

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
014	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Mark Rosenker	1	04/25/2001	P3/b3; P6/b6;
015	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Mark Rosenker	1	04/03/2002	P3/b3; P6/b6;
016	Email	FW: Feb 10th National Religious Broadcasters Meeting - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	3	01/17/2003	P5;
017	Letter	[Interview Request] - To: Jon Kyl - From: Allen Roth	1	01/16/2003	P6/b6;
018	Email	Aftermath of Strategy - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	3	01/17/2003	P5;
019	Email	Re: Follow-Up - To: Susan Ralston - From: Nicholas Lemann	1	01/22/2003	P6/b6;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [2]

FRC ID:

9707

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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]
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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
020	Memorandum	Mayor Jorge Santini/City of San Juan - To: Barry Jackson, et al. - From: James Forrest Miller, et al.	3	12/17/2002	P6/b6;
021	Report	Daschle Deal	1	N.D.	P5;
022	Information Sheet	Anne Patterson	2	N.D.	P5;
023	Email	Ron Brownstein's January 20 Column in LA Times - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	3	01/21/2003	PRM;
024	Email	Follow-Up - To: Karl Rove, et al. - From: Mark Rodgers	1	01/14/2003	PRM;
025	Email	Corruption Trial Touches on Bush Campaign [page 1] - To: Anne Hathaway - From: [(b)(6)]	1	01/21/2003	P6/b6;

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001	Memorandum	Walk Up to State of the Union - To: Karl Rove - From: Lezlee Westine, et al.	2	01/15/2003	P5;
002	Email	THANKS... - To: Stephen Friedman - From: Dirk Van Dongen	1	01/14/2003	P6/b6;
003	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Richard Trefry	1	04/12/1990	P3/b3; P6/b6;
004	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Richard Trefry	1	05/21/1991	P3/b3; P6/b6;
005	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: John Gaughan	1	05/01/1992	P3/b3; P6/b6;
006	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: John Gaughan	1	05/07/1993	P3/b3; P6/b6;

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007	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Alphonso Maldon	1	04/11/1994	P3/b3; P6/b6;
008	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Alan Sullivan	1	05/03/1995	P3/b3; P6/b6;
009	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Alan Sullivan	1	04/08/1996	P3/b3; P6/b6;
010	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Alan Sullivan	1	04/11/1997	P3/b3; P6/b6;
011	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Alan Sullivan	1	04/29/1998	P3/b3; P6/b6;
012	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Joseph Simmons	1	04/08/1999	P3/b3; P6/b6;
013	Letter	[Memorial Day] - To: [(b)(3)] - From: Joseph Simmons	1	04/06/2000	P3/b3; P6/b6;

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026	Email	Fw: Washington Visit - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	08/16/2002	PRM;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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Withdrawal Marker

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Memorandum	Walk Up to State of the Union - To: Karl Rove - From: Lezlee Westine, et al.	2	01/15/2003	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.**

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Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [2]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

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THANKS....

Page 1 of 1

~~cc: Adam G~~ 1/22

K- Full
from Friedman

508628

Otto, Eric H.

From: Dirk Van Dongen - NAW [DVanDongen@nawd.org]
Sent: Tuesday, January 14, 2003 9:57 PM
To: Friedman, Stephen
Cc: Hennessey, Keith; jwest@nawd.org; Goldman, Adam B.; Westine, Lezlee J.
Subject: THANKS....

<<Membership Report Current.doc>>

.....for your call today. Most appreciated....as is your offer to help secure the "one pagers" we discussed.

The press is playing their usual DOA game, especially with regard to the dividends piece of the proposal. As you well know, the positive impact of this proposal on key constituencies is, instead, significant. Our challenge is to communicate this clearly, and these items will greatly assist us to do so.

We've arranged for both Keith and you to receive all TRC messages to our membership. As discussed, much of what we put out is fairly routine coalitions stuff, but it this will keep you posted on what we're up to on a day-to-day basis.

I'll also be in touch as matters of significance arise, as you requested, and ask that you please do the same.

Just so you have this:

DC HOME #:

NY APT#: (in NYC most weekends)

CELL #:

Finally, I'm attaching a copy of the full TRC membership list to give you a sense of the constituency involved. The 1000+ organizations listed have about 1.8 million business members.

Look forward to working with you.

Dirk Van Dongen
President - NAW
202 872 0885
<http://www.naw.org>

1/15/2003

Speech before 150,000 people
Rally for Israel
Friends of Israel,
US Capitol April 15, 2002

I have come here today to give thanks. 508628

To thank all of you for standing up for the Jewish State when so many outside America sit silent.

To thank the American people and their government for remembering the difference between freedom and tyranny, between right and wrong, between good and evil.

To thank President Bush for boldly
declaring that terrorism, the deliberate attack
on civilians, is never justified, and for
bravely charting a course that will lead the
free world to victory.

No greater friend of Israel has ever been in
the White House. No President has ever
championed a cause that was more just.

Dear Mr. President,
Many thanks for your leadership.
Thought you'd like to see this. Best Wishes
BJ

Many here and in Israel had hoped that Yasser Arafat would prove to be a Palestinian King Hussein. Instead, he has proved to be a Palestinian Sadaam Hussein.

And what do you do with Sadaam Hussein?

Do you negotiate with him? Do you make concessions to him? Do you appease him?

No, you do the same thing to him that you did to the Taliban.

You defeat him.

America defeated the Taliban in Afghanistan. And ^{now} in a historic mission that deserves the support of civilized people everywhere, President Bush is courageously leading the free world to dismantle Sadaam's regime before it acquires nuclear weapons.

