEASE COMMENT     PLEASE REPLY     PLEASE RECYCLE
- 
- 

NOTES/COMMENTS:

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grapes by those who want to undo '02 election	40	57
Recalling Davis will make it easier to solve the state's budget problems	29	65

**Are You Inclined To Support Each Of Six Possible Candidates In A Replacement Election For Governor Should Davis Be Recalled? (LVs)**

	Yes	No
Richard Riordan, Republican	37%	53%
Arnold Schwarzenegger, Republican	31	62
Bill Simon, Republican	30	62
Tom McClintock, Republican	27	57
Darrell Issa, Republican	22	61
Peter Miguel Camejo, Green Party	11	73

Pollster **Mark DiCamillo** said, while the 51%-43% "split" on the recall "is grim news" for Davis, "it's far too early to write Davis' political obituary." DiCamillo: "I feel we really haven't begun to get a good feeling of what the chances are of a Davis recall. This is a very hypothetical situation where we don't even know the whole ballot yet. The voters' intentions are unsettled." Meanwhile, Davis pollster **Paul Maslin** said "the slim pro-recall majority is likely to be a high-water mark"; he "predicted support for a recall will slip as an election moves closer."

"The real wild cards" in a recall "are the people running to replace Davis." So far, Dem leaders "have managed to keep the field confined to Republicans and minor party candidates, which is likely to help Davis." DiCamillo: "When Democrats see that they're presented with five Republicans and a Green Party candidate to replace Davis, they say 'Give me someone else.' ... That's a political vacuum that usually gets filled. Certainly it presents an opportunity to any Democrat who would want to get involved" (**Wildermuth**, San Francisco *Chronicle*, 7/16).

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*Fax to Jean Meeker*

# 18 KENTUCKY GOVERNOR: Analyze This

Louisville *Courier-Journal's* **Hawpe** writes, "Accountability is the essence of good politics," and AG **Ben Chandler's** (D) quest to make the cong. record of Rep. **Ernie Fletcher** (R-KY 06) and his support of **Bush** policies "an issue" should "not come as a surprise." Likewise, "Fletcher wants voters to see" Chandler's record and find "proof that he's at least partly responsible" for the "ineptitude and corruption" scandals surrounding KY Gov. **Paul Patton** (D-KY). In short, "Chandler hopes to nationalize the election," while "Fletcher hopes to Pattonize it."

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**Campaign Tip Sheet**

Primary/Filing Dates, Latest Polls, Latest Ads...

---

On Fletcher manager **Daniel Groves'** recent criticism towards the Chandler camp for trying to "nationalize" the KY GOV race, Hawpe writes, "I don't understand. ... It ought to work very well, not for Chandler but for Fletcher. ... The congressman has earned the right to bask in the reflected glow of broad public support for the President," after "faithfully" supporting Bush tax cuts and the admin's policies toward Afghanistan and Iraq. Hawpe continues, "Indeed, the assumption is that Fletcher will bring Bush to Kentucky as many times as possible."

More Hawpe musings: "Is it fair, or sensible, to nationalize the gubernatorial election? Certainly, Fletcher's votes, like Chandler's decisions and actions as a state official, tell the public a lot about his value system." As for the Fletcher camp's tactics, "Is it fair to Pattonize the election? Nothing wrong with trying. ... [Voters] can inspect Chandler's record to see whether he contributed to political and policy messes the Patton administration has created in Frankfort, or whether he tried to do something about them" (7/16).

[\(Back to Contents\)](#)

536041

# California State Senate

COMMITTEES:  
GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION  
TRANSPORTATION

STATE CAPITOL  
SACRAMENTO, CA 95814  
(916) 445-3688  
FAX (916) 327-2272  
E-MAIL: SENATOR.BRULTE@SEN.CA.GOV



10681 FOOTHILL BLVD., #325  
RANCHO CUCAMONGA, CA 91730  
(909) 466-9096  
FAX (909) 466-9892

**JAMES L. BRULTE**  
SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER  
SENATOR, THIRTY-FIRST DISTRICT

June 11, 2002

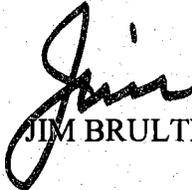
Mr. Karl Rove  
White House  
West Wing, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Karl:

I thought you might like to see the mail piece (State Paid) that I put out on the Anniversary of President Bush's Tax Cut.

Over 70,000 pieces went out to California households in my District.

Sincerely,

  
JIM BRULTE

P.S. I've got at least three other Republican Senators sending them out too.

*not enclosure received in ORM JLB*

536048

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/15/03

To: Jenica Baldwin  
From: Strategic Initiatives BJ. Goerge

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



ATTN: Mr. Karl Rove  
Fax: 202-456-0191  
Date: July 15, 2003  
From: Marc Ross  
Director of Grassroots and Field Operations  
Pages: 2

---

AIADA will be organizing a series of conference calls called "Dealer Dialogues" with leading public policy officials and our member dealers as part of the newly launched "Driving Change" grassroots campaign.

Attached you will find a formal letter of invitation.

Please reach me at [rossm@aiada.org](mailto:rossm@aiada.org) or (703) 519-7800 if you need additional information.

-Marc



**AMERICAN  
INTERNATIONAL  
AUTOMOBILE  
DEALERS  
ASSOCIATION**

211 NORTH UNION STREET  
SUITE 300  
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314  
PH: 703.519.7800 FX: 703.519.7810  
goaiada@aiada.org www.aiada.org

VIA FACSIMILE: (202) 456-0191

July 15, 2003

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

Dear Mr. Rove,

As the new president of the American International Automobile Dealers Association (AIADA), I respectfully submit the following request.

AIADA is a national trade association representing over 10,000 American automobile dealers who own franchises for international nameplate automobiles and employ over 500,000 American workers. These retailers sell and service some of the finest automobiles and trucks available in the world. Over two thirds of the cars and trucks our members sell are built in the United States with more plants and production expected each year.

AIADA will be organizing a series of conference calls called "Dealer Dialogues" with leading public policy officials and our member dealers as part of the newly launched "Driving Change" grassroots campaign.

It is our hope that the "Dealer Dialogues" will permit the free exchange of ideas between our auto dealers, political personalities, senior administration officials, and elected representatives. As leaders in the automotive industry and their local communities, our members are keenly aware of the role regulation and legislation plays in the management of their organizations and will benefit from hearing your perspective on today's political issues.

If your schedule allows, we would be honored to have you address our members via conference call at a time and format that is convenient for you. Please contact Marc Ross - Director of Grassroots and Field Operations at [rossm@aiada.org](mailto:rossm@aiada.org) or (703) 519-7800 to make the necessary arrangements.

Thank you in advance for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Marianne McInerney", is written over a horizontal line.

Marianne McInerney  
President



536046

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

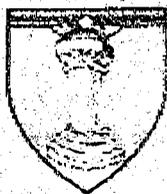
Date: 7/15/03

To: Tim Goeglein  
From: Strategic Initiatives BJ. Goergen

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

*[Faint handwritten scribbles]*

Goeglein



*INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND PUBLIC POLICY*

**TO:**           Karl Rove          

**FROM:**           Joseph K. Grieboski          

**DATE:**           July 14, 2003          

**TOTAL # OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER:**           3          

**FAX NUMBER:**           456-0191          

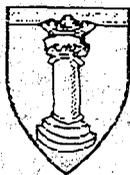
**NOTES/COMMENT:**

1101 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW, Suite 115  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: 202-835-8760/Fax: 202-835-8764

53 Rue Archimede  
Brussels 1000  
Belgium

Tel: +32(0) 2 742 15 75/Fax: +32 (0) 2 742 15 76

[www.religionandpolicy.org](http://www.religionandpolicy.org)



*INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND PUBLIC POLICY*

July 14, 2003

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

Dear Mr. Rove

I am writing in the hopes of arranging a meeting to discuss with you the importance of religious freedom as both a domestic political issue and an international policy issue.

Religious freedom is a principal reason for the success of the American republic. It is the "first freedom" of the Bill of Rights, the first sixteen words of which - by guaranteeing free exercise and banning establishment - were designed to encourage the religious enterprise. While protecting the right not to believe, the first amendment is based on the conviction that believers can and will do good things for themselves, their co-religionists, and America, and that they should be encouraged to do so. Our founders did not see religion as a "private matter" with no relationship to public policy. They saw religion and religious people as the cornerstone of our democracy, and of our vitality as a nation.

By the same token, American foreign policy has always drawn on the impulses provided by the first amendment. Promoting religious freedom as a core element of our foreign policy is not only "being true to our character as a people," but also deeply rooted in America's security interests. The United States must establish a flexible foreign policy which holds its allies and friends to the same standards of freedom of religion and conscience to which it holds its opponents and enemies.

Promoting freedom of religion and conscience globally is vital to our national security in two ways: it promotes democracy (and hence internal and regional stability, as well as economic prosperity), and it helps fight the war on religion-based terrorism. Furthermore, it is in keeping with international standards. I am not aware of a single regime in the world that

both respects religious freedom and poses a security threat to the U.S.

A government's guarantee of freedom of conscience indicates acceptance of the premise of democracy: that every individual has value and worth, and that the state is constituted to serve society, not vice versa. It is in this sense that freedom of conscience is the cornerstone of democracy.

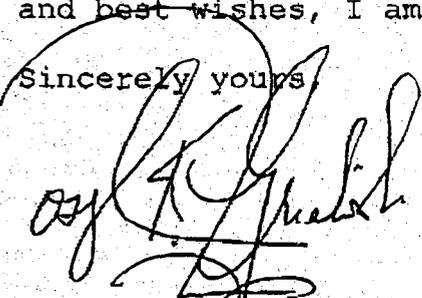
Domestically, religious freedom issues enjoy tremendous grassroots and political support. It is perhaps the only human rights issue that attracts widespread interest among Americans, but particularly among the GOP base of religious conservatives. It is also the human rights issue with the most support/interest on Capitol Hill, as evidenced in the unanimous passage of the International Religious Freedom Act.

In recent years, the United States Government has increased its advocacy on behalf of religious freedom worldwide. However, these efforts are too often uncoordinated, inefficient, and marginalized from the rest of U.S. foreign policy. Some important steps need to be taken to integrate more fully freedom of conscience into the U.S. foreign policy portfolio. The United States Government must accept its awesome responsibility of both protecting American vital interests and promoting American values in its bilateral relationships and discussions, as well as in multilateral fora. The US Government must remind the international community of its commitments regarding freedom of conscience and protection of minority rights. The United States must have a flexible foreign policy which allows it to hold its allies to the same human rights and freedom of conscience criteria and levels to which it holds its opponents.

I will contact your office in the near future to arrange a time that is mutually beneficial for us to meet.

With cordial personal regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,



Joseph K. Grieboski  
President

526041

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**David C. Beckwith**

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

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**Results-oriented communications and government relations professional with experience in developing, implementing and managing strategic communications programs.**

**Proven ability to:**

- Establish priorities, develop budgets, build and manage teams, monitor performance against goals
- Generate positive media coverage and present positive image of an organization to the public
- Formulate forceful messages that build public opinion of policies, products, individuals
- Plan communications strategies for high profile events, meetings, conferences
- Direct production of high quality publications, releases, white papers, web sites
- Manage multiple projects and programs within tight timetables and budgets
- Coordinate internal, external resources to further communications goals
- Create and maintain effective lines of communication with press, individuals, organizations

---

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

**Political, Communications Consultant: January 2002 to present.**

Directed strategy, issues, communications for successful statewide Texas political campaigns.

Worked with White House, national committees on message development and implementation.

- Developed issue positions, communications plan for John Cornyn for Senate.
- Served as chief campaign spokesman, managing research and communications staff, working closely with reporters to ensure public understanding of campaign issues, positions.
- Supervised writing and editing of press releases, advertising, web site, email and other campaign communications efforts.
- Coordinated \$9 million advertising campaign to advance campaign objectives.
- Assisted new Senator in staffing Washington, state offices.
- Took charge of new Texas Lieutenant Governor's communications office to establish sound media, message practices and long-term strategy.

**Vice President, Communications, National Cable Telecommunications Assn.: December 1999 to January 2002**

Coordinated cable industry's communications, media efforts to establish positive image, manage press relationships and market new digital products.

- Designed strategy to shed monopoly image, including \$2 million advertising campaign.
- Brought together industry communications professionals to coordinate message. Supervised annual trade show press operation with 500+ media representatives.
- Upgraded association website to sector leadership as information tool for industry, press and public.
- Initiated productive working relationship with consumer electronics, broadcast, motion picture, telephone and wireless partners/rivals on governmental and consumer issues.
- Counseled industry on FCC, Capital Hill and administration political developments.

- Generated significant positive trade and general interest media coverage for industry developments and accomplishments.

**Communications Manager, George Bush for President: May 1999 to September 1999**

Assisted in launching of successful national political campaign, coordinating web site, press relations, issue development, hiring, travel arrangements and other campaign startup efforts.

**Director of Government Relations, Electronic Data Systems: December 1994 to May 1999**

Managed Washington-based government relations program for large information technology provider, working with government officials on Capitol Hill, agencies, and administration to achieve company legislative objectives and advance corporate contracts.

- Established and secured relationships with House, Senate officials and staff on telecommunications, information technology and contracts issues.
- Took leadership role in expanding company political action committee.
- Protected corporate contracts involving student loan, border control, defense travel, Medicaid, telemarketing, and encryption issues.
- Helped achieve full corporate objectives in 1996 Telecommunications Act.
- Upgraded Washington communications with corporate headquarters.
- Counseled corporate officers, public relations staff on public relations, communications issues.

**Communications Director, Office of Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison: January 1993 to December 1994**

Managed political and communications for U.S. Senator in two campaigns, Senate office

- Supervised strategy, issues, communications, press relations for two successful U.S. Senate campaigns in Texas.
- Assisted new Senator in setting up, running Washington office, devising communications plan for outreach to capital, home state media.
- Directed press relations, originated cable television show, edited weekly columns, coordinated with leadership in Senator's Washington office. Served as primary spokesman.

**Press Secretary, Assistant to U.S. Vice President: January 1989 to January 1993**

Ran communications, image, press office for Vice President Dan Quayle, heading effort to upgrade public image in Washington, nationwide.

- Coordinated with White House communications, press, message operations to advance agenda of President George H.W. Bush.
- Devised and executed outreach strategies on press relations, speech preparation and delivery, editorial board meetings, television appearances.
- As primary spokesman, accompanied the Vice President to appearances nationwide and internationally.
- Supervised staff coordinating Vice President's travel, press relations, photography and public relations.

**Correspondent, Editor, Time Magazine: August 1971 to January 1989**

Reported, wrote and edited for every section of leading news magazine

- Covered wide variety of issues in Washington as national legal correspondent, national economics correspondent and White House correspondent.
- Recognized as leading reporter on Supreme Court, Nixon impeachment, election and other major stories.

- Reported overseas from Cairo, edited The Law section
- Took leave of absence 1978-80 to found Legal Times of Washington, nation's first commercial legal newspaper.

**Newspaper Reporter: June 1965 to September 1969.**

Covered police, suburbs, city hall for Minneapolis Star-Tribune and Houston Chronicle.

#### EDUCATION

B.A., History, Carleton College, Northfield, MN, 1964

M.S., Journalism, Columbia University, New York, NY, 1965

J.D., University of Texas School of Law, Austin, TX, 1971

Personal: Married to the former Susan Blackwell; two children, ages 18 and 20.

References: Karl Rove, Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison, Sen. John Cornyn (others available upon request).

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

536041

Date: 7/15/03

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: \_\_\_\_\_

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

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Heads Up - To: Susan Ralston - From: Bob Thompson	1	07/09/2003	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.  
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the  
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**COLLECTION:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

**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 advice 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)]

- 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.

~~Bamy done pass these  
on to people in the NSC? there~~

This is from Bob Ney  
Bamy has more  
background if you  
need it. Ney: 225-6265

## Peaceful Nuclear Activities of the Islamic Republic of Iran

### Policy

- Weapons of mass destruction have no place in the defensive doctrine of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
  - Iran believes that WMD will not augment its security, and would in fact increase its vulnerability.
  - Iran believes that an arms race in the region, particularly in the area of WMD, is dangerous and must be addressed through universal non-proliferation.
  - Iran firmly pursues the goal of a region and a world free from WMD through their total elimination.
  - In 1974, Iran proposed the establishment of a nuclear weapons free zone (NWFZ) in the Middle East in the United Nations and has actively pursued it ever since.
- The Islamic Republic of Iran is a party to NPT, CWC and BWC, and has signed CTBT.
- Iran signed the statute of IAEA in 1958, and signed Comprehensive Safeguard Agreement with the IAEA in 1973 to facilitate the inspection of Iran's nuclear activities by the IAEA. It also accepted the Subsidiary Arrangements to IAEA Safeguards in February 2003.
- Iran has rendered full cooperation as requested by the IAEA, and all official reports of the Agency inspection teams have verified the peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear activities. The visit of the Director-General of the Agency to the Islamic Republic of Iran in February 2003 confirmed the intention of Iranian authorities to cooperate with the Agency, even going beyond their legal obligations which did not bind Iran to declare its facilities until 180 days prior to introduction of Uranium for enrichment.
- Iran believes that nothing should be done to undermine the integrity of the IAEA in discharging its functions in non-proliferation regime as well as promotion of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
- Iran intends to vigorously and fully pursue its right to develop nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.
- Iran has no problem with even further transparency, provided that it receives reciprocal guarantees that its acceptance of the Additional Protocol would bring to an end all propaganda about Iran's nuclear program and restrictions against Iran's full access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and lead to recognition of its peaceful capabilities through relevant international frameworks.

## **The nature and scope of Iranian nuclear program**

- The primary priority of Iranian nuclear program is generation of nuclear electricity.
- Due to the rapid socio-economic development of Iran during the past three decades, Iran's strategy for use of fossil resources has been affected by two restrictive elements.
  - Rising living standards and improvement of economic indicators have prompted an increase in the demand for energy in domestic and industrial sectors;
  - While the supply of primary energy has registered an average growth rate of 6.03% since 1977, energy consumption rate has increased from 180.9 million barrels of crude oil in 1977 to 661.7 million in 2001. Electricity production rate has increased from 19847 million KWh in 1977 to 130082.3 million KWh in 2001, registering an annual average growth rate of 8.52%. The consumption of energy for electricity generation in fossil power plants has increased from 29.6 million barrels of crude oil in 1977 to 225.7 million barrels in 2001, registering a consumption growth rate of 8.8%.
  - Iran's national economy is dependent on oil revenues.
  - To dispose of these two contradictory and restrictive elements, Iran needs to develop a long term strategy to reverse the trend of unrestrained use of fossil resources.

