

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	7	3	9726	22589	10808	10750

Folder Title:

601804 [1] - [2]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Email	From Ken Auletta of the New Yorker Magazine - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Ken Auletta	1	11/03/2003	P6/b6;
002	Email	Re: From Ken Auletta - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Ken Auletta	1	11/21/2003	P6/b6;
003	Memorandum	Marvin Pomerantz, Doug Gross, Becky Beach Meeting - To: Karl Rove - From: Lori Raad	1	11/21/2003	PRM;
004	Memorandum	Federal Marriage Amendment Conference Call - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein	1	11/24/2003	P5;
005	Schedule	November 24, 2003	1	11/21/2003	P6/b6;
006	List	Mutual Fund Discussion Administration Actions	1	11/24/2003	P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

601804 [1]

FRC ID:

9726

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
007	Memorandum	Mutual Fund Update - To: NEC Principals - From: Kevin Warsh	4	11/24/2003	P5;
008	Email	RE: The Three Pillars Speech - To: Peter Wehner - From: Paul Gigot	1	11/21/2003	
009	Email	Fw: Catching Up - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5;
010	Memorandum	Political/Surrogate Travel - To: Karl Rove - From: Matt Schlapp, et al.	2	12/15/2003	PRM;
011	Memorandum	Treasury Department Cash Balance Proposal - To: Pension Policy Principals - From: Chuck Blahous	3	12/12/2003	P5;

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
012	Email	Jim Towey's Concern - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	2	12/11/2003	P5;
013	Email	Fw: Fwd: MIG Dug Up from Iraqi Desert, Pictures - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;
014	Email	Fw: Iraq - a Bleak Warning - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;
015	Email	Fw: Atrocities Against Americans and the Rules of War - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;
016	Email	Fw: A New Approach to Vaccine Manufacturing - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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017	Email	Fw: Points of Order - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	PRM;
018	Email	Fw: A Peace Budget... - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;
019	Email	Fw: Health Savings - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	PRM;
020	Email	Fw: Fwd: From AARP Website - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	PRM;
021	Email	From AARP Website - To: [Newt Gingrich] - From: Dana Pavey	1	11/17/2003	PRM;

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022	Email	Fw: Signing Ceremony - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;
023	Email	Fw: Fwd: Medicare Bill [with attachment] - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	2	11/24/2003	PRM;
024	Email	Fw: A Possible Immigration Services Problem - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;
025	Email	Fw: Brilliant on C-Span - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	PRM;
026	Email	Fw: Fwd: "What's Wrong with the CIA?" by Herbert... - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P6/b6;

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027	Email	"What's Wrong with the CIA?" by Herbert... [page 1] - To: Alvin Felzenberg - From: Joseph West	1	10/26/2003	P6/b6;
028	Email	Medicare/AARP - To: [Distribution List] - From: Barry Jackson	2	07/18/2003	P5;
029	Email	Re: Medicare - To: Chris Hansen - From: Barry Jackson	2	07/18/2003	P5;
030	Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet with attachments] - To: Ed Gillespie - From: Karl Rove	4	11/24/2003	PRM;
031	Memorandum	Debrief - Iowa Town Hall Meetings [with attachments] - To: Karl Rove - From: Keith Brancato	17	11/20/2003	P5;

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Goergen, Barbara J.

601804

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

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

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

Thank you.
Ken Auletta

(b)(6)

11/21/2003

Goergen, Barbara J.

601804

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

Barbara,
Thank you.

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

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

Best,
Ken Auletta

Withdrawal Marker

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

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FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

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November 24, 2003

Monday

November 2003						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

December 2003						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

POTUS Travel (Colorado)

7 am	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Morning Meeting/Senior Staff Meeting
8 00	Bob Luskin (KR's Office)
9 00	
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Directors Meeting (KR's Office)
10 00	NEC Principals Meeting re: Mutual Funds (Friedman's Office)
11 00	Ken Auletta, The New Yorker re: WH press corps vs. Pres. Bush (KR's Office)
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pre-Message Meeting (KR Office)
12 pm	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Message Meeting (Roosevelt Room)
1 00	Dr. James Dobson, Don Hodel, Chuck Colson, Tim Geoglein and Kristen Silverberg re: Gay Marriage (Conference Call)
	(b)(6)
2 00	
3 00	Depart for DCA
4 00	
	4:32pm Depart DCA on American #1817
5 00	
6 00	
	6:57pm Arrive DFW
	8:53pm - Depart DFW on American #3305
	9:37pm - Arrive Waco, Texas

Goergen, Barbara J.

601804

From: Rouse, Kyle
Sent: Monday, November 24, 2003 8:42 AM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: Matt Hunter Called (x66173)

...wants to know if KR spoke w/ Dr.Rice about the AUSA event

F: AUSA

Max Hunt
open

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

TODAY'S DATE: 11/24/2003

TO: Bradley Blakeman *Liz Lineberry*
Deputy Assistant to the President and Scheduler

FROM: Karl C. Rove
Assistant to the President and Senior Advisor

REQUEST: For the ~~President~~ *Dr. Rice* to attend and be the keynote speaker at the New Hampshire Association of the Army's (AUSA) annual ~~November~~ Dinner.

BACKGROUND: Since 1950, the Association of the United States Army has worked to support all aspects of national security while advancing the interests of America's Army and the men and women who serve. AUSA is a private, non-profit educational organization that supports America's Army - Active, National Guard, Reserve, Civilians, Retirees and family members.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: The President attended this event in 1999.

DATE AND TIME: Dec. 7, 8, 14, 21, 22, 23.

DURATION: 1 hour

BRIEFING TIME: None

LOCATION: Center of New Hampshire
Manchester, New Hampshire

PARTICIPANTS: President Bush
Governor Craig Benson (R)
Senator Judd Gregg (R, NH)
Senator John Sununu (R, NH)
Congressman Jeb Bradley (R, NH-01)
Congressman Charlie Bass (R, NH-02)
Chris Ager, President, AUSA of New Hampshire
2000 Reservist, Veteran, and Enlisted men and women

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: President Bush will deliver remarks to the New Hampshire Association of the Army's annual November Dinner.

REMARKS REQUIRED: 30 minutes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Pool

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not Required

FUNDING SOURCE: Department of Defense

WORKING CONTACT: Matthew Hunter: x6-6173

 ACCEPT

 REGRET

 PENDING

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	Mutual Fund Discussion Administration Actions	1	11/24/2003	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:

601804 [1]

FRC ID:

9726

OA Num.:

10750

NARA Num.:

10808

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

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

November 19, 2003
(House)

STATEMENT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY

H.R. 2420 - Mutual Funds Integrity and Fee Transparency Act of 2003

(Rep. Baker (R) Louisiana and 23 cosponsors)

The Administration commends the House Financial Services Committee for its year-long focus on reform of the mutual fund industry. Chairman Oxley, Subcommittee Chairman Baker, and Ranking Member Frank developed an important record with respect to the structure, incentives, and practices of the mutual fund industry, and have focused necessary attention on the impact of the system on individual investors.

The Administration believes that H.R. 2420 highlights key areas of reform that Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) Chairman Donaldson has committed to addressing: exposing and punishing acts of wrongdoing; improving mutual fund governance; holding fiduciaries more accountable; and providing better information to investors. The Administration believes that the Committee's work will prove to be important as the SEC and other regulatory agencies consider the tools and authority necessary to strengthen investors' trust in the integrity of mutual funds. The Administration also continues to monitor the enforcement actions being conducted by members of the President's Corporate Fraud Task Force, including the Departments of Justice and Labor, the SEC, and the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

The Administration looks forward to continuing to work with Congress as it takes prudent steps to protect more than 95 million mutual fund investors.

* * * * *

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Mutual Fund Update - To: NEC Principals - From: Kevin Warsh	4	11/24/2003	P5;

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SERIES:

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

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601804

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/24/03

To: *Pete Wehner*

From: Strategic Initiatives *Carl 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: _____

Susan - arrange to get this article

On Society

JOHN LEO



and x.c.: this piece to Pete.

A surprising jog to the right

WE'RE NOT LOSING" ISN'T MUCH of a battle cry, but an article in the policy magazine *City Journal* with that modest message is attracting a lot of attention. The article, "We're Not Losing the Culture Wars Anymore" by senior editor Brian Anderson, argues that the left's near monopoly in the entertainment and news media is "skidding to a startlingly swift halt."

Much of Anderson's evidence—the rise of Fox News, talk radio, and conservative bloggers—is familiar, but the article argues that a corner has been turned and the culture war is a far more even struggle now. This news may come as a shock to conservatives. It's certainly a shock to Tim Noah, a liberal commentator at *Slate*. Noah read Anderson's article, watched as the Reagan miniseries was pulled, then wrote glumly that the right has won the culture wars.

Hardly. The liberal worldview still dominates the news business, the arts, the entertainment world, publishing, the campuses, and all levels of schooling. It's the media and educational status quo. But five years ago, CBS probably could have gotten away with a cheap-shot miniseries on the Reagans. Now it can't. This is partly because of market forces, as conservative columnist Robert Bartley and liberal columnist Richard Reeves both pointed out. Reeves called the miniseries "commercially insane." Large conservative audiences no longer accept many liberal products, so those products are adapted or abandoned. The other reason for the ditching of the Reagan miniseries is that the conservative media world is now good at gang tackling. From Matt Drudge's *Drudge Report* (which framed the issue of the miniseries) to Fox, the bloggers, talk radio hosts, and the columnists, everybody piled on. *New York Times* columnist David Brooks touched on this point some time ago, writing that the new conservative media have "cohered to form a dazzlingly efficient ideology delivery system that swamps liberal efforts to get their ideas out." For liberals, this is an ominous development.

The unfamiliar part of Anderson's article is the rising conservative impact on pop culture. In comedy, it's not just Dennis Miller, the first major comedian fully identified with the right. On cable, conservative humor—or at least, antiliber-

al humor—pops up all the time. Colin Quinn, like Miller a veteran of *Saturday Night Live*, skewers liberal pieties regularly on Comedy Central's popular *Tough Crowd*. I once asked a thoughtful liberal friend: "Why does the message of the left seem to penetrate the whole of pop culture?" His answer—"We make the culture; you don't"—doesn't seem so obvious now.

New paradigm. The showpiece of antiliber humor is one that appalls a good many conservatives: *South Park*, Comedy Central's wildly popular cartoon saga of four crude and incredibly foul-mouthed little boys. The show mocks mindless lefty celebrities and takes swipes at the gay lobby and the abortion lobby. Some examples: Getting Gay With Kids is a homosexual choir that descends on the school. And the mother of one South Parker decides she wants to abort him ("It's my body"), despite the fact that he's 8 years old. The weekly disclaimer on the show says it is so offensive "it should not be viewed by anyone." This is a new paradigm in pop culture: Conventional liberalism is the old, rigid establishment. The antiliberals are brash, funny, and cool. Who would have thought?

Some of the new conservative success is due to the rise of a large crop of commentators the left has not been able to match. Mostly young and often very funny, they include Mark Steyn, Jonah Goldberg, Michelle Malkin, and Jeff Jacoby. But most of the conservative gains have been in new media. Fox News's large audience skews young, and half its viewers are either liberal or centrist. So Fox isn't just preaching to the choir. It's exposing nonconservatives to conservative ideas.

"The antiliberals are brash... and cool. Who would have thought?"



As mentioned here several times, the "blogosphere"—the world of Internet commentators—tilts strongly to the right. Bloggers like Andrew Sullivan, Mickey Kaus, and Glenn Reynolds of *InstaPundit* have a heavy impact. No excess of the liberal media seems to escape their attention. Among other things, they have mercilessly attacked Paul Krugman, the *New York Times* columnist and idol of America's angriest liberals. It has been an amazing and, I think, largely successful campaign of informed detraction.

It was obvious that the democratization of the media would bring new voices into the field, but who knew that so many of those voices would be conservative, libertarian, or just cantankerously opposed to entrenched liberal doctrine? The conservative side is far from winning the culture wars, but the debate is broader and fairer now. The near monopoly is over. ●



City Journal
We're Not Losing the Culture Wars Anymore
Brian C. Anderson
 Autumn 2003

The Left's near monopoly over the institutions of opinion and information—which long allowed liberal opinion makers to sweep aside ideas and beliefs they disagreed with, as if they were beneath argument—is skidding to a startlingly swift halt. The transformation has gone far beyond the rise of conservative talk radio, that, ever since Rush Limbaugh's debut 15 years ago, has chipped away at the power of the *New York Times*, the networks, and the rest of the elite media to set the terms of the nation's political and cultural debate. Almost overnight, three huge changes in communications have injected conservative ideas right into the heart of that debate. Though commentators have noted each of these changes separately, they haven't sufficiently grasped how, taken together, they add up to a revolution: no longer can the Left keep conservative views out of the mainstream or dismiss them with bromide instead of argument. Everything has changed.

The first and most visible of these three seismic events: the advent of cable TV, especially Rupert Murdoch's Fox News Channel. Since its 1996 launch, Fox News has provided what its visionary CEO Roger Ailes calls a "haven" for viewers fed up with the liberal bias of the news media—potentially a massive audience, since the mainstream media stand well to the American people's left.

Watch Fox for just a few hours and you encounter a conservative presence unlike anything on TV. Where CBS and CNN would lead a news item about an impending execution with a candlelight vigil of death-penalty protesters, for instance, at Fox "it is *de rigueur* that we put in the lead why that person is being executed," senior vice president for news John Moody noted a while back. Fox viewers will see Republican politicians and conservative pundits sought out for meaningful quotations, skepticism voiced about environmentalist doomsaying, religion treated with respect, pro-life views given airtime—and much else they'd never find on other networks.