508628

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 1/14/03

To: *Carl*

From: **Office of the Counsel to the President**

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

XC: David Thomas
File

Comments: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 14, 2003

Dear Senator Murray, Senator Cantwell, Representative Hastings, and Representative Nethercutt:

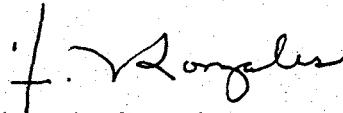
As you know, there is an upcoming judicial vacancy in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Washington. The Chief Justice recently reiterated his long-standing plea, on behalf of the Judiciary, for Presidents to submit judicial nominations promptly and for the Senate to hold hearings and up-or-down floor votes promptly. Consistent with Chief Justice's call, and with the sound administration of the judicial appointments process, on October 30, 2002, the President committed to submit nominations for all judicial vacancies within 180 days of learning of them.

For this Eastern District of Washington vacancy, therefore, the President will submit a nomination no later than April 25, 2003 (which is 180 days from the time of his October 30 speech). For that to occur, we must begin the FBI background investigation of a prospective nominee by mid-February. That schedule, in turn, requires that we begin to interview and consider candidates, and discuss them with the President, by the end of January.

I am aware of the exchange of letters among the four of you regarding a committee to evaluate candidates for this vacancy. I also am aware that the committee has not yet begun its work. I am sending this letter simply to inform you of the urgent timing and to remind you that we have to receive names of candidates by the end of January in order for us to operate within the committee process that we have previously discussed and committed to.

I look forward to working with all of you on this vacancy. Please feel free to contact me with any questions or concerns.

Sincerely yours,



Alberto R. Gonzales
Counsel to the President

The Honorable Patty Murray
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Maria Cantwell
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Doc Hastings
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable George R. Nethercutt, Jr.
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Sen. Reid
508628

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
April 12, 1990

Dear (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 28 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:30 a.m. on May 28. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other two should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

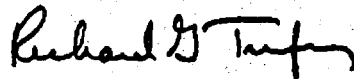
It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 28.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment. Please arrange transportation through the Military Office.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



RICHARD G. TREFRY
Military Assistant to the President

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b

(b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 21, 1991

Dear [REDACTED] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 27 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:30 a.m. on May 27. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

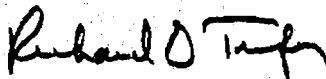
It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 27.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



RICHARD G. TREFRY
Military Assistant to the President

[REDACTED] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 1, 1992

Dear (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 25 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:30 a.m. on May 25. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

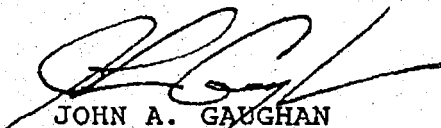
It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 25.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



JOHN A. GAUGHAN
Deputy Assistant to the President

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b

(b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1993

Dear [redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 31 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
*Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:30 a.m. on May 31. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 31.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



JOHN A. GAUGHAN
Director
White House Military Office

[redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

[redacted] (b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 11, 1994

Dear [redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 30 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
*Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:30 a.m. on May 30. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 30.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,


ALPHONSO MALDON, JR.

Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

[redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

[redacted] (b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1995

Dear (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 29 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
X Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:30 a.m. on May 29. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

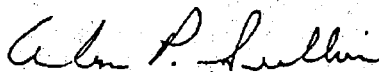
It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 29.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



ALAN P. SULLIVAN

Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b

(b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1996

Dear [redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 27 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
~~X~~ Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:00 a.m. on May 27. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

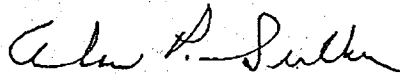
It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 27.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



ALAN P. SULLIVAN

Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

[redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

[redacted] (b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 11, 1997

Dear (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 26 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
* Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. They will be delivered by the White House Garage to the Administrative Building at the Cemetery by 8:00 a.m. on May 26. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 26.

A White House automobile will be made available for your use in carrying out this assignment.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



ALAN P. SULLIVAN

Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b

(b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
April 29, 1998

Dear [redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 25 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
X Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. A White House automobile will transport you and the wreaths to the Cemetery by 8:00 a.m. on May 25. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 25.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



ALAN P. SULLIVAN

Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

[redacted] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

[redacted] (b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1999

Dear [REDACTED] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b :

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 31 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
✓ Confederate Memorial

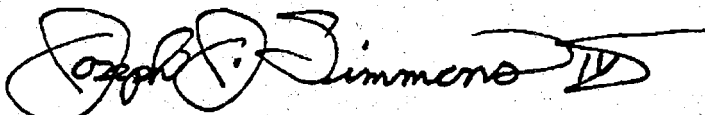
The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. A White House automobile will transport you and the wreaths to the Cemetery by 8:00 a.m. on May 31. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 31. The Superintendent's phone number is 703-695-3175.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



JOSEPH J. SIMMONS IV
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

[REDACTED] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 2000

Dear (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 29 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
* Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. A White House automobile will transport you and the wreaths to the Arlington National Cemetery by 8:00 a.m. on May 29. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 29. The Superintendent's phone number is 703-695-3175.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



JOSEPH J. SIMMONS IV
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b

(b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 25, 2001

Dear [REDACTED] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b :

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 28 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
A Confederate Memorial

The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. A White House automobile will transport you and the wreaths to the Arlington National Cemetery by 8:00 a.m. on May 28. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 28. The Superintendent's phone number is 703-695-3175.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



MARK V. ROSENKER

Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

[REDACTED] (b)(3) 10 USC 130b

[REDACTED] (b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 3, 2002

Dear (b)(3) 10 USC 130b :

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to designate you as his personal representative at wreath laying ceremonies in observance of Memorial Day on May 27 at the following monuments in Arlington National Cemetery:

Unknown Soldier (Civil War)
Mast of the USS MAINE
Spanish War Memorial
Confederate Memorial

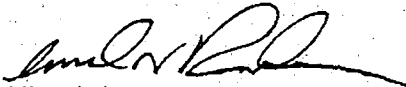
The White House Florist has been directed to prepare four appropriate wreaths. A White House automobile will transport you and the wreaths to the Arlington National Cemetery by 8:00 a.m. on May 27. The first wreath should be placed at 9:00 a.m.; the other three should follow as soon thereafter. So far as is presently known, the placement of these wreaths will not be in connection with any other scheduled ceremonies. I would note, however, that a large military ceremony will be taking place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

It is suggested that you contact the Superintendent of the Cemetery in order to arrange for a reconnaissance of the monument sites and/or escort for May 27. The Superintendent's phone number is 703-695-3175.