## **Economic feasibility of nuclear program for oil and gas rich country**

- Iran can not merely rely on fossil fuel for its energy for the following considerations:
  - Continued use of energy in its present form is bound to turn Iran into a net importer of crude oil and some of its by-products in the coming decades.
  - Local use of these resources as fuel will drastically affect Iran's foreign exchange earnings from export of crude oil and natural gas.
  - The utilization of these resources in processing industries such as petrochemicals will generate much greater added value.
  - The environmental impact of increased reliance on fossil fuel is a serious concern of the entire international community.
- Based on the WASP model -- a widely known model for

optimization of energy supply, by the year 2020, the share of nuclear power plants in the supply of energy in low, medium and high growth rate scenarios will be respectively 4000, 7000 and 11000 megawatts. Iran has chosen the medium scenario.

- In the projected 7000 megawatt scenario, Iran will annually save 190 million barrels of crude oil based on 60% EAF (Energy Availability Factor).
  - The economic value of such savings is estimated to be over US\$5 billion per year.
  - The environmental value will amount to preventing the release into the atmosphere of over 157000 tons of carbon dioxide, 1150 tons of suspending particles, 130 tons of sulfur and 50 tons of nitrous oxide.
  - With any increase of EAF, the economic and environmental advantage of nuclear power plants would be greater.
- The advisability of a nuclear energy program for Iran was even endorsed by the US State Department, which in a memo of 20 October 1978, expressed that the US is encouraged by Iran's efforts to expand its non-oil energy base, and is hopeful that the US-Iran Nuclear Energy Agreement will be concluded soon and that American companies will be able to play a role in Iran's nuclear energy projects. (Digital National Security Archive)

### **Fuel cycle and heavy water reactors**

- To achieve the objective of producing 7000 megawatts of nuclear electricity by 2020, Iran needs plans in various advanced fields of nuclear technology such as nuclear fuel cycle, nuclear safety and nuclear wastes.
- The volume of nuclear fuel needed for power plants with the total capacity of 7000 megawatts requires a long-term plan for the provision of the needed fuel by 2020.
  - The Russian Federation is committed to provide nuclear fuel only for the Bushehr power plant and has no commitment to meet Iranian needs for nuclear fuel in other planned nuclear power plants.
  - Even with respect to the Bushehr power plant, the Russian Federation has committed itself only to provide nuclear fuel for a limited period of time.
- Iran has consistently sought assistance from Western countries and called for joint cooperation in the above-mentioned areas.

- Iran's offer met with a cool reception.
- Under the current undue restrictions, Iran has not yet been able to recover inter alia its approximately 100 tonnes enriched uranium and 390 tonnes tails uranium currently stored in Linggen, Germany.
- Having been deprived of Western cooperation in this field, Iran turned to the policy of self-sufficiency.
- Iran had to concurrently focus on the production of heavy water for HWR and Uranium enrichment for LWR because it was not certain as to which of these two endeavors shall embrace success.
- To be able to produce nuclear fuel indigenously, Iran will have to put into place a system for mining and processing of uranium ores and also for its conversion and enrichment.
  - Yazd Saghand project is designed to recover Uranium from natural deposits. In this facility, uranium is extracted from a depth of 350 meters and transported to Ardakan facility to go through various physical and chemical processes to produce uranium hexa fluoride, metallic uranium and uranium dioxide.
  - A UCF facility in Isfahan has been built in order to produce UF<sub>6</sub>.
  - UF<sub>6</sub> is the main feedstock for the Natanz enrichment facility.
  - The Natanz facility is designed for production of nuclear fuel for power plants using low enriched uranium of around 3% to 5% U-235.
  - A Zirconium Production Plant (ZPP) is now under construction in Isfahan for production of fuel cladding.
  - A facility in Arak is under construction to produce heavy water which is an essential constituent of HWR reactors.
- Iran plans to utilize HWR and specially CANDU in addition to LWR, because
  - CANDU-type reactors are more amenable to indigenous development.
  - These reactors use natural uranium recovered from local resources for production of nuclear fuel.
- The argument that fuel cycle program or heavy water plants are designed to produce nuclear weapons is not tenable, because at present over 12 countries are engaged in uranium enrichment activity on either industrial or semi-industrial scales, and many are utilizing LWR. Can one then claim that all these countries are working to develop nuclear weapons?

## **Iran's Transparency and Compliance with IAEA Safeguards**

- Iran has been fully transparent with regard to its intention to acquire nuclear fuel cycle technology.
  - Iran officially sought the assistance of western and other countries in developing nuclear fuel cycle.
  - Iran informed the IAEA in 2000 of its program to build the UCF project in Isfahan. Its product, UF<sub>6</sub>, can only be used as the feedstock of a Uranium enrichment project, such as the one in Natanz.
  - Before accepting the subsidiary arrangements in February 2003, Iran was under no obligation to declare its Natanz facility, until 180 days prior to introduction of Uranium to the facility for enrichment.
- In June 2002, the Permanent Representative of Iran to the IAEA informed the Secretariat of Iran's involvement in various fields of nuclear fuel cycle.
- In September 2002, IAEA was officially informed about the construction of the Natanz enrichment facility, although Iran was not legally obliged to do so.
  - While not legally obliged, Iran invited and received IAEA Director General and his colleagues to visit Natanz along with the UCF project.
  - IAEA's technical inspection teams have since made several visits to Iranian nuclear-related facilities. The Iranian Atomic Energy Organization staff is working closely with the IAEA technical inspection teams so as to enable them to prepare a report on Iran's nuclear program for the Board of Governors of the IAEA.
- The Arak facility is designed to produce heavy water which does not fall under the IAEA safeguards. Therefore, Iran was not legally bound to declare it. Yet, Iran voluntarily invited IAEA Director General to visit Arak, which he postponed to a later visit.
- Contentions about the secrecy of the Arak and Natanz projects are fictitious.
  - Given the huge installations and distillation towers erected on the ground in Arak, it is practically impossible to keep the construction of such a facility secret.
  - The underground construction of parts of the Natanz project is motivated by the requirement of defending the facility against

aerial attacks, which were experienced against the Bushehr facility in the course of Iran-Iraq war and not by an unachievable illusion of keeping such a project secret.

- Nuclear transparency has its own criteria and standards set forth in the relevant international treaties and the decisions of the IAEA. Under these treaties and decisions, any country which has fulfilled its international commitments on nuclear activities has observed the criteria and standards of nuclear transparency. Reports by the IAEA after their visits to Iran have confirmed Iran's full compliance and transparency.

### **Additional Protocol**

- Iran's pursuit of nuclear technology is exclusively for peaceful purposes. This has and continues to be the policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
- Iran has absolutely nothing to hide with regard to its nuclear program.
- Iran's compliance with its obligations, and even beyond its commitments, is and will remain unquestionable. As regards "the issue of intentions", it is prepared to enter reciprocal confidence-building measures.
- Iran's policy towards the Additional Protocol is both clear and rational.
- Iran has no difficulty to accept this Protocol and is approaching it positively.
- At the same time, it cannot achieve the ratification and enforcement of the provisions of this Protocol without reciprocal guarantees.
- While Iran has complied fully with different nuclear treaties and safeguard agreements and has rendered full cooperation as demanded by the IAEA, other parties have failed to comply with NPT provisions on peaceful use.
- Iran still remains subject to various international pressures and restrictions, while countries which possess weapons of mass destruction and refuse to accede to treaties such as NPT are not held accountable for their nuclear conduct.
- Iran expects official reciprocal guarantees that its acceptance of the Additional Protocol would bring to an end all propaganda about Iran's nuclear program and restrictions against Iran's full access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and lead to recognition of its peaceful capabilities through relevant international frameworks.

### Iranian aims:

(The US accepts a dialogue "in mutual respect" and agrees that Iran puts the following aims on the agenda)

- **Halt in US hostile behavior and rectification of status of Iran in the US:** (interference in internal or external relations, "axis of evil", terrorism list.)
- **Abolishment of all sanctions:** commercial sanctions, frozen assets, judgments(FSIA), impediments in international trade and financial institutions
- **Iraq:** democratic and fully representative government in Iraq, support of Iranian claims for Iraqi reparations, respect for Iranian national interests in Iraq and religious links to Najaf/Karbala.
- **Full access to peaceful nuclear technology, biotechnology and chemical technology**
- **Recognition of Iran's legitimate security interests in the region with according defense capacity.**
- **Terrorism:** pursuit of anti-Iranian terrorists, above all MKO and support for repatriation of their members in Iraq, decisive action against anti Iranian terrorists, above all MKO and affiliated organizations in the US

US aims: (Iran accepts a dialogue "in mutual respect" and agrees that the US puts the following aims on the agenda)

- **WMD:** full transparency for security that there are no Iranian endeavors to develop or possess WMD, full cooperation with IAEA based on Iranian adoption of all relevant instruments (93+2 and all further IAEA protocols)
- **Terrorism:** decisive action against any terrorists (above all Al Qaida) on Iranian territory, full cooperation and exchange of all relevant information.
- **Iraq:** coordination of Iranian influence for activity supporting political stabilization and the establishment of democratic institutions and a non-religious government.
- **Middle East:**
  - 1) stop of any material support to Palestinian opposition groups ( Hamas, Jihad etc.) from Iranian territory, pressure on these organizations to stop violent action against civilians within borders of 1967.
  - 2) action on Hizbollah to become a mere political organization within Lebanon
  - 3) acceptance of the Arab League Beirut declaration (Saudi initiative, two-states-approach)

### Steps:

- I. communication of mutual agreement on the following procedure
- II. mutual simultaneous statements "We have always been ready for direct and authoritative talks with the US/with Iran in good faith and with the aim

of discussing – in mutual respect – our common interests and our mutual concerns based on merits and objective realities, but we have always made it clear that, such talks can only be held, if genuine progress for a solution of our own concerns can be achieved.”

III. **a first direct meeting on the appropriate level (for instance in Paris) will be held with the previously agreed aims**

a. **of a decision on the first mutual steps**

- **Iraq:** establishment of a common group, active Iranian support for Iraqi stabilization; US-commitment to actively support Iranian reparation claims within the discussions on Iraq foreign debts.
- **Terrorism:** US-commitment to disarm and remove MKO from Iraq and take action in accordance with SCR1373 against its leadership, Iranian commitment for enhanced action against Al Qaida members in Iran, agreement on cooperation and information exchange
- **Iranian general statement** “to support a peaceful solution in the Middle East involving the parties concerned”
- **US general statement** that “Iran did not belong to ‘the axis of evil’”
- **US-acceptance** to halt its impediments against Iran in international financial and trade institutions

b. **of the establishment of three parallel working groups on disarmament, regional security and economic cooperation. Their aim is an agreement on three parallel road maps, for the discussions of these working groups, each side accepts that the other side’s aims (see above) are put on the agenda:**

- 1) **Disarmament:** road map, which combines the mutual aims of, on the one side, full transparency by international commitments and guarantees to abstain from WMD with, on the other side, full access to western technology (in the three areas),
- 2) **Terrorism and regional security:** road map for above mentioned aims on the Middle east and terrorism
- 3) **Economic cooperation:** road map for the abolishment of the sanctions, rescinding of judgments, and un-freezing of assets

c. **of agreement on a time-table for implementation**

d. **and of a public statement after this first meeting on the achieved agreements**

Date: 7/15/03

To: Suzee Westine

From: **Strategic Initiatives**

Karl Rove

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

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

\_\_\_\_\_



The National Center on  
Addiction and Substance Abuse  
at Columbia University

*Levine?*

June 18, 2003

633 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017-6706

phone 212 841 5200

fax 212 856 8020

www.casacolumbia.org

Mr. Karl Rove  
Senior Advisor to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Karl:

*Board of Directors*

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.  
*Chairman and President*

Lee C. Bollinger

Columba Bush

Kenneth I. Chynault

Jamie Lee Curtis

James Dimon

Peter R. Dolan

Mary Fisher

Douglas A. Fraser

Victor F. Ganzi

Leo-Arthur Kelmenson

Donald R. Keough

David A. Kessler, M.D.

Manuel T. Pacheco, Ph.D.

Joseph J. Plumeri II

E. John Rosenwald, Jr.

Michael P. Schulhof

Louis W. Sullivan, M.D.

John J. Swerceny

Michael A. Wiener

Enclosed please find a copy of a note I sent to Andy Card asking the President to proclaim September 22<sup>nd</sup> as "Family Day—A Day to Eat Dinner with Your Children."

CASA research has consistently found that the more often children eat dinner with their parents, the less likely they are to smoke, use illegal drugs or abuse alcohol.

Family Day could be a real plus for the country, for substance abuse prevention and for the President.

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.

Enclosures

*Directors Emeritus*

James E. Burke (1992-1997)

Betty Ford (1992-1998)

Barbara C. Jordan (1992-1996)

LaSalle Jeffall (1992-2001)

Nancy Reagan (1995-2000)

Linda J. Rice (1992-1996)

George Rupp (1993-2002)

Michael I. Sovern (1992-1993)

Frank G. Wells (1992-1994)



The National Center on  
Addiction and Substance Abuse  
at Columbia University

June 18, 2003

633 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10017-8706

phone 212 841 5200  
fax 212 956 8020  
www.casacolumbia.org

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Joseph A. Califano, Jr.  
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George Rupp (1995-2002)  
Michael I. Sovern (1992-1993)  
Frank G. Wells (1992-1994)

Mr. Andrew H. Card, Jr.  
Chief of Staff to the President  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Andy:

For the past two years, President Bush has proclaimed the fourth Monday in September, "Family Day." The President joined the governors of thirty-five states and a host of organizations and community groups across the nation in recognizing the importance of family dinners to creating healthy children.

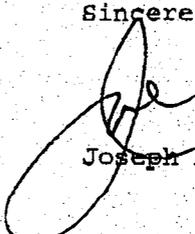
This year Family Day will take place on September 22. We would like the President to issue a proclamation declaring that day "Family Day" by June and host a ceremony to publicize the event in June. Family Day fits in perfectly with the President's Parents Drug Corps initiative. Family dinners are a comfortable, natural way that any parent can help their kids grow up safe and drug-free. CASA research has consistently found that the more often children eat dinner with their parents, the less likely they are to smoke, use illegal drugs or abuse alcohol.

With the President's support, this year we will be able to teach even more Americans that simple actions like eating dinner together can do a world of good in protecting a child's health and well-being. This ceremony would be an ideal way for the President to emphasize the importance of parental involvement in their children's lives.

I hope the President will support this important initiative which can help thousands of parents and children across the nation.

Enclosed are copies of the Presidential Proclamations issued in 2001 and 2002.

Sincerely,



Joseph A. Califano, Jr.



## Family Day, 2002

*By the President of the United States of America*

### A Proclamation

America's character begins in the home, where children learn proper standards of conduct, principled values, and the importance of service. Families provide children the encouragement, support, and love they need to become confident, compassionate, and successful members of society. We must work together to promote and preserve the health and security of our families by upholding the timeless values that have sustained our society through history.

Recent events have reminded Americans of the blessings of family and friends, and of the importance of faith. As a Nation, we have a renewed dedication to our freedom, our country, and our principles. In homes, schools, places of worship, the workplace, and civic and social organizations, we must continue to encourage responsibility, compassion, and good citizenship.

Americans must also act to fight crime and drugs, and provide a safe and healthy environment for our children. We can begin by working to strengthen the bonds and improving communication between parents and children. Research done by the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University has consistently shown that the more often children eat dinner with their parents, the less likely children are to smoke, drink, or use illegal drugs. Naturally, parents should be the most prominent and active figures in their children's lives. By spending more family time together, parents can better engage with their children and encourage them to make the right choices.

The nurturing and development of our families require investment, focus, and commitment. Strong families make strong and drug-free communities. By taking time to develop positive and open relationships with their children, parents help fight the war on drugs and encourage positive choices. Across our land, citizens, schools, and civic institutions can assist families by helping to meet the needs of all those who live in our communities. As we work together to strengthen our families, we will build a Nation of hope and opportunity for all.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE W. BUSH, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 23, 2002, as Family Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day by spending quality time with family members and engaging in other nurturing activities to strengthen the relationships between parents and children and help fight against substance abuse.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this Twentieth day of September, in the year of our Lord two thousand two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-seventh.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. W. Bush".



## Family Day, 2001

*By the President of the United States of America.*

### A Proclamation

Strong families make a strong America. Responsible, caring, and involved parenting dramatically affects the direction of a child's life and fundamentally influences the well-being of society as a whole. To help ensure a bright future for our children and for our Nation, we must expand our efforts to strengthen and empower families in their important task of effectively preparing children for the challenges of tomorrow.

To help families, we must fight crime and violence in our schools and communities, and we must make a quality education available to all young people, regardless of background. We must also work to ensure that adults have the skills and resources they need to provide for the health, safety, and well-being of their children.

Our Nation should send a consistent message that hails the vital importance of families. We live in an era of busy schedules and significant commitments to work, school, and community. However, quality time among family members remains as vital as ever to maintaining strong and loving bonds between parents and children and to protecting young people from harm. In its most recent survey, the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University (CASA) found that a teenager who sits down to dinner with his or her family seven nights a week is 20 percent less likely to smoke, drink, or use illegal drugs than those that do not. By contrast, teenagers who never eat dinner with their families are 61 percent more likely to engage in these activities.

According to CASA's research, other family-bonding activities can similarly promote the avoidance of drug, alcohol, or cigarette use by teens. These include helping teenagers with homework, attending religious services with them, making religion an important part of their lives, and praising and disciplining teens as appropriate. CASA also advises that parents should monitor their teen's television viewing, music purchases, and Internet use, and should establish curfews and know where their children are after school and on weekends. Perhaps most importantly, parents should send a clear message, by example and word, of their clear disapproval of cigarette, alcohol, and drug use.

CASA's findings demonstrate how parental influence remains the single most important weapon in the war on drugs. Americans must continue to recognize the importance of strong families and involved parents in setting our Nation on the road to a drug-free society. The health, safety, and well-being of our young people merit nothing less.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE W. BUSH, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim September 24, 2001, as Family Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day by spending quality time with family members and engaging in other wholesome activities that help unite and strengthen the bonds between parents and children.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord two thousand one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "G. W. Bush".