Fox's conservatism helps it scoop competitors on stories they get wrong or miss entirely because of liberal bias. In April 2002, for instance, the mainstream media rushed to report an Israeli "massacre" of Palestinian civilians in a refugee camp in the West Bank city of Jenin; Fox uniquely—and correctly, it turned out—treated the massacre charge with complete skepticism. "We try to avoid falling for the conventional liberal wisdom in journalistic circles—in this case the conventional wisdom 'Israeli bad, Palestinian good,'" says daytime anchorman David Asman. "Too often ideology shapes the tendency to jump to a conclusion—something we try to be aware of in our own case, too."

Nowhere does Fox differ more radically from the mainstream television and press than in its robustly pro-U.S. coverage of the War on Terror. After September 11, the American flag appeared everywhere, from the lapels of the anchormen to the corner of the screen. Ailes himself wrote to President Bush, urging him to strike back hard against al-Qaida. On-air personalities and reporters freely referred to "our" troops instead of "U.S. forces," and Islamist "terrorists" and "evildoers" instead of "militants." Such open displays of patriotism are anathema to today's liberal journalists, who see "taking sides" as a betrayal of journalistic objectivity.

Asman demurs. For the free media to take sides against an enemy bent on eradicating the free society itself, he argues, isn't unfair or culturally biased; it is the only possible logical and moral stance. And to call bin Ladin a "militant," as Reuters does, is to betray the truth, not uphold it. "Terrorism is terrorism," Asman says crisply. "We know what it is, and we know how to define it, just as our viewers know what it is. So we're not going to play with them: when we see an act of terror, we're going to call it terror." On television news, anyway, Fox alone seemed to grasp this essential point from September 11 on. Says Asman: "CNN, MSNBC, the media generally were not declarative enough in calling a spade a spade."

Fox's very tone conveys its difference from the networks' worldview. "Fox News lacks the sense of out-of-touch elitism that makes many Americans, whatever their politics, annoyed with the news media," maintains media critic Gene Veith. "Fox reporters almost never condescend to viewers," he observes. "The other networks do so all the time, peering down on the vulgar masses from social height (think Peter Jennings) or deigning to enlighten the public about things that only they understand (think Peter Arnett)." This tone doesn't mark only Fox's populist shows, like pugnacious superstar Bill O'Reilly's. Even when Fox goes upscale, in Brit Hume's urbane nightly *Special Report*, for example, the civility elevates rather than belittles the viewer. For Ailes, Fox's anti-elitism is

key. "There's a whole country that elitists will never acknowledge," he told the *New York Times Magazine*. "What people resent deeply out there are those in the 'blue' states thinking they're smarter."

The "fair and balanced" approach that Fox trumpets in its slogan is part of this iconoclastic tone, too. Sure, the anchor is almost always a conservative, but it's clear he is striving to tell the truth, and there's always a liberal on hand, too. By contrast, political consultant and Fox contributor Dick Morris notes, "The other networks offer just one point of view, which they claim is objective." Not only does the Fox approach make clear that there is always more than one point of view, but it also puts the network's liberal guests in the position of having to defend their views—something that almost never happens on other networks.

Viewers clearly like what they see. Fox's ratings, already climbing since the station debuted in 1996, really began to rocket upward after the terrorist attack and blasted into orbit with Operation Iraqi Freedom. "In the Iraqi war," Dick Morris explains, "the viewing audience truly saw how incredibly biased the other networks were: 'Turkey did not let us through, the plan was flawed, we attacked with too few troops, our supply lines weren't secure, the army would run out of rations and ammo, the Iraqis would use poison gas, the oil wells would go up in flames, there would be street-to-street fighting in Baghdad, the museum lost its priceless artifacts to looters,' and now we're onto this new theme that 'Iraq is a quagmire' and that there 'aren't any weapons of mass destruction' and that 'Bush lied'—and all the while, thanks in part to Fox News, Americans are seeing with their own eyes how much this is crazy spin." The yawning gulf separating reality and the mainstream media during the war and its aftermath, Morris believes, "will kill the other networks in the immediate future—to Fox's benefit."

The numbers make clear just how stunning Fox's rise has been. Starting with access to only 17 million homes (compared with CNN's 70 million) in 1996, Fox could reach 65 million homes by 2001 and had already started to turn a profit. A year later, profits hit \$70 million and are expected to double in 2003. Though CNN founder Ted Turner once boasted he'd "squish Murdoch like a bug," Fox News has outpaced its chief cable news rival in the ratings since September 11 and now runs laps around it. This past June, Fox won a whopping 51 percent of the prime-time cable news audience—more than CNN, CNN Headline News, and MSNBC combined. The station's powerhouse, *The O'Reilly Factor*, averages around 3 million viewers every night, and during Operation Iraqi Freedom the "No Spin Zone" drew as many as 7 million on a given night; CNN's Larry King, once the king of cable, has slipped to 1.3 million nightly viewers. Cheery *Fox and Friends* has even edged out CBS's *Early Show* in the ratings a few times, despite the fact that CBS is free, while Fox is available only on cable and satellite (and not every operator carries it). While the total viewership for ABC, CBS, and NBC news—more than 25 million—still dwarfs Fox's viewers, the networks are hemorrhaging. CBS News just suffered its lousiest ratings period ever, down 600,000 viewers; 1.1 million fewer people watch the three network news programs today than 12 months ago.

Fox enjoys especially high numbers among advertiser-coveted 25- to 54-year-old viewers, and it is attracting even younger news junkies. As one CNN producer admits, Fox is "more in touch with the younger age group, not just the 25-54 demo, but probably the 18-year-olds." Even more attractive to advertisers, Fox viewers watch 20 to 25 minutes before clicking away; CNN watchers stay only ten minutes. Fox's typical viewer also makes more money on average—nearly \$60,000 a year—than those of its main cable rivals.

Not only conservatives like what they see. A new Pew Research Center survey shows that, of the 22 percent of Americans who now get most of their news from Fox (compared with a combined 32 percent for the networks), only 46 percent call themselves "conservative," only slightly higher than the 40 percent of CNN fans who do so. Fox is thus exposing many centrists (32 percent of Fox's regular viewers) and liberals (18 percent) to conservative ideas and opinions they would not regularly find elsewhere in the television news—and some of those folks could be liking the conservative worldview as well as the professionalism of the staff and veracity of the programming.

The news isn't the only place on cable where conservatives will feel at home. Lots of cable comedy, while not traditionally conservative, is fiercely anti-liberal, which as a practical matter often amounts nearly to the same thing. Take *South Park*, Comedy Central's hit cartoon series, whose heroes are four crudely animated and impossibly foul-mouthed fourth-graders named Cartman, Kenny, Kyle, and Stan. Now in its seventh season, *South Park*, with nearly 3 million viewers per episode, is Comedy Central's highest-rated program.

Many conservatives have attacked *South Park* for its exuberant vulgarity, calling it "twisted," "vile trash," a "threat to our youth." Such denunciations are misguided. Conservative critics should pay closer attention to what *South*

Park so irreverently jeers at and mocks. As the show's co-creator, 32-year-old Matt Stone, sums it up: "I hate conservatives, but I really fucking hate liberals."

Not for nothing has blogger and former *New Republic* editor Andrew Sullivan praised the show for being "the best antidote to PC culture we have." *South Park* sharpens the iconoclastic, anti-PC edge of earlier cartoon shows like *The Simpsons* and *King of the Hill*, and spares no sensitivity. The show's single black kid is called Token. One episode, "Cripple Fight," concludes with a slugfest between the boys' wheelchair-bound, cerebral-palsy-stricken friend Timmy and the obnoxious Jimmy, who wants to be South Park's Number One "handi-capable" citizen (in his cringe-making PC locution). In another, "Rainforest Schmainforest," the boys' school sends them on a field trip to Costa Rica, led by an activist choir group, "Getting Gay with Kids," which wants to raise youth awareness about "our vanishing rain forests." Shown San José, Costa Rica's capital, the boys are unimpressed:

Cartman [holding his nose]: Oh my God, it smells like ass out here!

Choir teacher: All right, that does it! Eric Cartman, you respect other cultures this instant.

Cartman: I wasn't saying anything about their culture, I was just saying their city smells like ass.

But if the city is unpleasant, the rain forest itself is a nightmare: the boys get lost, wilt from the infernal heat, face deadly assaults from monstrous insects and a giant snake, run afoul of revolutionary *banditos*, and—worst of all—must endure the choir teacher's New-Agey gushing: "Shhh! Children! Let's try to listen to what the rain forest tells us, and if we use our ears, she can tell us so many things." By the horrifying trip's end, the boys are desperate for civilization, and the choir teacher herself has come to despise the rain forest she once worshiped: "You go right ahead and plow down this whole fuckin' thing," she tells a construction worker.

The episode concludes with the choir's new song:

Doo doo doo doo doo. Doo doo doo wa.
There's a place called the rain forest that truly sucks ass.
Let's knock it all down and get rid of it fast.
You say "save the rain forest" but what do you know?
You've never been there before.
Getting Gay with Kids is here
To tell you things you might not like to hear.
You only fight these causes 'cause caring sells.
All you activists can go fuck yourselves.

As the disclaimer before each episode states, the show is so offensive "it should not be viewed by anyone."

One of the contemporary Left's most extreme (and, to conservatives, objectionable) strategies is its effort to draw the mantle of civil liberties over behavior once deemed criminal, pathological, or immoral, as a brilliant *South Park* episode featuring a visit to town by the North American Man-Boy Love Association—the ultra-radical activist group advocating gay sex with minors—satirizes:

NAMBLA leader [speaking at a group meeting, attended by the *South Park* kids]: Rights? Does anybody know their rights? You see, I've learned something today. Our forefathers came to this country because they believed in an idea. An idea called "freedom." They wanted to live in a place where a group couldn't be prosecuted for their beliefs. Where a person can live the way he chooses to live. You see us as being perverted because we're different from you. People are afraid of us, because they don't understand. And sometimes it's easier to persecute than to understand.

Kyle: Dude. You have sex with children.

NAMBLA leader: We are human. Most of us didn't even choose to be attracted to young boys. We were born that way. We can't help the way we are, and if you all can't understand that, well, then, I guess you'll just have to put us away.

Kyle [slowly, for emphasis]: Dude. You have sex. With children.

Stan: Yeah. You know, we believe in equality for everybody, and tolerance, and all that gay stuff, but dude, fuck you.

Another episode—"Cherokee Hair Tampons"—ridicules multiculti sentimentality about holistic medicine and the

"wisdom" of native cultures. Kyle suffers a potentially fatal kidney disorder, and his clueless parents try to cure it with "natural" Native American methods, leaving their son vomiting violently and approaching death's door:

Kyle's mom: Everything is going to be fine, Stan; we're bringing in Kyle tomorrow to see the Native Americans personally.

Stan: Isn't it possible that these Indians don't know what they're talking about?

Stan's mom: You watch your mouth, Stanley. The Native Americans were raped of their land and resources by white people like us.

Stan: And that has something to do with their medicines because . . . ?

Stan's mom: Enough, Stanley!

South Park regularly mocks left-wing celebrities who feel entitled to pontificate on how the nation should be run. In one of the most brutal parodies, made in just several days during the 2000 Florida recount fiasco, loudmouth Rosie O'Donnell sweeps into town to weigh in on a kindergarten election dispute involving her nephew. The boys' teacher dresses her down: "People like you preach tolerance and open-mindedness all the time, but when it comes to middle America, you think we're all evil and stupid country yokels who need your political enlightenment. Just because you're on TV doesn't mean you know crap about the government."

South Park has satirized the sixties counterculture (Cartman has feverish nightmares about hippies, who "want to save the earth, but all they do is smoke pot and smell bad"); anti-big-business zealots (a "Harbucks" coffee chain opens in South Park, to initial resistance but eventual acclaim as everyone—including the local coffee house's owners—admits its bean beats anything previously on offer in the town); sex ed in school (featuring "the Sexual Harassment Panda," an outrageous classroom mascot); pro-choice extremists (Cartman's mother decides she wants to abort him, despite the fact that he's eight years old, relying on the "it's my body" argument); hate-crime legislation, anti-discrimination lawsuits, gay scout leaders, and much more. Conservatives do not escape the show's satirical sword—gun-toting rednecks and phony patriots have been among those slashed. But there should be no mistaking the deepest thrust of *South Park's* politics.

That anti-liberal worldview dominates other cable comedy too. Also on Comedy Central is *Tough Crowd with Colin Quinn*, a new late-night chatfest where the conversation—on race, terrorism, war, and other topics—is anything but politically correct. The Brooklyn-born Quinn, a former anchor on *Saturday Night Live's* "Weekend Update" and a Fox News fan, can be Rumsfeldesque in his comic riffs, like this one deriding excessive worries about avoiding civilian casualties in Iraq: "This war is so polite," he grumbles. "We used to be *Semper Fi*. Next, we'll be dropping comment cards over Iraq saying 'How did you hear about us?' And 'Would you say that we're a country that goes to war sometimes, often, or never?'"

Then there's Dennis Miller, another *Saturday Night Live* alum, whose 2003 HBO stand-up comedy special *The Raw Feed* relentlessly derides liberal shibboleths. In his stream-of-consciousness rants, whose cumulative effect gets audiences roaring with laughter, Miller blasts the teachers' unions for opposing vouchers, complains about the sluggish work habits of government workers ("ironically, in our highly driven culture, it would appear the only people *not* interested in pushing the envelope are postal employees"), and attacks opponents of Alaskan oil-drilling for "playing the species card."