The uniform for this occasion will be Service Dress.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,



MARK V. ROSENKER
Deputy Assistant to the President and
Director, White House Military Office

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b

(b)(6)

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Feb 10th National Religious Broadcasters Meeting - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	3	01/17/2003	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:

508628 [2]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(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.

508628

ALLEN H. ROTH
SUITE 4200 • 767 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10153
PHONE: (212) 572-6954 • FAX: (212) 572-4329
email: [redacted] (b)(6)

*Jim - call
Rove's office
just passing
along.*

January 16, 2003

The Honorable Jon Kyl
SH-730, Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-0304

Dear Senator Kyl,

I would appreciate (as would Ronald) if you could encourage the White House to grant Charles Moore, the editor of the London *Daily Telegraph*, an interview with President Bush. My attached e-mail to Karl Rove sets out the reasons why this would be good for the U.S., the President, and Prime Minister Blair, in building support for the war effort. Charles (Lady Thatcher's official biographer) is a real friend of the United States. (Last year, he did a great interview with Donald Rumsfeld.)

Moore has made a formal request for an interview, but has not heard back.

* He has also expressed an interest in meeting with you - in his official capacity, or as a private individual, while he is in DC at the end of this month.

Thank you for considering this request. Moore can be reached through his assistant, Dean Godson at (011) 44207 538-6874.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

Wishing you a Happy and Healthy New Year.

Sincerely,



Allen Roth
AR/bc
attachment

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Aftermath of Strategy - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	3	01/17/2003	P5;

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

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [2]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

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FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

Ralston, Susan B.

508028

From: Nicholas Lemann [redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, January 22, 2003 1:32 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: RE: follow-up

Dear Susan,

Can't believe you're emailing at 2:14 am!

1) I'll bug you again about the Federalist at the end of next week if I haven't heard from you by then.

2) Thanks re Wiebe. Tell Karl that if he examines the back jacket of the book, he will see that I was the lead blurbist.

3) Fine about cleaning up quotes if we construe that to mean making them sound more felicitous, as opposed to changing meaning or self-censoring. OK?

And I'll be back in touch in early February to try to schedule more time with Karl. Thanks again.

Best,

Nick Lemann

NLC

508628

Ralston, Susan B.

From: MacKinnon, Douglas - DC [Douglas.MacKinnon@piperrudnick.com]
Sent: Wednesday, January 22, 2003 2:28 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: RE: San Juan/Mayor Santini

Susan:

Yes. Sorry I missed you. He did have a meeting with Barry and Ruben. I just spoke with Barry, so no rush. I need to get more facts first. Thanks for everything. See you on Friday!!

Doug

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

From: Ralston, Susan B. [mailto: Susan_B_Ralston@who.eop.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, January 22, 2003 1:58 PM
To: MacKinnon, Douglas - DC
Subject: San Juan/Mayor Santini

The reason I called earlier was re: your fax about Mayor Santini. I wanted to clarify that he did, in fact, have a meeting w/ Barry and/or Ruben already – or do you want us to arrange one?

The information contained in this communication may be confidential, is intended only for the use of the recipient named above, and may be legally privileged. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution, or copying of this communication, or any of its contents, is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please re-send this communication to the sender and delete the original message and any copy of it from your computer system.

Thank you.

For more information please visit us at <http://www.piperrudnick.com>

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Karl Rove
FROM: Doug MacKinnon 202-371-6337
DATE: January 21, 2003
SUBJECT: San Juan/Mayor Santini

Dear Karl:

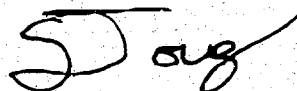
I hope you are well. Just a quick note and an attachment regarding Mayor Jorge Santini of San Juan.

Because I work on and write about Republican/Hispanic issues so much, I have been asked if I might be able to help.

It is my understanding that Mayor Santini will be in Washington this Wednesday and Thursday (the 22nd and 23rd) and would be honored to meet with someone from the White House to discuss this issue.

As you can see from the attached memo, the Mayor is Republican, up for re-election in 2004, and really has his back up against the wall with regard to health care funding for his city.

Any clarification or direction you can provide would be deeply appreciated. I will copy Barry and Ken on this issue as well. Thanks for everything.



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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Mayor Jorge Santini/City of San Juan - To: Barry Jackson, et al. - From: James Forrest Miller, et al.	3	12/17/2002	P6/b6;

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

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [2]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) 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

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- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
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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.

OFFICE OF SENATOR BOB DOLE FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE: 1/21/03

TO: Karl Rove

FAX NUMBER: 456-0191

FROM: Doug MacKinnon 202-371-6337

COMMENTS: Good morning, Susan.



NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 5

The information contained in this facsimile message is privileged and confidential intended only for the use of the individual or entity named above. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution, or copy of this fax is strictly prohibited. If you have received this fax in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the address below via US Postal Service.

Phone (202) 371-6007

Fax (202) 371-6262

Senator Bob Dole
901 15th Street, NW, Suite 410
Washington, DC 20005-2301

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Daschle Deal	1	N.D.	P5;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

508628 [2]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

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

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Information Sheet	Anne Patterson	2	N.D.	P5;

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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:

508628 [2]

FRC ID:

9707

OA Num.:

10731

NARA Num.:

10789

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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508628

To: Margaret
Selling
Lund

Special Education Confidential

How schools use the “learning disability” label to cover up their failures

Lisa Snell

THE HANDMADE FLASHCARDS were not helping my nephew Clayton. My sister Linda confided: “He’s not reading. We practice, but he can’t remember the words the next time. He gets frustrated.”