**FACSIMILE**

**THE NATIONAL CENTER ON ADDICTION AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE  
At Columbia University  
633 Third Avenue - 19<sup>th</sup> Floor  
New York, NY 10017-6706  
(212) 841-5200**

**FAX: (212) 956-8020**

**Date: June 18, 2003**

**To: Karl C. Rove**

**Fax: 202/456-0191**

**From: Joseph A. Califano, Jr.**

**Direct  
Phone: 212-841-5210**

**Direct  
Fax: 212-957-8987**

**#of Pages (including this cover): 5**

**CASA Account code: 150**

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/15/03

To: *Mike Meece*

From: Strategic Initiatives  
*Karl*

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

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

536041  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/15/03

To: *Tim Goeglein*

From: Strategic Initiatives  
*Karl*

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/15/03

To: *Pete Welner*

From: Strategic Initiatives  
*Karl Rowe*

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

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Employer-Sponsored Prescription Drug Coverage - To: Karl Rove - From: Doug Badger	2	07/11/2003	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:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

**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 advice 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)
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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.

536041

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: 7/15/03

To: *Matt Schlapp*

From: Strategic Initiatives

FYI *Karl*

Appropriate Action

Direct Response

Prepare Response For My Signature

Per Our Conversation

Let's Discuss

Per Your Request

Please Return

Deadline

Other

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

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



**JAMES P. HOFFA**  
GENERAL PRESIDENT

NRA

but alert ~~that~~  
so he can mention  
in next discussion  
w/ Teamster  
staff

FyI - ~~NRA~~

- Mary Ann Hanusa  
just received this  
from the Mail room  
- Wanted you to see  
this

January 31, 2002

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I would like to thank you for the invitation to attend the State of the Union address as your guest. It was truly an honor to represent the members of the Teamsters Union by sitting with the First Lady and so many other distinguished guests.

Since I have been elected President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, I have fought to unify this great Union. At your State of the Union address, I was inspired by how you have unified this great nation. Republicans, Democrats, and Independents took to their feet, time and time again, in solidarity with you. Thank you, for allowing me to be present at such a great showing of American spirit.

We face many challenges in the upcoming months and years. We must do more to better the lives of working families; union and non-union, Republican, and Democrat. I look forward to facing these challenges with you.

Thank you.

Fraternally,

*James P. Hoffa*

25 LOUISIANA AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

Date: 7/15/03

To: Paul Dyck

From: Strategic Initiatives P.J.

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

Comments: These came to  
Karl's fax... not sure if you  
want to forward them on.



WORKING FOR BUSINESS. BELIEVING IN LUBBOCK.

*F: Declined events*

1301 BROADWAY, SUITE 101  
LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79401  
806-761-7000  
FAX 806-761-7010  
www.lubbockchamber.com

*July 16, 2003*

July 14, 2003

Mr. Karl Rove  
Senior Advisor to the President  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Rove:

The chambers of commerce from Big Spring, Lubbock, Midland, Odessa and Seminole, Texas and the United States Chamber of Commerce would like to invite you to a reception honoring the newest member of congress, Randy Neugebauer from the 19<sup>th</sup> District of Texas.

The reception will be from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H Street NW in Washington.

*7/23*

Sincerely,

Michael Reeves  
Vice President of Governmental Affairs

*- Please call to decline. Karl has a previous engagement.  
- Then send to records management*



**LUBBOCK**  
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

WORKING FOR BUSINESS. BELIEVING IN LUBBOCK.

1301 BROADWAY, SUITE 101

LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79401

806-761-7000

FAX 806-761-7010

www.lubbockchamber.com

July 14, 2003

The Honorable George W. Bush  
The White House  
Attn: Scheduling Office  
Washington, DC 20502-0184

Dear Mr. President:

The chambers of commerce from Big Spring, Lubbock, Midland, Odessa and Seminole, Texas and the United States Chamber of Commerce would like to invite you to a reception honoring the newest member of congress, Randy Neugebauer from the 19<sup>th</sup> District of Texas.

The reception will be from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H Street NW in Washington.

Sincerely,

*7/17*

Michael Reeves  
Vice President of Governmental Affairs



# LUBBOCK

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

WORKING FOR BUSINESS. BELIEVING IN LUBBOCK.

1301 BROADWAY, SUITE 101

LUBBOCK, TEXAS 79401

806-761-7000

FAX 806-761-7010

[www.lubbockchamber.com](http://www.lubbockchamber.com)

July 14, 2003

The Honorable George W. Bush  
The White House  
Attn: Scheduling Office  
Washington, DC 20502-0184

Dear Mr. President:

The chambers of commerce from Big Spring, Lubbock, Midland, Odessa and Seminole, Texas and the United States Chamber of Commerce would like to invite you to a reception honoring the newest member of congress, Randy Neugebauer from the 19<sup>th</sup> District of Texas.

The reception will be from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H Street NW in Washington.

Sincerely,

*Michael Reeves*

Michael Reeves  
Vice President of Governmental Affairs

536041

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 7/15/03

To: Ruben Banale  
From: Strategic Initiatives B.J. Goerz

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

Comments: This came to Karl as  
an FYI so we are sending  
directly to you.



*State of Louisiana*  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR  
Baton Rouge  
70804-9004

M.J. "Mike" FOSTER, JR.  
Governor

POST OFFICE BOX 94004  
(225) 342-7015

*Facsimile Cover Sheet*

DATE: July 14, 2003

TO: Karl Rove  
Senior Advisor to the President

FAX NUMBER: 202/456-0191

FROM:  Governor M.J. "Mike" Foster, Jr.

Lori Martinez

Terry Ryder

Jeanne Wright

FAX NUMBER: (225) 342-8320

NUMBER OF PAGES (including this sheet): 3

COMMENTS:

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**State of Louisiana**

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

**Baton Rouge**

70804-9004

**M. J. "MIKE" FOSTER, JR.**  
GOVERNOR

POST OFFICE BOX 94004  
(225) 342-7015

July 14, 2003

Rosie Mauk  
Director of Americorps  
Corporation for National & Community Service  
1201 New York Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20525

Dear Ms. Mauk:

I am greatly distressed by the Corporation for National Service's decision to discontinue funding Teach for America (TFA). I've repeatedly gone on record over the last several weeks in support of a supplemental appropriation for the AmeriCorps program in order for Louisiana communities to continue benefiting from national service. Teach for America is one of my main reasons for doing so.

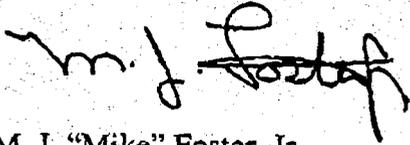
Teach for America has been working to create opportunities for Louisiana's children for ten years. First Lady Laura Bush recognized the impact TFA is having on Louisiana communities when she visited a TFA classroom in Baton Rouge just over a year ago. The program has been so valuable to Louisiana that despite difficult budgetary constraints, I proposed and the legislature funded an increase in state funding to Teach for America by over 25% for the coming fiscal year. The truth is, this program's impact is worth the investment, which is why I urge you to reconsider your decision.

In Louisiana we've been holding students and schools accountable for performance since even before the federal No Child Left Behind Act. For that reason, I have been a vocal supporter of President Bush's focus on research-based results when it comes to educating our children. Simply put, no other program focuses on documented results and high academic standards to the extent that TFA does.

Ms. Mauk  
Page Two  
July 14, 2003

I know that at this point, it is still unclear what will ultimately happen with respect to AmeriCorps funding over the next year. Despite these uncertainties, I strongly urge you to continue funding Teach for America.

Sincerely,



M. J. "Mike" Foster, Jr.

mw

c: President George Bush  
Senator Bill Frist  
Senator Tom Daschle  
Speaker Dennis Hastert  
Representative Tom Delay  
Representative Nancy Pelosi  
LA Congressional Delegation  
John Bridgeland, USA Freedom Corps  
James F. Manning, Corporation for National and Community Service

Date: 7/15/03

To: Wmi Raad EODs 100

From: Strategic Initiatives B.J. Gvergen

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

Comments: Thanks! You  
can keep this for Carl's  
briefing papers for the trip.

2303  
150

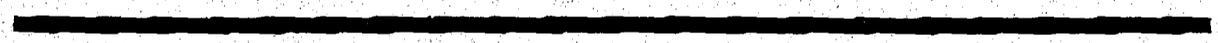
VM. 7/14/03  
No... he's just  
int out

**FAX**  
**TIMMONS AND COMPANY**  
**SUITE 400**  
**1875 EYE STREET, NW**  
**WASHINGTON, DC 20006**

PHONE: 202/331-1760  
FAX: 202/822-9376

*Number of pages (including cover page): 2*

DATE: July 11, 2003  
TO: Karl Rove  
Fax: 202-456-0191  
FROM: William E. Timmons



VIA FAX

Memorandum for Karl Rove

From: Bill Timmons *bill*

Date: 11 July 2003

Subject: August Busch III

---

Karl, I have a favor to request. Our client August Busch is a strong supporter of the President, [REDACTED] (b)(6)

[REDACTED] (b)(6) I believe Jack Oliver can attest to the Busch participation in activities of interest to the White House.

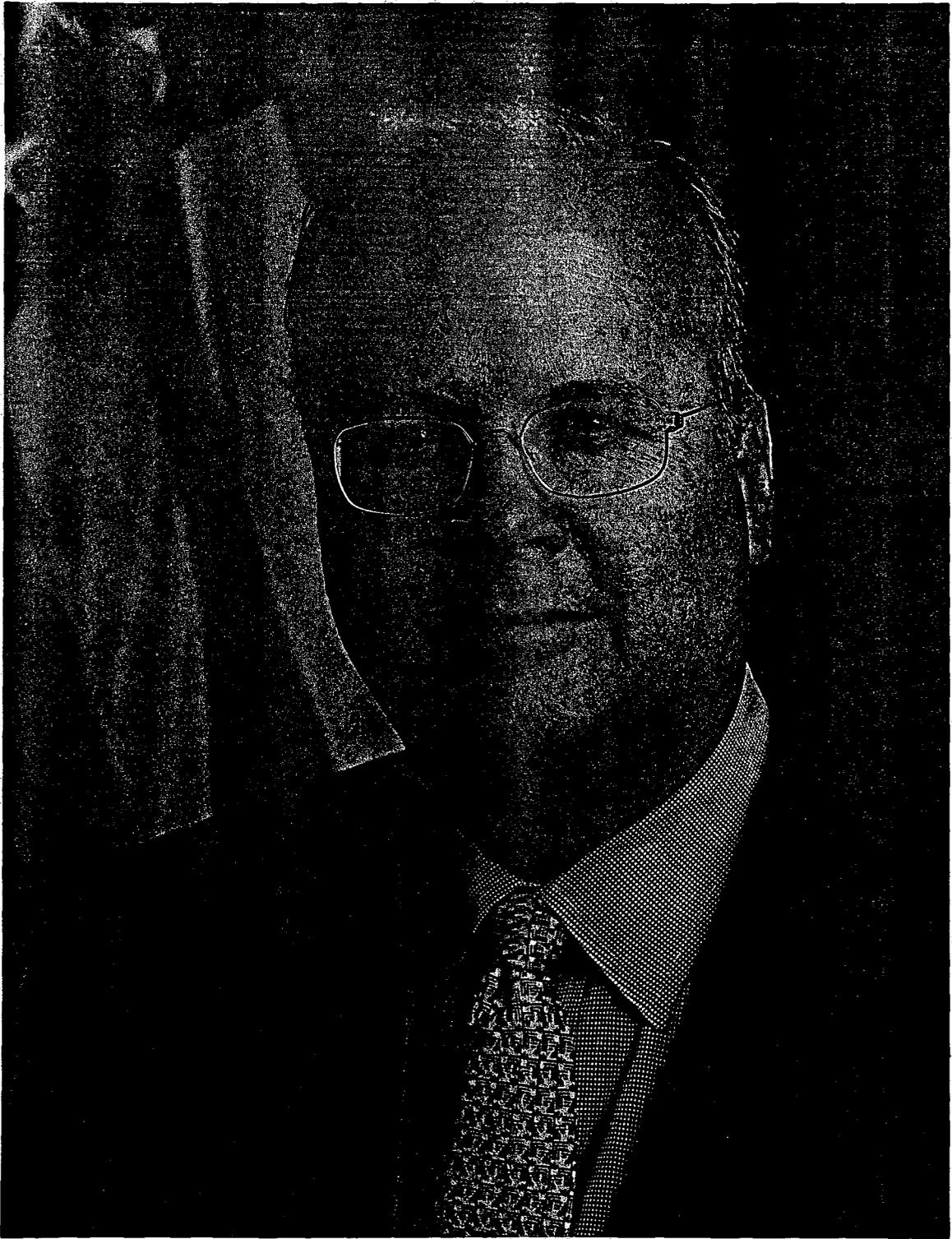
I understand you will be in St. Louis on July 30<sup>th</sup> [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
[REDACTED] (b)(6) and Pat Stokes, President and CEO, along with Steve Lambright, Vice President, will be in attendance. They request 5 minutes of your time in a corner somewhere to raise the policy issue of agriculture marketing orders. This is in lieu of Mr. Busch coming to Washington to request a private meeting with you in the White House.

Anheuser-Busch is concerned over possible government policy that could pay hops growers not to produce, thereby decreasing supply, and increasing the cost of hops. Stokes and Lambright just want to make you aware of the policy issues involved.

I hope you will agree to a very short conversation about this.

Thanks, Karl.

536041



BEST WISHES,

Lane Rone

Dustin- Have we already  
sent him something?

2003 JUL -7 PM 4: 59

Steve McDowell

(b)(6)

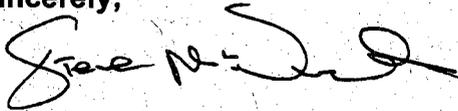
The White House  
Attn: White House Senior Advisor Karl Rove  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Rove:

My name is Steve McDowell and I am a Retired Vietnam Veteran whose only hobby now is my extensive Autograph Collection. In writing this letter, I am in hopes that you will be able to send me an Autographed Official Photograph signed in your hand? Please no Auto Pen or Machine Signed Pictures please.

This new hobby (b)(6) is my only Favorite Thing these days, and I sure would appreciate adding your Photo to my Private Collection. I am also a New Freedom Helper, a GOP Team Leader, and worked for the Republican Campaign here in Alabama before and during those last exciting days when President Bush actually was voted into Office! Also, may I say that you are doing a wonderful job in your capacity for The President, he could not ask for more!

Sincerely,



Steve McDowell

*ask KR  
maybe*

*Please  
decline*



*Last  
minute  
conflict*

From: Miss Amanda Downes  
Social Secretary,  
British Embassy,  
3100 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington DC 20008-3600.

Telephone: 202 588 7951

Facsimile: 202 588 7894

Date: *30th May*

To: *The Hon Karl Rove*

Number of pages including cover page: *3*



The British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr Tony Brenton  
requests the pleasure of your company of

..... *Mr and Mrs Karl Rove* .....

at a Tribute to the Life of The Rt. Hon. the Lord Jenkins of Hillhead  
on Tuesday, 15<sup>th</sup> July

Tribute at 6 o'clock followed by a reception

The Ambassador's Residence  
3100 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington DC 20008

R.S.V.P. to the Social Secretary  
by fax: 202 588 7894  
Business Attire

Limited parking will be available in the Embassy Compound  
Please present this invitation on arrival and bring ID

## Lord Jenkins of Hillhead

### Biography

Roy Jenkins was born in 1920, and was educated at Abersychan Grammar School and Balliol College, Oxford, where he read Philosophy, Politics and Economics. He was Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1987 until his death.

Lord Jenkins was Labour MP for Central Southwark (1948–50) and for Stechford, Birmingham (1950–77), and SDP MP for Glasgow Hillhead (1982–87). A former Chancellor of the Exchequer (1967–70), Home Secretary (1965–67 and 1974–76), and President of the Commission of the European Communities (1977–81), he was one of the four founders of the Social Democratic Party and its first leader, and was, until January 1998, Leader of the Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords.

Lord Jenkins was an Honorary Fellow of Balliol and St Antony's Colleges in Oxford and of Berkeley College, Yale. He held honorary doctorates from universities including Harvard, Pennsylvania, Louvain, Urbino, Michigan, Wales, Reading, Warwick, Trinity College Dublin, Bristol, Georgetown, Kent, West Virginia, Bologna, Sofia, and London. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1972 he was awarded both the Charlemagne and the Robert Schuman Prizes for promoting European unity. He also held the Luxembourg Order of Merit and the Prix Bentinck. He received the Freedom of the City of Brussels in 1980 and was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III of Spain in the same year, the Order of Merit of Italy in 1990 and a Commander of the order of Légion d'honneur of France in 1999. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1992, and awarded an Order of Merit in 1993.

Among his publications are *Mr Balfour's Poodle* (1954), *The Labour Case* (1959), *Asquith* (1964), *Afternoon on the Potomac?* (1972), *Nine Men of Power* (1974), *Truman* (1986), *Baldwin* (1987), his autobiography, *A Life at the Centre* (1991), *Gladstone* (1995), which won the 1995 Whitbread Biography Award, *The Chancellors* (1998), *Churchill* (2001) and *Twelve Cities* (2002). He was a frequent contributor to British newspapers and periodicals on a wide range of subjects. In 2001 the Chancellor was recognised with a lifetime award by the Wolfson History Prize panel.

536041

**FAX TRANSMITTAL**

July 11, 2003

**To: Karl Rove**

**Fax: 202 456-0191**

**From: John L. Sullivan**

**Fax: 409 740-4228**

**Phone: 409 740-4200 -O**

(b)(6) -H

*P. Declined wants*

**SULLIVAN LAND & CATTLE COMPANY PO BOX 3088 GALVESTON, TEXAS 77552**

Mr. Karl Rove  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

July 11, 2003

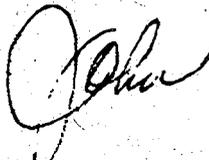
Dear *Karl*

My son, Rocky (John Richmond), Sullivan will be interning for Congressman Pete Sessions from July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2003 to July 25<sup>th</sup>, 2003. He will be at the White House on July 17<sup>th</sup> at 7:30 AM for a tour and on July 22<sup>nd</sup> to intern from 8:45 AM. He would very much like to meet with you on one of these dates or any other time when you could spare a few minutes to see him.

Rocky is an ambitious 18 year old who plans to be President someday. It would certainly be a thrill for him to meet you!