Miller, like Quinn, is unapologetically hawkish in the War on Terror. Dismissing the effectiveness of U.N. weapons inspectors in the run-up to the Iraq war, he says: "Watching the U.N. in action makes you want to give Ritalin to a glacier." On war opponents France and Germany, he's acid: "The French are always reticent to surrender to the wishes of their friends and always more than willing to surrender to the wishes of their enemies" and "Maybe Germany didn't want to get involved in this war because it wasn't on a grand enough scale." Lately, he's been campaigning with President Bush, crediting W. for making him "proud to be an American again" after the "wocka-wocka porn guitar of the Clinton administration." Fox has hired him to do weekly news commentary.

Why is cable and satellite TV less uniformly *Whoopi* or *West Wing* than ABC, CBS, and NBC? With long-pent-up market demand for entertainment that isn't knee-jerk liberal in its sensibilities, cable's multiplicity of channels has given writers and producers who don't fit the elite media mold the chance to meet that demand profitably.

Andrew Sullivan dubs the fans of all this cable-nurtured satire "South Park Republicans"—people who "believe we need a hard-ass foreign policy and are extremely skeptical of political correctness" but also

are socially liberal on many issues, Sullivan explains. Such South Park Republicanism is a real trend among younger Americans, he observes: *South Park's* typical viewer, for instance, is an advertiser-ideal 28.

Talk to right-leaning college students, and it's clear that Sullivan is onto something. Arizona State undergrad Eric Spratling says the definition fits him and his Republican pals perfectly. "The label is really about rejecting the image of conservatives as uptight squares—crusty old men or nerdy kids in blue blazers. We might have long hair, smoke cigarettes, get drunk on weekends, have sex before marriage, watch R-rated movies, cuss like sailors—and also happen to be conservative, or at least libertarian." Recent Stanford grad Craig Albrecht says most of his young Bush-supporter friends "absolutely cherish" *South Park*-style comedy "for its illumination of hypocrisy and stupidity in all spheres of life." It just so happens, he adds, "that most hypocrisy and stupidity take place within the liberal camp."

Further supporting Sullivan's contention, Gavin McInnes, co-founder of Vice—a "punk-rock-capitalist" entertainment corporation that publishes the hipster bible *Vice* magazine, produces CDs and films, runs clothing stores, and claims (plausibly) to have been "deep inside the heads of 18–30s for the past 10 years"—spots "a new trend of young people tired of being lied to for the sake of the 'greater good.'" Especially on military matters, McInnes believes, many twenty-somethings are disgusted with the Left. The knee-jerk Left's days "are numbered," McInnes tells *The American Conservative*. "They are slowly but surely being replaced with a new breed of kid that isn't afraid to embrace conservatism."

Polling data indicate that younger voters are indeed trending rightward—supporting the Iraq war by a wider majority than their elders, viewing school vouchers favorably, and accepting greater restrictions on abortion, such as parental-notification laws (though more accepting of homosexuality than older voters). Together with the Foxification of cable news, this new attitude among the young, reflected in the hippest cable comedy (and in cutting-edge cable dramas such as FX's *The Shield* and HBO's *The Sopranos* and *Six Feet Under*, which are unflinchingly honest about crime, race, sex, and faith, and avoid the saccharine liberal moralizing of much network entertainment), can only make Karl Rove happy.

What should make him positively giddy is the rise of the Internet, the second explosive change shaking liberal media dominance. It's hard to overstate the impact that news and opinion websites like the *Drudge Report*, *NewsMax*, and Dow Jones's *OpinionJournal* are having on politics and culture, as are current-event "blogs"—individual or group web diaries—like *AndrewSullivan*, *InstaPundit*, and "The Corner" department of *NationalReviewOnline* (NRO), where the editors and writers argue, joke around, and call attention to articles elsewhere on the web. This whole universe of web-based discussion has been dubbed the "blogosphere."

While there are several fine left-of-center sites, the blogosphere currently tilts right, albeit idiosyncratically, reflecting the hard-to-pigeonhole politics of some leading bloggers. Like talk radio and Fox News, the right-leaning sites fill a market void. "Many bloggers felt shut out by institutions that have adopted—explicitly or implicitly—a left-wing orthodoxy," says Erin O'Connor, whose blog, *Critical Mass*, exposes campus PC gobbledygook. The orthodox Left's blame-America-first response to September 11 has also helped tilt the blogosphere rightward. "There were damned few noble responses to that cursed day from the 'progressive' part of the political spectrum," avers Los Angeles-based blogger and journalist Matt Welch, "so untold thousands of people just started blogs, in anger," Welch among them. "I was pushed into blogging on September 16, 2001, in direct response to reading five days' worth of outrageous bullshit in the media from people like Noam Chomsky and Robert Jensen."

For a frustrated citizen like Welch, it's easy to get your ideas circulating on the Internet. Start-up costs for a blog are small, printing and mailing costs nonexistent. Few blogs make money, though, since advertisers are leery of the web and no one seems willing to pay to read anything on it.

The Internet's most powerful effect has been to expand vastly the range of opinion—especially conservative opinion—at everyone's fingertips. "The Internet helps break up the traditional cultural gatekeepers' power to determine a) what's important and b) the range of acceptable opinion," says former *Reason* editor and libertarian blogger Virginia Postrel. *InstaPundit's* Glenn Reynolds, a law professor at the University of Tennessee, agrees: "The main role of the Internet and blogosphere is to call the judgment of elites about what is news into question."

The *Drudge Report* is a perfect case in point. Five years since Matt Drudge broke the Monica Lewinsky story, his

news and gossip site has become an essential daily visit for political junkies, journalists, media types, and—with 1.4 billion hits in 2002—seemingly anyone with an Internet connection. The site features occasional newsworthy items investigated and written by Drudge, but mostly it's an editorial filter, linking to stories on other small and large news and opinion sites—a filter that crucially exhibits no bias against the Right. (Drudge, a registered Republican, calls himself “a pro-life conservative who doesn't want the government to tax me.”) The constantly updated cornucopia of information, culled from a vast number of global sources and e-mailed tips from across the political spectrum, says critic Camille Paglia, a *Drudge* enthusiast, point up by contrast “the process of censorship that's going on, the filtering of the news by established news organizations.” Other popular news-filter sites, including *FreeRepublic*, *Lucianne*, and *RealClearPolitics*, perform a similar function.

In a different register, *Arts & Letters Daily*, a site devoted to intellectual journalism, is similarly ecumenical in what it links to, posting articles from publications as diverse as *City Journal* on the Right to the *New Left Review*. When *Arts & Letters* ran into financial trouble last year, both neo-conservative elder Norman Podhoretz and *Nation* columnist Eric Alterman rushed to its defense. Going from 300 page views a day in 1998 to more than 70,000 a day in 2003, and with many left-leaning readers (including a large number of academics), it has introduced a whole new audience to serious conservative thought.

Though not quite in *Drudge's* league in readership, the top explicitly right-leaning sites, updated daily, have generated huge followings. Andrew Sullivan's blog, launched in the late 90s, attracted 400,000 visitors this July. *FrontPage*, vigorously lambasting political correctness, the antiwar campaign, and other “progressive” follies, draws as many as 1.7 million visitors in a month. More than 1.4 million visitors landed on *OpinionJournal* this past March, when the liberation of Iraq began, most to read editor James Taranto's “Best of the Web Today,” an incisive guide to and commentary on the day's top Internet stories. *NRO*, featuring scores of new articles daily, averages slightly over 1 million a month—and over 2 million during the war. “More people read *NRO* than all the conservative magazines combined,” the site's editor-at-large Jonah Goldberg marvels. The web's interconnectivity—the fact that bloggers and news and opinion sites readily link to one another and comment on one another's postings, forming a kind of twenty-first-century agora—amplifies and extends the influence of any site that catches the heavy hitters' attention.

It's not just the large numbers of readers that these sites attract that is so significant for the conservative cause; it's also *who* those readers are. Just as Fox News is pulling in a younger viewership, who will reshape the politics of the future, so these conservative sites are proving particularly popular with younger readers. “They think: ‘If it's not on the web, it doesn't exist,’ ” says Goldberg. *FrontPage's* web traffic shoots up dramatically during the school year, as lots of college students log on.

Equally important, these sites draw the attention of journalists. “Everyone who deals in media—and they're not all ideologues on the Left—is reading the Internet all the time,” says *FrontPage* editor David Horowitz. “Michael,” who co-authors the *2blowhards* culture-and-politics blog as an avocation while working full time for a major left-leaning national news organization (he uses a pseudonym because his bosses wouldn't like the blog's not-so-liberal opinions), reports: “I notice the younger people on staff in particular are aware of blogs—and that a lot of local newspapers seem to have people who stay on top of blogs, too.” The Internet's power, observes Mickey Kaus, the former *New Republic* writer whose *Kausfiles* blog has become indispensable reading for anyone interested in politics, “is due primarily to its influence over professional journalists, who then influence the public.” Judges Andrew Sullivan: “I think I have just as much ability to inject an idea or an argument into the national debate through my blog as I did through *The New Republic*.”

Almost daily, stories that originate on the web make their way into print or onto TV or radio. Fox and Rush Limbaugh, for instance, often pick up stories from *FrontPage* and *OpinionJournal*—especially those on the antiwar Left. Fox News's Sean Hannity surfs the net up to eight hours a day, searching sites like *Drudge* and the hard-right news site *WorldNetDaily* for stories to cover. Phrases introduced in the blogosphere now “percolate out into the real world with amazing rapidity,” *InstaPundit's* Glenn Reynolds recently noted. For example, the day after the humor blog *ScrappleFace* coined the term “Axis of Weasel” to satirize the antiwar alliance of Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schröder, the *New York Post* used it as a headline, talk radio and CNN and Fox News repeated it, and it soon made its way into French and German media.

The speed with which Internet sites can post new material is one source of their influence. No sooner has the latest Paul Krugman *New York Times* column attacking the Bush administration appeared, for example, than the “Krugman Truth Squad”—a collective of conservative economic analysts—will post an article on *NRO* exposing

the economist's myriad mistakes, distortions, and evasions. Earlier this year, the Truth Squad caught Krugman comparing the cost of Bush's tax cuts over *ten* years with the *one*-year wage boost associated with the new employment it would create, so as to make the tax reductions seem insanely large for the small benefit they'd bring—a laughably ignorant mistake or, more likely, a deliberate attempt to mislead in order to discredit Bush. The discomfiture web critics have caused Krugman has forced him to respond on his own website, offering various lame rationales for his errors, and denouncing the Truth Squad's Donald Luskin as his "stalker-in-chief."

The timeliness of web publication also means that right from the start a wealth of conservative opinion is circulating about any new development—often before the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* get a chance to weigh in. A blog or opinion site "can have an influence on elite opinion before the conventional wisdom among elites congeals," notes Nick Schulz, editor of *Tech Central Station*, a site that covers technology and public policy. A case in point is the blogosphere "storm" (a ferocious burst of online argument, with site linking to site linking to site) that made a big issue out of the Democrats' unseemly transformation of Senator Paul Wellstone's funeral into a naked political rally, forcing the mainstream media to cover the story, which in turn created outrage that ultimately may have cost the Dems Wellstone's seat in the 2002 election. Blogosphere outrage over Republican senator Trent Lott's comments that seemed to praise segregation at onetime Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond's 100th birthday party, led by *NRO* and other conservative sites keen to liberate modern conservatism from any vestige of racism and to make the GOP a champion of black advancement, shaped the mainstream media's coverage of that controversy, too—helping to push Lott from his perch as majority leader.

Debunking liberal humbug is one of the web's most powerful political effects: bloggers call it the Internet's "bullshit-detector" role. The *New York Times* has been the Number One target of the B.S. detectors—especially during the reign of deposed executive editor and liberal ideologue Howell Raines. "Only, say, five years ago, the editors of the *New York Times* had much more power than they have today," Andrew Sullivan points out. "They could spin stories with gentle liberal bias, and only a few eyes would roll." If they made an egregious error, they could bury the correction later. The Internet makes such bias and evasion harder—maybe impossible—to pull off. It was the blogosphere that revealed Enron-bashing Krugman's former ties to Enron, showed how the paper twisted its polls to further a liberal agenda, exposed how it used its front page to place Henry Kissinger falsely in the anti-Iraq war camp, and then, as the war got under way, portrayed it as harshly as possible.

It's safe to say that the blogosphere cost Raines his job. When the story broke about *Times* reporter and Raines favorite Jayson Blair's outrageous fabrications in the paper's pages, Sullivan, Kaus, Drudge, blogger-reporter Seth Mnookin, and other web writers kept it alive, creating pressure for other media, including television, to cover it. When disgruntled *Times* staffers began to leak damning information about Raines's high-handed management style to Jim Romenesko's influential media-news site *Poynter*, the end was near. *Kausfiles*'s "Howell Raines-O-Meter," gauging the probability of the editor's downfall, was up barely a day or two when Raines stepped down. "The outcome would have been different without the Internet," Kaus rightly says. The *Times*'s new ombudsman acknowledged the point: "We're not happy that blogs became the forum for our dirty linen, but somebody had to wash it and it got washed."

