

FOIA Marker

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Records Management, White House Office of

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

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

Folder Title:

536027

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Email	Re: FW: Eyal Arad from Israel Visiting - To: Susan Ralston - From: Jennie Koch	2	03/06/2003	P5; P6/b6;
002	Email	FW: Hello - To: Daniel Bartlett - From: Karl Rove	1	04/23/2003	P6/b6;
003	Email	Political Story - To: Karl Rove - From: Ron Fournier	1	04/23/2003	PRM;
004	Email	Iraqi Television? - To: Karl Rove - From: Kenneth Tomlinson	2	04/30/2003	P5;
005	Talking Points	Talking Points for Calls to Certain House Members on State Aid	1	N.D.	P5;
006	Email	Roadless Rule - To: Karl Rove, et al. - From: Barry Jackson	1	05/20/2003	P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536027

FRC ID:

9711

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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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)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
007	Email	AARP - To: Karl Rove - From: Trent Duffy	1	05/15/2003	P5;
008	List	[List]	1	05/21/2003	P5;
009	Email	FW: - To: Henry Hager - From: Karl Rove	1	05/23/2003	PRM;
010	Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Alberto [Gonzales] - From: Karl [Rove]	1	04/13/2003	P5;
011	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Cheryl Halpern	1	04/04/2003	P6/b6;
012	Letter	[Letter] - To: POTUS - From: Cheryl Halpern	2	04/04/2003	P6/b6;
013	Letter	Dear President Bush - To: POTUS - From: Richard J. Stampahar	1	03/31/2003	PRM;

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
014	Report	Potential BBG Usage...	2	N.D.	P5;
015	Memorandum	Response to John Walker Letter - To: Brett Kavanaugh - From: Cuddy Johnson	1	05/21/2003	P6/b6;
016	Memorandum	Thank You Letter from Weirton Steel - To: Brett Kavanaugh - From: Cuddy Johnson	1	05/16/2003	P5; P6/b6;
017	Memorandum	Weirton Steel Bankruptcy - To: Karl Rove - From: Cuddy Johnson	1	05/26/2003	P6/b6;
018	Report	Aftermath Working Group	3	03/10/2003	P5;
019	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Working Group (First Meeting)	3	03/11/2003	P5;

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
020	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Mitch Daniels (Second Meeting)	3	03/14/2003	P5;
021	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Dan Bartlett (Second Meeting)	3	03/18/2003	P5;
022	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Josh Bolten (Second Meeting)	2	03/14/2003	P5;
023	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Mike Gerson (First Meeting)	1	02/28/2003	P5;
024	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Margaret Spellings	2	03/14/2003	P5;
025	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Greg Schulte	2	03/14/2003	P5;
026	Draft	Elements of Post-Conflict Foreign Policy Agenda	1	03/12/2003	P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
027	Report	Aftermath Discussion: Richard Falkenrath	3	03/18/2003	P5;
028	Report	Aftermath Working Group Meeting	4	03/21/2003	P5;
029	Report	Aftermath Working Group: An Update	5	03/26/2003	P5;
030	Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Dan [Sullivan] - From: [Karl Rove]	1	04/23/2003	P5;
031	Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Karl [Rove] - From: Dan [Sullivan]	1	04/01/2003	P5;
032	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Bruce Thompson	1	05/28/2003	P6/b6;
033	Fax Cover Sheet	Fax Transmittal Cover Sheet [with attachment] - To: Karl Rove - From: Gail Thorin	2	03/09/2003	PRM;

COLLECTION TITLE:

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034	Email	Brownfield Stimulus Act - To: Susan Ralston - From: Bill Cobey	1	02/05/2003	P6/b6;
035	Email	FW: Some Thoughts - To: Susan Ralston, et al. - From: Karl Rove	2	04/29/2003	P5; P6/b6;
036	Chart	Iraq Antiquities Initiative, OSTP Status Report	1	04/24/2003	P5;

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Email	Re: FW: Eyal Arad from Israel Visiting - To: Susan Ralston - From: Jennie Koch	2	03/06/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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

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FRC ID:

9711

OA Num.:

10735

NARA Num.:

10793

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

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Ralston, Susan B.

536024

From: Karl Rove [KR@georgewbush.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 27, 2003 2:22 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: Re: Evans/Novak Political Forum

Yes to Josh

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

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

From: Ralston, Susan B. <Susan_B.Ralston@who.eop.gov>
To: Karl Rove <KR@georgewbush.com>
Sent: Thu Mar 27 14:06:59 2003
Subject: Evans/Novak Political Forum

Would you recommend Josh as a possible surrogate for Evans/Novak on Thurs, 4/3? Or someone else?

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

From: Lockart, Sarah K.
Sent: Thursday, March 27, 2003 10:14 AM
To: Ralston, Susan B.; 'sralston@georgewbush.com'
Subject: Message

Kathleen from Bob Novak's office called
She wanted to know if KR had any suggestion for a surrogate at the April 3rd Evans and Novak Pol. Forum and wanted to know if Josh Bolton could do it. 202-393-4340

Thurs, 4/3 ok
TRD Potus travel

EVANS & NOVAK
1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Suite 1203
Washington, D.C. 20006

ROBERT D. NOVAK

Telephone: 202/393-4340

Fax: 202/393-5588

February 8, 2003

NOTE TO SUSAN RALSTON
FROM KATHLEEN CONNOLLY
RE Evans and Novak Political Forum

Following up on their telephone conversation, here's Bob's letter inviting Karl to speak at the upcoming forum.

I look forward to hearing from you regarding Karl's schedule.

EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Suite 1203 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-393-4340

February 8, 2003

Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Karl:

I'm delighted that, schedule permitting, you will once again address an Evans and Novak Political Forum.

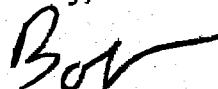
The Sixty-Third Evans and Novak Political Forum will be held on Thursday, April 3, at the University Club, 1135 16th Street in Washington. The Forum begins with an 8:30 speaker, runs through lunch and ends in mid-afternoon.

The audience consists of about 60 executives who are subscribers to the Evans-Novak Political Report. All proceedings are completely off the record.

As you know, your presentation would be one hour, 10-15 minutes of remarks on any subject of your choosing and the balance of the hour used for a q and a session. Kathleen Connolly will contact your office to work out a convenient speaking time.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Robert D. Novak

PRICEWATERHOUSECOOPERS 

536026

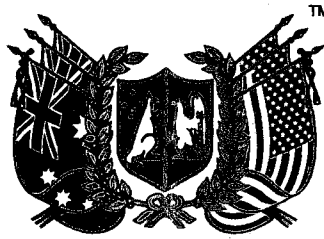
PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP
1301 K Street, NW, 800W
Washington DC 20005-3333
Telephone (202) 414-1000
Facsimile (202) 414-1301
Direct Dial (202) 414-1478
john.r.harman@us.pwcglobal.com

Fax

To: Susan Ralston fax 202-456-0191 phone 202-456-2369
From: John Harman fax 202-414-4550 phone 202-414-1478
Date: April 16, 2003
No. of pages: 2 page including this page

Bill Archer would like to meet with Carl Rove regarding HR 767 and S 596, proposals that the Joint Committee on Taxation has conservatively estimated would result in \$135 billion brought into the U.S. in the year after enactment for investment by U.S. multinationals.

The issue has been raised with Stephen Friedman. It should be relevant in early May when the Ways and Means and Finance Committee are expected to markup the President's proposals to promote growth.



536027
Level 39
55 Collins Street
Melbourne Vic 3000
Australia
Telephone: 61 3 9921 7147
Facsimile: 61 3 9921 7142

20 December 2002

AUSTRALIAN
AMERICAN
EDUCATION
LEADERSHIP
FOUNDATION
ABN 37 652 060 192

No

Mr Karl C Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW
Washington DC 20500 USA

Dear Karl,

EXEC. DFC. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES
2003 JAN -9 AM 10:59

INVITATION TO AUSTRALIA – FORUM 03/AUGUST 13-16

I have pleasure in inviting you to participate in the 11th Annual Meeting of the Australian American Leadership Dialogue – of which you are an original member. We would like you to bring your wife and son. We have a family program established through the support of the Premier of the State of Victoria.

The Leadership Dialogue is scheduled for August 14 and 15 in Melbourne – the world's most liveable city. You and the family should plan to arrive no later than August 13. Through our Section 501 (c) 3 Foundation in Washington DC, we would be responsible for your return airfares from DC to Melbourne, and for your accommodation at the Melbourne Park Hyatt for the nights of August 13, 14 and 15.

This year's Leadership Dialogue was a spectacular success, in no small measure to the outstanding leadership you and your staff demonstrated during the half day of sessions at the White House. This was a truly unique and memorable occasion for us all.

Karl, please let me know if you and your wife are able to join us, and I shall set in train the arrangements.

Kind regards,

Phil
Phil Scanlan
Founder

So come!

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7/30 or 7/31

OK
re Search
Group.



Angela R. Sailor
06/17/2002 06:24:07 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Susan B. Ralston/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: United Seniors

Per your note, I would recommend a meeting with KR. I will send the memo back to you.
Thanks

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 6/13/02

To: lezlee Angela - thoughts?
From: Strategic Initiatives Susan

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

Comments: Do you recommend
granting this request?

W



THE SENIORS COALITION

Working for a Responsible America

June 4, 2002

The Honorable Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
Strategic Initiatives
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Karl:

Since we last ran into one another on the Hill, we've made tremendous progress in building the Senior Congress program, the exciting grassroots senior advocacy and action arm of The Seniors Coalition (TSC).

As you may know, TSC is the leading free-market advocacy and education organization representing four million seniors nationwide. We've been very active in advocating the President's priorities in Congress. We've worked closely with Gian-Carlo Peressutti of the Office of Public Liaison, and since his departure, with Josephine Robinson and Angela Sailor.

The response to our Senior Congress initiative has been enthusiastic and encouraging. We've already briefed Jack Oliver, Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott, Rep. John Thune, Sen. Tim Hutchinson, NRCC Chairman Rep. Tom Davis, as well as top GOP political strategists on this program. Now that Senior Congress has moved beyond the concept phase and is underway, I thought this might be a good time to brief you on this program. It would be a worthwhile investment of your time to understand the strategic grassroots capabilities this program is developing.

I would welcome the opportunity to meet with you to discuss the Senior Congress program. I hope that you can find some time in your busy schedule to hear about this initiative. Please let me know when you might be available to meet. I can be reached at (703) 239-1960.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "J. Drew Hiatt".

J. Drew Hiatt
Vice President
Federal Government Affairs



THE SENIORS COALITION
Working for a Responsible America

To: Karl Rove

Date: June 7, 2002

Fax: (202) 456-0191

Pages: 2, (including this sheet)

From: Drew Hiatt

Subject: Request for meeting

Phone: (703) 239-1960

Fax: (703) 239-1985

Comments:

Karl,

Please see attached.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Drew".



Angela R. Sailor
06/17/2002 06:25:54 PM

Record Type: Record

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

CC:

Subject: Seniors Coalition

Per your note, I would recommend a meeting with KR. I will send the memo back to you.
Thanks

Call list 536027

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Wednesday, April 23, 2003 2:33 PM
To: Bartlett, Daniel J.
Subject: FW: Hello

Can we talk about this? And have you seen his "Hell of A Ride" book?

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

From: John Podhoretz (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, April 23, 2003 2:50 PM
To: Rove, Karl C.
Subject: Hello

To: Karl Rove
From: John Podhoretz

I am writing because I'm looking for a little help in setting the historical record in the right way. I've signed a book deal with St. Martin's for a book about the making of a great president -- how George W. Bush is becoming a world-historical figure. The book will come out at the beginning of 2004.

This is not a work of reportage, but rather a polemic-argument that will seek to demonstrate the truth of the president's rise to greatness and the folly of his ideological and partisan foes.

I was hoping I could get some guidance from you on these matters. I am not looking for scoop or inside dirt, but rather an informed perspective on my thesis and whether it's right, wrong or stupid.

I'm going to be in Washington next week from April 29 through May 3, Tuesday through Saturday, and would love to buy you lunch, dinner, breakfast, or coffee at your convenience. My schedule is open right now except for lunch Tuesday and breakfast Friday.

You can reach me by return of this e-mail or by phone at (b)(6). I'd only ask one favor, which is that you not forward or copy this e-mail to anyone else.

Thanks so much for your consideration.

John Podhoretz



att1.eml (2 KB)

- att1.eml

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Political Story - To: Karl Rove - From: Ron Fournier	1	04/23/2003	PRM;

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

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536027

FRC ID:

9711

OA Num.:

10735

NARA Num.:

10793

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

536627

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Wednesday, April 30, 2003 8:09 AM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: Fritz Rolfig

For Lingle call

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

From: Schlapp, Matthew A.
Sent: Tuesday, April 29, 2003 7:53 PM
To: Rove, Karl C.; kr@georgewbush.com
Cc: Mehlman, Ken
Subject: Fritz Rolfig

He is still pending in committee, and has not had a hearing as of last week. Neither of the Dems have returned their blue slips so his fate is pending.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Iraqi Television? - To: Karl Rove - From: Kenneth Tomlinson	2	04/30/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Talking Points	Talking Points for Calls to Certain House Members on State Aid	1	N.D.	P5;

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SERIES:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Roadless Rule - To: Karl Rove, et al. - From: Barry Jackson	1	05/20/2003	P5;

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SERIES:

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FOLDER TITLE:

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536027

Phil Gramm

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Tuesday, May 06, 2003 8:07 AM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: updated version for Senator Gramm

discuss

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

From: DeFrancis, Suzy
Sent: Monday, May 05, 2003 5:47 PM
To: Rove, Karl C.
Cc: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: updated version for Senator Gramm

CEA has updated the study if you decide to send on to him.

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

From: Swagel, Phillip L.
Sent: Monday, May 05, 2003 5:40 PM
To: DeFrancis, Suzy
Cc: Mankiw, Nicholas G.
Subject: updated version for Senator Gramm

Suzy, attached is a version of the memo without the CEA letterhead. If it's not too late, please use this for Senator Gramm.
Phill



Economic Effect of
Jobs and Gr...

- Economic Effect of Jobs and Growth Proposal.pdf



THE ETHICS AND
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
COMMISSION

OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

*For Richard
Land call.*

536027

Richard D. Land, D.Phil.
President

May 16, 2003

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

Dear Karl,

It just came to my attention yesterday that there is a general administration policy of not reappointing appointees to additional terms. In general I agree with such a policy, but I would like to plead for an exception in the case of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom in general and myself in particular.

1. The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom is a fairly unique animal in that it is an Executive Branch-Congressional Branch hybrid with three presidential appointees and six congressional appointees. If the President reappoints no one, then he loses significant impact on the Commission in the sense that no presidential appointee will have any Commission experience or institutional Commission memory. On the other hand, the legislative branch has, and will continue, to reappoint nominees to additional terms. This will put the presidential appointees at a significant disadvantage in their ability to impact and influence the Commission's policies, particularly early in their short terms of service.

2. The Commission appointees, unlike many such appointments, are of short duration (either one or two-year appointments in the revised legislation) and receive no financial remuneration other than reimbursement for Commission-related expenses.

3. In my personal case, I was appointed almost five months late so I have only served one year and eight months. I am hoping, that given these special considerations, you will see fit to make an exception to a general rule and recommend me for one of the one-year terms allotted to the President. Then, with staggered terms now in place in the revised legislation, there will not be quite the same problem in the future since there will always be (barring a resignation) at least one presidential appointee with Commission experience as new members are appointed both by legislative and executive branches.

Please allow me to close by stating again what an honor and privilege it has been to serve the President in this important capacity on an issue of such critical importance to the war on terror and the presidential vision to help freedom of conscience to expand around the world.

Sincerely Yours,

Richard D. Land

RDL:bj

P.S.: In the revised legislation concerning the Commission, it is stated that the present commissioners are to serve until they are reappointed or replacements are named. I would ask, as a personal favor, if you would let me know as soon as you have decided if I will be reappointed, and if not, when my replacement will be named. I am presently holding, at the Commission's request, a score or more of dates open on my calendar for possible Commission business or travel.

Cc: Mr. Matt Schlapp, Special Assistant to the President
Mr. Tim Goeglein, Special Assistant to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Schedule Proposal

date 5 / 15 / 03

TO: Brad Blakeman
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: Condoleezza Rice *CR*

REQUEST: Courtesy Call with the U.S.
Commission on International Religious
Freedom

PURPOSE: To acknowledge the work of the U.S.
Commission on International Religious
Freedom, and underscore the
President's deep commitment to
religious freedom.