My personal best wishes to you and your family. Additionally, I think *The President is doing a job that's great and needs to continue through two thousand eight!*

Yours truly,



John L. Sullivan  
W. 409.740.4200  
Fax 409.740.4228

H  
C (b)(6)

*cell phone*  
(b)(6)

*BJ called to decline on 7/14/03*

*Rocky Sullivan*

(saved in REPUBLIC, ADMIN, Interns, Interns 2003, schedules - Section III)

**July 13-25, 2003****Intern Coordinator - Bethany Smith****Cell Phone Number - (b)(6)****Office of Congressman Pete Sessions - 202.225.2231****Office Location - Longworth House Office Building 1318****July 13, 2003 - Sunday****3:00 pm - 7:00pm - Arrive and get settled in their rooms/housing accommodations.****7:00 pm - Dinner with interns at George Washington University (Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis Hall - Directly across from Foggy Bottom Metro Station)****July 14, 2003 - Monday - Business Casual****9:00 am - Meet in front of Capitol South Metro Station, go to Longworth Office Building****9:30am - 12:00 pm - Orientation (HC - 8)****10:00 am - Judy Schneider "How Congress Works"****12:00 pm - 1:00 pm - Speaker: David Boaz, Executive Vice President (Topic: The War on Drugs: Constitutional and Moral Critique) - Located in B-339 Rayburn lunch will be provided****1:00 pm - Meet at Capitol South metro Station to compute to Archives****1:15 pm - 2:45pm - National Archives****3:00 pm - 4:00 pm - Visit Smithsonian Museums on the Mall****4:30 pm - 5:30pm - Kennedy Center Tour (Liz - 416.8341)****6:00 pm - Millennium Stage at the Kennedy Center (optional)****6:30 pm - Softball Game: Team Sessions vs. Young, but Legal****July 15, 2003 - Tuesday - PROFESSIONAL ATTIRE****8:45 am - Library of Congress (101 Independence Avenue; across from the Capitol building)****9:00 am - Library of Congress tour****11:00 am - Jonathan Poe with the NRCC****2:00 pm - Supreme Court (begins at 2:30pm must be there at 2:00pm to ensure the reservations; located next to the Library of Congress)****5:30pm - 6:30pm - Pictures with Congressman Pete Sessions (Cannon Balcony)****7:00pm - Dinner with Congressman Pete Sessions (HC - 8)****July 16, 2003 - Wednesday - Business Casual****8:50 am - Meet at Foggy Bottom Metro Station****9:30 am - Anne Frank Exhibit (at the Holocaust Museum)****11:30 am - The U.S. Holocaust Museum (confirmation 65381)****3:30 pm - 5:00 pm - Crossfire, CNN (Jack Morton Auditorium, Media and Public Affairs Building, The George Washington University on the corner of 21<sup>st</sup> and H streets)****7:00 pm - The United States Army Military District of Washington presents - The Twilight Tattoo at the Ellipse near the White House (optional)****6:30 pm - Softball Game: Team Sessions vs. Coalition of the Willing****July 17, 2003 - Thursday - Business Casual****7:20 am - White House Tour (meet at the SE Visitor's Entrance to the White House no later than 7:00am. Bring Congressional Intern ID Badge and Drivers License) (Paul, Lauren, Julianne, Katherine, Michael, Prasad, Rocky, Joseph, Casey, Marcus, Frederick)****11:00 am - Meet in front of Longworth House Office Building: Depart by Bus to Navy Yard****11:00 am - 4:00 pm Jag Day Contact: Erin @ (b)(6)****6:30 pm - Softball Game: Team Sessions vs. Dept of Homeplate Security****July 18, 2003 - Friday****8:45 am - Meet in front of Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis Hall at George Washington University**

(Take the Metro Blue and Orange line and transfer to the Red Line to the Tenleytown/ALU station, Exit on the west side of Wisconsin Avenue, Take any "30" series bus (#30, #32, #34 or #36) going south on Wisconsin Avenue, Ride approximately one and one-half miles south on Wisconsin Avenue to the Cathedral. (This is a downhill walk, if you prefer to walk.)

10:00 am - 11:00 am - National Cathedral

1:00 pm - 3:30 pm Coast Guard Tour (meet outside Longworth House Office Building)

**\*\*Press Release Due\*\***

**July 19-20, 2003 - Saturday and Sunday**

**Weekend:** Trip ideas; Monticello, New York, Philadelphia, Atlantic City, Charlottesville, US Army Ordinance Museum at Aberdeen Proving Grounds, Antietam Civil War Battlefield in Sharpsburg, Gettysburg Civil War Battlefield, Annapolis/Naval Academy, Chesapeake Bay, DC Sessions

**July 21, 2003 - Monday**

10:00am - 12:00pm - Spy Museum (Contact Chase Lum @ 654.0980; 800 F Street NW & 9<sup>th</sup>)

6:30 pm - Softball Game: Team Sessions vs. Bread for the City

7:05 pm - Baltimore Oriole vs Texas Rangers Oriole Park at Camden Yards (take the train from Union Station to Baltimore)

**July 22, 2003 - Tuesday - PROFESSIONAL ATTIRE**

8:45 am - Intern at the White House (BRING CONGRESSIONAL ID'S!)

← Meet Bethany at the 1800 G Street in front of the building

**July 23, 2003 - Wednesday**

7:30 am - Leave for Mount Vernon (Take Metro's Yellow Line Train to Huntington

Station in Virginia. Exit to the lower level (Huntington Avenue) of the station to catch a

Fairfax Connector bus to Mount Vernon. Board the Fairfax Connector Bus, 101, at

Huntington Station for a 20 minute trip to Mount Vernon's entrance gate; fare is \$.50.

Monday through Friday: 7:09; 8:11; 9:11; 10:19; 11:19; 12:19; 1:19; 2:19; 3:19; 3:44; 4:14).

8:45 am - Mount Vernon

7:00 pm - The United States Army Military District of Washington presents The Twilight Tattoo at the Ellipse near the White House

8:00pm - Intern Survivor (JBKO Basement with Congressman Sessions)

**July 24, 2003 - Thursday - PROFESSIONAL ATTIRE**

8:45 am - Meet in front of Longworth House Office Building

9:00 am - 10:00 am - Coffee with Senator Kay Bailey Hutchinson (284 Russell Senate Office Building)

4:00 pm - Bureau of Engraving and Printing Tour

6:30 pm - Softball Game: Team Sessions vs. Young, but Legal

**July 25, 2003 - Friday**

**Wrap-up and final evaluations**

10:00 am - 12:00pm - Guy Harrison and Marty McGuinness

2:00 pm - Singapore Embassy

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	White House Innovation Summit, PCAST - To: Karl Rove - From: Steve Papermaster	1	06/13/2003	P5; 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.**

**COLLECTION:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

**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 advice 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	Akron Beacon Journal - Alex Arshinkoff.... - To: Matthew Schlapp, et al. - From: Scott Stanzel	1	06/12/2003	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:

536041

#### FRC ID:

9711

#### OA Num.:

10735

#### NARA Num.:

10793

#### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

#### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- 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.

**Ohio.com**

Posted on Thu, Jun. 12, 2003

## Stories fly about life of Summit GOP chief

**Alternative magazine publishes allegations about Alex Arshinkoff, hitchhiker, nightclubs****By Bob Dyer**  
Beacon Journal staff writer

His enemies have whispered it for years. But not until now has it been paraded into the spotlight.

The new issue of Scene magazine features a cover story titled, "The Godfather in the Closet." In it, the Cleveland publication accuses Summit County Republican Chairman Alex Arshinkoff of going to gay bars and offering political favors to keep that knowledge quiet.

The magazine also details a police report accusing Arshinkoff of touching a male hitchhiker he picked up at 2 a.m. on a cold December night in the Highland Square section of Akron.

When contacted for comment Wednesday, Arshinkoff said he hadn't read the article. Later, his niece, lawyer Betty Konen, called and said:

"Everybody knows that Alex's political adversaries have been promoting this for months. And finally, after all this time, an alternative publication has sensationalized the police report that was previously circulated to daily newspapers and rejected as a story...."

"This story is preposterous, = [100.0]and everyone who knows Alex and Karen Arshinkoff knows it is not true."

Given his bitter, ongoing wars with local Democrats, much of the invective in the story is not surprising. But a couple of Republicans rip him, too. Former Fairlawn Mayor Pete Kostoff claims Arshinkoff double-crossed him, and Common Pleas Judge Mary Spicer talks about falling from Arshinkoff's favor in a dispute over Oriana House.

After Kostoff failed to toe the line, several relatives were fired from government jobs.

### Democrat interviewed

That, apparently, is one of the reasons Democrat Michael Curry, who works for the Summit County Board of Elections, was not afraid to "out" Arshinkoff in the Scene story.

Curry describes encountering the GOP leader on different nights in two gay bars, the Leather Stallion and The Grid, both on St. Clair Avenue on the near east side of Cleveland. The former bills itself online as "the Midwest's Oldest Gay Leather/Levi Club."

According to Curry, Arshinkoff offered to allow two Democratic judges to run unopposed if Curry would keep his mouth shut.

Curry, reached Wednesday evening, said everything in the article pertaining to him was accurate. He was willing to go on the record because of "the (type of) people he's running for office (while) living the

double life."

### **Other allegations**

Among the other charges in the 5,000-word story, Arshinkoff:

- Sponsored campaign ads wrongly claiming Democrat Probate Judge Jane Bond was under investigation by the state Supreme Court because her husband profited from a program she supervised.
- Arranged a lucrative contract between the Republican attorney general's office and a lawyer who had made major contributions to the county's GOP.
- While chairman of the University of Akron's board of trustees, switched some of the university's law work from Buckingham, Doolittle and Burroughs to Amer Cunningham when his niece, Konen, left the former for the latter.

Scene is a free weekly publication with a circulation of about 100,000. It is widely distributed in Summit County, at stores, bars, restaurants and newsstands.

In the story, written by staff writer Sarah Fenske, an incident two days after Christmas is explored in great detail.

According to Scene, the young man was hitching a ride. Arshinkoff picked him up, asked him about his sexuality and refused to take him home.

According to a police report, at that point the driver tried to touch the hitchhiker. The hitchhiker jumped out at a red light.

Police were watching as the car sped away and stopped it to see whether the driver was intoxicated. He wasn't. He told police he had picked up a hitchhiker but kicked him out because he was too drunk. Meanwhile, the hitchhiker circled back and approached the police after Arshinkoff pulled away and told them he jumped out after the driver tried to touch him.

### **No complaint filed**

Police did not pursue the matter because the hitchhiker, a 21-year-old Kent State University student, did not file a complaint.

No formal police report was written, but "field interrogation cards" were filled out by officers at the scene.

The Akron Beacon Journal heard about the documents in January. City officials initially said the reports weren't public records.

When the Beacon Journal threatened to sue to obtain them, the city released copies. After viewing the reports, the newspaper made a decision not to pursue a story because no formal charge was made.

Akron City Prosecutor Doug Powley said Wednesday that he was only made aware of the cards through the downtown rumor mill. He said such cards are maintained by the department primarily for possible future drug or prostitution investigations.

Based on the information taken by the officers, there was not enough evidence to bring charges.

"You cannot prosecute for sexual imposition under the statute unless the purported victim is offended by the contact," said Powley. "If the victim is not complaining, it would appear they are not offended. I cannot be offended for the victim."

The hitchhiker could not be reached for comment Wednesday.

Some of Arshinkoff's enemies were downright gleeful Wednesday, anticipating that the disclosure would lead to his political demise.

Said Tom Adgate, a Republican who incurred Arshinkoff's wrath by running against his hand-picked prosecutor, Michael Callahan: "I guess family values has a whole new meaning."

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*Beacon Journal staff writer Phil Trexler contributed to this story. Bob Dyer can be reached at 330-996-3580 or [bdyer@thebeaconjournal.com](mailto:bdyer@thebeaconjournal.com).*

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## Close Window

From clevescene.com

Originally published by *Cleveland Scene* Jun 11, 2003

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## The Godfather In the Closet

**The Republican boss of Summit County revels in crushing his enemies. Now his private life might crush him.**

BY SARAH FENSKE

It was past 2 a.m. when the kid left the bar and headed for home. Back from college for Christmas, he'd met up with his high school buddies at Annabell's, a neighborhood watering hole in Akron. Frustrated for reasons that no longer seem important, the 21-year-old Kent State student had been too annoyed to wait for a ride.

It wasn't long before he wished he had. It had been a white Christmas. The ground was still blanketed, early that morning of December 27, 2002; the air, frigid. Maybe a stranger would give him a lift.

As the kid would later explain in an interview with *Scene*, he tried to flag down the first car he spotted, a souped-up Mitsubishi, neon underbelly aglow. It didn't stop. But when the new Audi behind it did, the kid got in.

The driver was a middle-aged white man. Dark hair, well dressed. He asked the kid how he was doing; the kid said OK, then offered a few dollars for gas. The man said not to worry.

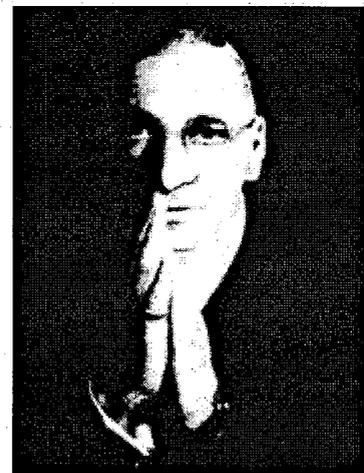
The kid told him to take a right at Main Street. But the man didn't. *I'll get you home, don't worry about it*, the kid remembers him saying. Then the man started rubbing his thigh. *Are you gay?* he asked. *Are you bi? No? Are you sure?*

The kid was trying not to freak out. He saw a red light ahead and clicked open his seatbelt, bracing himself for the jump out. But the light flicked to green.

*What are you doing?* The man asked. *Are you nervous?*

The kid said no, he was just trying to get comfortable. The man was caressing his thigh, grabbing at his crotch. "I didn't want to piss him off," he says. "He could just hit the gas, and I'd be stuck."

*Do you want to make some money?* The man asked. The kid laughed weakly and said he had plenty. He was watching the light ahead, willing it to stay red.



**Arshinkoff, 50, has run the county Republican Party for half his life.**

The Audi pulled to a stop, and the kid saw his chance. He took off running. The Audi peeled off in a different direction.

Then the kid heard a siren. An Akron patrolman had witnessed his desperate departure, according to the police report. The cop stopped the car and questioned the driver. The man told him he'd picked the kid up, but he was too drunk and had hopped out.

But the kid, fearing trouble, doubled back to the cop car. Gasping for breath, he relayed his version. The man had tried to touch him, he said. He had to run. "You can arrest me for anything you want right now," he remembers saying.

The cop took the driver's information and let him go. Then he told the kid to relax, something like "What are you doing getting into a stranger's car, anyway?" He offered to take the kid home.

Then a second black-and-white pulled up. The officer gestured at the departing Audi with its ARA 1 vanity plate. "Do you know who that was?" the kid heard him ask. "That was Alex Arshinkoff. He's the chair of the county Republican Party."

"My stomach just dropped," the kid says.

---

For years, Alex Arshinkoff topped the scale at more than 400 pounds. He was a man of giant appetites: for politics, for conversation, and of course, for food. A former dining companion says Arshinkoff would order one entrée, finish it, then order another. Sometimes he'd go for a third.

Thanks to the Atkins diet, a personal trainer, and daily nine-mile walks, Arshinkoff has shed half of his girth. But he's still larger than life. Head of the Summit County GOP for 25 years, he seems to burnish a reputation as the county's Dark Lord, a man who consumes politics and plays to win. To many insiders, he is Don Corleone in the flesh, with a dose of Machiavelli's Prince thrown in for good measure.

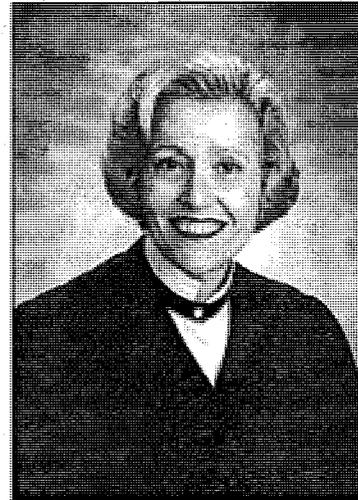
(Through his assistant, Arshinkoff declined *Scene's* interview request.)

Since two failed runs for city council more than two decades ago, Arshinkoff has never been the guy on the ballot. He's not a politician, as he'll tell anyone willing to listen.

He's far more powerful, and he knows it. He picks the candidates. He runs their campaigns. He tells them what to do. Who to hire. Who to fire. If they don't play ball, they're out. Just like that. He's done it to top Summit Republicans. He did it as a University of Akron trustee.

He was on George W. Bush's campaign finance committee. Karl Rove is said to call him for advice. When the first President Bush visited Akron in 1990, he started his speech by thanking Alex

Photo courtesy of Judge Mary Spicer



**Republican Judge Mary Spicer held onto her seat — despite opposition from the party boss's niece.**

Walter Novak



**County Executive James McCarthy says people would be "all over" the report if it involved a young female hitchhiker.**

Arshinkoff.

"He's a master of the nuts and bolts of politics," says state Senator Kevin Coughlin (R-Cuyahoga Falls). "He is just one of these old-school political leaders."

Arshinkoff lives for the job, calling up candidates at all hours of the night with advice and exhortations. When he's not being compared to Machiavelli, he gets Boss Tweed.

"Even those who don't like him have to admit he's as shrewd as they come," says Republican County Councilman Mike Callahan.

He's made himself wealthy. He's on Senator Mike DeWine's payroll as a consultant; he also began a lobbying business in 1997, harvesting the ties he developed as party chairman. He represents nine companies, from FirstEnergy to Playhouse Square, offering his advice and pushing their interests in Columbus. He has a \$200,000 home in Hudson, an antique Chevy Bel Air, and two Corvettes -- in addition to the Audi paid for by the party.

His family has done well too. One brother is a bailiff; so is a sister-in-law. One niece is Barberton's clerk of courts; another is the party's attorney; a third works for the county engineer. Until Republicans lost the judge's seat this January, his nephew-in-law worked for the Juvenile Court.

In other counties, party chairs aren't so powerful, and there's little reason Summit County should be an exception. Akron has long been heavily Democratic. Despite suburban growth, the county retains a three-to-two Democratic edge.

But you'd never know it, looking at a list of Summit County officeholders. Under Arshinkoff, Republicans have put practically every seat in play. They hold a majority of judgeships, the Probate Court, the sheriff's office, both Ohio House districts, and the state senate seat.

"He has created the most effective county organization in the state," says Arshinkoff's Cuyahoga County counterpart, state Representative Jim Trakas. "Republicans in Summit County do better than they should. And state and national candidates do much better there than they should too."

A relentless fund-raiser, Arshinkoff gets \$100,000 checks from lawyers and \$1 million donations from CEOs. He also collects from the little guys: A list of campaign contributions shows bailiffs, magistrates, low-level county flunkies and their spouses -- all chipping in their \$100 or \$1,000 when asked.