But the Blair affair was more final straw than primary cause of Raines's fall. Unremitting Internet-led criticism and mockery of the editor's front-page partisanship had already severely tarnished the *Times*'s reputation. It may take the *Times* a while to restore readers' trust: a new Rasmussen poll shows that fewer than half of Americans believe that the paper reliably conveys the truth (while 72 percent find Fox News reliable); circulation is down 5 percent since March 2002.

Other liberal media giants have taken notice. In May, the *Los Angeles Times*'s top editor, John Carroll, fired an e-mail to his troops warning that the paper was suffering from "the perception and the occasional reality that the *Times* is a liberal, 'politically correct' newspaper." In the new era of heightened web scrutiny, Carroll was arguing, you can't just dismiss conservative views but must take them seriously. By the recent recall vote, though, the lesson had evaporated.

The third big change breaking the liberal media stranglehold is taking place in book publishing. Conservative authors long had trouble getting their books released, with only Regnery Books, the Free Press, and Basic Books regularly releasing conservative titles. But following editorial changes during the 1990s, Basic and the Free Press published far fewer conservative-leaning titles, leaving Regnery pretty much alone.

No more. Nowadays, publishers are falling over themselves to bring conservative books to a mainstream

audience. "Between now and December," *Publishers Weekly* wrote in July, "scores of books on conservative topics will be published by houses large and small—the most ever produced in a single season. Already, 2003 has been a banner year for such books, with at least one and often two conservative titles hitting PW's best-seller list each week." Joining Regnery in releasing mass-market right-leaning books are two new imprints from superpower publishers, Random House's Crown Forum and an as-yet-untitled Penguin series.

These imprints will publish mostly Ann Coulter-style polemics—one of Crown Forum's current releases, for example, is James Hirszen's *The Left Coast*, a take-no-prisoners attack on Hollywood liberals. But higher-brow conservative books will pour forth over the next six months from Peter Collier's Encounter Books, Ivan R. Dee (publisher of *City Journal* books), the Intercollegiate Studies Institute (it's releasing Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Russia in Collapse*, the Nobel Prize-winner's first book in English in nearly a decade), Yale University Press, Lexington Books, and Spence Books. Other top imprints—from HarperCollins to the University of Chicago Press—are also publishing books that flout liberal orthodoxy. And Bookspan, which runs the Book-of-the-Month Club, has announced a new conservative book club, headed by a former *National Review* literary editor.

It's no exaggeration to describe this surge of conservative publishing as a paradigm shift. "It would have been unthinkable ten years ago that mainstream publishers would embrace this trend," acknowledges Doubleday editor and author Adam Bellow, who got his start in editing in 1988 at the Free Press, where he and his boss, the late Erwin Glikas, encountered "a tremendous amount of marketplace and institutional resistance" in pushing conservative titles. "There was no conspiracy," avers Crown Forum publisher Steve Ross. "We were culturally isolated on this island of Manhattan, and people tend to publish to people of like mind."

Ross believes that September 11 shook up the publishing world and made it less reflexively liberal. And in fact, many new conservative titles concern the War on Terror. But what really overcame the big New York publishers' liberal prejudices is the oodles of money Washington-based Regnery was making. "We've had a string of best-sellers that is probably unmatched in publishing," Regnery president Marji Ross points out. "We publish 20 to 25 titles a year, and we've had 16 books on the *New York Times* best-seller list over the last four years—including Bernard Goldberg's *Bias*, which spent seven weeks at Number One." Adds Bernadette Malone, a former Regnery editor heading up Penguin's new conservative imprint: "The success of Regnery's books woke up the industry: 'Hello? There's 50 percent of the population that we're underserving, even ignoring. We have an opportunity to talk to these people, figure out what interests them, and put out professional-quality books on topics that haven't been sufficiently explored.'" Bellow puts it more bluntly: "Business rationality has trumped ideological aversion. And that's capitalism."

There's another reason that conservative books are selling: the emergence of conservative talk radio, cable TV, and the Internet. This "right-wing media circuit," as *Publishers Weekly* describes it, reaches millions of potential readers and thus makes the traditional gatekeepers of ideas—above all, the *New York Times Book Review* and the *New York Review of Books*, publications that rarely deign to review conservative titles—increasingly irrelevant in winning an audience for a book.

Ask publisher Peter Collier. After only three years in business, his Encounter Books will sell \$3 million worth of books this year, he says—not bad for an imprint specializing in serious works of history, culture, and political analysis aimed at both conservatives and open-minded liberals. Several Encounter titles have sold in the 35,000 range, and a Bill Kristol-edited volume laying out reasons for war in Iraq has sold over 60,000 copies. Instead of worrying about high-profile reviews in the media mainstream—"I've had God knows how many books published by now, and maybe three reviews in the *New York Times Book Review*," laughs Collier—Encounter sells books by getting its authors discussed on the Internet and interviewed on talk radio, Fox News, and C-Span's ideologically neutral *Book TV*. "A Q & A on *NRO* sells books very, very well," Collier explains. "It's comparable to a major newspaper review." A bold *Drudge Report* headline will move far more copies than even good newspaper reviews, claims Regnery's Marji Ross. A book discussed on *Andrew Sullivan* will briefly blast up the Amazon.com best-seller list—even hitting the top five.

Amazon itself is another boon to conservatives, since the Internet giant betrays no ideological bias in selling books. Nor do big chain booksellers like Wal-Mart and Barnes & Noble, where Bill O'Reilly books pile up right next to Michael Moore's latest loony-left rant. "The rise of Amazon and the chain stores has been tremendously liberating for conservatives, because these stores are very much product-oriented businesses," observes David Horowitz. "The independent bookstores are all controlled by leftists, and they're totalitarians—they will not display conservative books, or if they do, they'll hide them in the back." Says Marji Ross: "We have experienced our books being buried or kept in the back room when a store manager or owner opposed their message." She's a big

fan of Amazon and the chains.

Amazon's Reader Reviews feature—where readers can post their opinions on books they've read and rate them—has helped diminish the authority of elite cultural guardians, too, by creating a truly democratic marketplace of ideas. "I don't think there's ever been a similar review medium—a really broad-based consumers' guide for culture," says *2blowhards* blogger Michael. "I've read some stuff on Amazon that's been as good as anything I've read in the real press."

All these remarkable, brand-new transformations have sent the Left reeling. Fox News especially is driving liberals wild. Former vice president Al Gore likens Fox to an evil right-wing "fifth column," and he yearns to set up a left-wing competitor, as if a left-wing media didn't already exist. Comedian and activist Al Franken's new book *Lies and the Lying Liars Who Tell Them* is one long jeremiad against Fox. *Washington Post* media critic Tom Shales calls Fox a "propaganda mill." The Columbia Journalism School's Todd Gitlin worries that Fox "emboldens the right wing to feel justified and confident they can promote their policies." "There's room for conservative talk radio on television," allows CNN anchor Aaron Brown, the very embodiment of the elite journalist with, in Roger Ailes's salty phrase, "a pick up their ass." "But I don't think anyone ought to pretend it's the *New York Times* or CNN," Brown sniffs.

But it's not just Fox: liberals have been pooh-poohing all of these developments. Dennis Miller used to be the hippest joker around. Now, complains a critic in the liberal webzine *Salon*, he's "uncomfortably juvenile," exhibiting "the sort of simplistic, reactionary American stance that gives us a bad reputation around the world." The *Boston Globe's* Alex Beam dismisses the blogosphere with typical liberal *hauteur*: "Welcome to Blogistan, the Internet-based journalistic medium where no thought goes unpublished, no long-out-of-print book goes unhawked, and no fellow 'blogger,' no matter how outré, goes unpraised." And those right-wing books are a danger to society, grouse liberals: their "bile-spewing" authors "have limited background expertise and a great flair for adding fuel to hot issues," claims Norman Provizor, a *Rocky Mountain News* columnist. "The harm is if people start thinking these lightweights are providing heavyweight answers."

Well. The fair and balanced observer will hear in such hysterical complaint and angry foot stamping baffled frustration over the loss of a liberal monoculture, which has long protected the Left from debate—and from the realization that its unexamined ideas are sadly threadbare. "The Left has never before had its point of view challenged and its arguments made fun of and shot full of holes on the public stage," concludes social thinker Michael Novak, who has been around long enough to recognize how dramatically things are changing. Hoover Institute fellow Tod Lindberg agrees: "Liberals aren't prepared for real argument," he says. "Elite opinion is no longer univocal. It engages in real argument in real time." *New York Times* columnist David Brooks even sees the Left falling into despair over the new conservative media that have "cohered to form a dazzlingly efficient delivery system that swamps liberal efforts to get their ideas out."

Here's what's likely to happen in the years ahead. Think of the mainstream liberal media as one sphere and the conservative media as another. The liberal sphere, which less than a decade ago was still *the* media, is still much bigger than the non-liberal one. But the non-liberal sphere is expanding, encroaching into the liberal sphere, which is both shrinking and breaking up into much smaller sectarian spheres—one for blacks, one for Hispanics, one for feminists, and so on.

It's hard to imagine that this development won't result in a broader national debate—and a more conservative America.

601804

F. Paul Gigot

Wehner, Peter H.

From: Gigot, Paul [Paul.Gigot@wsj.com]
Sent: Friday, November 21, 2003 5:33 PM
To: Wehner, Peter H.
Subject: RE: The Three Pillars Speech

Amateur

pete, can you give me a call when you have a chance. (b)(6)

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

From: Wehner, Peter H. [mailto:Peter_H.Wehner@who.eop.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, November 19, 2003 11:16 AM
Subject: The Three Pillars Speech

Below is a copy of the President's address at Whitehall Palace, which I believe will rank as one of the most significant and remarkable of the Bush Presidency.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

AT WHITEHALL PALACE

Royal Banqueting House-Whitehall Palace

London, England

November 19, 2003

1:24 P.M. (Local)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Secretary Straw and Secretary Hoon; Admiral Cobbald and Dr. Chipman; distinguished guests: I want to thank you for your very kind welcome that you've given to me and to Laura. I also thank the groups hosting this event -- The Royal United Services Institute, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. We're honored to be in the United Kingdom, and we bring the good wishes of the American people.

It was pointed out to me that the last noted American to visit London stayed in a glass box dangling over the Thames. (Laughter.) A few might have been happy to provide similar arrangements for me. (Laughter.) I thank Her Majesty the Queen for interceding. (Laughter.) We're honored to be staying at her house.

Americans traveling to England always observe more similarities to our country than differences. I've been here only a short time, but I've noticed that the tradition of free speech -- exercised with enthusiasm -- (laughter) -- is alive and well here in London. We have that at home, too. They now have that right in Baghdad, as well. (Applause.)

The people of Great Britain also might see some familiar traits in Americans. We're sometimes faulted for a naive faith that liberty can change the world. If that's an error it began with reading too much John Locke and Adam Smith. Americans have, on occasion, been called moralists who often speak in terms of right and wrong. That zeal has been inspired by examples on this island, by the tireless compassion of Lord Shaftesbury, the righteous courage of Wilberforce, and the firm determination of the Royal Navy over the decades to fight and end the trade in slaves.

It's rightly said that Americans are a religious people. That's, in part, because the "Good News" was translated by Tyndale, preached by Wesley, lived out in the example of William Booth. At times, Americans are even said to have a puritan streak -- where might

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Catching Up - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	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:

601804 [1]

FRC ID:

9726

OA Num.:

10750

NARA Num.:

10808

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Political/Surrogate Travel - To: Karl Rove - From: Matt Schlapp, et al.	2	12/15/2003	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Treasury Department Cash Balance Proposal - To: Pension Policy Principals - From: Chuck Blahous	3	12/12/2003	P5;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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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]
- 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.

File Hawaii

601804

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Grant, Margaret M.
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 10:06 AM
To: Barrales, Ruben S.; Ralston, Susan B.; Goergen, Barbara J.
Cc: Burke, John G.
Subject: AG Support for Native Hawaiian Recognition Bill

Follow up to Governor Lingle's meeting re: AG support for Akaka Bill.

AG Pryor, and then Texas Solicitor General Ted Cruz, on behalf of AG Abbott, made phone calls in support of the Native Hawaiian Recognition Act and its constitutionality to OLC, DOJ and to the White House Counsel's Office. Ted Cruz specifically spoke with Sheldon Bradshaw at OLC and to Kyle Sampson at the White House. There was e-mail traffic following one of the phone calls noting AG Abbott's support. There were, however, no letters from either AG Pryor or AG Abbott, just from former AG Fisher (just confirmed as a 3d Circuit Judge).

Maggie

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Jim Towey's Concern - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	2	12/11/2003	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:

601804 [1]

FRC ID:

9726

OA Num.:

10750

NARA Num.:

10808

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

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

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

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

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- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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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.