BACKGROUND: The Commission, established by an act
of Congress in 1998, is charged with
monitoring religious freedom in other
countries and making policy
recommendations to the Executive and
Legislative branches of government.
The President appoints 3 of the 9
Commissioners. The appointments of
all the Commissioners expire on May
14. The outgoing Commission hopes to
have a meeting with the President to
present its annual report. The
Commissioners met with Dr. Rice last
year, but have not had an opportunity
to meet with the President since they
were appointed two years ago.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

DATE AND TIME: OPEN / *Mid to late June*

DURATION: 15 minutes

BRIEFING TIME: 5 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office or Roosevelt Room

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.
 The President
 Secretary Card
 Dr. Rice
 Ari Fleischer
 Shirin Tahir-Kheli (NSC notetaker)

US CIRF
 Felice Gaer (Chair)
 Michael K. Young
 Firuz Kazemzadeh
 Richard Land
 Bishop William Murphy
 Leila Nadya Sadat
 Charles Stith
 Hon. John Hanford III

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Brief courtesy call in Oval Office or Roosevelt Room

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points to be provided by NSC

MEDIA COVERAGE: WH Photographer

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Will not participate

FUNDING SOURCE: N/A

WORKING CONTACT: Mary Haines/Ruth Elliott, ext. 69461

 ACCEPT

 REGRET

 PENDING

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4542

May 13, 2003

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR CONDOLEEZZA RICE

THROUGH: SHIRIN TAHIR-KHELI *cu fr*

FROM: COURTNEY NEMROFF *cu*

SUBJECT: Schedule Proposal for Courtesy Call on the President by the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom

The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom has requested a meeting with the President to present its findings on countries featured in its annual report to the President and the Congress. A brief courtesy call in the White House would provide the President an opportunity to demonstrate his support for the work of the Commission and the cause of international religious freedom. The Commissioners' terms expire on May 14, and the Commission interprets the statute to mean that they shall serve until they are reappointed or new Commissioners are selected. The Commission is scheduled to visit China this July, although the trip may have to be postponed due to the SARS outbreak there. They have not previously met with the President.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Schedule Proposal attached at Tab I.

Concurrence by: Anna Perez, Holly Moore *? cu fr*

Attachments

Tab I Schedule Proposal

Tab II Incoming Correspondence

EVENT: Religious Freedom

EVENT DATE: Mid-May

INVITATION TRACKING SHEET
Office of the Director of Appointments and Scheduling
Bradley A. Blakeman

TODAY'S DATE: 5-9-03

TO:

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Andi Ball | <input type="checkbox"/> Justice Gonzales | <input type="checkbox"/> Brian Montgomery |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ruben Barrales | <input type="checkbox"/> Joseph Hagin | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Condoleezza Rice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dan Bartlett | <input type="checkbox"/> David Hobbs | <input type="checkbox"/> Karl Rove |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Joshua Bolten | <input type="checkbox"/> Melanie Jackson | <input type="checkbox"/> Margaret Spellings |
| <input type="checkbox"/> John Bridgeland | <input type="checkbox"/> Elizabeth Kleppe | <input type="checkbox"/> James Towey |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Secretary Card | <input type="checkbox"/> Jay Lefkowitz | <input type="checkbox"/> Lezlee Westine |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ari Fleischer | <input type="checkbox"/> Ken Mehlman | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stephen Friedman | <input type="checkbox"/> Admiral Miller | |

John Ficklin

COMMENTS DUE BY: 5-13-03

Note: Please return this form with your recommendations within 5 working days or else we will assume that this invitation should be regretted.

ACTION REQUIRED

Accept Invitation/Meeting Request (Schedule Proposal Attached)
Comments: _____

Consider in Long Range Meeting
Comments: _____

Regret Invitation/Meeting Request
Comments: _____

Recommend Surrogate
Name(s): _____

Please return to Brook Holladay and Bonny-Kate Marshall, 1800 G Street, 9th Floor

293853

4342

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

April 29, 2003

The Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom commends your deep personal commitment to religious freedom. On numerous occasions you have called for countries to provide for and protect the religious freedom of their people. The Commission is aware that you have also stressed this fundamental human right specifically in meetings with Presidents Putin and Jiang. In recognition of your commitment to international religious freedom, the Commission respectfully requests a meeting with you in mid-May to present our findings and policy recommendations on countries to be featured in our annual May 1 report.

The Commission was established by the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 and is composed of ten members, including presidential appointees Dr. Richard Land, Bishop William Murphy, Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom John Hanford, and, until recently, Ambassador Shirin Tahir-Kheli. As you know, the Commission reviews and recommends options for United States' policies with respect to foreign countries engaging in or tolerating violations of religious freedom. By statute, the Commission is required to submit a report to the President, the Secretary of State, and the Congress each May 1. The Commission looks forward to having the opportunity to present its report to you in person for the first time.

In addition, as you may know, the Commission has accepted an invitation from the Chinese government to conduct a fact-finding mission to their country this summer. We greatly appreciate that you personally requested access for the Commission during your February 2002 visit to China. In preparing for this mission, we welcome any advice you might have.

Thank you for your consideration of this meeting request.

Respectfully yours,

Felice D. Gaer (handwritten signature)

Felice D. Gaer
Chair

EXEC. OFF. PRESIDENT
WH SEC'D/DIR. OFFICE
2003 MAY -2 AM 9:21

M1
6/2/03

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	AARP - To: Karl Rove - From: Trent Duffy	1	05/15/2003	P5;

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add to case list

536027

Ralston, Susan B.

From: McClellan, Scott
Sent: Tuesday, May 20, 2003 1:51 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: RE: excerpts

This is the story that ran. He did not include much from what I told him.

Bush White House, GOP lawmakers put trial lawyers on defensive By PETE YOST, Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON

Renewing a battle from President Bush's days as Texas governor, the White House and its GOP congressional allies are putting trial lawyers on the defensive, from immunizing drug makers from lawsuits to cutting into the fees of attorneys who sue major corporations.

The latest effort, ahead of the 2004 elections, was unveiled last month when two Republicans allied with the White House introduced legislation that would sharply curtail lawyers' contingency fees in lawsuit awards topping \$100 million.

Democrats point out that the legislation is aimed at a group of attorneys who traditionally are a major source of campaign donations for their party.

The Association of Trial Lawyers of America contributed \$3.8 million to Democrats in the 2002 election cycle, compared to \$335,000 to Republicans, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

"We've heard of enemies' lists, but this now looks like the White House and their friends in Congress want to start employing an enemies tax," Democratic consultant Jenny Backus said.

Tort reform has long been of interest to Bush, predating his first race for governor in 1994, the White House says.

In a recent book about Bush, presidential adviser Karl Rove is quoted as persuading Bush to elevate the importance of tort reform in the governor's race. In a memo obtained by The Associated Press in December, the White House identified legal reform as one of 10 possible "signature issues" heading into the president's bid for re-election in 2004.

The barrage of proposals by Republicans - from legislation to presidential executive orders - has trial lawyers working several fronts to protect their turf. The trial lawyers association spent \$3.5 million lobbying Congress last year.

"On the other side, there's every corporation in America, thousands of lobbyists and many millions of campaign contributions," pointed out Carlton Carl, a spokesman for ATLA.

Republicans say the effort isn't about punishing a Democratic constituency, but about excesses in the legal system that the Bush administration says ultimately drive up insurance rates and other costs for consumers.

"The president has always been a strong supporter of efforts to stop lawsuit abuse," White House spokesman Scott McClellan said.

The latest effort to create a federal excise tax on lawyers' fees is part of a broader attack by Republicans in Congress.

Medical malpractice bills in Congress would cap some economic damages for insurance companies, HMOs, nursing homes, pharmaceutical companies and medical device manufacturers.

Separate legislation would push more class action lawsuits out of state courts and into federal courts where delays are common and where legal requirements make it harder for plaintiffs to pursue cases brought by large numbers of people. Another bill would

effectively immunize the makers of a vaccine additive that may cause autism.

Bush and corporate America have long been at odds with plaintiffs' lawyers.

Sinking tens of millions of dollars into lawsuits against well-heeled corporations, trial lawyers receive a percentage of any money awarded in a case. If the lawsuit fails, the clients who often have few assets owe their lawyers nothing, while the attorneys lose the money they put into the effort.

Lawsuits have become an avenue of potential relief for groups such as asbestos workers whose health has been harmed in the workplace and consumers injured by defective products.

The bill sponsored by Republican Sens. John Kyl of Arizona and John Cornyn of Texas would force lawyers who won a landmark \$246 billion settlement against the nation's big tobacco companies to pay \$9 billion to the states. In other types of cases, the fees of trial lawyers would be limited to no more than five times an hourly rate.

"If \$2,500 an hour isn't enough, I'm not sure I can help," Cornyn spokesman Don Stewart said.

Lawyers question the bill's emphasis on big money. "It's interesting that this proposed tax wouldn't apply to lawsuits filed by corporations like Enron against its employees but it would apply to lawsuits filed by employees against Enron," says Carl of the trial lawyers group.

Supporters of the bill say it would apply only to the largest lawsuits, but Carl says the measure actually would have much broader coverage. The \$100 million threshold requirement can be met by adding up awards in many similarly filed cases, said Carl.

The bill, which faces uphill struggle in the Senate, resurrects a Texas political battle that pitted Bush and Cornyn against Democratic state Attorney General Dan Morales, a Democrat.

Morales hired a team of plaintiffs' lawyers, sued the tobacco industry and won a settlement in which the companies will pay \$17.3 billion to the state and \$3.3 billion to the private lawyers over 25 years. Bush denounced the legal fees and Cornyn made them a major issue in a successful campaign to succeed Morales as attorney general.

As soon as he was elected state attorney general, Cornyn announced an investigation of the legal fees, leading to Morales' federal indictment two months ago for allegedly steering hundreds of millions of dollars in attorneys' fees in the tobacco case to a friend. Morales says he is innocent and his legal team says the case was politically motivated.

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

From: Ralston, Susan B.
Sent: Tuesday, May 20, 2003 1:00 PM
To: McClellan, Scott
Subject: RE: excerpts

Karl wanted to know what happened w/ this. Can you please let me know?

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

From: McClellan, Scott
Sent: Friday, May 09, 2003 2:19 PM
To: Rove, Karl C.; Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: excerpts

Karl -- The AP may be doing a story about what they are referring to as White House Congressional allies who are seeking to sharply limit the fees of lawyers who sue tobacco companies (through legislation by Kyl and Cornyn to place an excise tax on excessive fees) and who are big sources of funding for the democrat party.

The reporter is not sure if this is going to run, but he said they will need to answer the question "what role did karl rove have in tort reform in texas?" he is asking which version is correct -- your trial testimony or the one from slater's book.

Have you responded to this previously? This article is going to bed at the close of business today. He said he would just reference both if I did not have any additional feedback.

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

From: Pete Yost [mailto:pyost@ap.org]
Sent: Friday, May 09, 2003 2:11 PM
To: McClellan, Scott
Subject: excerpts

Scott,

below are excerpts from wayne slater's book and from karl rove's 1997 deposition in the tobacco litigation. the picture rove gives in the book is that he persuaded bush to put tort reform on the agenda. in his testimony in the lawsuit, the picture rove gives is different. he says tort reform "was not my area" and that "I can't say that I did" discuss tort reform with Bush and "I can't say that I didn't. I do not recall." which version is correct?

slater's book:

"The two issues, education and juvenile justice, were on the agenda list. And they were on the people's agenda list," said Rove. "Now welfare, was not, the idea of the compassionate conservative, faith-based institutions _ that was not on their radar scope in a public way, but it was on Bush's. This idea of culture change was really the dominant driving influence here, the idea that we had to change the culture from one that said: 'If it feels good, do it. If you have a problem, blame it on somebody else.' So he chose welfare reform because he said we're not just about educating every child and locking up the bad actors. There's a caring side of this that is aimed at changing the culture.

"Later, we added tort reform. I sort of talked him into that one."

1997 deposition:

Rove: the governor had a very specific tort reform package that he laid out in the 1994 campaign that he largely enacted in 1995.

q. and you were involved and participated in discussions with him regarding tort reform?

rove. I can't say that I did, but i can't say that i didn't. i do not recall. i know that the tort reform was a significant part of his legislative agenda, but, as i say, it was not my area.

Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	[List]	1	05/21/2003	P5;

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536027

FRC ID:

9711

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

OA Num.:

10735

NARA Num.:

10793

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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Email	FW: - To: Henry Hager - From: Karl Rove	1	05/23/2003	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Alberto [Gonzales] - From: Karl [Rove]	1	04/13/2003	P5;

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: April 8

To: Susan

From: Strategic Initiatives Pete

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

Comments: Bill, Neil, + I looked
but couldn't find that Karl
ever said anything close to this.
-Rebecca

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/31/03

To: Pete

From: Strategic Initiatives Susan

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

Comments: Can you have someone
find this quote?

"Conservatives are just another special interest group."

-Karl Rove, Bush White House, 2002

"Because of your book, I now hesitate to call myself a conservative Republican or even just a Republican. From now on, I am simply a conservative."

-Daria Owens,
Morrison, CO

"Reading *CONNECTING THE DOTS OF AMERICAN POLITICS* has enabled me to better express my Conservative ideas."

-Sandy Williamson,
Dallas, TX

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536027

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/14/03

To: ~~Ashley Estes~~

From: Strategic Initiatives

Susan

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

Comments: _____

FILE

Cheryl F. Halpern

(b)(6)

April 4, 2003

Dear Karl,

It was good to see you, if only fleetingly, the other day at the White House. I hope that you and Jay had a good work out.

I want to take this opportunity to share with you my heartfelt appreciation for the manner in which the President has been leading our country. Enclosed please find my letter to the President, which expresses my admiration. I apologize for sending this to you at home. It is my understanding that given security considerations mail sent directly to the White House would not be seen by either you or the President for some time, if at all. I hope that you will pass my letter to the President.

Many thanks!

As always,

Cheryl

Cheryl F. Halpern

(b)(6)

April 4, 2003

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

Dear President Bush,

I have started writing a letter to you on several occasions but time and again I have found myself at a loss for words to adequately express my gratitude for the compassion, morality and courage with which you lead our nation.

As President you have had to address issues unlike those faced by any other American leader. The tragedy of 9/11 has forever changed the way Americans live. Your decision to go to war against terrorism was a courageous act that was necessary in order to preserve our values and way of life. Similarly the decision to go to war against the brutal regime of Saddam Hussein was a moral and compassionate act.

The experiences of the Iraqi people, especially Iraqi women, are unfortunately reminiscent of the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis. Although the number of people killed is not as large as those lost in the Holocaust, the public beheadings, the ethnic cleansing, the campaign of terror, torture and rape that has been vigorously pursued by Saddam Hussein is certainly as brutal and horrific. Thanks to your clarity of vision the sins of silence and appeasement that occurred at the time of the Nazi perpetration of crimes against humanity will no longer be repeated with this Iraqi regime.

My family represents a Jewish legacy of both rabbinic scholars and Holocaust survivors. Our way of life is predicated on the teachings of faith and the memories of ever reoccurring anti-Semitism. The manner in which you have chosen to prioritize the war on terrorism and the liberation of Iraq personifies so many of the lessons that the Jewish people have learned through time as well as our religious beliefs. Maimonides, the codifier of Jewish law, taught, "One does not wage war, whether profane or holy, before one offers peace, as it is written (Deuteronomy 20:10) -When you draw near to a city to wage war against it, you shall call out to it for peace." Your deliberation before committing American troops and your repeated appeal to Saddam Hussein to leave his country and avoid war is consistent with this Jewish perspective.

Cheryl F. Halpern

(b)(6)

Mr. President, you and I walked together down the path of the righteous at Yad Vashem when we visited Israel together in 1998. Today you have raised America to be "righteous among the nations" with the commitment of our armed forces to save the lives of the oppressed Iraqi people. It is a privilege to be able to say that I know you. I pray that the Almighty will bless you and our country and that we will all go on, "from strength to strength."

With admiration and affection,

Cheryl

P.S. My best regards to the First Lady!

536027
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/14

To: ~~ALICIA DAVIS~~
From: Strategic Initiatives **KARL**

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

FILE



Grubb & Ellis.

Property Solutions Worldwide

Grubb & Ellis Company
600 Six PPG Place
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

79/
Alicia Davis-

Need to get a thank you
letter to the chairman.

~~Mr. Carl Rose~~

Amel

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	Dear President Bush - To: POTUS - From: Richard J. Stampahar	1	03/31/2003	PRM;

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FOLDER TITLE:

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FRC ID:

9711

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

OA Num.:

10735

NARA Num.:

10793

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

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Resolution

Supporting President Bush's call for tax cuts and expressing dissatisfaction with the nations of Russia, France, Germany and China.

WHEREAS, the Republican Committee of Allegheny County Operating Committee was assembled with a quorum present at the March 27, 2003 monthly meeting.

WHEREAS, those assembled recognizing the tax burden on the American people passed a resolution supporting the tax cuts being advocated by President George Bush.

WHEREAS, recognizing that tax cuts are a national issue and that tax relief would stimulate our economy.

WHEREAS, those assembled feel that the countries of France, Germany, Russia, and China and others who worked against the United States in their efforts to get United Nations support for the War in Iraq should not be rewarded with any tax dollars or financial aid from the United States.

NOW THEREFORE, IT IS MOVED, AND IT IS THE SENSE OF THE OPERATING COMMITTEE OF THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE OF ALLEGHENY COUNTY,

That this body does hereby support President Bush's tax cut proposal and does support withholding financial support to the above mentioned countries.

April 2, 2003

2003.

Read and Approved.

Richard J. Stampahar

Richard J. Stampahar
Chairman

Attest:

Mrs. A. Dole II

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

536027

Date: 4/14/03

To: ~~Steve Hadley, Dan Bartlett, Tucker~~
EKW

From: Strategic Initiatives
Karl

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

FILE

From: Kenneth Y. Tomlinson
To: Karl Rove
Subj: Broadcasting to Baghdad/Iraq
1 April '03

Radio

BBG's Radio Sawa gives Iraqi listeners straightforward reporting about the war, humanitarian information, and clear, persuasive explanations of current US policy. We can also rely on the daily broadcasts of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty's Radio Free Iraq.