Although it seemed overwhelming, Clayton’s problem was fairly simple. “If Clayton is reading the word *cat*,” Linda explained, “he just says the letters *c, a, t*. He doesn’t recognize the word.” Clayton wasn’t connecting the letters to the sounds they represent. Children often are taught the names of letters first, which can make it hard to learn how they’re pronounced. For these kids, the letter *c* has no relationship to the sound *k* in *cat*.

Compounding the problem, Clayton’s kindergarten teacher was giving him word lists to memorize, failing to recognize that he didn’t know the basic letter sounds. She kept sending home new lists even though he hadn’t learned the words on the previous ones. It’s not surprising that Linda and Clayton were frustrated.

I was worried for Clayton because I know what happens to kids when they don't learn to read. Comprehensive research by the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development shows that children who cannot identify word sounds in kindergarten often cannot read by third grade. If Clayton failed to learn the relationship between letters and sounds in kindergarten, chances are he would be assigned to special education by fourth grade, which would spell his doom in the public school system. He probably would never become a proficient reader. Despite attending a solidly middle-class school, rated 7 out of 10 by the state of California, Clayton could easily end up as yet another child labeled "learning disabled" because his school failed to teach him how to read.

This winter Congress is scheduled to reauthorize the Individuals With Disabilities in Education Act (IDEA), which dispenses \$60 billion a year to school districts around the country. While there's no question that IDEA has provided legal protections and services for students with handicaps, it has also created perverse incentives that encourage schools to call kids disabled as a way of attracting more funding and masking instructional failures. Instead of restructuring the program to mitigate these unintended consequences, Congress is set to simply throw more money at the problem.

Disability As an Excuse

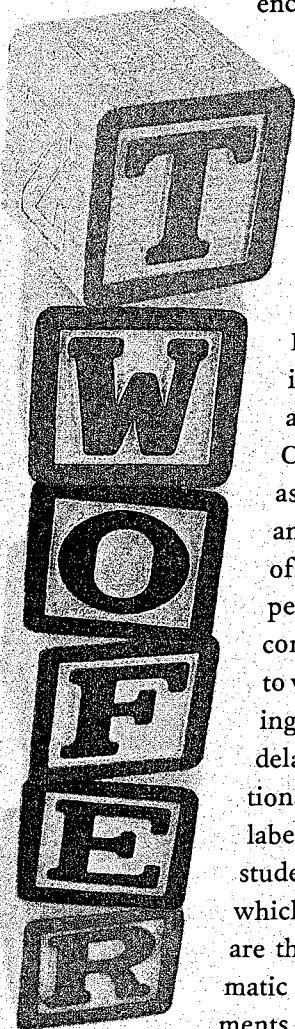
Nearly 12 percent of American students in kindergarten through 12th grade are assigned to the special education system. Children with severe disabilities, such as mental retardation, autism, blindness, and deafness, account for only a tenth of these students. The remaining 90 percent are described as suffering from conditions that are less obvious and harder to verify objectively, such as specific learning disability (SLD), speech and language delays, mild mental retardation, and emotional disorders. SLD is the most common label, accounting for more than half of all students covered by IDEA. SLD diagnoses, which have risen by 34 percent since 1991, are the main factor contributing to the dramatic increase in special education enrollments since 1976.

In a recent *Education Week* commentary, Manhattan Institute education analyst Jay Greene observes that the SLD category "has more than tripled from 1.8% of the student population in 1976-7 to 6.0% in 1998-9. All other categories of special education combined...have actually declined from 6.5% to 5.8% of the student population during the same period." Greene sees these trends as cause for skepticism about the validity of SLD designations. "If a general increase were truly underway in the proportion of students with learning problems," he writes, "then it should be evident in more than just one category of special education."

Federal law defines SLD as "a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, which disorder may manifest itself in imperfect ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell, or do mathematical calculations." To prevent overuse of the label, federal regulations stipulate that it be limited to students who show a "severe discrepancy" between their achievement in one or more subject areas and their intelligence, usually as measured by an IQ test. For example, a child who scores lower on a standardized reading test than on an IQ test might be classified as having a reading disability.

Even with these criteria, an SLD diagnosis remains subjective. In addition to the federal standard, there are 50 different state definitions of learning disability, and the methods used to determine intelligence vary widely. University of Minnesota education researchers James Ysseldyke and Bob Algozzine estimate that more than 80 percent of all schoolchildren in the United States could qualify as learning disabled under one definition or another. In a 1986 study, UCLA education psychologist Esther Sinclair and her colleagues applied five different formulas to a sample of 137 children. Those classified as learning disabled ranged from 4 percent to 28 percent.

Andrew J. Coulson sums it up neatly in his book *Market Education: The Unknown History*. "In the world of public schooling," he writes, "SLD diagnosis is often reduced to a devastatingly sim-



ple formula: if a child is smart but cannot read or do math, he is disabled." A consensus report published by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in 2001 concluded that it's impossible to clearly distinguish between an SLD in reading and low achievement: "Dyslexic children simply represent the lower portion of the continuum of reading capabilities."

A 2002 report from the President's Commission on Special Education estimated that 80 percent of students who receive an SLD diagnosis—two out of five special education students—are assigned to the program "simply because they haven't learned how to read." In a similar vein, an in-depth analysis in *Rethinking Special Education for a New Century*, a 2001 report published by the Fordham Foundation and the Progressive Policy Institute, estimates that nearly 2 million children would not have been classified as learning disabled if the public schools they attended had provided proper, rigorous, and early reading instruction.

Phonic Youth

In this connection, it's instructive to compare IDEA to Title I, which funds "remedial" reading and math instruction for children from poor families. Any student who qualifies for the federal free lunch program is eligible for Title I services. Although the government distinguishes between special education, intended for students described as disabled, and remedial education, intended for students presumed to be at a disadvantage because of their economic background, the same sort of intensive instruction seems to work equally well for poor readers in both groups. In fact, schools often pool money from both programs to pay for one general intervention, such as reading resource labs.