He's a great motivator. "He has always kept the heat on, kept the pressure on," says state Representative Bryan Williams (R-Akron). "He keeps people prepared and primed and ready to go."

In 2000, the county party raised more than \$2.19 million and spent \$200,000 on TV ads, \$300,000 on the sheriff's campaign, and \$700,000 in a failed bid for the county executive's office.

The money doesn't just stay in Akron. In the last decade, the party gave \$64,000 to Bob Taft, \$46,500 to Secretary of State Kenneth Blackwell, and a whopping \$339,000 to Ohio Auditor Betty Montgomery.

To Arshinkoff, though, the local game is paramount. He's not so much interested in policy, though friends insist he's a true right-wing believer. For him it's the power, and power is in the money: the salaries, retirement benefits, and perks intrinsic in several hundred county jobs.

"It all has to do with raising money, contracts, pay-to-play," says County Executive James

McCarthy, a Democrat. "If you don't give money to his party, you're not going to get jobs from the county -- or state contracts."

Democrats point to lawyer Deidre Hanlon. From 1996 to 2001, she earned \$1.69 million from Attorney General Betty Montgomery's office. Most of the money came from an exclusive contract, allowing Hanlon to sell assets of deceased Summit County residents to pay off their Medicaid bills. As *The Plain Dealer* first reported, she was one of only two lawyers in the state to get such a contract.

Her luck may have followed the money trail: From 1996 to 2001, Hanlon donated \$121,000 to the county GOP. Meanwhile, under Arshinkoff, the Summit GOP gave Montgomery \$244,400 during the same period.

Democrats say it's a system where those who play ball are rewarded; the recalcitrant are punished.

Consider Sandra Robinson. She beat a Democrat for a Juvenile Court judgeship in 1990 -- a surprising upset and a major victory for a party that counts its success by the jobs it controls.

Arshinkoff was in heaven. But Robinson was no pushover. "He made suggestions," she says. "Some of them were good." She had no problem hiring loyal Republicans who were qualified, she says, but refused to hire those who weren't.

That was her fatal mistake. When it came time for her reelection four years later, Arshinkoff ran another Republican in the primary -- with the party's full support. Robinson lost. "If I wanted to stay there, there were rules to play by. I didn't," she says. "I know I could have gone the other way and still be sitting there today."

Kim Hoover, then a Cuyahoga Falls councilman, found himself in a similar position in 1994. The county prosecutor's seat opened up when its longtime holder was appointed a judge; Hoover was widely considered the Republican Party's top choice.

But first Arshinkoff wanted to talk. The day before the appointment was to be announced, Arshinkoff informed him of the people to be fired his first day, Hoover says. One was Fred Zuch, chief of the criminal division, a widely respected bulldog who paid no mind to the orders of party bosses.

Arshinkoff's reasons seemed nebulous at best, Hoover says. He refused.

It didn't take long for Arshinkoff to find another candidate: Maureen O'Connor, then a common pleas judge. She took the job.

O'Connor didn't have to fire Zuch; Hoover's plight was leaked to the newspapers, and even Arshinkoff wasn't bold enough to order Zuch's termination after that. But the opportunity Hoover missed is clear. Five years later, O'Connor was elected lieutenant governor. She now sits on the Ohio Supreme Court.

Today Hoover is a Cuyahoga Falls Municipal Court judge. He hears traffic violations, DUIs, and minor drug busts.

He has no regrets. "I know who and what I am," he says. "Alex can say to me, 'If you'd listened to me, you could be lieutenant governor, you could be a Supreme Court justice.' Well, I have no interest in those types of things. And he can't beat me here in my own town -- and that's a source of great frustration to him."

Last election, Hoover faced a challenger in the Republican primary. He beat her handily. Soon after, Arshinkoff appointed her to an open Municipal Court seat. She'd done her job by challenging the rogue Republican; she'd earned it.

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Get people talking about Arshinkoff, and soon enough they'll mention the incident involving the Kent State student. "You've heard about that report, right?" they'll ask. Feign ignorance, and they'll offer you a copy.

In the six months since that night, the police report has been circulated among politicians, pushed at newspaper reporters, and whispered about wherever Democrats gather. The kid got a call from someone who works for Summit County and someone at *The Plain Dealer*. The first wanted to know if he thought Arshinkoff was dangerous; he didn't call the second back.

The kid isn't exactly basking in the attention. He doesn't want his name used; he has no intention of filing suit. "It's water under the bridge to me," he says. But he can't help but wonder: "What is a public official going and picking up people like that?"

Nothing official became of the report. The kid says the police never talked to him again. He didn't press the matter, either. Akron Deputy Police Chief Mike Madden says the cops generally don't investigate "field reports," which are generated by traffic stops rather than official complaints.

"You've got a he said/she said situation, or in this case, he said/he said," Madden says. "There's no way for me to make a case out of that." Sure, if the kid is telling the truth, the incident could be a case of sexual imposition, Madden says. But who's to say? There are no witnesses, no physical evidence.

"I don't know that anyone even took cognizance of this report when it came in," Madden says. "If it weren't that particular name on it, no one would even care."

But it is that name. And people do care. For a Republican who touts "family values," there's a question of hypocrisy. There's also the antagonism factor: Arshinkoff has made so many enemies, they're practically a political party of their own. Even people who say positive things about him are glad to snark when they know it won't get back to him.

Of course, every powerful man has enemies, but the hatred Arshinkoff engenders goes beyond that. Now, perhaps emboldened by the report, many people who've felt his lash are breaking their silence for the first time.

Pete Kostoff, the mayor of suburban Fairlawn for 11 years, was a loyal party man who shared Arshinkoff's Macedonian heritage. Their fathers were friends, and they'd attended the same Eastern Orthodox church for years. Kostoff was considered one of Arshinkoff's top lieutenants.

That meant little when Kostoff endorsed a Democrat in the Cuyahoga Falls mayoral race. It wasn't just any Democrat -- it was his law partner and close friend, Wayne Jones. Kostoff thought it would be OK, because Jones was taking on Don Robart, a Republican known to be on the outs with Arshinkoff.

Indeed, Kostoff thought he had Arshinkoff's blessing. "He told me I'd have to sit out for a period of time, but then I'd be brought back to the party," Kostoff says. Like a good soldier, he agreed to step down from the party's central and executive committees, presuming it was temporary. Arshinkoff told him that he would also be supporting Jones, however quietly.

But as the campaign heated up, it became apparent that Arshinkoff was doing no such thing. Robart's campaign literature was vintage Arshinkoff. It showed an aerial view of Jones's five-acre spread, calling him out for supporting low-income housing because *he* didn't have to live by it.

After Jones lost and it came time for Kostoff's promised rehabilitation, he and Arshinkoff met for lunch. "You'll have to buy a little time," Kostoff remembers his friend saying.

After six months, Kostoff could read the writing on the wall. "There are a lot of people pissed off at you," Arshinkoff told him.

"I was hoping you'd help explain this to them," Kostoff protested.

No such luck. "It became convenient for me to be expendable," Kostoff says.

Within the next three years, Kostoff's uncle was fired from the Board of Elections -- just one year before he could retire with a decent pension, Kostoff says. His brother was fired from the engineer's office. His sister-in-law, the chief magistrate at Juvenile Court, returned from a week's vacation to find a letter tacked to her front door. She, too, had been sacked.

"At the end of the day," Kostoff says, "people can say it's just politics, but I don't think you use politics to hurt people. He and his gang seem to enjoy inflicting hurt on people."

Kostoff gives money to Republicans he thinks are independent. He considers himself part of the Republican Party. But he won't give it money, not as long as Arshinkoff is around. "Sooner or later, other people of conviction are going to stand up and tell him it's time to move on."

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Common Pleas Judge Mary Spicer had always been a good Republican, though she was occasionally annoyed by Arshinkoff's directives. He'd summon the Republican judges to lunch at Tangier or the Portage Country Club, then tell them who to hire, she says. She resented it.

Spicer was the court's point woman for Oriana House, a halfway house the county used as a sentencing alternative to hard time. Though Spicer did the nitty-gritty supervision work, all eight judges signed off on decisions and appointments. They were, technically, a "judicial corrections board," she says, though they didn't officially meet or take minutes.

Such leadership may have seemed lackadaisical, but no one considered it a problem. The county was happy with Oriana, says County Executive McCarthy. So were the judges.

Or so they thought.

In February 2002, it was Spicer's task to get the other judges to sign off on appointments to Oriana's citizens' advisory board. Most were reappointments -- people involved with the issues at hand, such as vocational training and rehab programs.

But that wasn't what her fellow Republican, John Adams, noticed when Spicer gave him the papers to sign.

"These are all Democrats," he told her.

Spicer was surprised. She'd never thought of party affiliation as an issue. Still, she agreed to let Adams take the appointment papers and think it over. She couldn't formalize the appointments

until another judge returned from vacation anyway.

(Adams says he "may have issue" with Spicer's recollections, but would prefer not to revisit "these things.")

Then Spicer's phone rang. It was her cousin, Probate Court Judge Bill Spicer. He reminded her that the filing deadline for their reelection campaigns was a week away. He also asked her to hold off on the Oriana appointments. "These are our last bargaining chips," he said. (Bill Spicer declined comment for this story.)

Mary Spicer knew that Adams, Arshinkoff, and her cousin were tight. She also knew that another Common Pleas judge, Democrat Jane Bond, was planning to challenge her cousin for his seat. The link was clear, she says: The GOP would approve the appointments only if Bond got out of the race.

Spicer thought it ridiculous. Then she got a call from Arshinkoff.

He was irate, Spicer says, and launched into a rant about Oriana House. "He said there was all this fraud and theft and corruption," she recalls, still amazed. But he offered no evidence, no specifics. Yelling, he said he was only telling her because he had to protect "his" judges.

Spicer yelled back, finally shouting that she wasn't going to talk about it anymore. Then she hung up.

In short order, she got a visit from her cousin and his bailiff, Chris Masich. They asked her to get Bond to drop out of the Probate Court race, she says. They told her she could promise Bond that she'd never face an opponent again.

Spicer resisted. She saw the party boss's hand. "This is how Alex Arshinkoff works," Spicer says. "He sends other people with messages, so he can say, 'I never said that.'"

Shortly thereafter, Masich sent Spicer a note telling her to forget the whole thing. Judge Adams started making a stink to the papers about problems with Oriana House's leadership, using buzzwords of "fraud" and "corruption."

The only judge to second him was another Republican running for reelection; after that judge announced her concerns, her challenger, another Republican, decided not to run after all.

Insiders believe Arshinkoff wanted control of the jobs at Oriana. If the organization could be proved corrupt, the county could take it over -- meaning direct oversight by Republican judges, meaning more jobs for the GOP to fill.

"Alex likes any place that has people," McCarthy says, "because that becomes patronage, contributors, campaigners."

Jim Lawrence, Oriana's executive director, would accuse Arshinkoff of "running a political operation out of Common Pleas Court." But it was effective: State Auditor Jim Petro agreed to do an audit.

Then Adams -- despite only four years' experience as a Common Pleas judge -- was appointed to a federal judgeship. And Arshinkoff's niece, attorney Betty Konen, announced that she was running against Mary Spicer as an independent.

Arshinkoff pushed an unprecedented amendment through the GOP's executive committee: From

then on, the party could give support -- and cash -- to independents, even those challenging Republicans.

Spicer won her reelection, despite not getting a penny from the party or use of its in-house communications firm. She was also barred from using the party's bulk-rate postage unless Arshinkoff first approved her mailers. (She declined.)

Still, Arshinkoff had his own interpretation of Spicer's victory. He noted to a friend that Spicer had been forced to spend \$70,000 of her own money on the campaign.

Spicer isn't bitter. "I'm still here," she says. "And I have a new birth of freedom. I don't get calls summoning me to lunch." She doesn't get told who to hire, either. She just gets ignored.

The Oriana House fallout continues. Montgomery, one of the largest recipients of Arshinkoff's largesse, took the auditor's position in January. A month later, she announced that the ongoing performance audit would be teamed with a more extensive "special audit."

Due to Montgomery's ties to Arshinkoff, Oriana's attorney asked her for an independent, outside review. She refused.

Four months later, she has yet to announce any major findings or problems, or complete the first audit. She's still looking.

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With Arshinkoff, politics always comes first. Callahan, the county councilman, remembers Arshinkoff saying at a late-night poker game, "I've got a lot of friends in this business, but I'm in the business of getting people elected. That comes first. The job comes first." Good government can finish no better than a distant second.

In 1999, two Common Pleas judges completed a study showing that the Court needed two more judges. The recommendation was approved by the county and the Ohio Supreme Court. The bill was written.

And then it died.

The reason? State Senator Roy Ray, an Akron Republican and Arshinkoff ally, lobbied fellow legislators to kill it. His official reason: The courthouse didn't have room for two more judges.

But Judge Mary Spicer says word drifted back from Columbus that Arshinkoff had stopped it. After all, more judges meant more openings for Democrats, in years when Arshinkoff already had several expensive races to run.

The same fate befell plans to add a second Juvenile Court judge. For years, court workers had pushed for another judge as well as building renovations.

But talks between County Executive McCarthy, a Democrat, and Juvenile Court Judge Judy Hunter, a Republican, reached a stalemate in 2001. So Hunter asked Kostoff to run interference.

The Kostoff plan, recorded in a letter signed by Hunter in February 2001, agreed to details of building expansion and signed off on adding a second judge once renovations were complete.

One month later, McCarthy got a terse, one-paragraph letter from Hunter. She wrote that she

"must and do hereby rescind" her previous statements. She gave no explanation.

Kostoff says Arshinkoff caught wind of the plan and stopped it. He was afraid Democrats would win the second judgeship and wrest partial control of the Juvenile Court, which Republicans then held.

Hunter denies this, although she offers no explanation. "There were a whole lot of dynamics at work with that whole scenario, including other issues beside court expansion," she says. As for Arshinkoff's involvement, "You would have to talk to him about that."

Arshinkoff's goal might be protecting his party, but it's irritated his opponents to the point of open contempt. "I have no respect for him, for a lot of reasons," says Jones, now the county Democratic Party's finance chairman. "He's been in powerful positions, and he's used that position in no way to help the county. It's all for his personal gain."

Arshinkoff's power plays extend beyond government. He sat on the University of Akron Board of Trustees for nine years and was its chairman from 1997 to 2001.

Under his watch, the board drummed out university President Peggy Gordon Elliott, after commissioning a report from then-Attorney General Montgomery on Elliott's hiring practices. Montgomery's report finished with "no recommendations or ultimate conclusions," but it was enough for the trustees to send Elliott packing, settlement agreement in hand. The trustees who supported her ouster were Republicans; Democrats were irate, but outnumbered.

John Wray was the university's treasurer when he drew Arshinkoff's ire. Wray says he's still not sure what happened, though he won't dispute that politics played a role. William Beyer, then the associate vice president of administrative support services and Wray's boss, is more outspoken.

"John's work was outstanding," he says. "But you could see what was going on. There was talk for a couple years that they weren't happy with him, because he did a lot of work for [then-Democratic Congressman] Tom Sawyer. That's the way things were up there."

Wray, whose contract wasn't renewed, headed off to Walsh University in Canton.

It was hard to fight. Trustees are appointed by the governor, and for years, Ohio's governor has been Republican. Akron's board is stacked with big Republican contributors: Of the nine members currently serving, eight have contributed more than \$7,000 to county party coffers in the last four years, according to records. As for the ninth, her husband provided the money.

Arshinkoff may be gone from the university, but his relatives are still making money there. The university began using the firm Buckingham, Doolittle & Burroughs for substantial amounts of legal work in 1999. In 2001, the firm's workload dropped precipitously, and the university took on a new firm, Amer Cunningham Co., according to financial records.

What happened? Konen, Arshinkoff's beloved niece, left Buckingham, Doolittle in August 2001. She landed at -- where else? -- Amer Cunningham.

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Hardball campaign ads have become Arshinkoff's signature. He uses TV extensively, even for judicial seats, though Summit County is dependent on costly Cleveland airtime. Every penny seems to bring torrents of mud.

In one ad, Judge Bond -- who lost a tight Probate Court race last year - was accused of being

under investigation by the Ohio Supreme Court because her husband did work for Oriana House, while she supposedly supervised it.

Never mind that she hadn't actively supervised the program. Or that her husband earned a total of \$2,000. Or that the Supreme Court had received a complaint from one of Arshinkoff's buddies, but wasn't necessarily investigating.

Presumably, a man who plays this brand of hardball should know the ball will eventually be fired back.

Michael Curry believes so. In the summer of 2001, Curry, who works for the Summit County Board of Elections, spotted Arshinkoff at the Leather Stallion, a gay bar on St. Clair. The Democrat made a point of greeting Arshinkoff "just to freak him out," he says.

Thirty minutes later, Arshinkoff came over and asked him to stay quiet about seeing him there, Curry says. Curry replied that it wasn't his style to out people. "It's just not my belief system," he says.

Arshinkoff seemed relieved. "If there's anything I can do for you, I'd be happy to do it," he said, according to Curry.

Joking, Curry seized the gambit. He named two friends, both Democratic judges. "I want to see that the two of them never have any opponents," he said.

"I can do that," Arshinkoff responded.

"I was shocked at the transference of power," Curry says. He'd been joking, after all. But when he ran into Arshinkoff several months later, at a gay dance club called The Grid, Arshinkoff waved him over. "He said he'd live up to his end of the bargain," Curry recalls.

Curry decided not to live up to his. "I've just decided he's a hypocrite about it," he says. "He's gone out and recruited candidates who are homophobic and anti-gay." Also, it's tempting to envision the fallout: "If he ever openly admitted he was gay, I think a lot of the money would dry up."

The pyre is growing. The newest memo circulating among the anti-Arshinkoff crowd is a complaint phoned in to the board of elections: In the conversation, a former Municipal Court employee claims Arshinkoff sexually harassed him.

It's public record, duly noted by a deputy clerk. Coupled with the police report, it's led to talk of an overthrow.

But Democrats aren't sure how to play it. "We're a party that supports gay rights," says county Chairman Russ Pry. "We don't believe in outing people. But we don't believe in being hypocrites, either. We don't believe in condemning someone's lifestyle -- and then secretly living it."

Adds McCarthy, "If this was an elected official who had picked up a young girl, I think people would have been all over that. And if Alex is a cruiser, if that's his M.O. . . . I'm sure there are people within his party that would be upset."

Chris Bleuenstein, who recently quit the Republican central and executive committees, says he thinks the gay issue may be the straw that finally breaks Arshinkoff's back. "Most people are aware of it," he says. "Stupid him -- he just keeps getting caught."