*F: Highway Bill
601804*

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 4:40 PM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: FW: Construction Mfg employment charts1.ppt

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

From: Mankiw, Nicholas G.
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 11:03 AM
To: Card, Andrew H.; Rove, Karl C.
Cc: Williams, Alice H.; Hennessey, Keith
Subject: Construction Mfg employment charts1.ppt

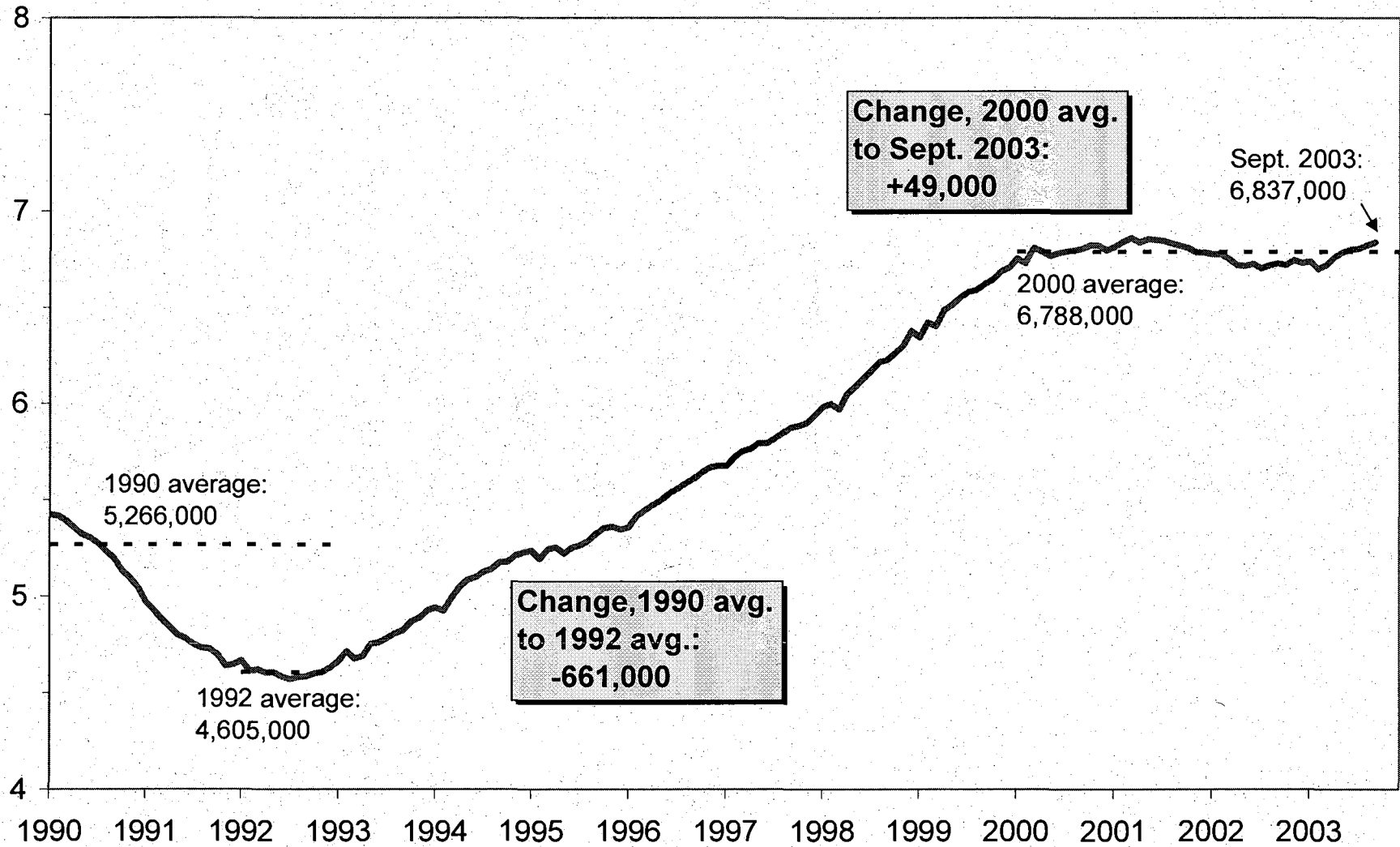
Attached are cleaned up versions of the charts on employment, similar to what I showed you yesterday. I will also have hard copies delivered to your office.

Greg

**Employment since 1990 in
Construction,
Highway Construction, and
Manufacturing**

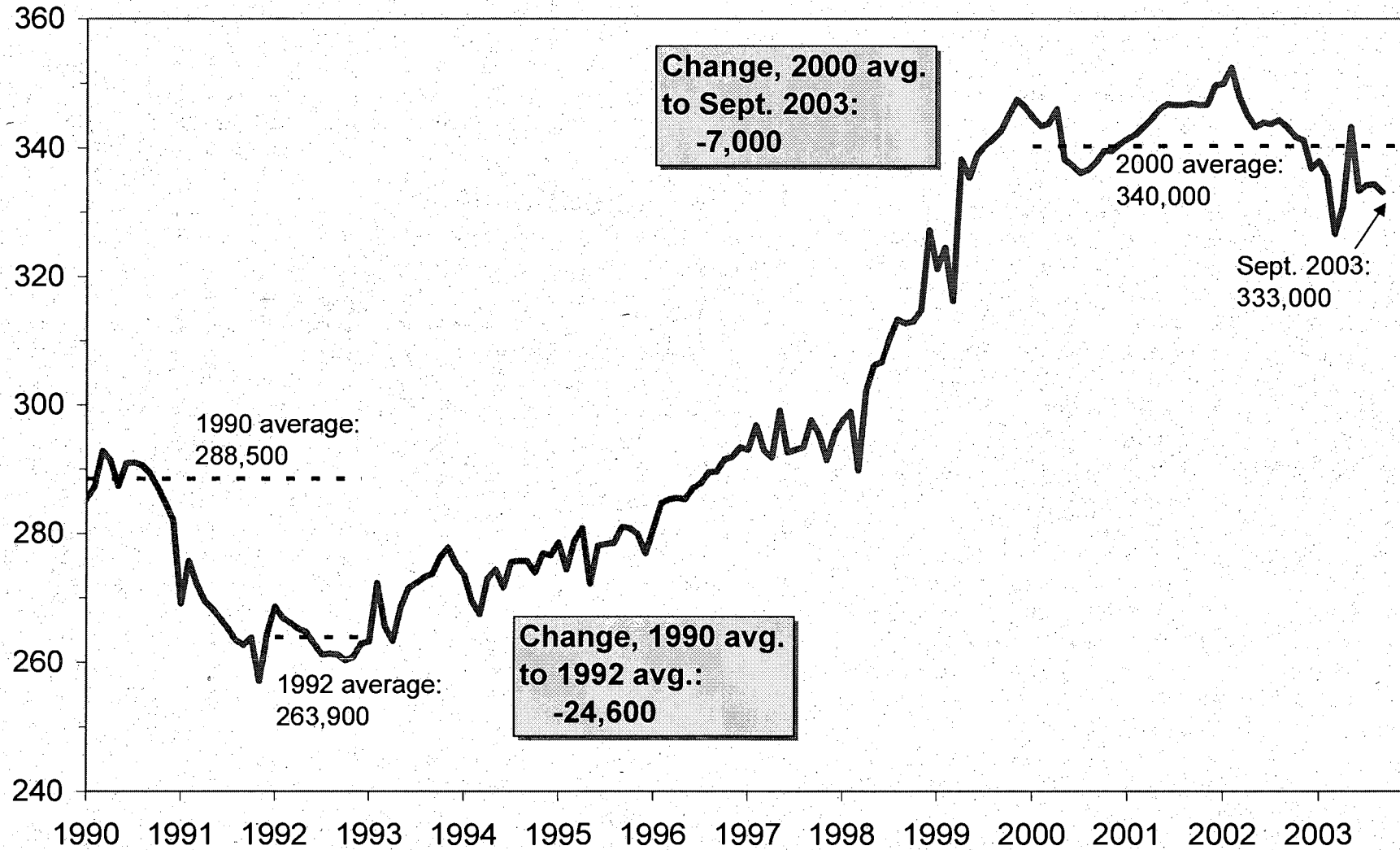
Construction Jobs

Millions



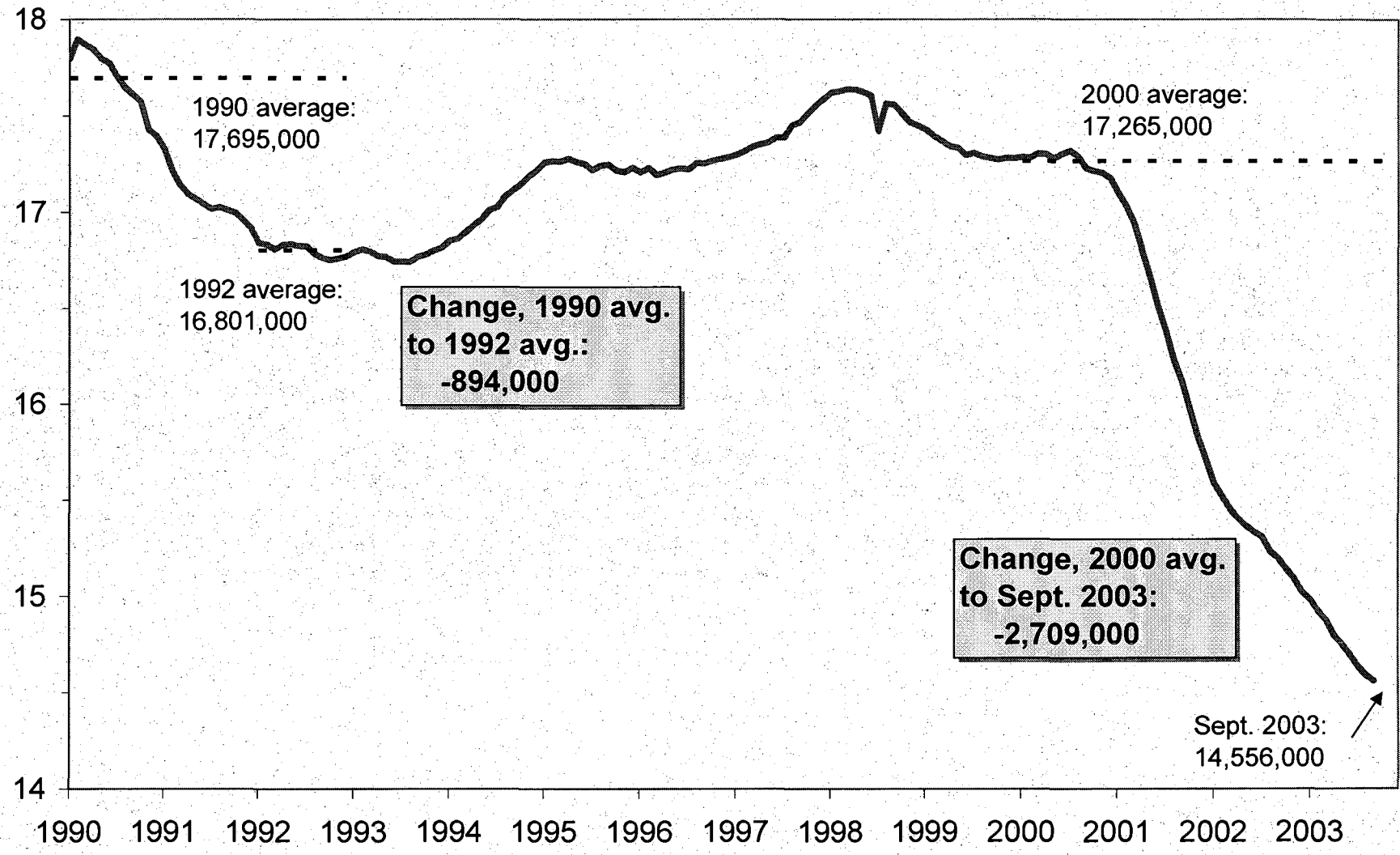
Highway Construction Jobs

Thousands



Manufacturing Jobs

Millions



1990 average:
17,695,000

1992 average:
16,801,000

**Change, 1990 avg.
to 1992 avg.:
-894,000**

2000 average:
17,265,000

**Change, 2000 avg.
to Sept. 2003:
-2,709,000**

Sept. 2003:
14,556,000

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 4:41 PM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: FW: 2003



Stratton Meeting
Log, 12-10-03...

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

From: Stratton, Hal [mailto:HStratton@cpssc.gov]
Sent: Wednesday, December 10, 2003 8:02 PM
To: Rove, Karl C.
Subject: 2003

Karl:

We'll keep our fingers crossed on Woodward.

Last December we visited and I mentioned I was going to be doing some appearances and speaking. I've attached a log which has most of those events on it. I thought you might find it interesting. You can get rid of it when your finished with it.

Have a great holiday. I'm looking forward to a good 2004 for us.