The SLD label is increasingly popular not because it suggests a particular pedagogical approach but because it brings schools extra money. The incentive to identify students as disabled is especially strong in schools with large numbers of low-income students. Such schools can obtain funding under Title I as well as IDEA, double counting each low achiever. "In essence," write Wade Horn and Douglas Tynan, "low-

income, low-achieving students can be 'two-fers' when it comes to maximizing procurement of federal and state funds."

It is commonly asserted that special education puts a financial strain on schools. Yet during the last four decades per pupil spending has increased from \$2,360 to \$7,086 in inflation-adjusted dollars, while student outcomes have been flat. "Whatever the causes for this productivity crisis in education (spending more without improving outcomes)," the Manhattan Institute's Jay Greene notes, "it is not reasonable to blame special education for consuming extra dollars or burdening schools with more difficult to educate students." Even as they shift more and more students into special education, schools have more money for general education than ever before. "Schools are classifying more normal but low-achieving students as learning-disabled using vague criteria," Greene writes. "Schools get more money for these special-education kids but don't spend much to 'treat' them."

This trend is especially troubling when one considers a child's dismal chances of learning to read through special education. The longer students remain in special education, the lower their reading ability when compared to that of other poor readers. As Louise Spear-Swerling and Robert J. Sternberg explain in their 1998 book *Off Track: When Poor Readers Become "Learning Disabled,"* "Poor readers in special education may be particularly likely to suffer decreases in practice, to benefit less from instructional interaction with a teacher, to engage in unmotivating instructional activities, and to draw maladaptive conclusions about what reading is." Similarly, a 1989 study by education researchers Richard Allington and Anne McGill-Franzen found that poor readers in special education programs received less instructional time in reading than did regular classroom students or Title I students. A 2000 survey of 500 special education teachers by the Council for Exceptional Children found that most reported devoting less than one hour a week to one-on-one time with students.

Unlike special education, early intervention with intensive instruction appears to reduce the number of children who have reading difficulties later in life. The research

Vouchers would discourage schools from overidentifying learning disabilities: Better to teach students to read in the first place than lose their per pupil revenue altogether.

suggests that when children like my nephew Clayton are taught the basic phonological skills necessary for reading, they can avoid a disability label altogether. The experience with early intervention programs that emphasize phonemes (basic units of speech) indicates that the rate of truly intractable reading problems is close to the rate of other serious disabilities. In five recent studies, when kids with poor phonological skills were given intensive instruction in phonemes and phonics, the expected incidence of learning disabilities, originally 12 percent to 18 percent, was reduced to around 1.5 percent.

“The emphasis on prevention begs the question of what constitutes a disability,” write reading expert Reid Lyon and his colleagues in the *Rethinking Special Education* report. “If the role of inadequate instruction is taken seriously, and more aggressive attempts are made to teach all children to read, the meaning of disability could change in the future. In this scenario, the actual diagnosis of LD could be reserved for children whose reading or other academic problems are severe and intractable.”

Full Funding of a Bad IDEA

Lyon argues that complex assessments and disability determinations should be replaced by a system offering intensive instruction to all children who score below the 25th percentile in reading achievement. Whatever the eligibility criteria, it's vital that funding be tied to performance. In this respect, policy makers can learn something from child welfare reform.

Foster care funding is usually based on how many days children remain in the system; the longer they stay, the more revenue they generate. The unintended consequence is that kids languish in foster care, neither reunited with their natural parents nor adopted by new parents. Some innovative states, such as Kansas and Michigan, have tied foster care payments to the speed with which agencies find permanent placements for children. Agencies that move children into permanent family arrangements more quickly receive more money. Similarly, a better approach to special education would reward states that lower their disability rates through intensive early intervention.

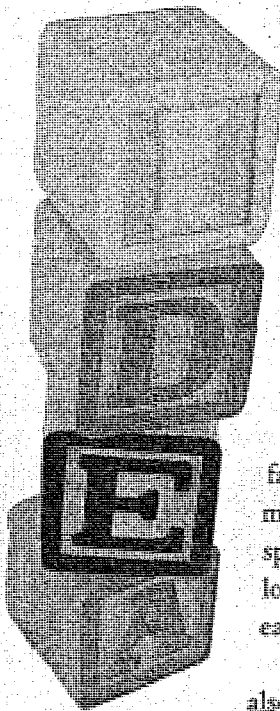
Special education voucher programs would also help correct the perverse incentives cre-

ated by IDEA. First, vouchers would allow parents to find the school environment that best fits their children's circumstances. Second, vouchers would discourage schools from overidentifying learning disabilities: Better to teach students to read in the first place than lose their per pupil revenue altogether.

Unfortunately, it's unlikely that Congress will rethink special education. It appears that “full funding” of IDEA—defined as covering 40 percent of the extra cost to educate disabled children—is a done deal. The Senate IDEA reauthorization plan calls for a \$2.5 billion annual increase in appropriations, resulting in full funding in six years. The House Republican plan calls for full funding of IDEA in 10 years, including annual increases of just over \$1 billion through fiscal year 2007. Large, predictable funding increases can be expected to encourage further expansion of special education as schools strive to maximize their budgets.

My nephew Clayton already brings his school Title I money, based on my sister's income and his eligibility for the free lunch program. The good news is that my sister has prevented Clayton's school from turning him into a “twofer” and assigning him to special education. Linda took responsibility for teaching Clayton the relationship between letters and sounds, and by the end of the school year he had jumped from a 1 to a 3 (on a scale of 1 to 4) in his kindergarten reading classification. It's the sort of success that could be far more common if schools focused on teaching kids to read rather than diagnosing their disabilities. ■

Lisa Snell (lsnell@reason.org) is the director of the education program at the Reason Public Policy Institute.