The party, Bleuenstein believes, is probably "not enlightened enough" to deal with a gay leader. "I would envision a coup," he says, adding, "He is not going to step down."

Madden, the Akron police deputy, says the whole thing doesn't seem fair. Arshinkoff hasn't been charged with anything, and homosexual acts -- Rick Santorum's views aside -- are perfectly legal in Ohio. "There's crime, and then there's embarrassment," Madden says.

But this is politics. And Alex Arshinkoff would be the first to explain: In politics, embarrassment is often enough.

Briefing  
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: KARL ROVE  
SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TIM GOEGLEIN  
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

MATT SMITH  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

DATE: THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 2003

RE: LUNCH WITH KATE O'BEIRNE AND GUESTS

Time/Location: 12:00 p.m. / The Oval Room (800 Connecticut Avenue, NW)

Invited attendees: Kate O'Beirne - National Review  
Brit Hume - Fox News Channel  
Jon Rauch - National Journal  
Larry Kudlow - National Review  
Hugo Gurdon - conservative editor of The Hill  
Ramesh Ponnuru - National Review  
Byron York - National Review

Potential Topics: Campaign 2004  
Medicare Reform  
Economy  
Judicial Nominations, including Supreme Court

Attachments:  
Current articles by attendees

## **Their Brothers' Keepers**

**June 30, 2003 – CURRENT ISSUE OF NATIONAL REVIEW**

**By Kate O'Beirne**

In early May, the Institute on Religion and Democracy sent a letter to President Bush, prompted by South Korean president Roh Moo Hyun's visit to Washington. The letter — spearheaded by Christian conservatives — issued a plea in behalf of Roh's suffering neighbors: "We call on you to give voice to desperate cries for freedom from the tormented people of North Korea." The liberal National Council of Churches received a very different letter, concerning its work in North Korea: The head of a North Korean government-approved Christian church group thanked the Council for siding with the "international solidarity movement for peace" and condemned America's "high-handed and imprudent acts." Liberal religious groups, which once enjoyed a monopoly on the issue of human rights, are largely silent about abuses not only in North Korea but in many other repressive states, including Cuba, China, Sudan, Nigeria, and Iran. In recent years, religious conservatives have become the most effective international human-rights crusaders.

*See additional attachment for full article as it appears in this week's issue of National Review*

## **Sandra's Day**

**June 30, 2003 – CURRENT ISSUE OF NATIONAL REVIEW – Cover Story**

**By Ramesh Ponnuru**

Justice O'Connor gets her way more often than the chief justice does. As the "swing vote" on the Court, O'Connor is in the majority more often than any of her colleagues. Legal briefs in important cases are written to appeal, above all, to her. As a result of her position at the center of the Court, she can be a powerful voice for conservatives when she is with them. When the Court upheld school choice last year, it was her unqualified endorsement of the decision in a concurring opinion, as much as the majority opinion itself, that conferred solidity to the ruling. But it is disturbing to reflect that, given the power the Supreme Court has assumed, O'Connor has become the most powerful woman in America. Excluding foreign policy, indeed, one could even say that she is the most powerful person in America.

*See additional attachment for full article as it appears in this week's issue of National Review*

## **Byron York**

**June 12, 2003, 8:45 a.m. National Review Online**

**The Nominee Who Won't Back Down**

**Alabama's Bill Pryor faces Senate Democrats.**

Say you find yourself nominated for a seat on one of the nation's federal courts of appeal. You face a confirmation hearing in a bitterly divided Senate Judiciary Committee. You know that if you've ever made any particularly blunt statements in the past - particularly if they were true - you'll be confronted with your words and expected to explain to senators that your remarks were somehow taken out of context, that your real meaning was obscured, or that you wouldn't say such a thing today.

At least that's what the confirmation handbook says you should do. But on Wednesday in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, William Pryor, the Alabama state attorney general who has been nominated to a seat on the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals, threw the confirmation handbook out the window. The result was one of the most extraordinary Judiciary Committee sessions in recent memory.

#### THE "WORST ABOMINATION"

Pryor has said some very blunt things in the past. For example, he's a vigorous opponent of abortion and has called the Roe v. Wade decision "the worst abomination in the history of constitutional law."

The quote appears in every anti-Pryor tract produced by the liberal interest groups that oppose his nomination. Before the hearing, Pryor no doubt knew that more than one senator would read his words to him and ask for an explanation. And indeed, right off the bat, New York Democrat Charles Schumer recited the "abomination" line and asked, "Do you believe that now?"

It was the perfect moment for Pryor to begin a backpedaling, thank-you-for-your-question-and-please-confirm-me explanation. Instead, Pryor said, simply, "I do."

Schumer looked slightly amazed. "I appreciate your candor," he said. "I really do."

Later, Pennsylvania Republican Arlen Specter went over the same ground. Did Pryor really say such a thing? Specter asked. Was the quote accurate?

Yes, Pryor said, the quote was accurate.

Did Pryor stand by his words?

"I stand by that comment," Pryor said. "I believe that not only is [Roe] unsupported by the text and structure of the Constitution, but it has led to a morally wrong result. It has led to the slaughter of millions of innocent unborn children."

Specter seemed more than a little chagrined. "Well," he said, pausing for a moment and looking down, "let's move on."

There were plenty of other Pryor statements to move on to. There was the time he said that with Roe, the Supreme Court had created "out of thin air a constitutional right to murder an unborn child." And then there was the remark that he "will never forget January 22, 1973 [the day of the Roe decision], the day seven members of our highest Court ripped up the Constitution."

Given more opportunities to back away from his words, Pryor again declined. "I believe that abortion is the taking of human life," he explained when committee chairman Orrin Hatch asked him about his comments. "I believe that abortion is morally wrong."

At that point some longtime confirmation observers, while impressed with Pryor's candor, wondered what was going on. Who is this guy? Is he suicidal?

Honest would be more like it. In years of speeches, interviews, campaigning, and writing, Pryor has in fact said many of the things attributed to him. Faced with strong Democratic opposition in a tense confirmation setting, he could either do an across-the-board climb down - something that would have looked ridiculous, given the intensity of his opinions on many matters - or he could argue that yes, he holds strong personal views but is able to separate them from his performance as a public official.

Pryor chose the latter. "I have a record as attorney general that is separate from my personal beliefs," he told Hatch. "I am able to put aside personal beliefs and follow the law, even when I strongly disagree with it."

On abortion, Pryor argued that, despite his personal opposition, he had ordered Alabama's district attorneys to take "the narrowest construction available" of the state's newly passed partial-birth-abortion ban. Pryor told the committee that he believed Supreme Court precedent, specifically the Casey decision, dictated a more moderate reading of the law than the aggressive stance favored by some pro-life groups in Alabama. "Look at my record," he told the committee. "I have done my duty."

#### MR. FEDERALISM

After abortion, the most contentious issue at Wednesday's hearing was the sometimes-touchy legal relationship between the states and the federal government. Pryor is a state attorney general and has on several occasions argued in favor of state interests when he felt they were being encroached upon by federal power. For his troubles, the left-wing interest group People for the American Way recently called him "a leader of the modern states' rights movement," a not-too-subtle attempt to link Pryor to southern defenses of segregation.

People for the American Way and other critics pointed to a Supreme Court case, *United States v. Morrison*, in which Pryor filed an amicus brief arguing against the constitutionality of part of the Violence Against Women Act. Pryor argued that Congress had unreasonably stretched the meaning of the Constitution's Commerce Clause to impose federal penalties on those guilty of violence against women. He argued that if Congress wanted to use the Commerce Clause to regulate an activity, then that activity must involve commerce - and that physical assault does not qualify. Pryor's opponents have written disapprovingly that he was the only state official to file a brief opposing portions of the act, while officials from 37 other states filed briefs supporting it.

To hear Democrats tell it, Pryor had made a grievously misguided legal judgment. But the problem for Pryor's opponents is that he was, in fact, proved right. The Supreme Court, in a five-to-four decision, ruled in favor of Pryor's argument in *United States v. Morrison*.

The same held true for other federalism cases in which Pryor played a part. While committee Democrats clearly did not like Pryor's position in those cases, they found it difficult to overcome the fact that Pryor's arguments had been validated by a majority of the nation's highest Court. At

the very least, Pryor's Court victories made it difficult for Democrats to charge, as they have in other confirmation battles, that the nominee was far outside the judicial mainstream.

#### THAT NICE JUSTICE SOUTER

Much of the hearing focused mostly on stray comments Pryor has made in the past about the Supreme Court. For example, after a high Court ruling on an Alabama death-penalty case a few years ago, Pryor said, "This issue should not be decided by nine octogenarian lawyers who happen to sit on the Supreme Court." While nobody pointed out that the remark was factually wrong - after all, there are some spry justices who have not quite hit their 80s - Democrats in general took offense.

Massachusetts senator Edward Kennedy pressed Pryor to admit that he had made an "improper" statement. Pryor declined, calling it instead "overheated political rhetoric."

But wasn't it improper? Kennedy asked again.

"It was overheated," Pryor answered.

Kennedy kept at it. Finally, Pryor offered a compromise. "I think it was inappropriate," he said.

Other Democrats questioned Pryor about remarks made in July 2000 about David Souter, the Supreme Court justice appointed by the first President Bush who has often disappointed Republicans by taking liberal positions in key cases. Speaking to a Federalist Society audience, Pryor praised the Court's federalism decisions, but noted the narrow margin of victory in many of them. "We are one vote away from the demise of federalism," he said. "Perhaps that means that our real last hope for federalism is the election of Governor George W. Bush as President of the United States, who has said his favorite justices are Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas....I will end with my prayer for the next administration: Please, God, no more Souters."

Senator Schumer asked Pryor: "What's wrong with Justice Souter?" For a moment it appeared that Pryor would retreat, as he began to explain that his remarks were a "perhaps feeble attempt at humor." But then Pryor stiffened again, saying he was simply responding to Souter's outspoken opposition to majority decisions in some federalism cases. "I have on several occasions disagreed with decisions of Justice Souter," Pryor explained. When asked why he had singled Souter out, Pryor gave a simple answer: Because Souter had written the opposing opinions. The issue went away.

#### THE ATTACK THAT WASN'T

All the talk about abortion and federalism and octogenarians and David Souter tended to conceal an extraordinary aspect of the hearing. Even though Pryor is a conservative white Republican from Alabama, there were almost no attacks on him based on race. Race was, in fact, a virtual non-issue in the hearing.

Yes, there was the "states' rights" innuendo - Pryor told the committee he didn't like the term because "from John C. Calhoun to George C. Wallace" it had been "used as an illegitimate defense of evil." There was also some talk about Pryor's opinion on one portion of the Voting

Rights Act. But the strength of Pryor's record on race forced Democrats to abandon their traditional strategy of accusing southern Republicans of being "insensitive" to the concerns of African Americans.

To attack Pryor on race, Democrats would have had to counter the evidence contained in a detailed testimonial for Pryor sent to the committee by Alabama Democratic state representative Alvin Holmes. Offering his "full support and endorsement" of Pryor, Holmes, who is black, listed several examples of what he called Pryor's "constant efforts to help the causes of blacks in Alabama." Pryor had sided with the NAACP against a Republican lawsuit challenging state-legislative districts, Holmes wrote, even after he "came under heavy pressure from other white Republicans in Alabama for fighting to protect black legislative seats." Pryor played a key role in the prosecution of the last men charged in the 1963 Birmingham church bombing, took the lead in ending racial disparities in criminal sentences, worked to strike the state's ban on interracial marriages, and wrote a bill strengthening penalties for cross burning, Holmes wrote.

The committee also received a letter from former Alabama state representative Chris McNair. While McNair noted Pryor's stands on legislative districting and other issues, his testimonial was more personal. McNair's daughter, Denise, was one of four girls killed in the 1963 bombing. "Bill Pryor's personal support for the recent trials of the men convicted of bombing the 16th Street Baptist Church and the murder of my daughter has meant a lot to my family and this community," McNair wrote. "By designating the prosecutors as Special Assistant Attorney Generals and by providing financial assistance through his office, he demonstrated a commitment to justice that had been long overdue. I had numerous conversations with him about these cases and his desire to see that justice was done. His commitment to the cases was sincere and has been very much appreciated."

#### NO BACKING DOWN

Whenever Pryor comes up for a vote in the Judiciary Committee - it could be a couple of weeks - it is likely that he will be approved on a straight party-line vote. If Democrats remain united in opposition, that would make him an ideal candidate for yet another filibuster on the Senate floor.

But that is not guaranteed. Yes, Pryor has made strong statements about abortion, but not any stronger than those made by Michael McConnell, who was confirmed by the Senate - when it was controlled by Democrats - to a seat on the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. Yes, Pryor's opinions on federalism rankle some Democrats, but his views have the virtue of having prevailed in several Supreme Court cases. And yes, Pryor's statements about Souter and the Court's octogenarians were unwise, but by no means confirmation-killers.

So maybe he will be filibustered and maybe not. In the end, Pryor's nomination might be the ultimate illustration of the capriciousness of the confirmation process as currently practiced in the Senate. How could Democrats filibuster Pryor when they confirmed McConnell? On the other hand, how could they not filibuster Pryor when they are filibustering Priscilla Owen, the Texas judge who angered Democrats by her views on the decidedly tangential issue of parental notification for teenage girls seeking abortions?

Whatever happens, Pryor knows this: He didn't duck, he didn't cover, and he didn't backtrack in the face of his critics on the Judiciary Committee. And when it was all over, even his opponents respected him for that.

**Larry Kudlow**

**June 17, 2003, 8:00 a.m. National Review Online**

**Pour It On**

**We need shock-and-awe accommodation from the Fed.**

Now that President Bush has signed the most pro-growth and investment-oriented tax cut in 20 years — the stock market is up 500 points since Congress passed the bill — the focus of economic policy shifts to the Federal Reserve. The monetary priests next meet on June 25. Most supply-siders disagree, but Alan Greenspan & Co. should turn the money spigots wide open that day — more than they have thus far in this reflation cycle. I'm talking about shock-and-awe level accommodation from the Fed.

No matter what the investment — be it corporate profits paid out as dividends, or capital gains, or new capital-goods orders and shipments by large and small businesses, or new high-risk venture start-ups — higher after-tax investor-class returns will place new liquidity demands on the financial system. The Fed must accommodate them.

A shock-and-awe liquidity-expansion policy from the Fed will counter our underperforming economic recovery, offset the forces of worldwide deflation and recession, and stomp out deflation fears at home. An aggressive liquidity stance will also accommodate rising transaction demands following the latest Bush tax cut. And it will even counter the negative effects of any potential breakdowns in the investment portfolios of Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, the troubled loan institutions.

Deflationary interest rates are making this very same case. Last winter, the bellwether 10-year Treasury note yielded around 4 percent. Today it is slightly over 3 percent. In the money markets, euro-dollar and fed-funds futures have all risen to new contract highs, thereby pricing in a 50 basis-point cut of the Fed's interest rate.

In commodity markets, early year rallies for basic metals and industrial materials have stalled. Even gold prices, the strongest reflation indicator so far, have slipped in recent weeks.

The Fed should follow these real-time financial- and commodity-market indicators. Liquidity-sensitive market prices are signalling that the economy is still soft and that lingering deflation remains a threat to future growth. In fact, business durable-goods prices continue to fall at a 2 to 3 percent rate, on average.

Broad-based government price indexes may be registering zero inflation, but people like Ben Bernanke, a new Fed board member, and Glenn Hubbard, the president's former top economic advisor, have sensibly argued for a 2 percent inflation target. Meeting this objective would require sustained reflationary policies, not stand-patism.

Over the past two years, an output gap — the difference between actual and potential GDP — has opened up to roughly \$500 billion. The three-quarter-long recession in 2001 deserves much of the blame, but so does a sub-par 2 percent economic recovery since then. Continued 2 percent growth will widen the output gap, raise unemployment further, and guarantee that budget deficits at the federal, state, and city levels continue to expand.

The most hopeful economic indicator has been the stock market. The Wilshire 5000 index of all actively traded stocks has climbed by roughly 30 percent since last October 9, adding nearly \$2.2 trillion to investor wealth. But stocks remain 35 percent below their prior peaks.

The National Association of Business Economists is now predicting 3 to 4 percent real economic growth over the next 18 months — another good omen, one with which I basically agree. But both the stock market and the more optimistic NABE economists are providing forecasts. And these forecasts are surrounded by more-than-usual uncertainty.

Some say that market interest-rate declines have already done the Fed's work; no additional central bank actions are necessary. But the key measure of Fed policy is not their short-term interest-rate target, but the volume of new cash they put into the economy.

That's why recent statements by Alan Greenspan and his vice chairman Roger Ferguson sound encouraging. They have suggested that the Fed could purchase 10-year Treasury bonds — even if this reform is only temporary. Here, too, the issue is not the Fed's theoretical control of interest rates. World credit markets — not the U.S. government — set rate levels. Instead the issue is conducting open-market operations through 10-year bond purchases, which will pump in new cash just as readily as the Fed's more normal method of buying Treasury bills.

We must not risk another disappointment in the stock market or the economy. That would be devastating. Mr. Greenspan and all his little maestros need to pour it on. This is no time to take chances. Add more money. Do whatever it takes to get America humming again. Supply-side tax cuts set the stage for strong economic growth. But it's up to the Fed to show us the money.

— Mr. Kudlow is CEO of Kudlow & Co.

**The Hill**  
**JUNE 18, 2003**  
**EDITORIAL**

On target, on time

Congress is on a roll. The lawmakers' ability to get things done belies what many critics envisioned only a few short months ago as yet another season of legislative gridlock and chaos.

Instead, President Bush has signed into law a \$350 billion tax cut, sought as a needed tonic for a sluggish economy. Signs are that at least Wall Street is paying heed to the altered outlook.

Then, in short order, a child tax-credit for lower-income families that slipped through the cracks during the first go-around got bolted into the package. Once again, Senate and House conferees demonstrated their ability to act quickly.

Now attention has shifted prescription drug legislation as an integral part of Medicare reform. While much still remains to be decided, it seems likely that a comprehensive package will be enacted. All concerned, including the Bush White House, deserve praise for showing the mix of flexibility and resolve needed to move ahead on big-ticket items.

But before more plaudits are awarded, Congress must still prove its mettle by moving the 13 annual spending bills through the pipeline in a timely manner and within already determined budgetary targets. This exercise will require a break from a sorry tradition: for Congress has managed to enact all 13 bills on time as stand-alone measures only three times in the past four decades.

Lawmakers were four months late in dealing with the 2003 package, which is typical. It arrived at the White House as a catch-all, virtually incomprehensible mish-mash even as Bush sent his 2004 budget in the other direction down Pennsylvania Avenue.