Hal

HDS – Speeches, Meetings and Appearances

<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
September				
National Electrical Manufacturers Association	9/6/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Malcom O'Hagan, Michael Clendednin
Association of Home Appliance Manufacturers	9/17/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Joseph McGuire, Chuck Samuels, Wayne Moriss
Hasbro, Inc.	9/17/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Malcom Dennis, Wayne Charness, Alan Hassesfeld, Alfred Verracchia, Katherine Belliveau
American Pyrotechnics Safety Association Convention – 54 th Annual Meeting	9/25/02	San Diego, CA Paradise Point	Keynote Speaker	Jerry Bostocky, John Rodgers
Consumer Federation of America	9/19/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Stephen Brobeck, Rachel Weintraub
U.S. Public Interest Research Group	9/11/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Edmund Mierzwinski
Kids in Danger	9/30/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Nancy Cowles
Sleep Products Safety Council	9/12/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Patricia Martin, Al Klancnik, Dick Doyle, Ryan Trainer
October				
American Law Firm – Product Liability in the 21 st Century Conference	10/09/02	Atlanta, GA Four Seasons 75 th Fourteenth Street	Keynote Speaker	Charles Stewart
International Sleep Products Association Conference	10/04/02	Aspen, CO The St. Regis 970-920-3300	Keynote Speaker	Patricia Martin
International Consumer Product Health & Safety Organization	10/15/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Elaine Tyrell, Ross Koeser
Toy Industry Association	10/15/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Tom Conely, Joan Lawrence
Underwriters Laboratories	10/16/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Susan Rochford, Don Mader, Sandy Ruitter, Barbara Guthru
Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association	10/17/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Evan R. Gaddis, Joe Mattingly, Mike Blevins
Intertek Testing Services	10/17/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Francis Yuk, Dennis Roth, Don Mays, Gene Rider
Mattel, Inc.	10/21/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Bob Eckert, Jim Walter
Consumer Specialty Products Association	10/24/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Brigid, Klein, Chris Cathcart, Steve Kellner, John DiFazio

HDS – Speeches, Meetings and Appearances

<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
Commission meeting: Polyvinyl Chloride	10/28/02	CPSC	Commission meeting	
Dunkin' Donuts – Media Tour for Halloween Safety	10/25/02	Washington, DC/ New York City Essex House 212-247-0300	Meetings/ Media/Interviews	Becky bailey, Paul Gourvitz, Melissa Morante, Joy Farber, Ken Kimmel
National Association of Manufacturers	10/30/02	Washington, DC	Address to Board of Directors	Stephen Gold
Decorative Fabrics Association	10/30/02	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	Richard Taffet, Cary Kravet, Jan Jessup, Catherine Howard
<u>November</u>				
Art & Creative Materials Institute	11/06/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Debbie Fanning, martin Neville, Mary Marth McNamara
Walt Disney, Inc.	11/07/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Richard Bates, Preston Padden
Consumer Alert Conference/CEI	11/12/02	Washington, DC	Meeting	
Window Covering Safety Council	11/13/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Peter Rush, Valerie Cooper
Window Covering Safety Council/National Candle Association	11/13/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	
American Textile Manufacturers Institute	11/13/02	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	Patricia Adair
Manufacturers Alliance /MAPI	11/14/02	Rosslyn, VA	Speaker	Elaine Guth
Federal Trade Commission – Luncheon w/Thomas Muris	11/18/02	Washington, DC	Meeting	Thomas Muris
Consumer's Union	11/20/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	R. David Pittle, Sally Greenberg
International Association of Amusement Parks and Attractions – Annual Board Meeting	11/21-23/02	Orlando, FL Boardwalk Hotel 407-934-7639	Keynote Speaker	Richard Bates, Tracy Taylor, Randy Davis
<u>December</u>				
The Leadership Institute	12/10/02	Arlington, VA	Courtesy Meeting	Morton Blackwell
United States Chamber of Commerce –	12/12/02	Washington, DC	Speaker	Tom Donahue, Bill Kovacs
Consumer Specialty Products Association Board of Directors – Annual Board Meeting	12/12/02	Ft. Lauderdale, FL Harbor Beach Marriott Resort & Spa 954-525-4000	Keynote Speaker	Brigid Klein
Mercatus	12/13/02	Arlington, VA	Courtesy Meeting	
International Organization for Standardization	12/17/02	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	
<u>January</u>				
Proctor & Gamble	01/09/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Jane Hoover, Rick Hackman
National Association of State Fire Marshals	01/07/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Donald Bliss, Peter Sparber, Karen Suhr

HDS – Speeches, Meetings and Appearances

<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
National Fire Protection Association	01/08/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Jim Shannon, John Biechman
Commission Meeting: CPSC Vice Chariman, Compliance Status Reports	1/13/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
American National Standards Institute	01/16/03	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	Dr. Mark Hurwitz
International Conference on Consumer Safety	01/27/03-02/01/03	Cadiz, Spain Hotel Plaza Victoria 011-34-956205100	Keynote Speaker	Regina Fernandez Duran
February				
American Apparel and Footwear Association	02/03/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Kevin Burke, Steve Lamar, Rachel Subler
The Danny Foundation	02/03/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Jack Walsh
ANSI	02/06/03	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	David Karmol, Mark Hurwitz
Defense Research Initiative – Juvenile Products Council	02/12/03	Las Vegas, NV Caesars Palace 703-731-7110	Keynote Speaker	
Commission Meeting: Product Registration Cards	02/21/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
U.S. Chamber of Commerce Board Meeting	02/26/03	Boca Raton, FL Boca Raton Resort & Club 561-447-3000	Keynote Speaker	Jeff Marcoe
International Consumer Product Health & Safety Org. – Annual Convention	02/27/03	Orlando, FL Rosen Hotels & Resort 407-996-9840	Keynote Speaker	Ross Koeser
Consumer Federation of America – Consumer Assembly 2003	02/28/03	Washington, DC	Keynote Speaker	
March				
Lighter Association	03/05/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Thomas Kelleher, David Baker
American Council of Life Insurers	03/05/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Mike Hunter
Commission Meeting: Product Registration Cards	03/07/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
Commission Meeting: Ban on Chromated Copper Arsenate	03/17/03	CPSC		
Harvard School of Public Health	03/14/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Kim Thompson
Shriners	03/25/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	John VerMaas, Jeane Cambell, Dan Crane
National Association of Attorneys General – Spring Meeting	03/20/03	Washington, DC	Speaker	Lynne Ross
Harvard University – Managing Kids Risk Symposium	03/26/03	Cambridge, MA Sheraton Commander Hotel 617-547-4800	Featured speaker	Kim Thompson
U.S. Mexico Chamber of Commerce	03/31/03	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	Al Zapanta

HDS – Speeches, Meetings and Appearances

<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
SAFEKids, Inc.	03/24/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Alan Korn, Heather Paul
Better Business Bureaus	03/24/03	Washington, DC, University Club	Courtesy Meeting	Don Kornblet, ken Hunter, Steve Cole
April				
American Textile Manufacturers Institute – Annual Meeting	04/03/03	Coral Gables, FL Biltmore Hotel 305-445-1926	Keynote Speaker	
Writing Instrument Manufacturers Association – Annual Meeting	04/04/03	Ft. Lauderdale, FL Doubletree Oceanfront 954-524-8733	Keynote Speaker	David Baker
Commission Meeting: Compliance Reports	04/07/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
Association of Home Appliance Manufacturers – 2003 Annual Meeting	04/07/03	Washington, DC	Speaker	
National Candle Association Spring Meeting	04/10/03	Baltimore, MD Hyatt	Keynote Speaker	Valerie Cooper
May				
American Burn Association/Shriners (data collection meeting)	05/01/03	CPSC	Meeting	David Herndon, Ernest J Grant, Peter Sparber, John Krickbaum, Susan Browning
U.S. Mexico Chamber of Commerce Binational Board of Directors Meeting	05/08/03	Washington, DC	Keynote Speaker	
Polyurethane Foam Association – General Board Meeting	05/08/03	Arlington, VA	Keynote Speaker	
Gas Appliance Manufacturers Association – Annual Meeting	05/12/03	Hilton Head, SC The Westin Resort 843-681-4000	Keynote Speaker	Evan R. Gaddis
Juvenile Products Manufacturers Association	05/14/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Rick Locker
Danny Foundation Meeting - courtesy meeting	05/14/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Lee Baxter, Jack Walsh
Recall Effectiveness Roundtable – brainstorm w/marketing experts	05/15/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	Commission meeting
McDonalds	05/19/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Peter Schaefer, Rhonda Urbik
Bell Sports Bicycle Helmets	05/20/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Bill Fry
Soap and Detergent Association Mid-Year Mtg.	05/23/03	Washington, DC	Keynote Speaker	
American Furniture Manufacturers Association Annual Meeting	05/22/03	High Point, NC Grandover Resort & Conf. Center 336-294-1800	Keynote Speaker	Andy Counts
Yamaha	05/23/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	David Murra, Roy Watson

HDS – Speeches, Meetings and Appearances

<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
Congressman Luc Chatel (France) – asking for CPSC assistance w/Report on Consumer Protection	05/29/03	CPSC	Meeting re development of French Consumer Agency	Congressman Luc Chatel
ATV Field Hearing	06/05/03	Morgantown, WV Hampton Inn 304-599-1200	Public Hearing	
PROFECO – Procuraduria Federal del Consumidor (Mexico counterpart to CPSC)	06/10/03	Mexico City Camino Real 52-63-8888	Meeting	Maria Eugenia Bracho, Dr. Jose Meljem, Moctezuma, Carlos Jaime Vasquez
U.S. Mexico Chamber of Commerce	06/11/03	Mexico City	Meeting	Barbara Bennet
ToysRUs	06/16/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Tom Deluca
Consumer Federation of America	06/18/03	Washington, DC	Annual Awards Dinner	
Outdoor Power Equipment Institute	06/21/03	Colorado Springs, CO The Broadmoor Hotel 1-800-634-7711	Keynote Speaker	William Harley
Commission Meeting: Compliance Status Reports	06/24/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
European Committee for Standardization	06/25/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Colin Church, Ron Medford, David Woolcroft
Fireworks Press Conference	06/25/03	National Mall, Washington, DC	Press Conference	
Safety Alerts	06/24/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Bill Knegeford
Vac Alerts	6/26/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Paul Pennington
NM Business Roundtable Discussion	07/01/03	Albuquerque, NM	Keynote Speaker	
ATV Public Field Hearing	07/08/03	Anchorage, AK	Public Meeting	
Commonwealth North	07/09/03	Anchorage, AK	Speaker	
State of Alaska	07/09/03	Anchorage, AK	Courtesy Meeting	Lt. Governor Loren Leman
National Association of State Fire Marshalls	07/10/03	Anchorage, AK	Keynote Speaker	Donald P. Bliss, President
York Manufacturing	07/16/03	Norman, OK	Courtesy Meeting	
Norman/OKC Chamber of Commerce	07/16/03	Norman, OK	Luncheon Speaker	
Norman Rotary Club	07/17/03	Norman, OK	Luncheon Speaker	
Norman Business Association	07/18/03	Norman, OK	Breakfast Speaker	Bill Pain
Cherokee Nation	07/21/03	Tahlequah, OK	Courtesy Meeting	Principal Chief Chad Smith
Recall Effectiveness Roundtable #2	07/25/03	CPSC	Public Meeting	
Baby Bath Seats Commission Briefing	07/28/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
TIAX, LLC	07/31/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Kenan Sahin, President
ASTM	07/31/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Jim Thomas, President
George Mason University	09/05/03	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	Dean Mark Grady
Recall Effectiveness Roundtable #3	09/09/03	CPSC	Public Meeting	

HDS – Speeches, Meetings and Appearances

<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
International Sleep Products Association – Industry Conference	09/10/03	Nashville, TN Loews Vanderbilt 2100 West End Ave. 615.320.1700	Keynote Speaker	Dick Doyle, President
UL Industries – Tour and Meeting with Senior Management	09/12/03	Northbrook, IL	Courtesy Meeting/Tour	Loring Knoblauch, Don Mader, Gordon Gillerman
McDonald's	09/12/03	Oak Brook, IL	Courtesy Meeting/Tour	Jim Cantalupo, Chairman & CEO; Jim Skinner, Vice Chairman
Consumer Specialty Products Association – CPSC Workshop	09/16/03	CPSC	Keynote Speaker	
AFCIs – Roundtable	09/23/03	CPSC	Public Meeting	
Upholstered Furniture Commission Briefing	09/24/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
NFIB Small Business Coalition – Panel Discussion	09/30/03	Washington, DC	Address to Legal Committee	
CPSC Employee Recognition Day	10/08/03	CPSC	Agency Meeting	
Baby Bath Seats – Commission Decision Meeting	10/16/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
Congressman Nunes	10/16/03	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	
Congressman Pearce - NM	10/16/03	Washington, DC	Courtesy Meeting	
Defense Researc Institute Annual Meeting	10/17/03	Washington, DC	Keynote Speaker	Neil Goldberg, President
John Negroponte, U.S. Ambassador to United Nations	10/20/03	New York City, NY	Courtesy Meeting at UN	
Toy Industry Association – Leadership Summit	10/20/03	New York City, NY Intercontinental Barclay's 111 East 48 th Street 212-755-5900	Address and Panelist	Thomas Conley, President
Halloween Safety Media Tour	10/28/03	Washington, DC	Media interviews	
National SafeKids Campaign Leadership Conference	10/29/03	Washington, DC	Keynote Speaker	Heather Paul, Executive Director
Oklahoma University School of Law	10/30/03	Norman, OK Norman Fairfield Inn 301 Norman Center Court	Keynote Speaker	
Oklahoma University	10/30/03	Norman, OK	Courtesy Meeting	David Boren, President
GE – Tour and Meeting with Senior Management	11/03/03	Louisville, KY	Courtesy Meeting/Tour	
CCA Treated Wood – Commission Decision Meeting	11/04/03	CPSC	Commission Meeting	
ATV Public Field Hearing	11/06/03	Albuquerque, NM	Public Meeting	
JPMA (Juvenile Products Mfrs Assoc) Annual Membership Mtg.	11/07/03	Santa Ana Pueblo, NM Hyatt Regency Tamaya Resort 1300 Tuyuna Trail Santa Ana Pueblo (505) 867-1234	Keynote Speaker	Robert Waller, Jr., President

HDS – Speeches, Meetings and Appearances

<i>Stakeholder</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Meeting</i>	<i>Attendees</i>
Universidad Latinoamericana de Ciencia y Tecnología, San Jose, Costa Rica	11/18/03	San Jose, Costa Rica Radisson Europa Hotel & Conference Center Central Street & 3 rd -15 th Ave. San Jose, Costa Rica (506) 257-3257	Address and Panel Discussion with Minister Gilberto Barrantes of Ministerio de Economía	Juan Ricardo Fernandez, Consumidores Libres and Gilberto Barrantes Rodriguez, Ministerio de Economía, Costa Rica
US Ambassador John Danilovich	11/18/03	San Jose, Costa Rica	Courtesy Meeting	John Danilovich
International Association of Amusement Parks and Attractions – Annual Meeting and Legal Roundtable	11/20/03-11/23/03	Orlando, FL Universal Hard Rock Hotel 5800 Universal Blvd. (407) 503-2000	Keynote Speaker	IAAPA: John McReynolds, Universal Orlando; Gary Story, Six Flags; Clark Robinson; Greg Hale, Disney World; Randy Davis, VP, IAAPA Government Relations; James Fuller
Heritage Foundation – HDS Guest Speaker	12/03/03	Washington, DC	Speaker, Regulatory Reform Forum	Host: James Gattuso
Wal-Mart	12/04/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting	Erik Winborn, Director, Natl. Govt. Relations; Joan Menke-Schaenzer, V.P. Food Safety & Security; Susan Chambers, Sr. V.P., Benefits & Claims Admin.
Consumer Specialty Products Association (CSPA) Annual Mtg.	12/08/03	Ft. Lauderdale, FL Harbor Beach Marriott Resort & Spa 3030 Holiday Drive Ft. Lauderdale, FL (954) 525-4000	Keynote Speaker	Chris Cathcart, President
General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine of the People's Republic of China (AQSIQ)	12/09/03	CPSC	Courtesy Meeting, in preparation of signing MOU	Head of the Delegation: Li Changjiang, Minister; Directors General Mr. Xia Hongmin; Mr. Wang Xin; Mr. Geng Dongjiu; Deputy Director General Mr. Liu Xinmin; Director Mr. Wang Zhiyong; Deputy Director Ms. Maj Wanxiu
Natural Rubber Latex – Commission Briefing	12/10/03	CPSC	Public Meeting	

Goergen, Barbara J.