TRB

FROM WASHINGTON

Civil War

THINGS ARE ABOUT to get ugly in the Democratic Party—and it's about time. Critics say the Democrats went into the 2002 election divided. But, in fact, almost to a person, the party's national leaders converged around the same strategy. Dick Gephardt, Tom Daschle, Joe Lieberman, John Edwards, John Kerry, and Terry McAuliffe all, to varying degrees, endorsed the proposition that the party should acquiesce on the two great issues of the day: war with Iraq and the Bush tax cut. The Democrats ostensibly supported the latter and opposed the former, but they mainly tried to ensure that they weren't held responsible for either. And that effort produced almost comic levels of incoherence. Kerry and Daschle criticized the war endlessly, then voted for it on the flimsiest of pretexts, then went back to criticizing it. (I myself thought that this strategy, while a moral abdication, might work in the political short term. Boy, was I wrong.) Gephardt and McAuliffe attacked the tax cut but refused to call for its repeal. Instead, they called for an "economic summit" to discuss the deepening recession, without proposing which policies they hoped such a summit would adopt. Republicans say Democrats lost on November 5 because the voters disliked their proposals on the big questions of the day. But that can't be true, because the Democrats *didn't have* proposals on the big questions of the day. They decided that, in bad times, the shrewd thing to do was to get out of the way so voters could punish the president and his party for leading the country in the wrong direction. Instead, voters decided that, in difficult times, they preferred a president and a party that at least proposed a national direction to one that pretended that the great challenge facing the United States in November 2002 was prescription drugs.

Virtually every prominent Democratic leader leaves this campaign politically diminished. Gephardt's presidential run looks like a fortuitously timed escape hatch for a man so associated with electoral fail-

ure that he might not have won reelection as minority leader had he tried. In retrospect, Daschle's last several months as Senate majority leader look disastrous—he gave the Democrats no accomplishments to run on and got suckered into a fight over union protections in the homeland security bill, which may have cost Max Cleland his Senate seat in Georgia. Lieberman actually masterminded that disastrous homeland security fight in which, astonishingly, President Bush stole a Democratic idea and turned it into a political club against its original creators. Edwards's inability to carry Erskine Bowles to victory in North Carolina raises questions about his political standing in his home state, and, like Gephardt, his run for president looks like a convenient alternative to trying to hold on to his current job.

For his part, Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe's obsession with building a new, super-high-tech party headquarters and his relative indifference to his party's utter lack of vision on the war on terrorism perfectly embodied the party's fascination with political technique at the expense of political ideas. In the weeks leading up to Election Day, top Democrats boasted that they had mastered the science of turnout, as if getting people to vote was a logistical challenge that depended little on what people were being asked to vote for. These were the leaders of the Democratic Party. They fought this election from the meek and cynical center, and that center has not held.

The result is that the left, for the first time since the 1980s, has a shot at taking over the party. The defeat of moderate Democrats in swing states and districts inevitably tilts the congressional party toward ideological hard-liners in safe seats. Ted Kennedy and John Conyers would have yanked the party left in 1994 had not the Clinton White House moved in the other direction. But now there is no counterweight. And that is what makes the Democratic Party's current predicament so dangerous: The ideological vacuum atop the post-September 11 Democratic Party will inevitably be filled. And, if it is filled by Nancy Pelosi and Dennis Kucinich, the United States will no longer be a 50-50 nation; it will be a 40-60 nation for a generation.

Politically, the notion that the Democrats would have prospered this election had they run as the peace party is laughable. Tell that to Cleland—sunk because his Republican opponent painted the Democratic Party as hostile to defense. Or to Walter Mondale, who *did* trumpet his opposition to the war and was soundly defeated in a comparatively dovish state. The American public simply does not share

the left's belief that the world is a dangerous place primarily because of the recklessness of American power. Americans may not know, or even necessarily agree with, all the details of President Bush's proposed war with Iraq. As with Ronald Reagan in the '80s, however, they are naturally drawn to a president who describes the enemy in clear, moralistic terms and confronts it without apology or ambivalence.

But, in a sense, responding to the newly emboldened doves with exit-poll data misses the point. It simply plays into the left's assumption that it operates from moral principle and everyone else in the party operates from focus groups. The tragedy of Gephardt, Daschle, and McAuliffe's behavior is that they have made Democratic support for war with Iraq synonymous with cynical calculation and ideological me-tooism. In fact, as this magazine has tried to argue, there are explicitly moral and undeniably liberal grounds for supporting an aggressive war on terrorism and regime change in Iraq. These principles have roots in the Democratic Party that long predate Paul Wolfowitz's latest speech at the American Enterprise Institute. If taken seriously by a party that stops treating prescription drugs as more central to its identity than national security, they will produce an agenda that challenges the president's indifference to postwar reconstruction in Afghanistan and Iraq as well as his refusal to fully fund homeland security and act aggressively to secure loose nuclear materials throughout the globe. That agenda will allow Democratic candidates to compete in the many foreign policy-dominated elections to come.

But before Democrats can confront President Bush, they must confront one another. The coming fight within the party will be much like the fight on crime, welfare, and defense in the '80s. It will be ugly and, perhaps, racially tinged. It may even lead some prominent Democrats to leave the party and join the Greens. But it is welcome, if only because we have seen where vacuous consensus leads.

Bush has demonstrated in this election what Reagan demonstrated two decades ago: If you are ideologically audacious, you can redefine the boundaries of what is politically possible. The last time the ground shifted beneath them, the Democrats responded with denial, then cosmetic change, then internecine warfare, then an ideological transformation that saved the party. Now that reckoning is slowly beginning once again. And that, at least, is reason for hope.

PETER BEINART

aerosol testing of weaponized smallpox (a mere 400 grams was used in the test), a research vessel floated downwind—within 15 to 30 kilometers of the testing zone. That a woman on the ship was infected shows just how potent the strain and its dispersal techniques were. Returning home to Aralsk, this woman passed the virus on to nine other people—six of whom had been vaccinated as well. The three unvaccinated people died of virulent hemorrhagic smallpox. Only a heroic quarantine effort stopped its spread. How can this incident be compared to a deliberate bioterror release of smallpox, possibly in several different locations?