Radio Sawa now broadcasts to Iraq on medium wave and three simultaneous shortwave frequencies, 24 hours a day. Although shortwave reaches the target audience during all hours of the day, the far more popular medium wave signal only covers Baghdad at night.

The only option to improve medium wave and add FM transmission (which is a highly popular medium in the capital) is DoD's COMMANDO SOLO platforms that DoD is currently using exclusively. According to our most up to date information there are at least four such platforms in theater. BBG is accustomed to work with COMMANDO SOLO having done so in Kosovo and in Afghanistan.

COMMANDO SOLO would greatly improve our ability to reach the 5+ million population in and immediately surrounding Baghdad around the clock.

BBG is prepared to implement a decision to dedicate COMMANDO SOLO medium wave and FM assets to this mission immediately.

Attached is a map and technical details of known terrestrial transmission sites in Iraq. If they were to become available and secure, we are also prepared immediately to provide round-the-clock Radio Sawa programming. The signals from these ground-based assets would be stronger and more cost-effective than those relayed through airborne platforms.

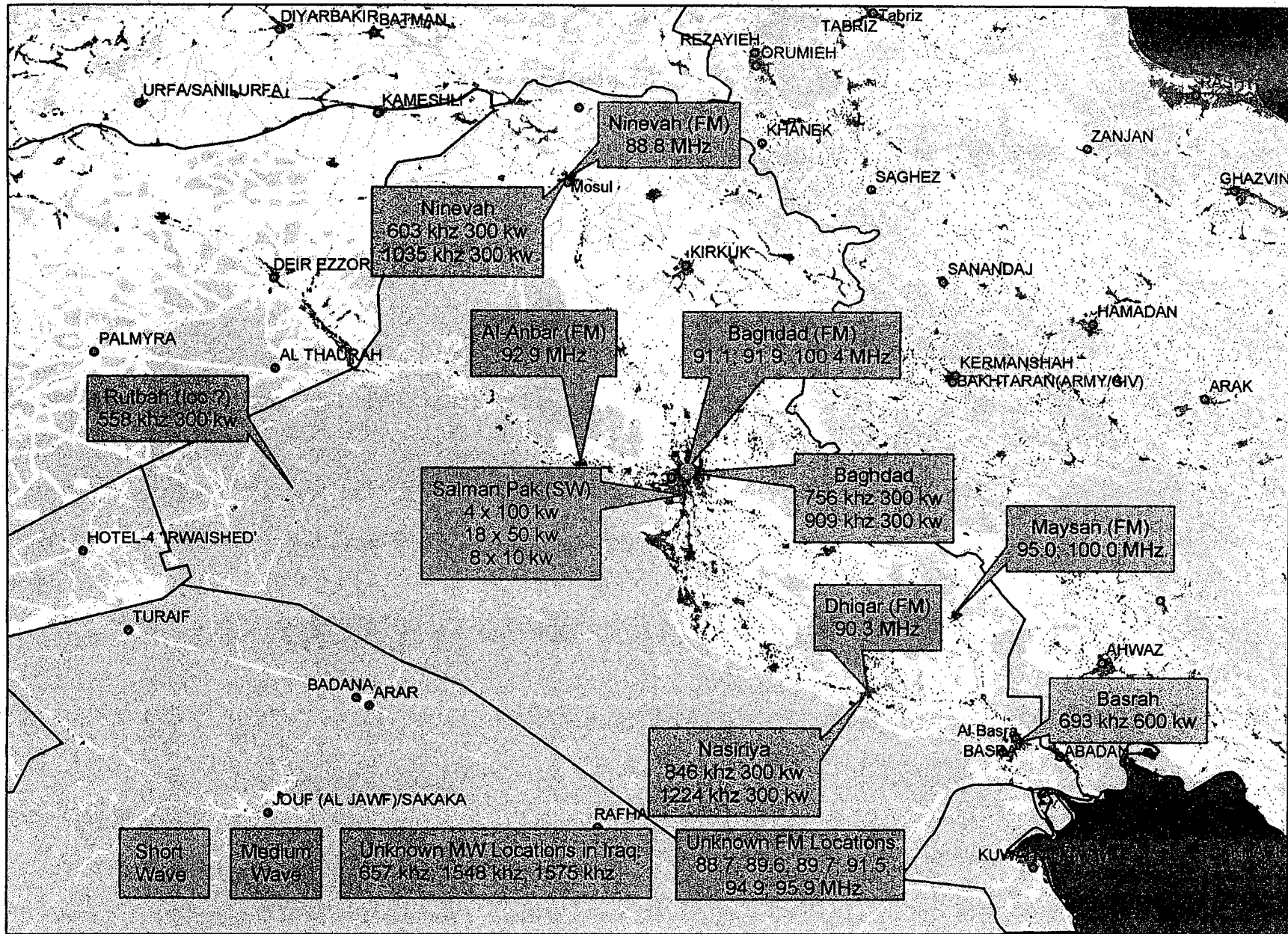
Television

The anti-American images that the Iraqi television audience sees today must be countered by factual, objective information. Although the timetable for BBG's Arabic television service is half a year away from its initial broadcast, we must move now. Using clips and segments from US broadcasters, BBG proposes within a week to start providing four hours of daily television programming *specifically* for the Iraqi audience with a focus on Baghdad. The suspicion of Iraqis that the US may not free them from the tyrant keeps them quiet. They are afraid of Saddam, and they are afraid of having to pay with their lives for any expression of relief or joy at the possibility of liberation.

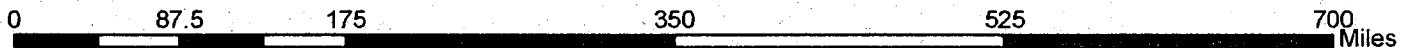
The television broadcasts discussed below will address this fear. With sufficient additional resources including also COMMANDER SOLO TV broadcasting facilities we would produce for distribution with simultaneous translation where necessary shows that:

- start building the concrete seeds of hope that can sustain the Iraqi people while the bombs are falling around them. We can give them HOPE;
- interview Iraqis in exile who are not afraid to speak out about the horrors they have suffered under Saddam, and who are leading far better lives in the West than they did under the Iraqi dictator;
- demonstrate how Iraqis living in parts of the country that have already been liberated are enjoying better lives and new freedom;
- look in detail at how well American troops are treating Iraqis in the liberated areas;
- look at possible new leaders of Iraq and their visions for a better future;
- examine how individuals control their destinies in democracies, and what life in Iraq could look like under elected leadership;
- counter hostile-to-the-US propaganda to separate truth from lies giving historical context of wars that are known in the Middle East—like the invasion of Kuwait and the Iraq-Iran war;
- offer health segments that deal with wartime issues like malnutrition, water shortages, refugee issues, and preparations for chemical or biological attacks;
- cover the news to include White House, Pentagon, CENTCOM, and State department briefings;

Broadcast Transmission Sites in Iraq



IBB Engineering - Jan. 16, 2003



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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Potential BBG Usage...	2	N.D.	P5;

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536027

F:skel

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Office of Political Affairs
Cuddy Johnson
Associate Director

w. 202-456-5390

c. (b)(6)

To: Brett Kavanaugh
CC: Karl Rove, Susan Ralston, Matt Schlapp
Date: 5/21/03
Re: Response to John Walker Letter

Brett -

Per your recommendation, Please find enclosed a copy of the letter I sent to John Walker in response to his letter dated May 12.

(ay)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

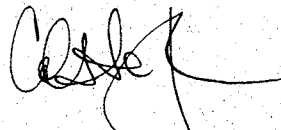
May 20, 2003

Mr. John Walker
President and CEO
Weirton Steel Corporation
400 Three Springs Drive
Weirton, West Virginia 26062

Dear Mr. Walker,

Thank you again for meeting with us on May 5. While we appreciated the concerns facing Weirton Steel that you shared, I wanted to reiterate in response to your letter dated May 12 that no assurances were given during the meeting in regard to the Administration's official positions on the issues discussed.

Sincerely,



Cuddy Johnson

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Thank You Letter from Weirton Steel - To: Brett Kavanaugh - From: Cuddy Johnson	1	05/16/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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

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FRC ID:

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NARA Num.:

10793

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

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- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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WEIRTON
STEEL CORPORATION

John H. Walker
President, CEO & COO
Phone: (304) 797-2950
Fax: (304) 797-2009
e-mail: john.walker@weirton.com

May 7, 2003

Mr. Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Via Facsimile 202-456-0191

Dear Mr. Rove:

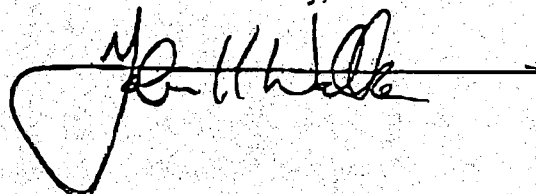
Thank you for meeting with me on May 5, 2003, to discuss the challenges facing the domestic steel industry, particularly at Weirton Steel. I was pleased to receive your assurance that the Administration:

- Will not oppose legislative attempts to extend the Emergency Steel Loan Guarantee Program beyond the scheduled expiration date of December 31, 2003;
- Will urge the Emergency Steel Loan Guarantee Program Board to expedite its decision on Weirton Steel's loan application which will be filed in the near future;
- Will provide prompt support of Weirton Steel's possible attempt to obtain federal financial assistance to assist displaced employees; and
- Will consider including certain developing countries currently exempt from the President's 201 steel tariff relief program and express Weirton Steel's desire for such consideration to the Commerce Department. Statistics reveal that these developing countries have significantly increased their steel exports to the U.S. since President Bush imposed the tariffs in March 2002 and in doing so, have lessened the effectiveness of the tariff remedy.

These issues are vital to the longevity of the domestic steel industry and Weirton Steel. As we discussed, without a strong tariff program, other steelmakers would have filed for bankruptcy protection and more mills would have permanently closing. In addition, for those attempting a bankruptcy reorganization, the availability of the Emergency Steel Loan Guarantee Program beyond 2003 could prove essential in emerging from bankruptcy.

Again, I thank you and the Administration for your continued support of the U.S. steel industry. Please contact me if I can be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,



cc: U.S. Senator Robert C. Byrd

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Office of Political Affairs
Cody Johnson
Associate Director

w. 202-456-5390

c. (b)(6)

To: Karl Rove
Cc: Matt Schlapp
Date: 5/26/03
Re: Weirton Steel Bankruptcy

Karl -

As discussed, Weirton Steel filed on May 19th for Chapter 11 bankruptcy citing increased legacy costs, industry consolidation, and illegal foreign dumping as reasons for the decision. Weirton has devised a two part plan to address the situation:

- 1) Weirton will use the protection of bankruptcy to shed much of their outstanding legacy costs of \$760 million. It is unclear at this time whether the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation (PBGC) will step in to help, but PBGC Director Steve Kandarian is considering possible options.
- 2) Weirton will also file for a loan from the Emergency Steel Loan Guarantee Board (ESLGB), likely for the \$250 million maximum limit, similar to what was granted to Wheeling-Pitt on March 27.

In the meantime, the company has received a \$255 million credit line from Fleet Capital Corporation. Their long-term viability will depend heavily on the results of the ESLGB process.

Thanks,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 5/22/03

To: Cody
From: Strategic Initiatives Susan

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

Comments: See KR's note.
Let us know.

Caddy
Steel
Folder

Call Caddy -
what does he think

Will happen to Weirton?

(one)

Rove, Karl C.

From: Johnson, Collister W.
Sent: Tuesday, May 20, 2003 10:31 AM
To: Rove, Karl C.; Mehlman, Ken
Cc: Schlapp, Matthew A.
Subject: Weirton Steel Files for Chapter 11

FYI -
Weirton filed for Chapter 11 yesterday - the company will continue to be positive about the Administration's help and support.

c

=====
05/19/2003
Weirton Steel Goes Bankrupt
Staff
Weirton

What once was West Virginia's largest private employer has fallen onto financial hard times. Monday, Weirton Steel could no longer stand the pressure and filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy in U.S. District Bankruptcy Court in Wheeling.

Company President and CEO John Walker made the difficult announcement to employees and the media during a press conference at the mill in Weirton Monday.

"This is a start of a new chapter in our history, but we believe it is not the final chapter.???" said Walker putting the best face on the difficulties as possible. "Our goal is to emerge from the reorganization process as quickly as possible as a stronger company, better positioned to compete in the rapidly consolidating steel industry."

The company, like many in the U.S. steel industry, has been struggling for years to overcome obstacles. Walker blames those obstacles like skyrocketing legacy costs, increased consolidation of competitors, and illegal foreign dumping as the leading reasons for this decision. Weirton Steel has over \$760 Million in retiree liabilities. Other companies have shed the retirement pension liabilities in bankruptcy; Walker promises that Weirton Steel will not. Walker says they'll seek to form a retiree board through the bankruptcy product to protect those pensions.

Walker says their plans are to keep the Hancock County mill up and running and to save the 3,000 jobs at the facility.

"I want to emphasize that Weirton Steel is still in business, we're still making high-quality steel, serving our customers like we were yesterday. We will continue to do that."

Walker says they are not unlike others in the industry.

"The American Steel industry is in a state of siege and transformation. The challenges facing our company are the same as those facing the entire industry."

The bankruptcy filing gives the company 180 days to work out a plan to emerge from bankruptcy. Walker says in the meantime they've secured a \$200 Million line of credit and a \$25 Million loan to keep the company operating during the period.

Walker says they remain committed through the process to keep the company a viable part of the region and part of the United State steel industry.

"We have no plans to liquidate the assets or close our mill. In fact our plan is to continue to make investments and upgrade our mill as cash flow improves. That is encouraging news for the community and for the Ohio Valley."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

536027

Date: 4/14/03

To: ~~Jeff~~ Jeff Kowitz
From: Strategic Initiatives Kawl

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

Comments: can we talk about
whether these talking points
are adequate?

FILE



April 11, 2003

U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

The Administrator

Mr. Karl Rove
Senior Adviser to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Karl:

Representative Joe Pitts (R-Pa.) is seeking colleagues' signatures on a letter to Secretary Powell attacking the State Department and USAID for making HIV/AIDS assistance awards to organizations which do not pass his litmus test. It also levels a personal attack against Anne Peterson, our Assistant Administrator for Global Health. This is a very misguided attack, inasmuch as Anne is a conservative evangelical who would like to see our Mexico City policy extended to these very groups.

As you and I have already discussed, we agree that some of these groups are less than optimal partners. We are moving to drop some of them, and to identify new partners. The problem is that it will be necessary to work with some of these groups if we are to make the President's initiative a success. And, as you and I have also discussed, there would be a political price to pay if we dropped these groups precipitously.

During our last phone call, you offered to speak to Members and others who are attacking us on these issues. Attached are talking points for those conversations.

We very much appreciate any help you can give us on this. I hope you approve of the steps we are taking to alleviate this situation.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Andrew S. Natsios

TALKING POINTS ON HIV/AIDS PARTNERS

1. In January USAID announced a new strategy for fighting human trafficking which explicitly instructs USAID missions abroad to avoid entering into agreements with organizations that advocate prostitution as an employment choice, or support the legalization of prostitution.
2. In December the USAID administrator sent a cable to all Missions directing them to adhere to Administration policy on support for HIV/AIDS prevention programs, i.e. to follow the ABC strategy (Abstinence, Be Faithful, and use of Condoms in high risk populations), with particular emphasis on the first two principles.
3. Material is being disseminated to the Missions demonstrating the effectiveness of this approach, including new research showing that the abstinence and be faithful components are key to that effectiveness. (see attached).
4. Because this represents a change in USAID policy, which heretofore has been to emphasize condom distribution, it will take time to turn the ship around, but we are making progress in integrating ABC into all of our programming.
5. To fully and more quickly effect this shift, USAID needs new, more philosophically compatible partners. We are working to identify new partners, but it will take time. Nevertheless, the programs are already changing.
6. In the meantime, we cannot hope to defeat the spread of HIV/AIDS without continuing to work with some philosophically incompatible groups until new partners are identified and their capacity for program implementation is developed. Demanding, as a condition precedent, that these philosophically incompatible groups agree to oppose abortion, etc. when implementing the President's HIV/AIDS programs will act as a major impediment to early success in the Presidential initiative. In any event, current White House policy does not permit us to apply Mexico City to these groups.

7. Many senior leaders at USAID come out of faith-based institutions, which demonstrates their personal commitment to the President's agenda and the ABC approach. Anne Peterson, assistant administrator for Global Health, was a missionary doctor in Africa; for five years, Andrew Natsios, USAID administrator, was the vice president of World Vision, the largest Christian NGO in the world; and Kent Hill, assistant administrator for Europe and Eurasia, was the president of Eastern Nazarene College for 10 years.



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Global Health

Global Health Home ▶ HIV/AIDS ▶ News/Info ▶ ABC Approach

Global Health

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Child Survival

HIV/AIDS

Infectious Diseases

Nutrition & Maternal Health

Population

Displaced Children and Orphans Fund/
War Victims Fund

The "ABCs" of HIV Prevention

AIDS - Still a Growing Problem

The AIDS pandemic continues to claim millions of lives, particularly in high prevalence regions such as southern Africa. UNAIDS data also indicates disturbing signs of rapidly increasing HIV prevalence, mainly related to injecting drug use, in eastern Europe and in parts of central and southeast Asia, and southern South America. These continuing trends underscore the pivotal role of preventing HIV transmission through fundamental changes in behavior among youth and adults. Ultimately, the most effective way to reduce the numbers of sick and dying persons, infants at risk of infection, and orphans is to reduce the number of infected adults in the first place.