601804

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Friday, December 12, 2003 4:42 PM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: FW: KBR Talking Points

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

From: Wilkinson, James
Sent: Friday, December 12, 2003 7:28 AM
To: Bartlett, Daniel J.; McClellan, Scott ; McCormack, Sean I.; Buchan, Claire ; Duffy, Trent D.; Mamo, Jeanie S.; Besanceney, Brian R.;
Rove, Karl C.; Jackson, Barry S.; Hernandez, Israel
Subject: KBR Talking Points

FYI...

----- Forwarded by James Wilkinson/NSC/EOP on 12/12/2003 07:28 AM -----

From: "Keck, Gary, LTC, OASD-PA" <gary.keck@osd.mil> on 12/11/2003 09:10:24 PM

Record Type: Record

To: James Wilkinson/NSC/EOP@EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

Subject: KBR Talking Points

Sir,

The revised talking point paper on KBR:

<<HALLIBURTON - Final Draft.doc>>

LTC Gary L. Keck
Deputy Director
DoD Press Operations
(703) 695-3886



HALLIBURTON -
Final Draft.doc ...

Message Copied To:

"DeFrank, James, COL, OASD-PA" <Jay.DeFrank@osd.mil>
"Whitman, Bryan, SES, OASD-PA" <Bryan.Whitman@osd.mil>
"Zakheim, Dov, Hon, OSD-COMPT" <Dov.Zakheim@osd.mil>
"Mikolaski, Stephen, COL, OSD-COMPT" <Stephen.Mikolaski@osd.mil>
"Lynch, Roseann LtCol, USMC OASD-PA" <Roseann.Lynch@osd.mil>
"Rhynedance, George, COL, OASD-PA" <George.Rhynedance@osd.mil>

HALLIBURTON-KELLOGG, BROWN & ROOT CONTRACT

TALKING POINTS

- THE DEFENSE CONTRACT AUDIT AGENCY (DCAA) HAS IDENTIFIED A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS IN THE COST AND BUSINESS PROCESSES OF KELLOGG, BROWN AND ROOT (KBR).
- THE DCAA AUDIT WAS CONDUCTED AS PART OF THE ROUTINE CONTRACT OVERSIGHT PROCESS INITIATED WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.
- DCAA AND GOVERNMENT CONTRACTING OFFICIALS ARE WORKING TOGETHER WITH KBR TO ADDRESS THESE MATTERS. DCAA AUDITS ARE ONGOING.
- THE AUDITS ENCOMPASS TWO MAJOR IRAQI RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS: THE LOGISTICAL CIVILIAN AUGMENTATION (LOGCAP III), AND THE RESTORE IRAQI OIL (RIO) PROGRAM. THE TOTAL CONTRACT VALUE IS APPROXIMATELY \$15.6 BILLION, OF WHICH \$3 BILLION HAS ACTUALLY BEEN EXPENDED TO DATE BETWEEN THE TWO PROGRAMS.
- ONE OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS OF THE AUDIT PROCESS IS THAT KBR CONTRACTS HAVE CONTAINED MATERIAL ERRORS IN THE PRICING (OVERPRICING) OF MAJOR SUBCONTRACTS. THE VALUE OF THIS DISCREPANCY IS APPROXIMATELY \$67 MILLION ON THE LOGCAP III PROGRAM AND \$61 MILLION IN THE RIO PROGRAM. THE \$67 MILLION ON THE LOGCAP III HAS NOT BEEN PAID TO KBR.
- ANOTHER MAJOR FINDING OF THE AUDIT PROCESS IS THAT KBR IS SLOW IN PROVIDING AND NEGOTIATING TASK ORDERS, KBR HAS PROVIDED AND NEGOTIATED 12 TASK ORDERS WHILE 69 REMAIN UNPRICED DUE TO KBR DELAYS.
- THE MAJOR DISCREPANCIES IDENTIFIED HERE DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE RESULTED IN EXCESSIVE PAYMENTS TO KBR. IN ONE CASE, PAYMENT FOR WHAT APPEARS TO BE UNSUBSTANTIATED TASK ORDERS IS BEING HELD IN ABEYANCE PENDING REVIEW OF THE SITUATION.
- DCAA IS WORKING WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS AT KBR TO RECTIFY THE SITUATION. GAO IS ALSO COORDINATING WITH THE DCAA THROUGHOUT THIS REVIEW.

BACKGROUND

THE DEFENSE CONTRACT AUDIT AGENCY IS CONDUCTING AN ONGOING AUDIT ON KELLOGG BROWN AND ROOT REGARDING THEIR IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS.

AS OF NOVEMBER 2003, KBR HAS BEEN AWARDED IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS APPROACHING \$15.6 BILLION UNDER TWO MAJOR PROGRAM AREAS: LOGISTICAL CIVILIAN AUGMENTATION (LOGCAP III) (\$8.6 BILLION) AND RESTORE IRAQI OIL (RIO) (\$7.0 BILLION). BOTH OF THESE CONTRACTS PERMIT THE ISSUANCE OF INDIVIDUAL SOLE-SOURCE TASK ORDERS FOR SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS. DUE TO URGENT REQUIREMENTS, NEARLY ALL OF THE TASK ORDERS HAVE BEEN INITIATED UNDER LETTER AUTHORIZATIONS TO PROCEED WITH NOT-TO-EXCEED CEILINGS, SUBJECT TO FIRM PRICING AFTER SUBMISSION OF TIMELY AND ADEQUATELY SUPPORTED PRICE PROPOSALS.

DEFENSE CONTRACT AUDIT AGENCY HAS BEEN PROVIDING CONTINUOUS CONTRACT AUDIT OVERSIGHT ON BOTH PROGRAMS. THEIR REVIEWS HAVE RAISED SIGNIFICANT ISSUES REGARDING THE TIMELINESS AND ADEQUACY OF KBR PRICE PROPOSALS, AS WELL AS DEFICIENCIES IN THE COMPANY'S BILLING, PURCHASING, AND ESTIMATING SYSTEMS.

THE LOGISTICAL DEMANDS ASSOCIATED WITH THE IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION ARE CHALLENGING FOR KBR, AND EXTREMELY TIME SENSITIVE. WHILE KBR APPEARS TO HAVE MET MISSION DEMANDS, CONTRACTING MISTAKES WERE MADE AND BUSINESS PROCESSES HAVE NOT ALWAYS KEPT PACE WITH THE CONTRACT GROWTH. AS A RESULT, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF INSTANCES OF EXCESSIVE COSTS BEING PROPOSED AND/OR BILLED ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS BY KELLOGG, BROWN & ROOT.

KBR IS GENERALLY COOPERATING IN ADDRESSING THESE MATTERS, BUT PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW AND IMPROVEMENT IS NEEDED, ESPECIALLY IN KBR PROVIDING WELL-DOCUMENTED AND FULLY SUPPORTED COST ESTIMATES, AND IN FOLLOWING SUBCONTRACT MANAGEMENT CONTRACT GUIDELINES. DCAA HAS ELEVATED THESE CONCERNS THROUGHTOUT GOVERNMENT CONTRACTING ORGANIZATIONS AND WITH SENIOR KBR EXECUTIVES. DCAA HAS RECEIVED PERIODIC COMMITMENTS FOR TIMELY CORRECTIVE ACTIONS FROM KBR EXECUTIVES. HOWEVER, PROGRESS ON CORRECTIVE ACTIONS IS MINIMAL AT THE PRESENT.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

QUESTION: WHAT ARE THE OVERPRICING ISSUES?

ANSWER: KBR CONTRACTS HAVE CONTAINED MATERIAL ERRORS IN THE PRICING OF TWO MAJOR SUBCONTRACTS, THE RIO AND THE LOGCAP III PROGRAM.

QUESTION: IS THE LOGCAP III CONTRACT A COMPETITIVE OF SOLE-SOURCE CONTRACT?

ANSWER: THE LOGCAP III CONTRACT WAS AWARDED COMPETITIVELY IN 2001. THERE WERE FIVE BIDDERS. ALL IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION RESPONSIVE EFFORT UNDER LOGCAP III ARE SOLE SOURCE TASK ORDERS TO THE ORIGINAL CONTRACT.

QUESTION: IS THE RIO CONTRACT A COMPETITIVE OR SOLE-SOURCE CONTRACT?

ANSWER: THE RIO CONTRACT WAS INITIALLY AWARDED TO KBR AS A SOLE SOURCE, COST-TYPE CONTRACT. THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS IS PRESENTLY COMPETING THE FOLLOW-ON CONTRACT EFFORT. AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN AWARD OF TWO COMPETITIVELY BID FOLLOW-ON CONTRACTS IS EXPECTED EARLY NEXT WEEK.

QUESTION: WHAT IS BEING DONE IMMEDIATELY TO STOP THE OVERPRICING OF KUWAIT FUELS ON THE RIO CONTRACT?

ANSWER: DCAA HAS FORMALLY NOTIFIED THE CONTRACTING OFFICERS AND KBR OF THIS ISSUE. THE PROCESS IS ONGOING, KBR HAS NOT YET RESPONDED TO THE ISSUE. EVENTUALLY THEY MAY HAVE TO SEEK VOLUNTARY REFUNDS FROM THE SUBCONTRACTOR.

QUESTION: WHAT ARE THE ROLES AND DIFFERENCES IN KBR HOUSTON AND KBR IRAQ OPERATIONS?

ANSWER: WE HAVE FOUND REPEATED INSTANCES WHERE IT APPEARS THERE IS A LACK OF TIMELY AND ACCURATE COORDINATION BETWEEN KBR IRAQ AND HOUSTON STAFF. ESSENTIALLY, HOUSTON ESTIMATES AND BILLS THE GOVERNMENT FOR WORK PERFORMED IN IRAQ THAT IS PROVIDED BY KBR-IRAQ.

QUESTION: WHO IS IN CHARGE (NOW) OF IRAQ RECONSTRUCTION CONTRACT PROCUREMENT AND CONTRACT OVERSIGHT?

ANSWER: DCAA PROVIDES CONTRACT AUDIT OVERSIGHT. THE PROGRAM MANAGEMENT OFFICE WILL PROVIDE OVERSIGHT FOR THE \$18.6 BILLION SUPPLEMENTAL FUNDS AND WILL COORDINATE THE ADDITIONAL RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS IN IRAQ FOR THE CPA.

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE SINGLE LARGEST MONETARY AUDIT ISSUE ONGOING AT KBR?

ANSWER: PRESENTLY, THE LARGEST POTENTIAL AUDIT ISSUE IS KBR ESTIMATED PROPOSAL COSTS FOR DINING FACILITIES \$67 MILLION HIGHER THAN THEY HAD ALREADY PAID SIX MONTHS EARLIER. FORTUNATELY, THESE COSTS WERE NOT PAID OUT.

QUESTION: WHAT IS THE TOTAL OF CONTRACT AWARDS THAT KBR HAS RECEIVED?

<u>ANSWER:</u>	<u>CONTRACT AMT (000)</u>	<u>FUNDED (000)</u>
LOGCAP	\$8,551.61	\$1,590.20
RIO	\$7,000.00	\$1,567.44

QUESTION: AT THE PRESENT TIME, WHAT IS THE BEST ESTIMATE (OR RANGE) FOR RIO FUELS OVERPRICING?