The “large quantity” of anthrax released in the Sverdlovsk incident was certainly less than one pound. The release happened because a technician forgot to replace a clogged filter. Dropping a few grams of anthrax into a few envelopes and mailing them off is not terribly “systematic.” Had the terrorist intended to kill many people, he certainly could have done a more creditable job of it. The failure of Aum Shinrikyo and their “skilled scientists” to infect even one person with the anthrax they spread around Tokyo can perhaps be attributed to their use of the Sterne vaccine strain instead of virulent anthrax. How many people they accidentally succeeded in immunizing remains unknown.

The failure of Ebola Reston, the strain let loose near Washington, to kill even a single person is fortunate for those involved but not really very telling. Ebola Reston does not cause disease in people, and few experts believe that Ebola would be a useful biological weapon.

Finally, the Japanese did not stop their plague bombs on China because “plague-infected drinking water was infecting their own soldiers.” Plague does not spread in water. However, plague—when aerosolized—causes pneumonic plague, which kills almost 100 percent of untreated people. Further, Soviets developed a strain resistant to ten antibiotics. The technology exists, and it has for 30 years.

Dismissing the threat of technologies one doesn’t understand is foolish—and very dangerous.

WENDY ORENT, PH.D.
Atlanta, Georgia

ALAN ZELICOFF, M.D.
Senior Scientist

Sandia National Laboratories
Albuquerque, New Mexico

GREGG EASTERBROOK REPLIES:

The writers assert, “Easterbrook insists that mustard gas and sarin would make poor weapons against troops since they won’t result in massive civilian casualties.” Not only can I find no statement remotely resembling this in the article in question, I can’t even figure out what the statement means. Who would think that the effect of a weapon against civilians—all weapons are deadly to defenseless civilians—would tell you anything one way or the other about how a weapon would work against an army in a war? The writers say my article was “wrong” because “mustard gas has killed thousands,” but the article discussed the deaths caused by this gas during World War I. The writers assert, “Sarin disables soldiers by forcing them to don cumbersome chemical suits.” The article acknowledged that wearing a protective suit is unpleasant, though I doubt the American soldiers who donned such protection during the 1991 Gulf war considered themselves “disabled.”

Most importantly, my article did not in any way dismiss the dangers of chemical and biological arms—I did, after all, describe this class of weapons as “horri-

ble.” My point was that in actual use chemical and biological arms have been no more deadly than conventional bombs and explosives, which are also horrible. We should focus our worries on atomic weapons, which in actual use have proved themselves thousands of times more potent than conventional explosives, chemicals, germs, or anything else.

Glass houses

TO THE EDITORS:

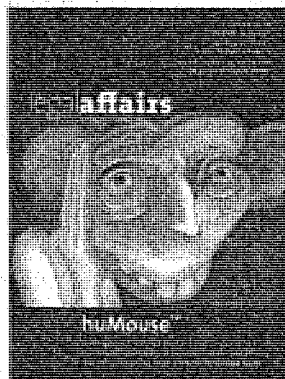
I want to thank you for your recent editorial, “Speechless,” as it represents a thoughtful critique of what I view in larger terms as the typical Democratic rhetoric of late (October 7). This rhetoric is organized around throwing stones while ducking accountability. I typically vote on the Republican side, but I truly value competition—I believe it raises the skill level of everyone involved—and this has been lacking with the current slew of Democratic leaders. I applaud your standing up for the principle of accountability, as this ultimately forces one to be guided by principles versus polls.

PAUL CALLAGHAN
Traverse City, Michigan

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(A brief program will begin promptly at three-thirty)*

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VELVYSLANEC
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~~Deadline~~

Washington, January 15, 2003

Mr. Karl Rove
Senior Adviser to the President
WH/2/WW
Washington DC 20500

Dear Mr. Rove:

On behalf of The Embassy of the Slovak Republic and The Friends of Slovakia, I am writing you to extend a special invitation. We would be honored if you could be our guest at the solo performance by

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honoring
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7:00 p.m.

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The concert is a rare opportunity to meet a brilliant voice of world magnitude and I am sure that you will enjoy it.

Sincerely,

Martin Bútor

Martin Bútor
Ambassador

PETER DVORSKY
 A solo performance honoring
Tenth Anniversary of the Slovak Republic
 February 5, 2003

Please, indicate below:

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The tickets will be sent to you by mail before the concert.

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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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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.

Fill

508628

Ken Mehlman

From: [redacted] (b)(6)
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 6:27 PM
To: Anne Hathaway
Subject: Corruption trial touches on Bush campaign

From: John McGovern

Corruption trial touches on Bush campaign

By Mike Robinson
Associated Press Writer

January 21, 2003, 2:14 PM CST

The head of President Bush's Illinois campaign testified Tuesday that after his wife got a no-work job from a direct mail consultant, the consultant was assigned to a presidential campaign project.

Richard Juliano also said he provided information to prosecutors with information about Gov. George Ryan's campaign for months without mentioning that his wife had received two, no-work jobs from Ryan friends.

Juliano, once one of Ryan's closest aides, spent a fourth day on the stand as the government's leadoff witness in the trial of Ryan's one-time chief of staff, Scott Fawell, and the Citizens for Ryan committee.

Fawell, 45, and the committee are charged with a pattern of racketeering that included extortion, bribery, obstruction of justice and fraud going back a decade. They are accused of using state resources and state employees to do campaign work for Ryan and his political allies.

The trial grows out of the government's four-year Operation Safe Road investigation of corruption under Ryan that so far has resulted in charges against 57 former state employees and others and 50 convictions.

Juliano last week testified that after Ryan was elected governor in 1998, Juliano's wife, Erika, received two contracts for which she was never assigned to do any work. One of those contracts was given to her by Roger Stanley, a direct-mail consultant now charged with making payoffs.

Fawell's chief defense counsel, Edward Genson, began Tuesday's cross examination of Juliano by asking if he had told federal prosecutors about the two contracts for which Juliano's wife was paid for doing no work.