Condoms have been an important and successful intervention in many regions, particularly when targeted at commercial and casual sexual encounters. Reported condom use among female sex workers is now close to 100 percent in such countries as Thailand, the Dominican Republic, Cambodia, Senegal, and Uganda. However, condom use within marriage and other regular relationships remains low in nearly all regions, including the most severely affected African countries. According to Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), "ever use" of condoms in Uganda was 23 percent in 2000 (up from 10 percent in 1995), 28 percent in Zambia in 1996, and 34 percent in 1999 in Zimbabwe (down from 36 percent in 1994). It is thus unlikely that condoms alone will significantly reduce HIV prevalence in generalized, mainly heterosexual epidemics. Botswana, for example, has the highest per-capita condom availability in Africa, yet adult HIV prevalence continues to increase (38 percent in 2001).

The "ABC" Message: Abstain, Be Faithful, or Use a Condom

Recent epidemiological and behavioral data from Uganda and other countries where HIV prevalence has been reduced or stabilized suggest that an "ABC"-based approach can alter patterns of personal behavior

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▶ [USAID Announces New Initiative to Fight HIV/AIDS](#)

▶ [Faith and Community-Based Organizations](#)

▶ [USAID HIV/AIDS March E-Newsletter](#)

Contact Global Health

through a fundamental modification of community norms and rules of behavior. Successful prevention programs in places like Uganda, Senegal, and Jamaica have employed a multi-pronged approach to behavior change, involving promotion of abstinence or delayed onset of sexual debut and fidelity/partner reduction, along with condom use especially for higher risk sexual encounters. By finding common ground among diverse political, religious, public health, and other constituencies, such an approach can facilitate a more concerted and unified prevention effort. In Uganda, for example, the participation of faith-based groups, youth, women, and other grassroots sectors, combined with clear, forceful government leadership and donor (including USAID) support, resulted in broad community mobilization in support of delayed sexual onset, reductions in casual partnerships, and increases in condom use for commercial sex and other high-risk encounters.

In 1995, about 10 percent of Ugandan respondents reported having a casual sexual partner, down from almost 30 percent in 1989. This major decline in casual sex resembles a similarly large reduction in HIV prevalence, from 15 to 5 percent between 1991 and 2001. In Lusaka, Zambia, there have also been encouraging signs of HIV decline among youth, primarily linked to a large reduction in the number of non-regular sex partners. Outside of Africa, prevalence appears to have declined in the Dominican Republic, for example, mainly due to reduction in sex partners and high levels of condom use for commercial and other casual sex.

USAID's Position on "ABC"

USAID believes that where there are generalized epidemics, a fully balanced approach to the ABC's - abstinence, being faithful, and condoms - should be implemented. USAID is encouraging its missions to support the development of HIV/AIDS communication strategies that involve input from a broad-based constituency of local stakeholders. The agency has developed new indicators for monitoring and evaluating of HIV prevention programs consistent with an ABC framework, to include median age of sexual debut, percentage of people reporting multiple partners, and condom use with non-regular partners, which reflect these adjustments.

As the fight against AIDS increasingly expands into care and support, prevention of mother-to-child transmission, voluntary counseling and testing, orphans and vulnerable children, and the development of vaccines and microbicides, effective behavior change components must be fully integrated.

January 2003

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Visit our [contact page](#) to find the appropriate resource.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

536027

Date: 4/14

To: ~~KEN MEHLMAN~~

From: Strategic Initiatives **KAPL**

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

Comments: _____

FILE

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Wednesday, April 09, 2003 8:10 AM
To: Mehlman, Ken; Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: Houston Mayor's Race

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

From: Chris Wilson [mailto:cwilson@w-r-s.com]
Sent: Tuesday, April 08, 2003 7:26 PM
To: Rove, Karl C.
Subject: Houston Mayor's Race

Karl,
Thought you might find the attached memo on the Houston Mayor's race interesting. It's from a poll I did for Michael Berry, a candidate for Mayor.
Best regards,
Chris

Chris Wilson
WRS
Global Perspective. Innovative Research. Superior Results.
McLean, VA • Washington, DC • Oklahoma City, OK

8484 Westpark Drive, Suite 800
McLean, VA 22102
703.744.7990 – main
202.318.3067 – fax

www.w-r-s.com

12 April 2003
*Susan - update database
on your computer and mine.*
Then send to Ken.

*Ken -
Have never seen a more
convoluted explanation of why a
top guy is 4th place with
less than 1/5th the vote of the
front runner and all of the
6% is the inevitable winner!*
Karl



RESEARCH FINDINGS

TO: BERRY FOR MAYOR TEAM
FROM: CHRIS WILSON, CEO
SUBJECT: RECENT POLLING NUMBERS
DATE: THURSDAY, APRIL 03, 2003

The Current Race for Mayor: Sanchez cannot win

At present, the race for Mayor of Houston is nothing more than a contest in name identification. The bottom line is that those candidates who are better known (e.g., Orlando Sanchez due to his previous race, Sylvester Turner due to his years in the state house, and now to a lesser degree Bill White thanks to his \$500,000 expenditure on media) have an artificial lead in the polls simply due to their name identification.

Our recent numbers show Sanchez in the lead with 32% of the vote, followed by Turner (21%), White (8%) and Berry (6%). However, any poll that is published now does not reflect support for a candidacy, per se, but rather indicates that voters recognize the name of that candidate. Of course, by November it is likely that all of the candidates will have equal name identification, and voters will actually have factors on which to decide which candidate to support. Most importantly, more than one in four voters (28%) is undecided.

Understanding current numbers are nothing more than a reflection of name identification, these recent polling numbers say that Orlando Sanchez will NOT be the next Mayor of Houston. As a researcher who has seen literally thousands of political opinion surveys, it is clear that Sanchez cannot win.

To explain, Orlando Sanchez has a soft name ID of 95% and a hard name ID of 77%, yet he only receives 32% of the vote. This is what is known as a "still-birth" candidacy. Sanchez has effectively peaked and has nowhere to go but down. His anemic numbers show that without completely redefining himself (which is all but impossible when a candidate already has universal name ID), Sanchez cannot win this election.

Voters are already looking for another option.

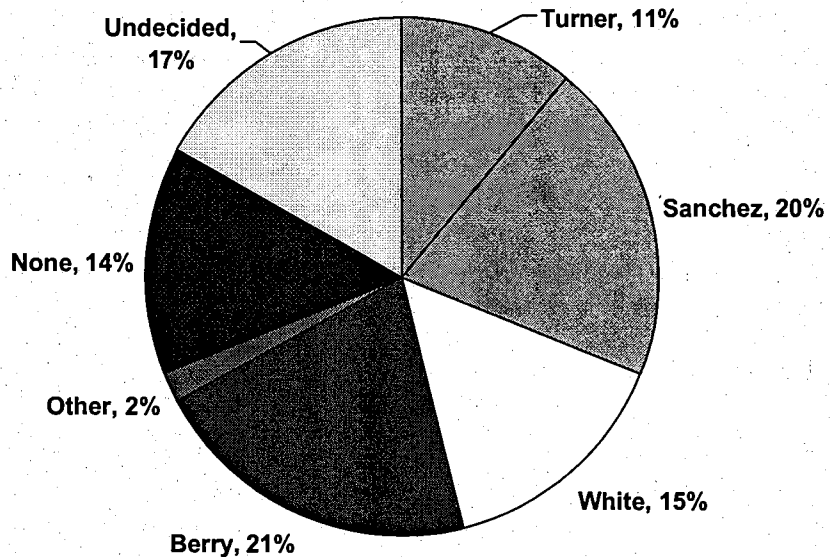
Voters are looking for another choice: Berry is that choice

Conversely, Michael Berry is very well positioned to win. This early in the campaign he is not expected to have high name ID (again, that's all a survey at this point amounts to—a name ID poll), yet he is very popular with voters who know him (unlike Sanchez or Turner) and is the most popular second choice with all voters.

The fact that Berry is already the number one second choice shows that as his name ID increases, his portion of the vote will increase exponentially.

This is far more important, in my view, than having universal name ID in March and points to a surge in support once voters become more familiar with his candidacy.

Who would be your second choice?

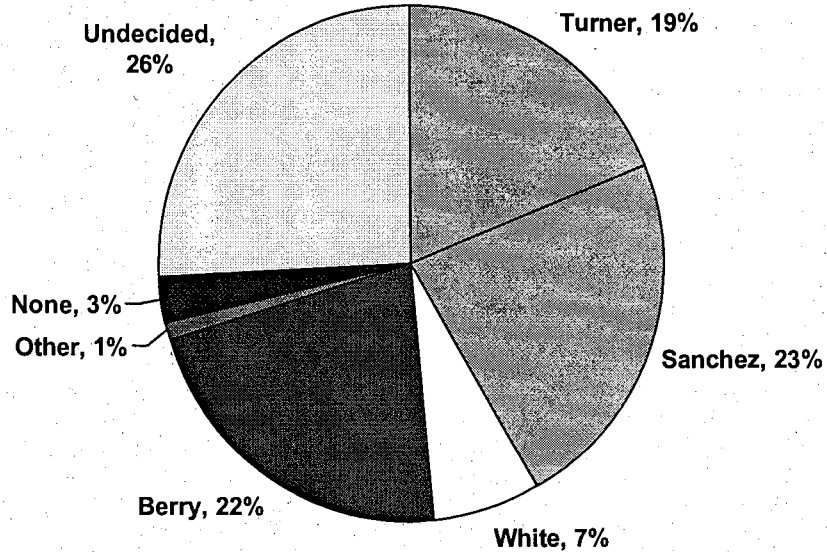




Informed Ballot: Berry in dead heat for lead

To fully understand the underlying support for Berry, consider the following data: after being given more information regarding the background and positions of Councilman Michael Berry, respondents were asked what is commonly referred to as an "informed ballot". After learning this new information about Berry, both positive and negative, and simply the type of information they could be expected to hear over the course of a campaign for Mayor, Berry moves into a dead heat for the lead with Sanchez—22% to 23%.

If you knew all the information you just heard were true, for whom would you vote if the election were held today?



Further, the fact that Berry surges from 6% to 22% illustrates the type of growth potential necessary to win a race of this kind. Berry is the only candidate with the ability to hold a base of Republicans and pick up enough Democrats and Independents to win.

Conclusion: Berry is the only candidate who can beat Sylvester Turner

Most political experts recognize that it is likely that Sylvester Turner will make the Mayoral runoff election due to his natural base of support from Democrats, voters in his district and African American voters city-wide—I would concur with that supposition based on this data and historical trends in Houston.

What these numbers show is that Michael Berry is the only candidate who can beat Sylvester Turner. If either Orlando Sanchez or Bill White makes the runoff with Turner, Turner will be the next Mayor. Again, Michael Berry is the only candidate who can draw support across party lines and across the city.

I understand that some candidates have released data that purport to show support for their candidacy. The fact is, these findings and the manner in which we have interpreted the data are far more indicative of what will occur in November than any name ID poll released today.

As always, please feel free to contact me with any questions.

Statement of Methodology: These findings are based on an n= 540 sample of likely voters in Houston conducted February 8th – 11th, 2003. A study of this size has a margin of error of +/-4.3% at the 95% Confidence Interval.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/14

To: ~~Doug Badger~~
From: Strategic Initiatives **KARL**

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

THE WHITE HOUSE 536027
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/14

To: ~~KEITH HENNESSEY~~
From: Strategic Initiatives **KARL**

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/14

To: ~~BARRY~~
From: Strategic Initiatives **KARL**

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

FILE

A.C. Barry
Badger McHenry

SEAN KELLY

MEDICARE | The **PRESIDENT'S REFORM PLAN** would give beneficiaries three choices. *By Mary Beth Franklin*

PICK YOUR PLAN

OLDER Americans who are struggling to pay the ever-increasing cost of prescription drugs may get some relief. President Bush's proposed overhaul of medicare would offer *all* participants some help paying for their medicine. But the richest benefits would be reserved for those who agree to switch from traditional medicare to new private plans.

The President's package is merely a rough outline, but congressional leaders are optimistic that they can craft a medicare reform bill by Labor Day. Although most lawmakers, industry groups and consumer advocates agree that some kind of drug benefit is needed, the devil is in the details. At this point, it's a bit like playing *Let's Make a Deal*: Is the prize hidden behind door number one, two or three?

The choices. The President's proposal would devote an extra \$400 billion to medicare over the next ten years and offer seniors three options.

Seniors could stick with the traditional program that permits free choice of doctors and is used by more than 85% of today's 40 million participants. Here, the new drug benefit would include a discount card that could cut costs by 10% to 25% and offer added protection against drug costs above a yet-to-be-determined annual limit. People who choose this route would continue to need supplemental insurance to fill in the gaps in coverage.

Choice number two would be an HMO with comprehensive benefits (including some prescription-drug coverage) but a limited choice of doctors. This lowest-cost option would be similar to the medicare HMOs used by

about five million seniors today.

Alternatively, beneficiaries could sign up for a new "enhanced medicare." Referred to as a PPO, this plan is modeled after the preferred-provider organizations used by most working Americans as well as an ongoing medicare pilot project (see "New Prescription," Nov.). A PPO offers the best deal if you use its participating doctors, but allows you to seek out-of-network care at a higher cost. The enhanced plan would also offer comprehensive drug coverage and preventive care not available under traditional medicare, and would eliminate the need for medigap insurance.

The debate. Consumer advocate Ron Pollack, of Families USA, calls the PPO proposal a cruel trade-off for seniors. "It forces them to choose between the doctors they trust and the medicines they need," Pollack says. Congressional Democrats proposed a prescription-drug benefit that would be added to the existing medicare program. But opponents say it is too expensive and does not address the need to update the 38-year-old program and institute cost-saving reforms before the 77 million baby-boomers retire.

AARP associate director Chris Hansen sees President Bush's proposal as a "positive step," particularly his desire to issue the drug-discount card as soon as possible, even if more dramatic program reforms take years to implement. "We are getting deluged with calls from people who need help yesterday," Hansen said.

One of the biggest challenges is to design a medicare drug benefit that works in conjunction with retiree health benefits from private employers. "Companies want a wraparound plan that offers some added value to their retirees," notes James Klein, president of the American Benefits Council. Some observers worry that if medicare offers drug coverage, employers may drop this costly retiree health benefit. **K**

—Reporter: **MATT POPOWSKY**

*fax
66210 to
Verder*

*536027
Jr
Verder*

EXEC. OFF. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2003 JUN 4 TH 2:41
Office of Presidential Messages

2 Pages Total

To:

Cabinet Affairs	_____	
Chief of Staff	_____	
Counsel's Office	_____	Faxed to Patrick Bumatay @ 6-6279
Domestic Policy	_____	Faxed to Christina Wilson @ 6-5557
Legislative Affairs	_____	
NSC	_____	
Media Affairs	_____	Faxed to Jeanie Mamo @ 6-2239
Public Liaison	_____	Faxed to Jenica Baldwin @ 6-2130
Other	_____	Faxed to Senior Advisors Office Susan Ralston @ 6-0191

From: Misty Marshall
Director, Office of Presidential Messages
65503 phone / 62806 fax

Subject: Clearance Request for
Juneteenth

Date: June 4, 2003

Please find attached a draft Presidential Message for Juneteenth.

Please provide your approval/comments/recommendations to me by **COB TOMORROW, THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 2003.**

Please call or fax your response to our office ASAP.

THANK YOU!!!

*Misty —
We defer to Public Liaison.
Thanks! — BJ. Goergen
Senior Advisors*

62367

June 2, 2003

I send greetings to those celebrating Juneteenth.

In 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, declaring, "that all persons held as slaves" within the rebellious states "are, and henceforward shall be, free." These tidings of good news reached slaves slowly as Union soldiers and individual plantation owners spread the word and read the Proclamation to them. On June 19, 1865, Major General Gordon Granger arrived in Galveston, Texas, to announce the end of the Civil War and the freedom of the slaves.

Juneteenth commemorates General Granger's announcement and provides an opportunity for people across America to celebrate the end of slavery and the joy of freedom. On this day, I encourage all citizens to learn more about the rich heritage of African Americans and recognize their many contributions to our Nation. With knowledge and understanding, we can continue our efforts to build a society where every person, of every race, can realize the promise of America.

Laura joins me in sending our best wishes for a memorable celebration.

536027

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/14

To: ~~KEITH HENNESSEY~~
From: Strategic Initiatives **KARL**

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

FILE

MY POINT OF VIEW

By Knight Kiplinger

Xc: Keith H.

ME? A DEFICIT HAWK?

A FRAID OF the big, bad budget deficit? Not I. Mind you, I'm not complacent about it, but neither am I going to lose any sleep over the rising tide of red ink that is bubbling

up in Washington. And I hate to see the budget deficit becoming, once again, a political football in an increasingly bitter partisan debate.

Yes, the federal budget deficit is on the rise again, after falling to zero—with even a year or two of surplus—during the robust-revenue years of the late 1990s and the first year or so of this new millennium. The reasons are pretty simple: A three-year bear market has slashed capital-gains tax receipts, and anemic business profits have trimmed corporate income-tax revenues. Personal income-tax receipts aren't so hot, either.