To be sure, the means exist to keep the machinery cranking even in the absence of timely congressional action. But continuing resolutions are inherently inefficient and augur a break down in budgetary restraint. The current fiscal year proved no exception; after intending to spend \$763 billion, Congress wound up approving \$842 billion, without counting the extraordinary outlays needed to fight the war in Iraq.

As we have regularly reported, the key problem has been enactment of constricted budget resolutions that could not be squared with real-world needs set by even the most conservative-minded appropriations chairmen.

Happily, some progress is being made. Through a series of program shifts, Rep. Bill Young (R-Fla.), the House Appropriations Committee chairman, has secured an extra \$5.2 billion to be allocated to the 2004 domestic spending bills.

Clearly more needs to be done if Young and his counterpart in the Senate, Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), are finally to achieve the appropriations ideal of ending gridlock and holding overall spending in check.

Along the way, the lawmakers should revive the Budget Enforcement Act, which was quietly allowed to expire last Sept. 30 after 12 years on the books. Although an imperfect instrument, it could serve as a useful psychological tool.

Baghdad last summer and then went into hiding in the Ansar al-Islam terrorist camps in northern Iraq. These camps, in which traces of Ricin were found on the soles of a shoe and boot recovered from the bombed-out wreckage, were populated by over 150 bin Laden-trained disciples. Zarqawi is now believed to be hiding out in Iran, where he may still be able to run parts of the European network that were not dismantled earlier this year.

*Two.* Documents found in the rubble of Iraq's Mukhabarat intelligence headquarters by reporters for London's *Daily Telegraph* show that Iraqi military and intelligence officials sought out al-Qaeda leaders much earlier than previously thought, and met with bin Laden on at least two occasions. In addition to previously reported meetings between Farouk Hijazi, a senior Iraqi intelligence officer, and bin Laden in Sudan in 1994, the Mukhabarat documents show that on February 19, 1998, about six months prior to the attacks in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, Iraqi intelligence officials made plans to bring a senior bin Laden aide to Baghdad from Khartoum. The key document shows that a recommendation was made for "the deputy director general [of Iraqi intelligence to] bring the [bin Laden] envoy to Iraq because we may find in this envoy a way to maintain contacts with bin Laden." The meetings took place in March 1998.

Concurrent with Saddam's outreach program to al-Qaeda was Sudan's almost desperate efforts to convince the Clinton administration to examine the intelligence they had gathered on everyone from bin Laden and his key deputy, Egyptian Islamic Jihad chief Ayman al-Zawahiri, to members of the Hamburg cell who provided aid to many of the 9/11 hijackers. Correspondence of February 1998 from Sudan's intelligence chief to the FBI's regional director went without reply until June 24, 1998, at which time the FBI sheepishly made it clear that the problem in communicating with Sudan lay elsewhere in

the U.S. bureaucracy. The U.S. embassies were bombed six weeks later.

*Three.* Some of the world's most notorious terrorist villains have turned up in the postwar cleanup of Iraq. The legendary terrorist Abu Nidal committed "suicide" in Iraq last fall—supposedly by shooting himself in the head three times. His deputy, Abdul Rahman Isa, disappeared in an apparent kidnap in early September. In both cases, there was the strong smell of an effort to get rid of evidence—in the form of living terrorists on Iraqi soil—that could implicate Saddam.

But after the war, more of them emerged. Abu Abbas, mastermind of the 1985 *Achille Lauro* hijacking, was captured by U.S. forces. It turned out, further, that Abu-Zubayr, a senior al-Qaeda operative who had planned attacks on U.S. ships passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, was an officer in Iraq's secret police. In April, U.S. forces in Baghdad also arrested Khala Khadr al-Salahat, the terrorist who allegedly

had constructed the radio-sized bomb that blew up Pan Am Flight 103. In the rubble of the intelligence headquarters, evidence was found that the Iraqis had used their Manila embassy to funnel payments to al-Qaeda's Philippine operation, Abu Sayyaf; at Iraq's Salman Pak terror-training facility, an airplane was found that had been used to train hijackers.

One thing is clear from the postwar trove of intelligence on Saddam's ties to terrorists: When the world made it difficult for Saddam to hit his intended targets directly, he sought out others suitably inclined to do his dirty work. In some cases, he hid it well; in others he did not. But even the most diehard opponent of the war can no longer deny the physical evidence of the ties that bound Saddam to al-Qaeda and other terrorists, the scientific linkages that made them lethal, and the rationale for having to put an end to it all. The world is a much safer place thanks to the U.S. war to end this terror-sponsoring regime. *—NR*

When the world made it difficult for Saddam to hit his intended targets directly, he sought out others suitably inclined to do his dirty work.

## ■ THE WORLD

# Their Brothers' Keepers

The conservative shade of human-rights activists

KATE O'BEIRNE

**I**N early May, the Institute on Religion and Democracy sent a letter to President Bush, prompted by South Korean president Roh Moo Hyun's visit to Washington. The letter—spearheaded by Christian conservatives—issued a plea in behalf of Roh's suffering neighbors: "We call on you to give voice to desperate cries for freedom from the tormented people of North Korea."

The Christian Left is also concerned about abuse in North Korea—by the United States against the Pyongyang regime. The National Council of Churches received a very different letter, concerning its work in North Korea: The head of a North Korean government-approved Christian church group thanked the Council for siding with the "international solidarity movement for peace" and condemned America's "high-handed and imprudent acts."

North Korea's widespread famine, its vast system of gulags, and its cruel treatment of dissidents and religious believers are not the only human-rights catastrophes to escape the condemnation of most of the mainline churches that worship with the Christian Left. Liberal religious groups, which once enjoyed a monopoly on the issue of human rights, are largely silent about the abuses of many other repressive states, including Cuba, China, Sudan, Nigeria, and Iran. In recent years, religious conservatives have become the most effective international human-rights crusaders.

The Christian Left has always been a bit deaf to the cries of certain political

dissidents and religious minorities. In the 1970s, President Jimmy Carter's human-rights crusades enjoyed the support of the mainline Protestant community, liberal evangelicals, and left-wing Catholics, whose collective moral indignation echoed the selective outrage of secular liberals. Thus, right-wing regimes were roundly denounced for repressing political liberties, while left-wing ones were gently encouraged to "dialogue" about their troubling shortcomings.

In the 1990s, a different crew took up the cause of global human rights: religious conservatives. Their first successful campaign, for which they built a broad alliance of believers, highlighted the widespread incidence of religious persecution. It resulted in the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act, establishing an independent commission to monitor violations and a State Department office responsible for an annual report to the president. Two years later, religious conservatives led the effort to enact landmark legislation to combat international sex trafficking. (The Clinton administration opposed both laws. In the case of the International Religious Freedom Act, their opposition was a combination of liberal suspicion of Christian activism and State Department resistance to congressional meddling. The sex-trafficking legislation got caught up in the feminist debate over whether or not prostitution is a legitimate career choice.) This year, conservatives lobbied successfully to secure billions of dollars for the global battle against AIDS.

Recent events show that the Christian Left is up to its old tricks. The sympathy and support religious liberals have extended to Havana and Beijing was also extended to Saddam Hussein. In early May, about 150 activists, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson and representatives of Pax Christi, the United Methodist Church, the United Church of Christ, and the Unitarian Universalists, placed an ad in the *New York Times*. They declared, "We, religious leaders, stand firmly in support of the United Nations," and praised the leadership of Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Earlier this year, the Rev. Robert Edgar, general secretary of the National Council of Churches, reported that the "highlight" of a visit by

American church officials to Baghdad was the opportunity to pray with Tariq Aziz, Saddam's notorious deputy. During the visit, any concerns about Saddam's brutal repression were raised in private. Public concerns focused on Iraqi victims of the 1991 Gulf War and American plans "to use its imperial power to crush a small nation."

A "pilgrimage of peace" to the Middle East last April followed the same pattern. No moral distinction was made in the condemnation of Israeli and Palestinian "acts of violence," except that only Israel's behavior was specifically criticized. Mark Tooley, director of the United Methodist committee at the Institute on Religion and Democracy, explains that because the mainline Christian community generally can't bear to criticize any Marxist or Muslim regimes, its outrage is highly selective: "The only country they criticize on human rights is Israel."

Even as Christians and other religious believers risk rape, torture, enslavement, and death in scores of countries, reli-

gious liberals direct their attention to alleged American atrocities. The National Council of Churches has mounted a campaign against SUVs and is promoting an initiative to help Florida's farm laborers. The World Council of Churches is waging a war against the use of most forms of energy worldwide.

Persecution of Christians has increased due to global population trends. Prof. Allen D. Hertzke of the University of Oklahoma, author of the forthcoming book *Freeing God's Children: The New Faith-Based Movement for International Human Rights*, describes "an unheralded demographic revolution—a tectonic shift of the Christian population away from the West toward developing and non-democratic countries." Because about 60 percent of the world's Christians now live outside of Europe and North America, an estimated 200 million Christians are at the mercy of hostile governments in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

History teaches that where religious



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freedom exists, liberalization and democracy take root. In recognition of this fact, and given the resurgence of religious conflict in the post-Cold War world, Hertzke believes that religious liberty should be a key goal of foreign policy. Indeed, many non-Christians understand that promoting religious liberty benefits believers and non-believers alike. Hertzke points to David Saperstein, the liberal leader of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism and an active member of the coalition to fight Christian persecution, and to former

*New York Times* executive editor A. M. Rosenthal, who wrote a dozen columns in 1997 alone calling attention to the plight of Christians. Hertzke concludes; "There is a greater antipathy between some mainline religious leaders and evangelicals than between evangelicals and Jewish leaders."

He offers a number of reasons why liberal Christians have largely ignored the issue of religious persecution. First, they are uneasy about strengthening religious believers anywhere, especially Christians—a legacy of the Enlightenment view that religion has been at the root of persecution from the distant past to the present day (from Torquemada to the Taliban, one might say). The feminist conviction, shared by many liberals, that traditional religious believers and the patriarchal West pose the most alarming threat to freedom was captured in the motto of the 2002 International Women's Day: "Afghanistan Is Everywhere."

Second, liberals are deeply suspicious of the motives of the despised "Religious Right." In a 1997 *New York Times* column, Anthony Lewis perfectly reflected liberal animosity to religious conservatives when he dismissed the efforts of evangelical proponents of religious liberty as a self-interested appeal in behalf of their coreligionists. He accused them of mounting the campaign "to advance their cause of giving religion a prime role in the American political structure."

Untroubled by the Left's attempts to undermine them, conservative Christian human-rights groups continue to fight for the world's most defenseless and imperiled peoples. In January 1996, Michael Horowitz of the Hudson Institute and Nina Shea of Freedom House organized a conference on "Global Persecution of Christians." That same year, 5,000 churches observed an International Day of Prayer organized by Christian groups and ministries. Two years later, 100,000 churches participated. Fueled by the energy of the evangelical grassroots, and mobilized through religious newsletters and radio stations, this successful coalition has commanded congressional action despite the hostility of the mainstream media and mainline churches. For worldwide victims of persecution, this faith-based movement has been an answer to their prayers. NR

## ■ THE WORLD II

# We're Number Twenty?!

The odd, anti-American scorekeeping of the Center for Global Development

JIM LACEY

**T**HE Center for Global Development (CGD), a left-leaning global-poverty think tank, recently announced that the United States ranks 20th out of 21 countries when it comes to helping poorer nations—just barely ahead of last-place Japan. Considering that the total aid given by the U.S. and Japan is equal to the combined total for the other 19 nations in the survey, it's worth asking why we fared so poorly. Could the top-ranked Dutch truly be twice as generous as we are—or are the data simply being tortured to shame America?

The survey ranks countries according to their policies in aid, trade, investment, migration, peacekeeping, and the environment. America wins hands down in trade, but is at or near the bottom in every other category. It was only right that the CGD gave us a win on trade, considering that America has been the global growth engine for two decades; in recent years, our willingness to import products from the rest of the world (and to run a potentially harmful current-account deficit) has kept the global economy afloat. Unfortunately, the CGD does not give the U.S. much credit for making it easy for poor countries to export their goods to us. It ranks all of the countries in Europe only fractions of a point behind us on this measure—even though the EU's trade policies do more harm to

Mr. Lacey is a *Time* magazine correspondent.

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# SANDRA'S

Day

Why the Rehnquist Court has been the O'Connor Court, and how to replace her (should it come to that)

BY RAMESH PONNURU

**C**ONSERVATIVES have never much cared for Justice Sandra Day O'Connor. They viewed her nomination to the Supreme Court as the result of Ronald Reagan's ill-advised, because gratuitous, 1980 campaign pledge to appoint the first female justice. During her confirmation hearings in 1981, some conservatives argued that her record as a state legislator in Arizona made it unlikely that she would vote against *Roe v. Wade*. Her subsequent votes confirmed that suspicion: She reaffirmed *Roe* in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992) and even divined a kind of constitutional right to partial-birth abortion in *Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000). Conservative activists tend to regard her as a "moderate," or even "liberal," justice, and say that President Bush should avoid appointing another justice like her.

The standard conservative picture of Justice O'Connor is, at best, an oversimplification. She is, in truth, both better and worse than they think she is. Some conservative Court-watchers fear that the Right's confusion could cost it dearly if there is a nomination fight later this year.

The conservative case for O'Connor is that she has voted reasonably well. While she has become a reliable vote for social liberalism at the Court, she has also sided with conservatives on many occasions. The conservative heroes on the Court have been Clarence Thomas, Antonin Scalia, and, to a lesser extent, the chief justice, William Rehnquist. O'Connor has generally voted with them on racial preferences, the death penalty, criminal procedure, and other issues. She also sided with them in *Bush v. Gore*.

The Rehnquist Court is known for two great doctrinal innovations. Instead of continuing to insist on strict secularism, the Court now merely requires governmental neutrality among religions. The Court has also embarked on a so-called "federalism revolution" that limits the power of Congress while protecting the prerogatives of the states. O'Connor has played a leading role in both areas. Eugene Volokh, a law professor at UCLA who once clerked for her, concludes, "She's a woman of the center-right on a lot of the really important issues that have come before the Supreme Court."

Have conservatives damaged their own cause by taking an excessively negative view of O'Connor? Washington is rife with speculation that Rehnquist, O'Connor, or both will retire this summer. In one scenario, Rehnquist leaves and Bush elevates O'Connor to chief justice. If O'Connor leaves, however, the conservatives may have lowered the bar for her replacement. Alberto Gonzales, the White House counsel, is often mentioned as a potential Bush nominee. He is a moderate, and possibly to the left of O'Connor on some issues, such as racial preferences. But so hostile are conservatives to O'Connor that the White House could tell them that he is an improvement. If, on the other hand, Bush nominates a true-blue (true-red?) conservative to replace O'Connor, liberals will say that he is tilting the Court far to the right—and by exaggerating her liberalism, the conservatives will have lent that claim credibility.

## ON THE O'CONNOR COURT

The difficulty conservatives have in getting a fix on O'Connor is a function of the bifurcation in their view of the Supreme Court. Conservative lawyers and law professors care a lot about issues such as affirmative action and federalism, on which O'Connor often votes the way they want. But social conservatives are the only mass constituency on the right that pays attention to the Court; and while they are usually allied with the conservative legal community, their priorities are different. The activists tend to disdain O'Connor because of her votes on abortion and, to a lesser extent, gay rights. The conservative lawyers tend to disagree with her decisions on those issues, but are less hostile to her because of her other votes. Another way of saying this is that how happy a conservative is with Justice O'Connor is a reflection on how happy he is with the Rehnquist Court.

Actually, the O'Connor Court might be a better label for it. Justice O'Connor gets her way more often than the chief justice does. As the "swing vote" on the Court, O'Connor is in the majority more often than any of her colleagues. Legal briefs in important cases are written to appeal, above all, to her. As a result of her position at the center of the Court, she can be a powerful voice for conservatives when she is with them. When the Court upheld school choice last year, it was her unqualified endorsement of the decision in a concurring opinion, as much as the majority opinion itself, that conferred solidity to the ruling. But it is disturbing to reflect that, given the power the Supreme Court has assumed, O'Connor has become the most powerful woman in America. Excluding foreign policy, indeed, one could even say that she is the most powerful person in America.

O'Connor's style of judging has increased that power. The justice is famous for issuing narrow rulings that turn on the particular facts of the case rather than rulings that articulate broad principles. Applying this common-law approach to constitutional cases preserves her freedom of action in future cases. But it also, and necessarily, undermines the predictability of the law and aggrandizes the judicial role. This is the principal critique that conservative lawyers—including Justice Scalia, in many opinions—make of O'Connor. She may often vote with Scalia and Thomas, says a former Rehnquist clerk, but "she is not driven by . . . legal arguments in the sense that a conservative jurist should be."

In the 1995 *Adarand* case, for example—concerning racial preferences in federal contracting—O'Connor voted with the conservatives. But she refused to say that racial preferences in federal contracting were always impermissible, or to expound some other rule that made it clear which preferences were okay. Instead she said that such preferences would receive "strict scrutiny" from the Court. "Strict scrutiny" is the highest degree of scrutiny in the Court's equal-protection jurisprudence; traditionally, a legislative or bureaucratic classification is subjected to strict scrutiny as a prelude to being found impermissible. Justice O'Connor, however, went out of her way to explain that

while the program at issue in the case had to go, in future cases strict scrutiny would not necessarily be "fatal in fact." So which preferences should stay and which go? The Clinton administration's response to this uncertain guidance was to preserve all existing federal preference programs except the one at issue and another that fell in court. To this day the Court's position with regard to other contracting preferences remains unclear.

O'Connor has ruled (or rather not ruled) similarly in racial-gerrymandering cases. Jeffrey Rosen, an influential legal commentator, has said that the upshot of those cases is that congressional district lines cannot be drawn with regard to race if the results offend Justice O'Connor's aesthetic sensibilities.

Or take abortion. From her earliest days on the Court, O'Connor has argued that restrictions should be upheld so long as they do not impose an "undue burden" on the right to procure abortions. In *Casey*, Justices O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy, and David Souter adopted this standard for the Court. It is a standard, not a rule—in the parlance of the law pros—because its application depends on subjective judgments. In *Stenberg*, Justice O'Connor and four of her colleagues decided that a ban on partial-birth abortion imposed an "undue burden" on the abortion right; Justice Kennedy apparently felt that it was a "due burden," since he dissented from the judgment. Justice Scalia, also in dissent, noted that the only effect of the standard was to turn the

Supreme Court into a veto board for abortion regulations.