Juliano acknowledged that he had begun providing prosecutors with information about Fawell and the committee in November 2001 but never got around to telling them about the no-work contracts until the next June.

"You had mentioned that name, Stanley?" Genson asked.

"Yes, sir," Juliano said.

"But you never mentioned that Stanley was involved in providing your wife with a contract?"

"No, sir."

Juliano said his attorney finally called federal prosecutors in June and told them that Juliano's wife, Erika, had received such a contract not only from Stanley but from the Illinois State Medical Society as well.

Genson then asked if the Bush campaign had given any business to Stanley who has worked for many Republicans throughout the state. Juliano said Stanley had received "a project" from the Bush campaign.

"This was after you had gotten those moneys?"

"My wife had," Juliano testified. He also testified that his accountant had reported the money paid by Stanley and the Medical Society as income to "Richard and Erika Juliano" consulting but that the income was his wife's and not his.

On another topic, Genson asked many questions about Juliano's involvement in Ryan's political patronage -- the practice of providing jobs to favored individuals, often with the blessing of a party official.

Genson said he understood that "the head of the Republican Party in DuPage County believed you could not hire anyone in DuPage County without his permission."

"Are you referring to Sen. Phillip?" Juliano said. "That is essentially correct, yes."

James (Pate) Phillip, who recently retired as Republican leader of the Illinois Senate is also the longtime DuPage Republican chairman.

Juliano appeared to be holding up in good spirits despite four days on the stand, two of them under cross examination from one of the city's toughest and most skilled criminal defense attorneys.

Asked about his age, Juliano said: "I'm 36 as of today."

"Happy Birthday," piped up U.S. District Judge Rebecca R. Pallmeyer.

"It's a memorable birthday to say the least," Juliano said.

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Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Washington Visit - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	08/16/2002	PRM;

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RESTRICTION CODES

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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1/30
508628

MEMO

To: Lezlee Westine, Deputy Assistant to the President, Director Office of Public Liaison
From: Angela Sailor, Associate Director White House Office of Public Liaison
Date: June 6, 2002
Re: Meeting request for Karl Rove

Request:
A meeting with Karl Rove and three African American Republican Leaders (two Eagles), Dr. Bob Wright, President and CEO of Dimensions International, Renee Amooore, President and CEO of The Amooore Group, and Bob Brown, President and CEO of B& C Associates.

Purpose:
To thank the group for supporting the President's Welfare Plan.

Proposed Dates:
The week of June 24, 2002

JUN-05-02 WED 12:26 PM CENTER FOR

FAX NO. 8542512225

508628

P. 02

Math

*Pls. fax to
Ken Mehlman
(WH Pol. Aff.)*

*LM -
Jo - FYI*

FR

May 17, 2002

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

RE: Request for meeting

Dear Mr. President:

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

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

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

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

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

We thank you for your consideration of our request.

Dr. D. James Kennedy
President,
Coral Ridge Ministries

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

Ken Connor
President,
Family Research Council

Don Wildmon
President,
American Family Association

Andrea Lafferty
Executive Director,
Traditional Values Coalition

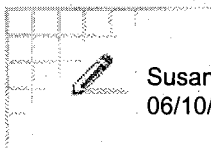
Janet L. Folger
National Director,
Center for Reclaiming America

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

Sandy Rios
President,
Concerned Women For America

Phyllis Schlafly
Founder and President,
Eagle Forum

*from me
FYI - per my voice mail
- TRS*



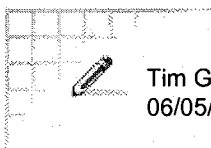
Susan B. Ralston
06/10/2002 01:13:11 PM



Record Type: Record

To: Tim Goeglein/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
bcc:
Subject: Re: D James Kennedy

Karl has agreed to meet w/ them. Call later to discuss proposed dates. First available date is Wed, 6/26.
Tim Goeglein



Tim Goeglein
06/05/2002 03:31:21 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
bcc:
Subject: Re: D James Kennedy

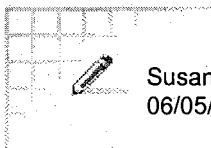
S

I recommend that POTUS decline but that Krove say yes, and hear their concerns/complaints.

Warmly

tsg

Susan B. Ralston



Susan B. Ralston
06/05/2002 03:17:30 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Tim Goeglein/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc:
bcc:
Subject: Re: D James Kennedy

What is your recommendation?

BARBOUR GRIFFITH & ROGERS, INC.

HOLD 508628

LANNY GRIFFITH
CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER

June 4, 2002

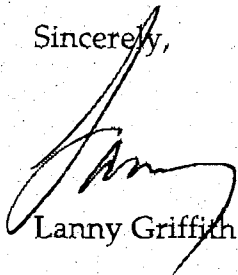
Mr. Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

In January, I mentioned to you our work on behalf of FM Watch, a coalition of financial services and mortgage industry companies and their trade associates which have banded together to advocate for more aggressive oversight of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

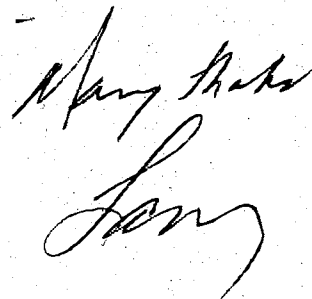
Thanks in part to the good work of the Bush Administration, a great deal is happening on the GSE front and more is likely. I would appreciate the opportunity to discuss this with you in an informal way, and I would like to include Dan Murphy of our firm and Ed Gillespie. Both of them have done extensive work in this area. Mindful of the demands on your time, we should be able to get our business done in 20-30 minutes.

I'll follow up with Susan Ralston in your office to see what works on your schedule. In the meantime, let me know if I can be of assistance to you in any way.

Sincerely,


Lanny Griffith

K-
This is important. Hope you can work this out -

Many thanks


TENTH FLOOR
1275 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20004
TEL (202)661.6314 • FAX (202)333.2980
LANNY_GRIFFITH@BGR.DC.COM