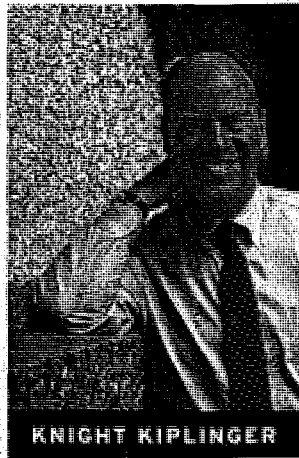
Red-ink equation. Meanwhile, federal spending continues to rise on everything from social security to homeland security, from defense to farm subsidies, from medicare to roads.

It's that simple: Sagging revenues and rising spending mean more red ink.

The tax cuts passed by Congress in 2001 haven't been a big factor in the rising budget deficit so far, because they are being phased in gradually over the next few years. But Democrats are blaming the tax cuts anyway—despite the fact that many Democrats in Congress voted for them and aren't calling for their repeal.

It's useful to keep in mind that federal budget deficits have been a bipartisan way of life in Washington for over a half-century, with surpluses a rarity—just a half-dozen or so since 1953. The magnitude of the deficit is usually a function of how the economy is doing. Deficits tend to contract in good times and swell during and shortly after recessions, when tax receipts fall but government spending grows to fight the slump.

Columnist Knight Kiplinger is editor in chief of this magazine and of The Kiplinger Letter and Kiplinger.com.



At the levels now likely, the red ink that is bubbling up in Washington won't be a drag on the economy.

Measured as a share of the country's annual economic output, the largest budget deficit since World War II occurred in 1983, right after the severe recession of 1981–82. That year the deficit topped 6% of gross domestic product (GDP). During times of moderate economic growth over the past 30 years, deficits typically ran 2% to 3% of GDP, and the budget deficit was, appropriately, a nonissue with most voters.

John Maynard Keynes, the father of deficit spending, would have approved. He said it was okay for government to run an occasional deficit to stimulate a weak economy and make up for impaired spending in the private sector. But Lord Keynes also insisted that in boom times, government should run a surplus, or at most a very small deficit—an admonition that members of both political parties conveniently overlook.

Republicans used to rail against all deficits, but most have embraced the mainstream economists' view that deficits that constitute a modest share of GDP (say, 3%) are not risky to the nation's health. Democrats, who controlled Congress during most of the 28 years of continuous deficits between 1969 and 1998, used to excuse deficits as no big deal. Now, no longer in the congressional majority, they find political advantage in becoming born-again balanced-budget hawks.

Over the next fiscal year or two, the U.S. budget deficit will probably expand to some \$300 billion, due to continued sluggishness in tax receipts (corporate and personal income, as well as capital gains), federal-spending increases of almost 10% a year, the cost of military operations and phasing in of the 2001 tax cuts.

I am assuming that Congress will enact just a few of President Bush's requested new tax cuts—most for low- and

middle-income taxpayers and for small businesses—but won't abolish taxation of dividends, make the estate-tax repeal permanent or accelerate the 2001 rate cuts for high-income taxpayers. Given their modest size, the new tax cuts won't be a big factor in boosting budget deficits anytime soon.

If the deficit does hit \$300 billion a year, it will undoubtedly be misrepresented—by politicians and financial journalists who should know better—as the biggest ever. But it won't be even close to a record shortfall. It will be less than 3% of today's \$10.5 trillion economy, a manageable share that will be half the record level of 1983. And that's why I am not going to lose sleep over it.

Significantly, the U.S. economy grew its way out of big deficits twice before, with strong economic growth in the

second half of both the '80s and the '90s, as the supply-side tax-cutters predicted it would. Will this happen again in the second half of the current decade? It certainly *could*, if economic vitality picks up, if tax receipts rise accordingly and if Congress shows some discipline on the spending side.

The first two "ifs"—faster economic growth and higher tax receipts—are definitely in the cards, as capital spending by business picks up, companies begin hiring again, and profits reemerge from a brutal reduction of overcapacity.

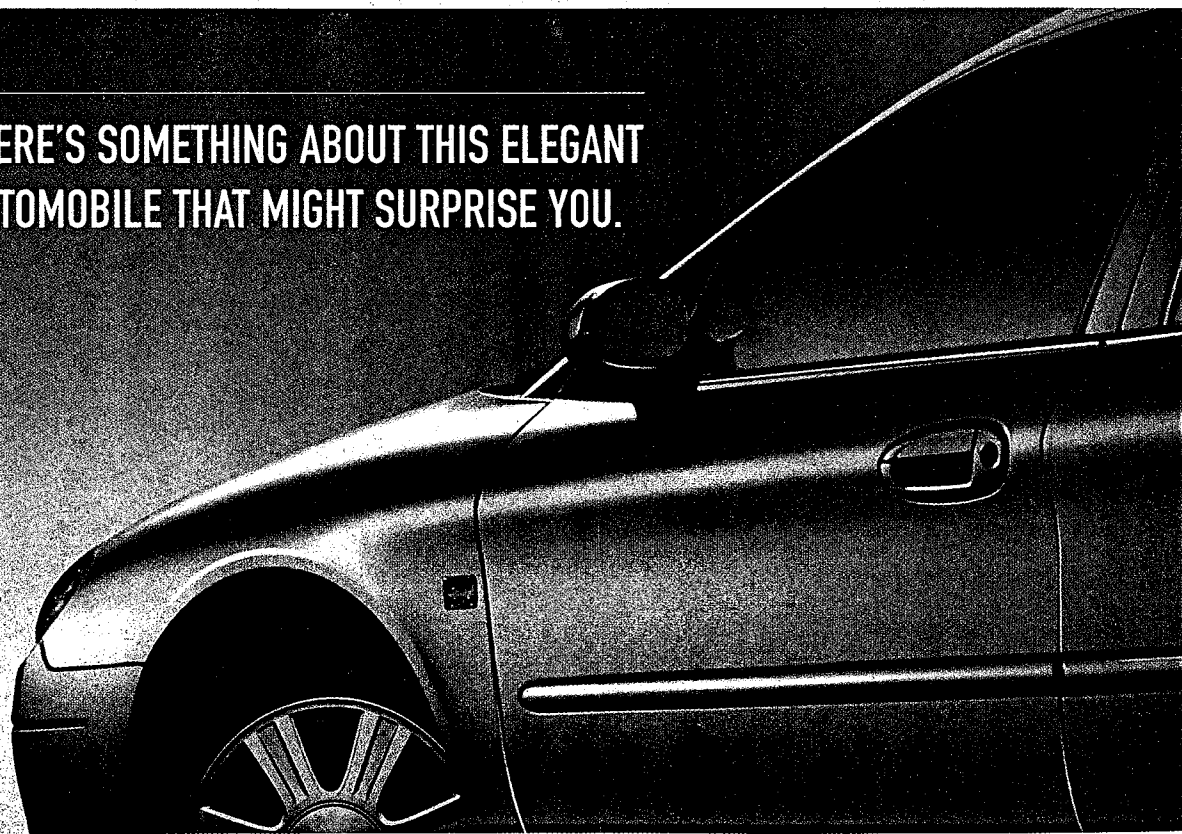
But the last "if"—spending restraint by Congress—will be harder to achieve. An aging population will send Medicare costs soaring in the years ahead, even without the likely addition of some sort of prescription-drug benefit. And there is no reason to believe

that military spending will decline much in a more dangerous world.

What needs watching. So deficits are back. But for most of the past 50 years, they didn't impede a steadily rising standard of living for all Americans, and they're nothing to get alarmed about now. Their share of annual GDP, however, *does* bear close watching.

Deficits do matter because the annual shortfall has to be borrowed, mostly from American citizens and companies, but also from foreign lenders. So deficits put mild upward pressure on U.S. interest rates. And the interest on those government bonds consumes a significant share of Uncle Sam's tax revenue every year—currently it takes about 18%. That's money that could be spent instead to fill today's and tomorrow's social needs. **K**

THERE'S SOMETHING ABOUT THIS ELEGANT
AUTOMOBILE THAT MIGHT SURPRISE YOU.



THE WHITE HOUSE 536027
WASHINGTON

Date: 4/14/03

To: Ruban

From: Strategic Initiatives Rush

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

FILE

Comments: _____



Board of Supervisors County of Los Angeles

MICHAEL D. ANTONOVICH
SUPERVISOR

April 2, 2003

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

Dear Mr. Rove:

Unlike the Los Angeles City Council -- one of our 88 cities voting not to support your foreign policy -- the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, representing the County's 10 million citizens, 88 cities and 134 unincorporated communities, unanimously passed my resolution supporting President Bush, the Commander in Chief, and our Armed Forces in the administration's efforts to liberate Iraq and protect our national security.

Best regards and God bless.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mike", written over the word "Sincerely,".

Michael D. Antonovich
Los Angeles County Supervisor

MDA:mb

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Working Group	3	03/10/2003	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:

536027

FRC ID:

9711

OA Num.:

10735

NARA Num.:

10793

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Working Group (First Meeting)	3	03/11/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Mitch Daniels (Second Meeting)	3	03/14/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Dan Bartlett (Second Meeting)	3	03/18/2003	P5;

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Josh Bolten (Second Meeting)	2	03/14/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Mike Gerson (First Meeting)	1	02/28/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Margaret Spellings	2	03/14/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Greg Schulte	2	03/14/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	Elements of Post-Conflict Foreign Policy Agenda	1	03/12/2003	P5;

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

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Discussion: Richard Falkenrath	3	03/18/2003	P5;

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SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536027

FRC ID:

9711

OA Num.:

10735

NARA Num.:

10793

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Aftermath Working Group Meeting	4	03/21/2003	P5;

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Report	Aftermath Working Group: An Update	5	03/26/2003	P5;

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F: ASIAN Outreach
FILIPINOS

536027

3/3/03
J. Tafoya

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contacts: Perry Diaz, 916/691-6642, FAX 916/691-6643,
Perrydiaz@aol.com

Judy Tafoya, 916/6829718, FAX 916/682-7960,
Jtafova7344@yahoo.com

FILIPINO-AMERICANS UNITE TO SUPPORT BUSH IN 2004

Sacramento, CA – 'Fil-Ams for Bush 2004' was recently formed to unite Americans of Filipino heritage in support of the re-election of President George W. Bush.

On February 17, Presidents' Day, the national effort was announced by Perry Diaz--a recognized Filipino-American political leader and organizer residing near Sacramento, California--national coordinator of the non-partisan 'Fil-Ams for Bush 2004.' Diaz is a Republican stalwart who approximately 60 days ago spearheaded the National Movement of Filipino-American Republicans; it already includes affiliated organizations from 13 states and the District of Columbia.

He explained the rationale for a Filipino-American, non-partisan campaign by saying, "...while it may be that Democrats currently outnumber Republicans, we're finding more and more that we are able to demonstrate that Filipinos are more closely-aligned with the Republican Party's beliefs." He goes on to say, "Preserving the traditional family, individual hard work, self-determination and personal opportunities, sacrifices made for their children's higher education, the entrepreneurial spirit and sometimes just a small business on the side in addition to their regular jobs, and so much more are common traits among Filipino-Americans. These are the things they do and how they live. And, when it is finally put to them whether they truly believe that they are incapable of accomplishing these things on their own, but that government must step in and be their caretaker, Filipino-Americans begin to understand the difference and to realize their comfort zone is with the Republican Party."

"Then, if you take it to the next step," adds Judy Tafoya, Executive Director of NMFAR, "and point out the threatened traditional family

(more)

structure, the taxpayers' tremendous burdens, the job-busting over-regulation of small business and escalating costs, the shenanigans to block qualified nominees and so much more, it doesn't take long to figure out that maybe it's time for a change. The party to the left which purports to be the champion of the people really isn't."

'Fil-Ams for Bush 2004' intends to form a Fil-Am PAC, harvest votes and raise funds in support of President Bush's re-election. A dedicated web site will be up and running in April, 2003. In the mean time, support is fast building via NMFAR's network and is gaining momentum with Fil-Am individuals and organizations representing businesses, professionals, and various community interests. Leaders in Arkansas, California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Florida, Hawaii, Maryland, Michigan, Nevada, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas and Virginia are already solidly aligned with 'Fil-Ams for Bush 2004.'

For more information about 'Fil-Ams for Bush 2004,' or the National Movement of Filipino-American Republicans (NMFAR), call Perry Diaz Toll Free at 800/905-0240, 916/691-6642, FAX 916/692-6643, FILAMGOP-Movement@yahoo.com; or, P.O. Box 231841, Sacramento, CA 95823.

#####

NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF FILIPINO-AMERICAN REPUBLICANS

Vision Statement:

To empower the Filipino-American community through involvement in the American political process.

Mission Statement:

To provide the leadership and resources to build the structure of a National Federation of Filipino-American Republican grassroots organizations to be established at the regional, state, and local levels for the purpose of developing and supporting Filipino-American Republican candidates at every level of government and for supporting Republican candidates to get elected to positions and offices vital to the interests of the Filipino-American community.

Goals:

- A. Advocate for the passage of the Filipino Veterans Equity bills in 2003.
- B. Organize the Filipino-Americans for Bush by March 2003.
- C. Establish FILAMGOP PAC to raise funds for Filipino-American Republican candidates by Spring of 2003.
- D. Organize state and local organizations and have them chartered by their respective states by Spring of 2004.
- E. Hold a convention in Washington DC to organize the National Federation of Filipino-American Republicans (NFFAR) by Spring of 2004.
- F. Work for the recognition and chartering of NFFAR by the Republican National Committee by 2004.

Initial Organizational Structure of NMFAR:

National Coordinator	Perry Diaz
West Coast Coordinator	Hernando Caampued
East Coast Coordinator	Ernie Gange
Executive Director	Judy Tafoya

State Coordinators:

State Coordinators will be assigned to Filipino-American Republican leaders who will commit to building up their state organizations. Multiple coordinators in each state may be assigned. Interested persons are encouraged to volunteer by contacting the National Coordinator or the East Coast Coordinator.

Contact Information:

Address: P.O. Box 231841 Telephone No.: (916) 691-6642
Sacramento, CA 95823 FAX No.: (916) 691-6643

Email Address: FILAMGOP@attbi.com
Web Site: FILAMGOP.COM (under construction)

The NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF FILIPINO-AMERICAN REPUBLICANS (NMFAR) is registered and recognized under the laws of the State of California on December 2, 2002.

DRAFT
1/30/03
J. Tafoya

MEDIA RELEASE

Contacts: Perry Diaz, 916/691-6642, FAX 916/691-6643,
Perrydiaz@aol.com
Judy Tafoya, 916/682-9718, FAX 916/682-7960,
Jtafoya7344@yahoo.com

FILIPINO-AMERICAN REPUBLICANS LAUNCH NATIONAL POLITICAL AGENDA

Sacramento, CA —

Known as the **National Movement of Filipino-American Republicans (NMFAR)**, an effort that was launched about 45 days ago has already lined up Fil-Am leaders in 13 states and the District of Columbia for the purpose of galvanizing Filipino-American Republican voters. Five additional states are also targeted.

The Movement's primary objective is to establish the National Federation of Filipino-American Republicans by spring, 2004, at a convention in Washington, D.C. **The dream of the Movement's organizers: Full participation of Republicans of Filipino heritage in the American political mainstream.**

Organizers of this undertaking are Perry Diaz, National Coordinator; Hernando Caampued, West Coast Coordinator; Ernie Gange, East Coast Coordinator; and Judy Tafoya, Executive Director.

Perry Diaz describes the Filipino-American experience as follows: "The first Filipino emigrants were the 'pensionados'—young men who came for an education in America in the early 1900s. In the 1920s, agricultural laborers began arriving to work in Hawaii and the Pacific Coast—mostly young, unmarried men. Then, in the mid-1960s, changes in immigration laws and quotas again brought Filipinos across the Pacific. This time, however, this 'third wave' consisted mostly of professionals—

--more--

men and women--and families, as compared to the students and laborers of the past. Our Filipino-American experience, and The Philippines' own history before that, is quite unique."

"Even so," Diaz continues, "there is very little evidence, politically speaking, that Filipino-Americans—Republicans in this case—have any significant role in the policy-making and decision-making processes. We hope to change that."

NMFAR's Executive Director, Judy Tafoya, added, "What we are beginning to see, at long last, is the arrival of the 'fourth wave' of American Filipinos on America's political shores—a crossing that took nearly 100 years. First and foremost, NMFAR consists of Republicans in support of Republican principles and objectives. Now, we want to work for our seat at the table along with everyone else."

State Coordinators officially on board, thus far, are acknowledged leaders in their communities and states, representing a variety of businesses and professions. Each one has endorsed NMFAR'S pursuit of political empowerment and is committed to develop and support Fil-Am GOP candidates for elective and appointed offices at all levels, as well as other GOP candidates who are vital to the interests of Filipino-Americans:

- Arkansas – Mary J. Bradley
- California – Marissa Acierto, Ely Ayao, Charito Benipayo, Paul Blanco, Hernando Caampued, Celly Carbonell, Nick Catudan, Perry Diaz, Van Dichoso, Bob Medina, Frankie Jaramilla, Eli Perdido, Dennis Purificacion, Judy Tafoya, Oscar Velasco
- Colorado – Nestor J. Mercado
- District of Columbia – Myriam Silverio
- Florida – Ning Aguila
- Hawaii – Hon. David Pendleton
- Maryland – Thelma Estrella
- Michigan – Ed Navarra, Owen Diaz
- Nevada - Geny Del Rosario
- New York – Myrna Littlewort
- Pennsylvania – Hon. Jeff Coleman, Ernie Gange
- Rhode Island – Armando "Doy" Heredia
- Texas – Luz O. Bates, Esq.; Arsenio R. Martin, M.D.
- Virginia – Vellie S. Dietrich-Hall, Myriam Silverio, Gil Zulueta

--more--

Coordinators are being sought for Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio and Washington, as well.