In *Bush v. Gore*, the Court said that the doctrine underlying its decision was "limited to the present circumstances" and would not govern future cases. Critics have seized on the line as the epitome of the decision's lawlessness. But the Court has been making good-for-one-ticket-only decisions for some time, thanks in large part to O'Connor. Volokh, the former clerk for O'Connor, notes that in some areas of the law she has been willing to defend "bright-line rules" and that other justices also adopt vague, subjective standards on some occasions. This observation should be taken as a qualification, rather than a refutation, of a valid generalization: Justice O'Connor practices "one case at a time" judging more often, and with greater consequence, than her colleagues.

## THE FEDERALISM REVOLUTION

Conservative lawyers consider the federalism revolution the most valuable part of the Rehnquist Court's legacy. O'Connor's record on federalism is not without the ambiguities one would expect from the rest of her jurisprudence. She has sometimes held the revolution back—as in *U.S. v. Lopez*, a 1995 case that is something of a landmark. The Constitution gives Congress the power to regulate commerce among the states. In *Lopez*, the Court ruled that the Gun-Free School Zones Act was not a legitimate exercise of this authority. The Court had not imposed a limit on congressional power under the commerce clause in six decades. O'Connor, the swing vote, joined a concurring opinion that appeared to weaken



the Court's conclusion and left the law unsettled.

Notwithstanding such episodes, O'Connor can fairly be said to have not only participated in but even led the revolution. Her strong dissent from the federal drinking-age case in 1987 was a harbinger of it. And one of its signal accomplishments was the doctrine, announced by Justice O'Connor in *Gregory v. Ashcroft* (1991), that federal law will not be read to compromise the sovereignty of state governments unless the law includes a clear statement to that effect.

Unfortunately, the Court's federalism revolution isn't all it's cracked up to be by legal conservatives. Michael Greve of the American Enterprise Institute has noted that the Court's federalist decisions partake of romanticism about "states' rights." These decisions contain many references to the "dignity" of states. The Court's assumption is that it can protect federalism by protecting state governments. As a consequence, the Court has been inattentive to the "horizontal" dimension of federalism: to the constitutional provisions that promote competition and accountability among state governments by constraining *their* power. If Eliot Spitzer wants to nationalize American industries from the New York attorney general's office, the Supreme Court is not going to stop him. The O'Connor Court's federalism is not that of the Founders.

How legal conservatives convinced themselves that federalism could be restored by the federal judiciary is one of the minor mysteries of the age. The O'Connor Court is itself a significant offender against federalism, just as its predecessors, the Warren and Burger courts, were. When the voters of Colorado passed an amendment to the state constitution opposing certain gay-rights laws, the Court's response was to slap them down. On abortion, the Court—O'Connor very much included—is "hysterically nationalist," as Robert Nagel argues in *The Implosion of American Federalism*. When seen against this backdrop, the "federalism revolution" starts to look less like a readjustment of state-federal relations and more like a transfer of power from Congress to the Court.

A highly developed institutional *amour propre* may be the most striking feature of the O'Connor Court. It is present in the plurality opinion in *Casey*, which O'Connor joined. The *Casey* Court reaffirmed *Roe* in large part out of a reluctance to give in to the Court's critics. Appearing to capitulate would compromise the Court's ability to "speak before all others" for the nation's constitutional ideals. It is this self-regard that brings together O'Connor's penchant for finicky edicts, the O'Connor Court's marked reluctance to overturn the activist precedents of the Warren and Burger courts, the Court's racial cases, and its intervention in the 2000 election. There is an authoritarian streak in this jurisprudence that Justice O'Connor does not, in all likelihood, perceive.

Should O'Connor either retire or be nominated to chief justice, fixing her position in the conservative-liberal spectrum more precisely may be important in the political battles that follow. But her most important legacy is not as a liberal, moderate, or conservative justice. It might be best expressed in the title of Kenneth Starr's book on the O'Connor Court—*First Among Equals*—except that the title is two words too long. There is little evidence that O'Connor or her Court regards other governmental authorities as equals.

## ■ AT WAR II

# The New Fellow-Traveling

In the present crisis, a sickening familiarity

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

ISLAMIST fellow-traveling today has a different focus from the Soviet fellow-traveling that preceded it, but the cast of mind is the same. The common premise that Western society is responsible for the world's ills generates in certain intellectual circles guilt for the present as well as fear for what is to come. The conviction then develops that whatever "we" do must be wrong, and whatever "they" do is justified. Fellow-travelers in both cases come to apologize for those hostile to Western society, even to identify with them.

The Soviet Union invariably proclaimed that the goal of Communism was peace and the perfectibility of mankind. Evidence to the contrary never dissuaded fellow-travelers from the belief that Communists must be admirable because they said they were. Islamist extremists likewise speak of jihad as the necessary prelude to peace and the perfectibility of mankind. In the eyes of the new fellow-travelers, these extremists may not yet be necessarily admirable, but they are Muslims, therefore victims of Western colonialism in the Third World, and deserving sympathy. So in the perspective of Islamist fellow-traveling September 11 becomes a day when America had it coming, and the exploding aircraft had the effect of "a work of art." In the aftermath of September 11 there was a record number of conversions to Islam in non-Islamic countries—apparently some 30,000 in Holland alone. The Free Iraq campaign brought the new fellow-traveling to unprecedented heights, notably a speech by an academic at Columbia University appealing for "a million Mogadishus" to throw American forces out of Iraq. Here was a reprise in animus and tone of Cold War fellow-traveling.

The Soviet Union aimed to destroy bourgeois democracy. Only in their more extravagant moments do Islamists and their fellow-travelers promise to destroy the United States; their narrower but

Mr. Pryce-Jones is an NR senior editor, and this essay is adapted from a speech given at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York.

Briefing

536041

June 18, 2003

To: Karl Rove  
Fr: Marc Lampkin  
Re: Meeting with John Tyson

Dear Karl,

(b)(6)

Thank you for agreeing to meet with John Tyson, Chairman and CEO of Tyson Foods. As you may know, Tyson Foods is the world's largest producer of chicken, beef and pork, and the company produces one-out-of-four servings of meat consumed in the United States. In addition to food production, Tyson stands as one of the largest agricultural consumers in the country serving as an enormous purchaser of corn and soybean animal feed.

Mr. Tyson is eager to share with you his perceptions of the American agricultural sector as well as news of the Company's recent developments, including Tyson Foods' expanded charitable efforts. Specific topics to be covered include:

Trade and Trade Promotion: The state of American agriculture has never been more dependent upon access to foreign markets than it is today. Tyson is very supportive of the President's interest in promoting free trade.

Mr. Tyson would like to reiterate the industry's concern about the ongoing problems with chicken exports to Russia, America's largest market for poultry exports. Mr. Tyson is hopeful that resolution of the matter may be close at hand, due in large part to the efforts of the Bush Administration.

Country of Origin Labeling: Tyson would like to see the Administration support Congressional repeal of mandatory country of origin labeling for meat. The law passed in last year's Farm Bill will burden farmers, ranchers, processors and retailers with tremendous new costs and legal liabilities -- with no apparent benefit to consumers. A broad coalition of farmers and processors is working to get Congress to reconsider and make the country of origin labeling voluntary instead.

Additionally, we expect that Mr. Tyson may touch briefly on a few additional public policy challenges facing his company including issues related to meat packer ownership of livestock, recent developments in food safety, and the poultry industry's concern with the Department of Labor's poultry initiative.

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Thoughts from Barry Jackson	1	N.D.	P5;

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**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

### RESTRICTION CODES

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

**Records Not Subject to FOIA**

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



File  
536041

# THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF PUBLIC LIAISON

EISENHOWER EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING ROOM 186  
WASHINGTON, DC 20502  
PHONE: 202-456-2380  
FAX: 202-456-2130

TO: BT Goergen FROM: Mike Meece

COMPANY: \_\_\_\_\_ DATE: 6/13/03

FAX: 6-0191 TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 3

RE: \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS:

(b)(6)

*[Handwritten signature]*

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# Pitney Bowes Management Services

## Operating from the Hyatt Regency Chicago Business Center

Date: June 13<sup>th</sup> Number of pages: 2

To: Mike Meece

Company Name: White House

Fax Number: 202-456-~~2000~~ 2130

Phone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

From: Margaret Garibay

If there are any problems or questions regarding this transmission, please call  
(312) 616-6888

### Comments:

Mike -  
I am Director of Federal Affairs for  
the American Medical Association. Attached is the  
resolution you asked about. I will be working with  
Rich Deann on this issue. Please don't hesitate to  
call if you have any questions - cell #

(b)(6)

Thanks -  
Margaret

Pitney Bowes Management Services Business Center,  
Illinois Center Concourse Level, 151 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, IL  
(312) 616-6888 Fax (312) 565-2966

TOTAL P.02

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Resolution: 213  
(A-03)

Introduced by: Wisconsin Delegation  
Subject: End of Life Drug and Pain Treatment  
Referred to: Reference Committee B  
(Cyndi J. Yag-Howard, MD, Chair)

- 1 Whereas, Physicians have the right and obligation to provide treatment in accordance with the
- 2 best interest and wishes of the patient; and
- 3
- 4 Whereas, A recent interpretation by US Attorney General John Ashcroft of 21 Code of Federal
- 5 Regulations Section 1306.04 (2001) threatens to revoke the license of a physician who
- 6 prescribes medication that may hasten dying for someone with a terminal illness; and
- 7
- 8 Whereas, The Drug Enforcement Administration has issued a warning that threatens physicians
- 9 with loss of their DEA narcotic license in regard to their treatment of end-of-life patients; and
- 10
- 11 Whereas, A non-medically trained individual will be assessing the physician as to whether it was
- 12 an attempt to relieve pain or to end the life of the patient; and
- 13
- 14 Whereas, Such directive can have a "chilling" effect on pain treatment by all physicians;
- 15 therefore be it
- 16
- 17 RESOLVED, That our American Medical Association communicate to the President, the
- 18 Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Attorney General, its
- 19 strong opposition to the use of 21 Code of Federal Regulations Section 1306.04 or any other
- 20 rationale that would involve placement of licensure restrictions on physicians who use opioid
- 21 analgesics and other pain-reducing medications appropriately to treat patients with pain
- 22 (Reaffirm HOD Policy); and be it further
- 23
- 24 RESOLVED, That our AMA oppose harassment of physicians by agents of the Drug
- 25 Enforcement Administration in response to the appropriate prescribing of opiates and other
- 26 controlled substances to patients with terminal illness. (Reaffirm HOD Policy)

Fiscal Note: No Significant Fiscal Impact

Received: 5/7/03

536041

June 15, 2003

MEMORANDUM TO: KARL ROVE  
SENIOR ADVISOR TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LEZLEE WESTINE  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC LIAISON

RE: OPL SUMMARY FOR JUNE 9-15

**PRESIDENTIAL EVENTS**

- 06/10/03 No Child Left Behind Celebration of 50 State Plans. Topic: Education. Rose Garden

**BRIEFINGS**

- 06/09/03 The Alliance for Medical Management Education.
- 06/09/03 Energy Alliance with Candi Wolfe. Topic: Energy Bill
- 06/10/03 Crisis Magazine.
- 06/11/03 Cotton Council Leadership with Chuck Connor. Topic: Agriculture Policy
- 06/11/03 Small Business Administration Regional Directors.
- 06/11/03 Indiana Leadership Forum with Mike Gerson.
- 06/11/03 World Vision with Jack Chow, Deputy Secretary of State, Karl Rove, Jay Lefkowitz.
- 06/11/03 Capital Research with Matt Schlapp, Brett Kavanaugh.
- 06/12/03 International Housewares Association with Ruben Barrales, Brian Reardon.
- 06/12/03 The National Coordinated Effort of Hellenes with Dan Fried, NSC. Topic: Greek Outreach

- 06/12/03 Red Cross Training Event. Topic: Emergency Preparedness. US Capitol
- 06/12/03 Greater Des Moines Partnership with Brian Reardon, Jess Sharp. Topics: Economic Policy, Transportation Reauthorization

## **OUTREACH MEETINGS**

- 06/09/03 Oceans and International. Topic: Judges
- 06/09/03 C.S. Lewis Institute. Topic: Faith-Based Outreach
- 06/09/03 Insight Magazine. Topic: The Arts in Washington, DC
- 06/09/03 National Association of Hispanic Firefighters.
- 06/09/03 Executive Leadership Council, Department of Education White House Initiative on HBCUs. Topic: Synergies between Organizations
- 06/09/03 Ft. Wayne Zion Church Youth Group.
- 06/10/03 American Conservative Union. Topic: Jobs and Growth Package
- 06/10/03 Citizen's Action Coalition. Topic: Judges
- 06/10/03 Peace Officers Research Association of California/Neveda.
- 06/10/03 Kaufmann Foundation with Julie Weeks, Susan Preston. Topic: Women Entrepreneurship
- 06/10/03 Lifetime Television Public Affairs. Topic: Domestic Violence
- 06/10/03 Energy Coalition Meeting, Senate Republican Conference. Topic: Energy Bill
- 06/10/03 Harlem Song Production. Topic: Black Music Month Event
- 06/11/03 Women's Business Enterprise National Council.
- 06/11/03 President's Commission on the Museum of African American History and Culture.

- 06/11/03 League of United Latin American Citizens.
- 06/11/03 American Osteopathic Association.
- 06/11/03 Editor in Chief, *Human Events*. Topic: Judges
- 06/12/03 Biotechnology Industry Organization.
- 06/12/02 Young Hispanic Republicans.
- 06/12/02 National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials.
- 06/12/03 Congress on Race Equality. Topic: Africa Initiatives
- 06/12/03 Leon H. Sullivan Organization. Topic: Africa Initiatives
- 06/12/03 Campus Crusade for Christ. Topic: Global Aids
- 06/13/03 Librarian of Congress. Topic: Cultural Outreach
- 06/13/03 Institute for Justice. Topics: School Choice, Judges
- 06/13/03 Small Business Leaders. Topic: SBA 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. Small Business Administration

#### **CONFERENCE CALLS**

- 06/09/03 NRB Monthly Call. Topic: Judges
- 06/09/03 Brett Kavanaugh and Leonard Leo, Executive Director, Federalist Society. Topic: Judges
- 06/09/03 Conservative Weekly Call.
- 06/12/03 Catholic Weekly Call.
- 06/13/03 Head Start Weekly Call.

#### **OPL STAFF AND OPL-ARRANGED SPEECHES/TRAVEL**

- 06/11/03 Grover Norquist Meeting with Matt Kirk, White House Legislative Affairs. Washington, DC

- 06/11/03 Paul Weyrich Meeting with Matt Kirk, White House Legislative Affairs. Washington, DC
- 06/12/03 National Association of Manufacturing Executive Committee with Steve Friedman. Washington, DC
- 06/13/03 Eagle Forum Collegiate Leadership Summit with Dennis Hastert, Tom DeLay, Phyllis Schlafly. US Capitol

**EMAIL DISTRIBUTIONS\***

- ROADLESS RULE ANNOUNCEMENT TO CONSERVATION LEADERS
  - 100 Team Aggies
  - 12 Agriculture Leaders
  - 80 Conservation Leaders
- IGA REPORT
  - 100 Team Aggies
  - 12 Agriculture Leaders
  - 80 Conservation Leaders
- REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY AFTER MEETING WITH CABINET
  - 300 African American Leaders
  - 20 African Organization Leaders
  - 100 Small Business Leaders
  - 50 Faith Based Leaders
- REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND ACT
  - 300 African American Leaders
  - 20 African Organization Leaders
  - 100 Small Business Leaders
  - 50 Faith Based Leaders
- REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AND UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI IN PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
  - 300 African American Leaders
  - 20 African Organization Leaders
  - 100 Small Business Leaders
  - 50 Faith Based Leaders
- JOINT STATEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND
  - 300 African American Leaders

- 20 African Organization Leaders
- 100 Small Business Leaders
- 50 Faith Based Leaders

- REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE PRESS POOL
  - 300 African American Leaders
  - 20 African Organization Leaders
  - 100 Small Business Leaders
  - 50 Faith Based Leaders

\*These numbers reflect OPL's direct actions only – this information is then distributed widely amongst the various communities

#### **PRESIDENTIAL VIDEOS/PROCLAMATIONS/MESSAGES/PHOTOS/TOURS**

- Message: 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Ford Motor Company
- Message: US SubVets of WWII and Joint Convention
- Message: President's Challenge Physical Activity and Fitness Awards Program
- Message: Ethnic Celebration
- Message: Blue Knights International Law Enforcement Motorcycle
- Message: National Conference of YMCA Youth Governors
- Message: Reviewed Homeownership Month Proclamation

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Class Action Calls - To: Karl Rove - From: Mike Meece	1	06/19/2003	P5;

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**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

536041

**FRC ID:**

9711

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2018-0011-P

**OA Num.:**

10735

**NARA Num.:**

10793

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

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

**Records Not Subject to FOIA**

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

First Name	Last Name	Company	Phone	City	State
Ed	Hanway	Cigna	215-761-5002	Philadelphia	PA
Bernie	Marcus	The Home Depot	770-384-2722	Atlanta	GA
Ed	Rust	State Farm	309-766-2871	Bloomington	IL
John	Bachman	Jones Financial Corp	314-515-2626	St. Louis	MO
Mac	Crawford	Caremark Rx	205-982-4010	Birmingham	AL
John	Dillon	International Paper	203-541-8660	Stamford	CT
Bob	Essner	Wyeth	973-660-5140	Madison	NJ
Lou	Giuliano	ITT	914-641-2000	White Plains	NY
David	Glass	Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.	479-273-4000	Bentonville	AR
Hank	Greenberg	AIG	212-785-4214	New York	NY
Chad	Holliday	DuPont	302-773-2495	Wilmington	DE
John	Jones	Air Products and Chemicals	610-481-7706	Allentown	PA
Bill	Jurgenson	National Mutual	610-249-9650	Columbus	OH
Ed	Kelly	Liberty Mutual	617-357-9500	Boston	MA
Ed	Liddy	Allstate	847-402-5448	Northbrook	IL
Bob	Nardelli	The Home Depot	770-384-3622	Atlanta	GA
Earl	Nye	TXU	214-812-4643	Dallas	TX
Phil	Purcell	Morgan Stanley	212-761-4726	New York	NY
Art	Ryan	Prudential	973-802-9977	Newark	NJ
Lee	Scott	Wal-Mart	479-273-4000	Bentonville	AR
Fred	Smith	FedEx	901-818-7577	Memphis	TN
Bill	Walters	FMC	215-299-6597	Philadelphia	PA
Bill	Weldon	Johnson & Johnson	732-524-3058	New Brunswick	NJ

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## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Thinking Through the Medicare Conference - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	06/17/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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