ANSWER: DCAA HAS CALCULATED A POTENTIAL COST IMPACT OF \$61 MILLION THROUGH SEPTEMBER 30, 2003. BASED ON OUR LATEST INFORMATION, THE OVERPRICING IS CONTINUING EACH MONTH AT APPROXIMATELY \$20 MILLION PER MONTH.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Fwd: MIG Dug Up from Iraqi Desert, Pictures - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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FOLDER TITLE:

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

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Email	Fw: Iraq - a Bleak Warning - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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Email	Fw: Atrocities Against Americans and the Rules of War - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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Email	Fw: A New Approach to Vaccine Manufacturing - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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Email	Fw: Points of Order - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	PRM;

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Email	Fw: A Peace Budget... - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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Email	Fw: Health Savings - Newt - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	PRM;

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Email	From AARP Website - To: [Newt Gingrich] - From: Dana Pavey	1	11/17/2003	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Signing Ceremony - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

601804 [1]

FRC ID:

9726

OA Num.:

10750

NARA Num.:

10808

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Fwd: Medicare Bill [with attachment] - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	2	11/24/2003	PRM;

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Email	Fw: A Possible Immigration Services Problem - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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Email	Fw: Brilliant on C-Span - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	11/24/2003	PRM;

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Goergen, Barbara J.

601804

From: Karl Rove [kr@georgewbush.com]
Sent: Monday, November 24, 2003 11:57 AM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: Fw: Fwd: "What's Wrong with the CIA?" by Herbert E Meyer, Hillsdale College Speech



'What's Wrong with
the CIA?" b...

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

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

From: [redacted] (b)(6)
To: Karl Rove <kr@georgewbush.com>; jbolten@omb.eop.gov <jbolten@omb.eop.gov>
Sent: Sat Nov 22 11:01:07 2003
Subject: Fwd: "What's Wrong with the CIA?" by Herbert E Meyer, Hillsdale College Speech

t <<"What's Wrong with the CIA?" by Herbert E Meyer, Hillsdale College Speech>> his is well worth reading newt

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: E Joseph West (b)(6)
Sent: Sunday, October 26, 2003 6:46 PM
To: Alvin S Felzenberg (E-mail); Alvin S Felzenberg (E-mail 2)
Subject: "What's Wrong with the CIA?" by Herbert E Meyer, Hillsdale College Speech

This ought to be required reading for the 9-11 Commission members and anyone else who thinks they know what ails the CIA.

Best regards,
Joe

Joe

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October Imprimis

What's Wrong with the CIA?

Herbert E. Meyer

Herbert E. Meyer is founder and president of Real-World Intelligence, Inc., a company that designs business intelligence systems for corporations and financial institutions, and of Storm King Press. During the Reagan administration, he served as special assistant to the director of the Central Intelligence Agency and as vice chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council. He is the recipient of the National Intelligence Distinguished Service Medal, the intelligence community's highest honor. Prior to his service with the government, Mr. Meyer was an associate editor of Fortune, where he specialized in international reporting. He has written widely in newspapers and periodicals, including the Wall Street Journal, Policy Review and National Review Online, and is the author of several books, including Real-World Intelligence, The War Against Progress and Hard Thinking. He has also produced a new video entitled The Siege of Western Civilization.

<http://www.hillsdale.edu/newimprimis/2003/october/Meyer_large.jpg>

The following is adapted from a lecture at a Hillsdale College seminar entitled "The History, Purpose and Propriety of U.S. Intelligence Activities," held on the Hillsdale campus on September 14-18, 2003.

What's Wrong with the CIA?

It's obvious that something is wrong with the CIA. The 9/11 attacks were, by definition, the worst intelligence failure in our country's history. More recently, we have had trouble locating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and have been consumed by the flap over whether the CIA signed off on President Bush's accurate observation in his State of the Union speech that British intelligence believes Saddam Hussein had tried to purchase uranium ore in Niger.

In each of these cases, the CIA was asleep at the switch, not quite on the ball, or tossing a banana peel under the president's feet. In the midst of a war in which intelligence must play a central role, we need a CIA that is razor sharp and playing offense, not one that blindsides the country or embarrasses the commander-in-chief.

So what's the problem? Before answering this question, we need to acknowledge two points: First, intelligence is the riskiest, toughest business in the world. Compared with trying to project the future of world politics or discovering a country's most closely guarded secrets, day trading in the stock market is child's play and exploring for diamonds is a piece of cake. In the intelligence business, no one gets it right every time - or even most of the time - and it's easy to take potshots at honorable people who are doing their best under difficult circumstances.

The second point is that the CIA employs some of the hardest working and most decent men and women I have ever known. They are absolutely wonderful; we are lucky to have them and we owe them our gratitude.

The problem with the CIA lies within its structure and culture. It doesn't match the task, because the analytic side of intelligence is unlike any other function of government. It is unlike budget-making, diplomacy, or the setting of policy for trade or agriculture. Intelligence is like science, which means that success depends utterly on having the most brilliant people studying a problem. Only they will know how to go about finding the right answer - and how to communicate it clearly and early enough to make a difference.

As geniuses like Albert Einstein and Jonas Salk remind us, in science there is no substitute for sheer intellectual firepower - in other words, for brains. This is why scientific research institutes hire the smartest people they can find, and why they place scientists at the top who are even more brilliant to manage the team and, when necessary, to decide which of their proposed experiments to back and which to stop. That's why so many leading research institutes are headed by Nobel laureates. And it's why the big breakthroughs in science come from research institutes rather than government-operated labs.

During World War II, we had the kind of intelligence service that matched this model. It was the Office of Strategic Services. Led by a brilliant and tough-minded lawyer named William J. Donovan, the OSS was a free-wheeling collection of our country's best minds. Donovan recruited them from Wall Street, the corporate world, academia, research labs - wherever they were working. They were lawyers, administrators, financiers, economists, technicians, writers and university professors. What they had in common - besides a burning sense of patriotism - was a special kind of brilliance that you find in scientists and must have in intelligence analysts: the ability to spot a pattern with the fewest possible facts. They didn't wait until two and two were sitting on their desks to realize they had four. They could make intuitive and logical leaps quickly and figure out what the indicators meant before it was obvious to everyone. And they articulated their conclusions clearly enough, and early enough, to get the policymakers moving before it was too late. To this day, intelligence experts consider the OSS to be among history's greatest and most effective intelligence services.

How Reagan Did It

When the Cold War revved up in the late 1940s, Congress created the CIA to pick up where the OSS had left off. Indeed, in its early years the CIA was led and staffed by scores of OSS veterans. But over the years, the CIA became more like every other government agency - the Commerce Department or the Agriculture Department or what have you. It began to hire young people who joined in hopes of making the CIA their careers. Their objective was to do well, move up through the ranks, and provide their families with a decent income, good health-care coverage and a government pension. To be sure, some truly brilliant analysts did join up. Sometimes they would become so frustrated by the CIA's culture that they would resign. Others stayed and did their heroic best in a culture that rarely appreciated their contributions and all too often blocked them from rising to positions their talents deserved.

By the time President Reagan took office in 1981, the CIA had become bureaucratic, sclerotic and woefully inadequate to its mission. The man President Reagan chose as his Director of Central Intelligence, William J. Casey, understood the problem. Indeed, during World War II, Casey had been Bill Donovan's protégé, based in London as head of secret operations for the OSS. Casey did two things to solve the problem, of which only the first has received much attention. He strived mightily to improve and reform the CIA itself, and his efforts generated more leaks, lies, smears and congressional inquiries than any of us who worked with Bill Casey care to remember.

And while all this gave the Washington establishment something juicy to blather about at their lunches and dinner parties, Casey did something else that the kibitzers failed to notice and that few people other than President Reagan understood: He created an OSS within the CIA itself. That is, he brought in a small cadre of outsiders to work with him - people whom he could protect from bureaucratic attacks - to get the job done.

As one of those privileged to be among that cadre, let me try to give you a sense of what it was like on the inside. In doing so, please keep in mind that I am talking about the CIA during the Reagan administration, and that was quite some time ago. Nevertheless, it's clear that, in the years since President Reagan led our country, the CIA has reverted to its pre-Reagan culture. It's better now than it was before 9/11 - especially in operations - but still it falls short of where it needs to be. And again I remind you that the CIA then and now includes many fine people - and a few who are just outstanding. It's the culture in which they work that's the problem, and which I am trying to describe.

The most striking feature of the CIA's analytic culture was its blandness. The secrets were fascinating, of course, but intellectually it was a boring place to work. Most of the analysts simply weren't as well read as they should have been. For instance, they seemed not to have read much more in history than most college graduates. That may be acceptable for people elsewhere in the government, but not for people on whom the president relies to know what is really going on in the world and to predict the future soon enough so that he can change that future before it happens. They read the Washington Post, the New York Times, Time or Newsweek, perhaps U.S. News & World Report, and occasionally the Economist. I rarely met anyone who read Commentary, National Review, the Wall Street Journal editorial page, or any other cutting-edge publication where the world's leading thinkers expound their ideas and perceptions about the world. The CIA's analysts thought that the secret information to which they alone had access made all of that "open-source" insight unimportant.

In addition, the analysts weren't as well-connected as they ought to have been. Because they had spent most, if not all, of their careers at the agency (and, in fairness, because of the agency's stringent rules about talking with outsiders), they hadn't had the opportunity to meet and get to know people who were forging high-powered careers in business, in the investment community and in politics. As a result, the analysts were cut off from some of the world's smartest people, from the ideas these people were bringing into the commercial and intellectual marketplaces and, perhaps more importantly, from the information about the world these people were picking up along the way. The CIA's analysts worked hard - very hard, actually - but all too often they just didn't have the knowledge or the intellectual firepower you would find at our country's leading think tanks or university faculties.

Connecting the Dots

Getting CIA analysts to "connect the dots" was sometimes excruciating. One now-famous incident involved a National Intelligence Estimate regarding state-sponsored terrorism. The question was whether the Soviet Union was itself involved. The analysts insisted it

was not. "But look," I said. "We know there are terrorist training camps in Soviet-bloc countries - we have pictures of them. It just isn't possible those governments are unaware of these camps. And we know these governments don't so much as buy a box of paper clips without Moscow's approval. So the Soviet Union must know about these camps, and if they know about them and allow them to operate, that means the Soviet Union is involved."

The analysts responded with the classic CIA reply: "We have no evidence of that." They wouldn't concede that it was the logic of the situation that comprised the evidence, rather than some purloined document from the safe in Leonid Brezhnev's office. One reason they wouldn't concede the point is that they simply didn't grasp it. Another reason - and I'm dragging my heels as I say this, because it's impressionistic rather than provable, but it simply must be said to understand the problem - is that they didn't want to see it.

To put this as bluntly as possible, when I was there, most career CIA analysts - like their civil service counterparts in agencies throughout the government - weren't Reagan supporters. They didn't like the president, and they thought his policies were misguided or even downright nuts. So they didn't want to give him any ammunition he could use to make his case and drive his policies forward. I am not suggesting that the analysts withheld supporting evidence on purpose. Rather, I am suggesting that they are human beings like the rest of us, and it is human nature not to go out of your way to help someone accomplish a goal you believe is wrong or dangerous.

Sometimes we were able to convince the analysts to modify the final product. Other times we were able to bludgeon them into making the changes we wanted - although these episodes had a nasty habit of turning up in the next day's edition of the Washington Post. Then, before lunch, Casey would find himself hauled before some congressional committee and shredded by senators or representatives - mostly, but not always, Democrats - who professed to be outraged that a bunch of right-wing extremist crazies were "interfering with the intelligence professionals" or pressuring them to change their judgments to support the president's policies.

When convincing and bludgeoning failed, our last resort was to go two ways at once: Casey would permit the analysts to say whatever they wanted in their report or estimate. Then, very quietly and often with no paper trail to be found later, he would authorize one or another member of his inner circle - the OSS he had built within the CIA - to produce an alternate memo that reflected their, and his own, judgment. He would allow the official report to be published and distributed, so no one could accuse him of "interfering with the intelligence professionals." But he would put a few copies of the unofficial memo in his briefcase and head down to the White House to hand them out personally to President Reagan and other key members of the administration, all the while suggesting - with Bill's version of a wink and a nod - that when they had finished reading the official CIA version, they take a moment to read this, too. It wasn't elegant or pretty. But it was legal (really, it was), and it reduced the chances of President Reagan being blindsided by a CIA whose career analysts weren't as good as they should have been or embarrassed by a bureaucracy that disliked him and his policies and just plain hated to give him any ammunition.

President Bush deserves no less. He needs a CIA that is razor sharp, playing offense and led by people who support him and his policies. Alas, he doesn't have that. For instance, the incumbent Director of Central Intelligence, George Tenet, is a Clinton administration holdover. Of course, the War on Terrorism is different from the Cold War. And today, unlike in the Reagan years, the president's party controls both Houses of Congress. So, the Reagan/Casey solution of creating an OSS within the CIA may not be the right way to go. But it's the idea of finding some way to jump-start the Agency that remains valid, indeed vital. The good news for President Bush is that our country is fairly teeming with talented men and women from all walks of life who want to help fight and win the War on Terrorism, and who would make superb intelligence officers. It's up to the president to figure out how best to harness all of this talent and make today's CIA the sharpest, most effective intelligence service the world has ever known.

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Email	Medicare/AARP - To: [Distribution List] - From: Barry Jackson	2	07/18/2003	P5;

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- 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(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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Fax Cover Sheet	[Fax Cover Sheet with attachments] - To: Ed Gillespie - From: Karl Rove	4	11/24/2003	PRM;

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For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

601804 [1]

FRC ID:

9726

OA Num.:

10750

NARA Num.:

10808

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]
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~~Leave on desk~~

Make a xerox of files
as well as against the
Arden & Margaret

Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Debrief - Iowa Town Hall Meetings [with attachments] - To: Karl Rove - From: Keith Brancato	17	11/20/2003	P5;

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SERIES:

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