By the spring of 2004, the **National Federation of Filipino-American Republicans** will have been established to continue the work begun by NMFAR. NMFAR will drive organized GOP voter registration and support campaign operations as key elements in the development of Fil-Am GOP state organizations, including a 'Filipino-Americans for Bush 22004' effort. It will also raise funds for viable Fil-Am GOP candidates, and others. Passage of the Filipino veterans' equity bills also ranks high on NMFAR's priority list.

Diaz stated, "This is an exciting time for us--for Filipino-Americans. For too long, we have been a minority within minorities, politically. Now, we're beginning to see candidates for local offices—city councils, school boards, state legislatures—and we're starting to gain ground, incrementally. We'll not only support well-prepared candidates who are ready for public office, we'll be grooming a 'farm team' for the future, as well. This is just the beginning."

For more information about NMFAR, or becoming a State Coordinator, please contact Perry Diaz at Toll Free 800/905-0240, 916/691-6642, FAX 916/691-6643; FILAMGOP@attbi.com; or write NMFAR, P.O. Box 231841, Sacramento, CA 95823.

###

NATIONAL MOVEMENT OF FILIPINO-AMERICAN REPUBLICANS

Endorsement and Commitment Form

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

County _____

Political Involvement _____

Community Involvement _____

Phones: Business _____ Home _____

Phones: Fax _____ Mobile _____

E-Mail _____

Registered Republican? Yes _____ No _____

I endorse the Vision and Mission Statements of the National Movement of Filipino-American Republicans and I am committed to work to attain its Goals.

**I will serve as a State Coordinator for _____
(State)**

Signature _____ Date _____

Fax to: (916) 691-6643 or E-mail to: FILAMGOP@attbi.com

For more information, please call (800) 905-0240

536027

April 23, 2003

Dear Karl,

fyi.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be the letters 'Ri' in a stylized, cursive font.

tsg

SUPPORT PRESIDENT BUSH'S TAX PLAN!



To: Senator Lincoln Chafee of Rhode Island
 Senator George Voinovich of Ohio
 Senator Michael DeWine of Ohio
 Senator Susan Collins of Maine
 Senator Olympia Snowe of Maine
 Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania

Cc: President George W. Bush

Re: Support President Bush's Tax Plan!

Please stop standing in the way of the Bush Tax Plan!

President Bush's Tax Plan will bring real and immediate benefits to all Americans. A family of four with two earners and \$39,000 in income will receive more than \$1,100 in tax relief -- real money to help pay the bills and push the economy forward.

His plan will allow Americans to keep more of their own money so they can spend and save and invest -- the millions of individual decisions that support the market, that support business, and help create jobs.

I believe America needs that tax relief now!

And our economy, our President, our country needs you to STOP STANDING IN THE WAY OF THE BUSH TAX PLAN.

Please change your position and support President Bush's Tax Plan today.

Thank you.

Juliet Baden Affonso, Tarzana, 91356
 Karla Armendariz, Carpinteria, 93013
 Michael Arterburn, Claremont, 91711
 Charles V. Austin, Jr, Hillsboro Beach, 33062
 JAMES BESSINGER, CHARLESTON, 29412
 JAMES BESSINGER, CHARLESTON, 29412
 Carolyn Blashek, Encino, 91436
 William F. Britt, Jr., Birmingham, 35222
 chris burch, lowell, 28098
 John Carter, Los Alamitos, 90720-6242
 Herbert Chandler, Reno, NV, 89523
 Mary Chandler, Reno, NV, 89523
 Esther Chang, Los Angeles, 90010
 Bill Coleman, Highlandville, 65669
 Tamara Coleman, Highlandville, 65669
 Fred L. Colica, Toms River, 8755
 JOHN CORMIER, WEYMOUTH, 2188
 Mrs. Catherine Costello, Deep River, CT., 6417
 James & Jerry Ann Crawford, Seymour, Texas, 76380
 Ronald Davis, Colona, IL
 Charles Dettis, Wooster, 44691
 Adam Dickinson, Racine, 53404

Carlie Dixon, Arlington, 22207
 Dan Donahue, Lewes, DE, 19958
 Daniel Dumas, Watertown, 13601-6346
 KEN ENDERLE, Hamilton sq, 8690
 Lorena Hancock, Magnolia, Texas, 77354
 Rayma Hannah, Breckenridge, 76424
 Dennis B. Hardwick, Jackson, 39211 4133
 Barton Hartzell, Kirkland, 98033
 Glenn Hastie, Tabernacle, 8088
 Tom Hayman, Charlotte, NC, 28277
 Ernie Haynes, The Colony, texas, 75056
 Eugene Hughes, Pompano Beach, 33062-6708
 Karolee Hughes, Pompano Beach, FL, 33062
 Ed & Gloria Hynes, Laurel, Md., 20708
 Gary Johnson, Riverside, 92503
 Tamara Kaeding, Loves Park, IL, 61111
 David Keefer, New Boston, MI, 48164
 Gordon P. Kellogg, Greensboro, NC, 27410
 Mary Knobloch, Las Vegas, Nv, 89134
 Lori LaBree, Moxee, 98936
 John LaPorte, Whitestone, 11357
 judy lee, houston, 77065

Olivia Lovett, Houston, 77070
Jane MacFarland, Houston, 77077-4216
Martha D. Mauldin, Oklahoma City, 73132
Randall McCraney, Birmingham, 35206-4813
Barbara McFeters, Wilsonville, 97070
Lacey McKinnon, Jackson, WY, 83002
Bobby McMillan, Waxahachie, 75165
Daniel R. Miller, Verona, Pa., 15147
Charles Morton, Union City, 49094
James I. Nichols, Troy, 48098
Marilyn G. Nichols, Troy, 48098
Charles Nickerson, Nevada, Iowa
Philip J. Nicolay, Florissant Mo., 63032
lin padden, alamo, 94507
Raymond Raboin, Jefferson, 1522
Kathleen Ramich, Fairfield, 94534
Sylvia Reiter, Eden Prairie, 55347
Tal Rice, Peoria, 85382
Claudette Riley, Scottsdale, 85250.

Carol Romano, Port Arthur, 77642
JOHN SANGENARIO, HAMPTON, 3842
Priscilla Savage, Cypress, 77429
Linda Scalf, Fort Lauderdale, FL, 33304-1404
Charles Scalzo, Beachwood, 8722
Terry Schwartz, Winfield, 60190
Cindy Showalter, Corpus Chisti, 78418
Karl Singer, Auburn, 98092
Mary Smith, Thomaston, 30286
Patricia Sodermark, Cornell, Michigan, 49818
BEN TORRES, URBANDALE IOWA, 50322
Drew Travis, Evergreen, 80439
Christina Tunger, Santa Barbara, California, 93109
Dan Vegas, Mancos, 81328
Martha Vergara, San Antonio, Tx, 78214
Susan Wolven, Burnettsville, 47926

536027

F:RAC161



Family Research Council <frcpub@frc.org>
04/16/2003 04:34:08 PM

Please respond to frcpub@frc.org

Record Type: Record

To: Tim Goeglein/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Washington Update - April 16, 2003

FR

To: Friends of Family Research Council
From: Ken Connor, President
Date: April 16, 2003 - Wednesday

'Big Tent Theory' Pitches Fits for the Party's Future

As Abraham Lincoln, the first Republican president observed, a house divided against itself cannot stand. Neither can a political party divided against itself endure. But that lesson appears lost on Republican National Committee Chairman Mark Racicot. In his pursuit of an inclusive GOP, he has jeopardized the foundational views of the Republican Platform, particularly its stance on the sanctity of marriage. Since its inception, the GOP has supported the legal union of one man and one woman. The party does not endorse the notion of same-sex marriage, does not believe in criminalizing thought in so-called hate crimes legislation, does not support transferable privileges and prerogatives of marriage to the unmarried, and asserts that homosexuality is incompatible with military service. As such, what could possibly be gained from the chairman of the RNC secretly meeting with a homosexual activist organization that positions itself in direct opposition to the GOP views on these issues? Only the destruction of the Republican platform as we know it. The Republican party cannot stand for marriage, yet, in the name of "inclusion" seek to accommodate those who would destroy it. What may or may not have transpired at Racicot's meeting with the Human Rights Campaign is irrelevant. What does matter is that his appearance has lent credibility and legitimacy to the leftist agenda. If the GOP recruits members of groups whose views are diametrically opposed to the party's platform, the GOP will not only lose the marriage plank--it may end up walking it.

Peek-Abu: U.S. Captures Hidden Iraqi Terrorist

The wheels of justice grind slowly, but they do grind. The capture of Abu Abbas is proof of that. Eighteen years after the heinous murder of Mr. Leon Klinghoffer in the

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Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Dan [Sullivan] - From: [Karl Rove]	1	04/23/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Karl [Rove] - From: Dan [Sullivan]	1	04/01/2003	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
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Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

536027

FRC ID:

9711

OA Num.:

10735

NARA Num.:

10793

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2018-0011-P

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

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice 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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The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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March 28, 2003, Friday, BC cycle

SECTION: Business News; State and Regional

LENGTH: 435 words

HEADLINE: Davis calls on Bush administration to end oil lease litigation

BYLINE: BY TOM CHORNEAU, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: SACRAMENTO

BODY:

With a deadline looming over the Bush administration to decide its interests in coastal California oil leases, Gov. Gray Davis and U.S. Sens. Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein renewed their stand Friday opposing any new offshore drilling.

The U.S. Justice Department has until Tuesday, April 1, to decide whether to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn a ruling that gives California a say in how coastal waters are developed.

At issue are 36 leases off the central California coast the Bush administration would like to see explored and potentially developed. Estimates are that the leases contain a supply of oil large enough to keep California refineries working for two years and a pool of natural gas big enough to satisfy the state's demand for five months.

In a conference call with reporters Friday, Davis said a letter signed by the three California leaders, all Democrats, has been sent to the president asking him to halt the legal effort in support of opening the leased areas to oil drilling.

"Two federal courts have ruled in the state's favor, the right is clearly on our side," Davis said. "The message needs to be made, that when it comes to protecting our coast, Californians stand strongly and firmly. Keep your hands off our coast."

California leaders have been vigilant in opposing **offshore oil drilling** virtually since the disastrous Santa Barbara oil spill in 1969. No drilling to explore for oil deposits has been conducted since 1989.

But 36 leases, originally granted by the federal government between 1968 and 1984, remain viable.

The oil companies that hold the leases were given 10-year extensions by the Clinton administration in 1999, and California leaders have been battling in the courts ever since to prevent new projects.

A federal appeals court upheld a lower ruling in December that said the disputed leases cannot be drilled or explored until the California Coastal Commission approves of the plan. It is the appeals court ruling that attorneys for the Justice Department are considering to take to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The efforts of the Bush administration to pursue the California coast comes in stark contrast to how the president has handled a similar issue in Florida.

Last spring, when the president's brother, Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, was fighting a tough re-election campaign, Bush announced plans to provide over \$230 million to protect Florida's Everglades and Gulf coast areas from oil and gas development. Requests from California leaders for the president to help buyout leases on the West Coast have gone unfulfilled.

LOAD-DATE: March 29, 2003

Digest Briefs

Tuesday, April 1, 2003
AP Breaking News

The Associated Press

(04-01)

SACRAMENTO (AP) -- The Bush administration dropped its challenge Monday to a court ruling halting oil and natural gas exploration off the California coast, a move hailed by California officials as a victory.

A day before the deadline to appeal to the Supreme Court, Interior Secretary Gale Norton said the administration wants to resolve the dispute over 36 offshore leases held by oil companies through negotiation, not lawsuits.

"The administration supports the moratorium on new leasing off the California shore and respects the wishes of the people of California," Norton said in a statement.

The move was praised by California officials and environmentalists who had sued the federal government to allow the state to have some say in the future of the 36 leases in waters off Ventura, Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties.

"The future of California's beaches is now where it should be -- in the hands of California," said Gov. Gray Davis.

Posted on Sat, Mar. 29, 2003

Davis calls on Bush administration to end oil lease litigation

SACRAMENTO (AP) - Gov. Gray Davis and U.S. Sens. Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein have renewed their stand opposing any new offshore drilling, just days ahead of a deadline for the Bush administration to legally assert its interest in coastal California oil leases.

The U.S. Justice Department has until Tuesday to decide whether to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn a ruling that gives California oversight in how coastal waters are developed.

At issue are 36 leases off the central California coast the Bush administration would like to see explored and potentially developed. Estimates are that the leases contain a supply of oil large enough to keep California refineries working for two years and a pool of natural gas big enough to satisfy the state's demand for five months.

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DOI Will Not Seek Review of CA Offshore Leases Litigation
U.S. Newswire
31 Mar 18:08

**Interior Department Will Not Seek Supreme Court Review of
California Offshore Leases Litigation**

To: National Desk
Contact: Mark Pfeifle of the U.S. Dept. of the Interior,
202-208-6416

WASHINGTON, March 31 /U.S. Newswire/ -- Interior Secretary Gale A. Norton today reiterated the Bush administration's goal of protecting the scenic beauty of coastal California. The secretary announced that the United States will not seek Supreme Court review of the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals decision in the case California v. Norton.

The Interior Department hopes that issues related to 36 undeveloped oil leases off the coast of California can be resolved through negotiations with the lessees.

"Our administration strongly supports environmental protection and understands the importance of this issue to the people of California," Norton said. "The administration supports the moratorium on new leasing off the California shore and respects the wishes of the people of California. We believe our efforts will be better spent in negotiation rather than in continued litigation with the state."

<http://www.usnewswire.com>

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/U.S. Newswire 202-347-2770/
03/31 18:08

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Bush Reverses View Of California Offshore Oil Ban

By J.R. Pegg

WASHINGTON, DC, April 1, 2003 (ENS) - The Bush administration said Monday it will not appeal a court decision that upheld California's right to ban oil and gas exploration in federal waters off the central coast of the state.

Administration officials downplayed this reversal in policy and said they now prefer to resolve the dispute through negotiations rather than in the courts.

"Our administration strongly supports environmental protection and understands the importance of this issue to the people of California," Interior Secretary Gale Norton said in a statement.

"The administration supports the moratorium on new leasing off the California shore and respects the wishes of the people of California."

Today was the deadline for the administration to decide whether or not to take its legal challenge to the U.S. Supreme Court. An appeal to the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals was denied in December 2002.

Californians fear offshore oil drilling could harm the state's coastal areas such as Monterey Bay shown here.

(Photo by Robert Holmes courtesy California Division of Tourism)

California officials and environmentalists hailed the administration's change of mind, but said it reflects the realization that the legal challenge was weak.

"Bush administration officials must have decided that they don't have a strong legal case, as I have pointed out all along," said California Senator Barbara Boxer, a Democrat. "I hope that they now also understand how much we Californians care about our coast."

The decision makes it clear that California will have a large role in future decisions about the 36 offshore leases at the center of the

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with the Natural Resources Defense Council.

But it does not end the possibility that the Bush administration might still try to extend the leases or push forward with new drilling, he said.

The 36 undeveloped oil leases are located in federal waters, some three miles off the coast between the Channel Islands National Marine Sanctuary and the Monterey Bay National Marine Sanctuary.

They were leased prior to the moratorium on new offshore oil and gas drilling and before the creation of the marine sanctuaries.

Bush administration officials have not said they are giving up on these leases.

"They still have not answered the big question," Caputo said. "Is there or is there not going to be drilling?"

There are two formal ways to end the debate - the Bush administration could either not renew the leases or buy them back from the leaseholders.

Not renewing the leases would allow them to expire, costing the government nothing. But a legal challenge from the leaseholders is a near certainty. Some are already involved in a legal action because they have not been permitted to develop the leases.



California Senator Barbara Boxer vowed to battle against any effort to increase offshore oil drilling off her state's coast. (Photo courtesy Senator Boxer's office)

There is precedent for a buy back. In May 2002, the administration agreed to purchase some \$235 million worth of oil and gas leases off the coast of Florida.

Some California officials have questioned the different treatment for California versus Florida. California Governor Gray Davis, among others, called into question the role of the President's brother, Jeb Bush, who is the governor of Florida.

"It is hard to say that the Florida coast should be protected but the California coast should not," Caputo said.

State officials favor a buy back and believe the federal government should pay for it. The Interior Department did not comment on its specific plans for the leases.

The legal battle began in 1999 when the federal government, during President Bill Clinton's administration, extended the leases by two to four years.

State officials and environmentalists filed suit, arguing that the state had the right to review the oil drilling leases under its Coastal Management Plan.

In June 2001 a U.S. District Court ruled in favor of state officials and environmentalists and determined that the Interior Department's Minerals Management Service failed to comply with the Coastal Zone Management Act, a federal law that gives states the authority to review federal actions that may affect their coasts.

The U.S. District Court ruling also found that the lease extensions were illegal because the federal government failed to study the environmental consequences of drilling the leases, as required by federal law. It determined that the state has the right to ban drilling on the leases permanently if it determines they threaten the coast or the state's fisheries.

Conservationists fear oil drilling could have negative impacts on California's array of marine life, including the sea otter. (Photo by Mike Boylan courtesy U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service)



Bush administration officials challenged the ruling and argued the environmental impact assessment was unnecessary because the leases had been extended, not approved for drilling.

In December 2002, the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco upheld the lower court ruling in all respects. According to federal law, the administration had until March 3 to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to review this decision. In February, the Bush administration asked for and was granted an extension to April 1.

Bush administration officials declined to comment on their next course of action, but state officials and environmentalists hope Monday's decision reflects an understanding that the majority of Californians oppose offshore oil drilling.

other than protect it," Caputo said.

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Bush won't challenge ban on new California offshore oil drilling

4/1/03

WASHINGTON (AP) _ The Bush administration said Monday it is dropping its challenge to a court ruling halting oil and natural gas exploration off the central California coast.

Facing a Tuesday deadline to decide on an appeal to the Supreme Court, Interior Secretary Gale Norton said the administration wants to resolve the controversy over 36 offshore leases held by oil companies through negotiation, not lawsuits.

"The administration supports the moratorium on new leasing off the California shore and respects the wishes of the people of California," Norton said in a statement.

California officials had been asking the administration to call off the litigation and buy back the leases. Interior officials have said they want the state to bear some of the cost.

In December, a three-judge panel of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously blocked any attempt to build the first new oil platforms off California's coast since 1994. No drilling to explore for oil deposits has been conducted since 1989. The proposed developments were off the coast of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara and Ventura counties.

The ruling, upholding a lower court decision, said the area can't be drilled or explored until the California Coastal Commission approves the plan.

Oil exploration off California's coast has been an explosive issue since 1969, when a massive oil spill soiled the Santa Barbara and Ventura county coast. Offshore rigs account for roughly 20 percent of the state's petroleum production.

California sued to block the exploration in 1999, days after President Clinton's interior secretary, Bruce Babbitt, extended petroleum companies' offshore leases for 10 years as they were set to expire.

The lawsuit contended that Babbitt's decision was subject to review by the state under a federal law giving California authority to determine whether offshore drilling in federal waters is consistent with the state's coastal protection plans.

Posted on Wed, Apr. 02, 2003

California's offshore oil drilling debate, at-a-glance

Associated Press

The history:

A 1969 oil spill dumped 4 million gallons of crude on the Santa Barbara and Ventura county coasts, prompting an outcry against offshore drilling.

The oil rigs:

Twenty-three oil and gas platforms operate off California's coast in the Santa Barbara Channel, where they are visible from the Pacific Coast Highway. The platforms serve 43 operating leases.

The leases:

Oil companies paid the federal government \$1.25 billion between 1968 and 1984 for 40 additional undeveloped leases, each covering about nine square-miles of ocean floor. The leases let the companies do exploration and development work, which typically takes five to 10 years, but does not allow them to drill. No drilling to explore for oil deposits has been conducted since 1989.

Four leases expired in 1999 with no moves to renew them; the others would have expired had not the Interior Department kept them alive by granting extensions.

The lawsuit:

California sued in November 1999, days after President Clinton's interior secretary, Bruce Babbitt, extended the offshore oil leases for 10 years as they were about to expire.

The state argued federal law gives California the right to decide if offshore drilling is consistent with the state's coastal protection plans. The Bush administration contended the state's environmental reviews would be conducted before the sites are developed or explored.

Federal district and appellate courts ruled in the state's favor. The Bush administration decided Monday it would not appeal the decisions.

The oil:

The federal government estimates the Santa Barbara Channel contains enough oil to run California's refineries for two years and meet its natural gas needs for five months. That's about one fifth the amount of energy within Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, where the Bush administration also wants to allow drilling.

Interior Deputy Attended Oil Lease Talks

Thu Apr 3, 3:13 AM ET

By DON THOMPSON

SACRAMENTO, Calif. - The No. 2 official in the U.S. Interior Department participated in meetings on oil and gas leases involving companies that were clients of a lobbying firm he had worked for previously.

Clients of Deputy Interior Secretary J. Steven Griles' former lobbying firm had huge financial stakes in the leases off Florida and California.

Some of the meetings involving Griles figured in a dispute that ended with the Bush administration paying \$46 million to Chevron USA Inc. to abandon a natural gas drilling project in the Gulf of Mexico, just 30 miles from Florida beaches.

Before the Senate confirmed Griles in 2001, he promised to refrain for a year from involvement in any issue in which one of his former clients or employers had a financial interest.

Though Griles is listed as a lobbyist for Chevron in reports filed with Congress by his firm, he says he did no personal lobbying for the company.

While Griles' nomination was pending before the Senate, Chevron was paying Griles' firm \$80,000 to lobby the Interior Department, according to reports filed with Congress.

In September 2001, two months after he was confirmed, Griles participated in the first of at least four meetings with Interior Department colleagues about the Chevron project, according to Griles' appointment calendars, which were obtained by news organizations and environmental groups under the Freedom of Information Act.

Interior spokesman Mark Pfeifle defended Griles' actions, saying he acted ethically.

Pfeifle said Griles participated in discussions about the dispute involving Chevron's leases, but made no decisions. The Justice Department ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) negotiated a settlement with the company.

"Steve Griles made as many decisions for the Tampa Bay Buccaneers to win the Super Bowl as he did on the Destin Dome buyout," said Pfeifle. Destin Dome is the name of the area of the Gulf where Chevron's leases were located.

Pfeifle said the Chevron settlement was negotiated by career employees who saved taxpayers more than \$285 million because Chevron and other oil companies had sued the federal government for far more than they collected.

After inquiries by The Associated Press, Griles' former lobbying partner Marc Himmelstein said the firm plans to change each of the three lobbying reports it filed with Congress to remove Griles' name.

One of the lobbying firm's principals, John Northington, said he performed all the work for Chevron. Northington said his work focused exclusively on the proposed merger of Chevron and Texaco which the federal government was reviewing.

Griles worked in the Interior Department during the Reagan administration and later worked at the lobbying firm, National Environmental Strategies Inc. It was co-founded by former Republican National Committee ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) chairman Haley Barbour.

In 2001, President Bush ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) nominated Griles as deputy to Interior Secretary Gale Norton. As a condition of his Senate confirmation, Griles promised, in writing, to "recuse myself for one year, from becoming involved in official matters dealing with my former employers and clients."

At the time, Florida was fighting a proposal by Chevron to drill up to 21 gas production gas wells in the Gulf of Mexico. Last spring, Bush announced plans to provide over \$230 million to protect Florida's Everglades and Gulf coast areas from oil and gas development. That provided a boost to the re-election campaign of his brother, Florida Gov. Jeb Bush, for whom offshore drilling was a thorny political issue.

Griles also participated in at least 10 meetings regarding 36 oil and gas leases off the California coast. California has blocked development of the leases, and leaseholders are seeking \$1.2 billion in compensation.

For two years ending in 1997, Griles lobbied for Shell Oil Co., which has a major financial stake in the leases through its ownership share in one of its 43 subsidiaries, Aera Energy, which wants \$772 million in federal reimbursement for its investment in 19 leases.

Griles also lobbied for Devon Energy, which has a 30 percent share in one of the leases.

Norton announced Monday that the Bush administration would not ask the U.S. Supreme Court (news - web sites) to review lower court decisions upholding California's right to review the renewal of the federal offshore drilling leases. That raises the possibility that the federal government will buy back the California leases, as it did with Chevron in the Gulf of Mexico.

Pfeifle said Griles was unaware of Shell's financial interest and removed himself from discussions of the California issue in May 2002 when he discovered Devon Energy's involvement.

Within a month, however, Griles met with Shell Exploration & Production Co. President and CEO Rauoul Restucci. Pfeifle described the Restucci meeting as a "courtesy" visit.

While he is at the Interior Department, Griles is receiving four annual payments of \$284,000 from his former firm, for having brought in so many clients while he worked there.

EDITOR'S NOTE — Associated Press reporter Pete Yost in Washington contributed to this story.

FROM :

FAX NO. : (b)(6)

Apr. 28 2003 06:03AM P1

Bruce C. Thompson

(b)(6)

TO: DT
FR: SR
Per our
Conversation.

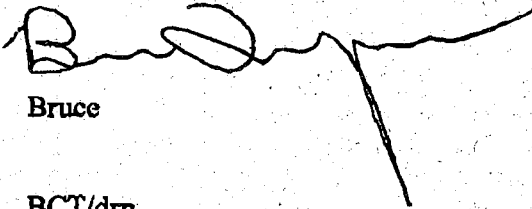
536027

May 28, 2003

Karl Rove
White House

Karl:

I understand the President will be in San Diego and other parts of CA this week. Is there any chance of me being able to greet him?



Bruce

BCT/drm
fax

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Fax Cover Sheet	Fax Transmittal Cover Sheet [with attachment] - To: Karl Rove - From: Gail Thorin	2	03/09/2003	PRM;

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*Conroy
Barry*

536027

Ralston, Susan B.

From: (b)(6)
Sent: Wednesday, February 05, 2003 2:14 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: Brownfield Stimulus Act

OK

Karl,

Good to see you at the White House reception last week. As I mentioned to you, I would like to have the opportunity to occasionally bring a client of Capitol Link which whom I am affiliated to meet with you. As soon as possible, I would like to schedule an appointment with you for Tom Darden, CEO of Cherokee Investment Partners headquartered in Raleigh who is not only a client, but a friend and major Republican donor to the NCGOP and our candidates; former Congressman Mick Staton who is President of Capitol Link; Jonathan Philips who is the legal counsel for Cherokee and me. We will come at a moments notice on any date that is convenient for you.

Attached is an email from Cherokee with attachments that summarizes what the Brownfield Stimulus Act would be, and the support and involvement it already has.

I am always looking for win-win situations and as a former Secretary of Environment and Natural Resources under Governor Martin, I believe this is the type of environmental initiative that could be a "home run" for all concerned.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Many thanks,

Bill Cobey, (b)(6) mobile - (b)(6) fax - 919-918-3898

Fri 3/7 3:30

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Jonathan Philips [jphilips@cherokeefund.com]
Sent: Tuesday, February 04, 2003 7:11 PM
To: Bill Cobey
Cc: Mick Staton
Subject: talking points

Bill—great speaking with you. Thanks for calling. I've attached a one page overview, the published colloquy between Grassley and Baucus, and an article published when the colloquy was published. Feel free to include whatever you feel is helpful.

Here are some quickly assembled talking points for your email. You may wish to switch around the order to reflect at the top what you think will resonate most powerfully. I've also included a blurb about supporters, Cherokee and timing. Feel free to amend as you see fit.

TALKING POINTS

Win-Win—

TOP 4 Points:

1. Easy environmental win that would be supported by Chamber of Commerce and Sierra Club alike
2. No cost to federal treasury—not another government program, this is a market-based environmental solution. No one is paying UBIT on these investments so no federal revenue tax hit (working with Joint Tax in crafting language); ideal measure for economically troubled times. Cost/benefit study shows positive impact on local, state and federal treasuries
3. Creates jobs, stimulates economy, and answers recent state/city cries for more federal help
4. Complements President's Faith-Based and Community Initiative by empowering religious and other community nonprofits to invest in blighted sites without penalty

SECONDARY POINTS

5. Bipartisan issue: popular with conservatives (and liberals alike)
6. Builds and strengthens communities

2/5/2003

7. Cleans up contamination and pollution across the country with private dollars
8. Reduces workload of and expenditure by federal and state governments which currently handle nation's estimated 1,000,000 brownfields.
9. Issue/Proposal has no natural enemies
10. Brownfield tax incentives are one of President's 6 stated objectives with regard to environment
11. Fits well with (and tracks) Brownfield Tax Incentive (Sec. 198); dove-tails nicely with President's effort to expand and make Sec. 198 permanent

NOTABLE PARTIES INVOLVED – with organizational contact familiar with issue.

Working Closely with Senators Grassley and Baucus on Senate proposal

US Conference of Mayors—Mayor Patrick McCrory (Charlotte) and Judy Sheahan (USCM) announced in January that they will support it; working with National Governors Association to jointly support it.

EPA—Met with Governor Whitman and she and Marianne Horinko await White House direction on this. Like it very much but, of course, cannot endorse without White House stamp of approval.

Chamber of Commerce—Bruce Josten and Bill Kovacs are supporting it.

National Taxpayers Union—John Berthoud and Al Cors support it.

International Council of Shopping Centers—Cynthia Stewart

International County/City Management Association – Danielle Miller Wagner

GROUPS THAT WOULD NATURALLY SUPPORT IT

Pension funds, universities, foundations, churches, other tax exempts

Environmental insurance companies (e.g., AIG)

Real estate groups (developers, investors, REITS) – favorably discussed with Real Estate Roundtable

Environmental Groups

Tax Groups

CHEROKEE

Cherokee is the largest brownfield investment firm in the world, headquartered in Raleigh, NC, with offices in Denver, NJ and London. Clean-up activities in one state alone are estimated to create \$200 million in annually recurring tax revenue. Cherokee stumbled upon this solution while raising its last fund. It learned that US tax exempt investors are finally getting comfortable with the risks associated with brownfield cleanup and are feeling pressure to place capital into socially responsible investments. Unfortunately, investors sensitive to UBIT (unrelated business income tax), representing over 60% of the investment capital in the US, have generally avoided brownfield investment due to their underlying fear of UBIT on these investments. Since no one is paying UBIT on these investments, Cherokee, in November of 2002, raised the idea of exempting UBIT from qualified brownfield sites with members and staff on the Senate Finance Committee and the proposal has since rapidly gathered momentum.

TIMING

The time is now for the White House to seize the issue as its own before a flurry of others do so. Let the President introduce it as a fresh idea generated by the private sector to dramatically increase the private capital invested in cleaning up the environment. The press is sniffing around the issue and eager to write stories. We expect it to be introduced shortly by Senators Grassley and Baucus in the Senate. Several influential members on Ways and Means in the House have expressed interest in introducing the proposal, as well.

Thanks!

Jonathan Philips

Direct: (919) 743-2527

Fax: (919) 743-2501

THE BROWNFIELDS INVESTMENT STIMULUS ACT OF 2003

Providing Needed Private Capital for Brownfield Cleanup and Redevelopment

OVERVIEW

The Problem

- Brownfield sites are real property, the expansion, redevelopment or reuse of which may be complicated by the presence or potential presence of contamination. Brownfield sites create public health risks, blight our communities, siphon public funds away from worthy uses, encourage sprawl and drain municipal tax rolls.
- The United States has an estimated 1,000,000 brownfield sites spread across the country, with tens of thousands of new sites being discovered or created each year.
- Currently, tax-exempt investors such as endowments, foundations and pension funds can incur Unrelated Business Income Tax (UBIT) by investing in the cleanup and redevelopment of brownfield sites. Because these investors hold over \$6-trillion dollars in financial assets, the unintended consequence of UBIT has been to deprive brownfield sites of much-needed capital for remediation and redevelopment activities.
- Congress originally adopted UBIT to level the playing field in situations where tax-exempt organizations entered marketplaces occupied traditionally by taxable entities (for example, tax-exempt university bookstores competing against taxable bookstores).
- Because of concerns about liability and the difficulty of quantifying risk at brownfield sites, however, taxable entities are not investing sufficient funds into the cleanup and redevelopment of these sites. At the current rate of cleanup, it could take many generations to clean up all of our nation's brownfield sites.
- The prospect of incurring UBIT has 1) rendered brownfield investment virtually inaccessible to 60% of institutional investment capital in the US, and 2) has had a chilling effect on the few brownfield investment funds that do have tax-exempt investors by imposing strict limitations on the ability to clean up and redevelop the vast majority of sites that are in desperate need of revitalization.

The Solution

- The Brownfield Investment Stimulus Act of 2003 will allow UBIT-sensitive entities to invest in the cleanup and redevelopment of brownfield sites without incurring UBIT.
- This will open investment by tax-exempt entities and will provide brownfield cleanups much needed private capital.
- This solution will cost little to administer and is expected to have, at most, a *de-minimus* and short-term impact on tax revenues (because these institutional investors are not currently invested in brownfield sites due to their fear of UBIT).
- Because revitalization and redevelopment returns brownfield sites to productive use and to the tax rolls, **this bill will create jobs and result in a significant increase in local, state, and federal revenues for years to come.**

[Click here for documents](#) related to the 12/9/2002 issue of Superfund Report



SENATORS PLAN TAX BILL TO BOOST BROWNFIELDS REDEVELOPMENT FUNDS

Date: December 9, 2002 -

Two key lawmakers on the Senate Finance Committee will likely introduce legislation in the 108th Congress designed to spur brownfields redevelopment by tax-exempt entities by easing the tax code.

The bill would give an additional boost to EPA's popular brownfields program, which was strengthened earlier this year when President Bush signed legislation easing the liability provisions in federal Superfund law for brownfields developers. However, top EPA officials have indicated that the program may face budget cuts next year because of an uncertain budget climate.

Now congressional sources say outgoing Finance Committee Chairman Max Baucus (D-MT) and likely incoming chair Charles Grassley (R-IA) are preparing to introduce legislation to make it easier for tax-exempt organizations -- such as pension funds and university endowments -- to invest in brownfield cleanups. The legislation is necessary because such entities hold more than 60 percent of the institutional capital in the United States, according to a statement Baucus made on the Senate floor on Nov. 19.

A source with Grassley's office says the bill is still in the preliminary stages, but will focus on easing the unrelated business taxable income (UBTI) provisions of the tax code, as well as easing rules on deducting interest on mortgage debt. UBTI is incurred by tax-exempt organizations to ensure that they do not exploit their tax-free status to gain a competitive advantage over taxed entities.

"If we were to allow tax-exempt entities to invest in the remediation and redevelopment of these sites without incurring UBTI, we may be able to create a powerful engine to help revitalize our Nation's brownfield sites," Baucus said on the Senate floor. "It also seems possible that we could accomplish these goals in this slowed economic climate with a solution that neither materially impacts revenue or requires significant costs for administration."

An industry source says finding a legislative vehicle for any tax bill is the first challenge, since such legislation rarely moves on its own. The Grassley source says it is uncertain what sort of legislative package the bill may ultimately fit into, but says it will be initially introduced as a stand alone bill.

Source: Superfund Report via InsideEPA.com
Date: December 9, 2002
Issue: Vol. 16, No. 25
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SUPERFUND-16-25-7

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BROWNFIELDS REVITALIZATION -- (Senate - November 19, 2002)

[Page: S11556] [GPO's PDF](#)

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise today to highlight an issue of great importance to the people of my State and to people across this country.

Over the past several years, I worked closely with a number of my Senate colleagues to pass the Brownfields Revitalization and Environmental Restoration Act. Signed into law by the President last year, this act is an innovative piece of legislation that will promote and accelerate the cleanup of hundreds of brownfield sites around the country.

The Brownfields Revitalization and Environmental Restoration Act passed with strong bipartisan support in both the House and the Senate. It will help states and local communities clean up the country's estimated 1,000,000 brownfield sites. These sites blight our communities, threaten public health and safety, and drain local tax bases.

I am proud of this legislation. It devotes desperately needed resources to address the environmental and economic challenges posed by brownfields.

Still, I remain convinced that there is much left to do. With an estimated 1,000,000 brownfield sites across this nation and new sites being discovered each day, the very best efforts of our government will be insufficient to tackle this growing concern in any reasonable period of time.

For that reason, I have begun exploring legislative options to encourage additional private capital investment in the remediation and redevelopment of our nation's brownfield sites. Such a solution would complement the Brownfields Revitalization and Environmental Restoration Act and could help us make great strides toward creating jobs and cleaning up the environment in communities across the country.

Over 60 percent of the institutional capital in the United States is held for investment by tax-exempt entities such as pension funds and university endowments. Given the risks associated with acquiring and cleaning up contaminated sites, it is no surprise that private investors are reluctant to invest large amounts of capital in brownfields cleanup and revitalization. Tax exempt entities are often prevented from engaging in brownfield cleanups because of the unrelated business taxable income, UBTI, provisions in the code.

The UBTI provisions of the tax code play an important role in ensuring that entities do not use their tax-exempt status to gain a competitive advantage in the marketplace over taxed entities. It is clear, however, that the free market is not moving to remediate and redevelop many of these sites, certainly

not at a rate that will solve this problem during our lifetimes. It is my belief that without some additional stimulus, many of these sites will remain unattractive as business investments and will continue to languish and blight our communities.

If we were to allow tax-exempt entities to invest in the remediation and redevelopment of these sites without incurring UBTI, we may be able to create a powerful engine to help revitalize our Nation's brownfield sites. It also seems possible that we could accomplish these goals in this slowed economic climate with a solution that neither materially impacts revenues nor

[Page: S11557] [GPO's PDF](#)

requires significant costs for administration.

In the coming months, it is my intent to explore legislative options to encourage the investment of additional private capital into the cleanup and redevelopment of our Nation's brownfield sites. It is my intention and desire to work on this matter in a bipartisan fashion with my good friend and colleague, the senior Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, let me thank the good Senator from Montana and take a moment to echo his remarks. I strongly supported the Brownfield Revitalization Act and applaud the strides that it is making toward remediating brownfield sites across our Nation.

In Iowa, as in many other States, we are challenged with our share of brownfields in places like Des Moines, Cedar Rapids and Sioux City. The cleanup and redevelopment of brownfield sites can help reduce health risks, protect the environment, revitalize surrounding communities, preserve open space and create jobs by reintroducing properties into the stream of commerce that have languished for years.

Philosophically, I support efforts to encourage private markets to help solve problems such as those presented by our Nation's brownfield sites. Given the size and scope of the brownfield problem in this country, I believe it behooves us to look for additional, innovative and low-cost solutions to help encourage investment in the remediation and redevelopment of these sites.

I understand that current law may discourage tax-exempt investors from contributing capital to the remediation and revitalization of brownfield sites. Let me say to my good friend and colleague from Montana that I will gladly work with him to explore legislative options to help bring additional private capital to bear on solving our Nation's brownfield problem.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I thank my good friend from Iowa. As we have worked together as chairmen and as ranking members of the Senate Finance Committee, I have always found him to approach issues in a fair and even-handed manner. Let me express my sincere appreciation to him for the many bipartisan efforts that we have worked on together, particularly the Brownfields Revitalization and Environmental Restoration Act that passed 99-0 in the Senate. I look forward to working with him on this and many other issues in the months and years to come.

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2018-0011-P

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www.wirthlin.com

DATE: April 16, 2003
TO: Karl Rove
COPIES: Richard Wirthlin
FROM: Dee Allsop
SUBJECT: Trade Winds Results

cc: Lauren W.
Matthew D.
Fred
JVL

Dr. Wirthlin asked that I send you the enclosed results of our latest National Quorum™. In late March and again in early April, WirthlinWorldwide conducted a survey called "Trade Winds" that addressed changes in American consumer attitudes and behavior since the start of the war in Iraq. The attached document contains the topline results of those two studies.

If you desire more information (crosstabulation, etc) please contact Beth Strackbein at 703-480-1900 ext 3082.

FROM:
KARL
ROVE

FILE

MEMORANDUM

BRUSSELS
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DETROIT
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LONDON
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SALT LAKE CITY
SINGAPORE
WASHINGTON

April C 2003 National Quorum Survey Results

Field Dates: April 8-12, 2003; N=1,000 Adult Americans

March 21-24, 2003; N=1,003 Adult Americans

Margin of Error: ± 3.1 percentage points at a 95% confidence level

To begin, I'd like to ask you some questions about the situation in Iraq...

*A1. How interested are you in following the events that are happening in the war in Iraq and the war on terrorism. Would you say that you are...

<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	
71%	74%	Very interested
26%	24%	Moderately interested
3%	3%	Not at all interested
**	**	Don't Know/Refused

*A2. Next, how informed do you feel you are about the events that are happening in the war in Iraq and the war on terrorism? Would you say that you are...

<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	
52%	52%	Very well informed
43%	43%	Moderately well informed
5%	4%	Poorly informed
**	1%	Don't Know/Refused

*A3 Which of the following types of long-term financial services investment products do you own?
[MULTIPLE RESPONSES ACCEPTED]

<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	<u>9/01</u>	
42%	45%	54%	An employer sponsored 401k, 403b, or similar retirement plan
38%	45%	45%	Individual retirement accounts such as Roth IRA or regular IRA
35%	39%	45%	Mutual funds, which invest in stocks
31%	38%	39%	Universal life insurance (other than what is paid for by your employer)
32%	32%	37%	Individual company stocks
20%	26%	27%	Bonds
20%	24%	29%	Money market funds
19%	24%	29%	Other mutual funds
13%	15%	15%	Annuities
27%	20%	18%	None of the above
4%	3%	2%	Don't Know/Refused

*A4. How confident are you in the security of your investments? Would you say you are...

<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	<u>9/01</u>	
66%	73%	82%	TOTAL CONFIDENT (NET)
26%	21%	16%	TOTAL NOT CONFIDENT (NET)
25%	28%	28%	Very confident
40%	45%	54%	Somewhat confident
15%	14%	12%	Not too confident
11%	7%	4%	Not at all confident
9%	6%	2%	Don't Know/Refused

[n=452 RESPONDENTS WHO OWN INDIVIDUAL COMPANY STOCKS OR MUTUAL FUNDS IN Q.A3]

A5. If you were buying stocks now, how much influence would the fact that a company were French, German or Canadian have on your decision whether or not to purchase that stock? Would you say it would be...

55%	TOTAL INFLUENCE
44%	TOTAL NO INFLUENCE
28%	A great deal of influence
27%	Some influence
19%	Very little influence
25%	No influence at all
1%	Don't Know/Refused

Next, I would like you to think about how recent world events may be influencing the types of products you purchase.

A6-A. As a result of recent world events, how likely are you to try a substitute product for one you've previously bought that is made in France or by a French company?

A6-B. As a result of recent world events, how likely are you to try a substitute product for one you've previously bought that is made in Germany or by a German company?

A6-C. As a result of recent world events, how likely are you to try a substitute product for one you've previously bought that is made in Canada or by a Canadian company?

CANADA		GERMAN		FRANCE		
<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	
48%	49%	44%	47%	41%	46%	TOTAL LIKELY (NET)
51%	50%	55%	53%	58%	53%	TOTAL UNLIKELY (NET)
17%	13%	19%	15%	19%	23%	Very Likely
31%	36%	25%	32%	22%	23%	Somewhat Likely
20%	19%	22%	22%	19%	16%	Not Too Likely
31%	31%	33%	31%	39%	37%	Not At All Likely
1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	Don't Know/Refused

*A7. Now I'd like you to think about how events including the war in Iraq and the ongoing war on terrorism are going to affect your own personal life. I'm going to read you a list of activities and I'd like you to tell me if you are MORE LIKELY to engage in the activity or find the activity more appealing, or if you are LESS LIKELY to engage in the activity or find each activity less appealing given what is happening in the world and in the United States. The first/next is ...

- A. Boycotting or avoiding purchasing products from French companies
- B. Boycotting or avoiding purchasing products from German companies
- C. Boycotting or avoiding purchasing products from Canadian companies

More likely/ More appealing		Less likely/ Less appealing		About the same		
<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	
31%	29%	43%	29%	26%	42%	Boycotting or avoiding purchasing products from French companies
23%	19%	44%	29%	33%	52%	Boycotting or avoiding purchasing products from German companies
17%	11%	45%	32%	38%	57%	Boycotting or avoiding purchasing products from Canadian companies

A8. Next I'd now like to know if recent world events have impacted your impressions of international organizations and international views as well. For each of the following, please tell me if recent world events have made you more supportive or less supportive of that organization or view. The first/next is...

A. NATO – The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

34% TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE
47% TOTAL LESS SUPPORTIVE
10% Much more supportive
25% Somewhat more supportive
15% No impact
31% Somewhat less supportive
16% Much less supportive
4% Don't Know/Refused

B. The United Nations

36% TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE
55% TOTAL LESS SUPPORTIVE
17% Much more supportive
19% Somewhat more supportive
8% No impact
26% Somewhat less supportive
29% Much less supportive
1% Don't Know/Refused

C. U.S. support for Israel

50% TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE
35% TOTAL LESS SUPPORTIVE
22% Much more supportive
29% Somewhat more supportive
13% No impact
25% Somewhat less supportive
10% Much less supportive
2% Don't Know/Refused

D. Government and military cooperation between the US and Europe

52% TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE
38% TOTAL LESS SUPPORTIVE
22% Much more supportive
29% Somewhat more supportive
9% No impact
26% Somewhat less supportive
12% Much less supportive
2% Don't Know/Refused

E. Economic cooperation and free trade with France and Germany

20% TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE
67% TOTAL LESS SUPPORTIVE
 6% Much more supportive
 14% Somewhat more supportive
12% No impact
 34% Somewhat less supportive
 33% Much less supportive
 1% Don't Know/Refused

F. Economic cooperation and free trade with Canada

34% TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE
47% TOTAL LESS SUPPORTIVE
 10% Much more supportive
 24% Somewhat more supportive
18% No impact
 35% Somewhat less supportive
 13% Much less supportive
 1% Don't Know/Refused

SUMMARY OF SUPPORT

<u>Total More Supportive</u>	<u>Total Less Supportive</u>	<u>Much Less Supportive</u>	
52%	38%	12%	Government and military cooperation between the US and Europe
50%	35%	10%	U.S. support for Israel
36%	55%	29%	The United Nations
34%	47%	16%	NATO - The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
34%	47%	13%	Economic cooperation and free trade with Canada
20%	67%	33%	Economic cooperation and free trade with France and Germany

Next, I would like you to think about how recent world events may be influencing the types of products you have purchased recently.

- A8a. As a result of recent world events, have you substituted a product for one you've previously bought that is made in France or by a French company?
- A8b. As a result of recent world events, have you substituted a product for one you've previously bought that is made in Germany or by a German company?
- A8c. As a result of recent world events, have you substituted a product for one you've previously bought that is made in Canada or by a Canadian company?

<u>Germany</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>France</u>	
9%	8%	15%	Yes
91%	92%	85%	No
**	**	**	Don't Know/Refused

[n=180 RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SUBSTITUTED A PRODUCT FOR ONE THEY'VE PREVIOUSLY BOUGHT MADE IN EITHER FRANCE, GERMANY, OR CANADA IN Q.A8A-Q.A8C]

A9. How long do you expect that you will continue to substitute for these products?

3%	Less than 3 months
9%	Three months to less than six months
9%	Six months to less than one year
12%	One year to less than two years
63%	Two years or more
5%	Don't Know/Refused

- A9a. As a result of recent world events, have you cancelled or postponed a personal or business trip to France?
- A9b. As a result of recent world events, have you cancelled or postponed a personal or business trip to Germany?
- A9c. As a result of recent world events, have you cancelled or postponed a personal or business trip to Canada?

<u>Canada</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Germany</u>	
4%	4%	3%	Yes
96%	96%	97%	No
--	**	--	Don't Know/Refused

[n=80 RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SUBSTITUTED A PRODUCT FOR ONE THEY'VE PREVIOUSLY BOUGHT MADE IN CANADA IN Q.A8C]

A10. Based on what you have seen read or heard, please tell me all of the Canadian brands, products or companies that you are aware of here in the United States. **[MULTIPLE RESPONSES ACCEPTED]**

- 4% Air Canada
- 3% Canada Dry
- 3% Water - General
- 3% LaBatts
- 2% Ford
- 2% General Motors
- 2% Lumber Products - General
- 2% Molson
- 1% Bombardier
- 1% Moosehead
- 1% Canadian Club
- 1% LearJet
- 1% T.D. Waterhouse
- 17% Other
- 67% Don't Know/Refused

[SPLIT SAMPLE; EACH RESPONDENT IS ASKED 1/3 OF ALL PRODUCTS]

A11. As you know, consumers here in the US can purchase products not only made here in the US, but in various other countries around the world as well. I'm going to read you a list of various products and after each one, please tell me which country you most closely associate that product with. The first/next is ...

FRENCH

A. Peugeot

- 48% France
- 14% Germany
- 2% Canada
- 5% The United States
- 17% Other
- 14% Don't Know/Refused

B. Perrier

- 80% France
- 1% Germany
- 2% Canada
- 4% The United States
- 3% Other
- 9% Don't Know/Refused

C. Evian

- 60% France
- 5% Germany
- 8% Canada
- 10% The United States
- 6% Other
- 11% Don't Know/Refused

D. Lancome

- 41% France
- 12% Germany
- 6% Canada
- 13% The United States
- 6% Other
- 23% Don't Know/Refused

E. Christian Dior

- 62% France
- 5% Germany
- 3% Canada
- 11% The United States
- 7% Other
- 13% Don't Know/Refused

F. Universal Pictures

- 8% France
- 2% Germany
- 4% Canada
- 78% The United States
- 3% Other
- 5% Don't Know/Refused

G. Yoplait

45% France
5% Germany
5% Canada
24% The United States
9% Other
13% Don't Know/Refused

H. Dannon

23% France
10% Germany
8% Canada
34% The United States
11% Other
14% Don't Know/Refused

I. French's mustard

29% France
1% Germany
1% Canada
64% The United States
1% Other
4% Don't Know/Refused

J. Grey Poupon

64% France
7% Germany
1% Canada
15% The United States
6% Other
7% Don't Know/Refused

K. L'Oreal

52% France
2% Germany
4% Canada
28% The United States
3% Other
10% Don't Know/Refused



L. Nestle

- 10% France
- 7% Germany
- 7% Canada
- 59% The United States
- 10% Other
- 7% Don't Know/Refused

M. Orangina

- 24% France
- 9% Germany
- 6% Canada
- 14% The United States
- 16% Other
- 31% Don't Know/Refused

N. Allegra

- 18% France
- 6% Germany
- 9% Canada
- 48% The United States
- 4% Other
- 15% Don't Know/Refused

O. Michelin

- 23% France
- 16% Germany
- 4% Canada
- 43% The United States
- 7% Other
- 7% Don't Know/Refused

GERMAN

P. Volkswagen

1% France
87% Germany
1% Canada
5% The United States
3% Other
4% Don't Know/Refused

Q. BMW

5% France
70% Germany
1% Canada
6% The United States
14% Other
5% Don't Know/Refused

R. Chrysler

2% France
19% Germany
4% Canada
67% The United States
3% Other
5% Don't Know/Refused

S. Mercedes Benz

9% France
76% Germany
** Canada
4% The United States
5% Other
4% Don't Know/Refused

T. Audi

16% France
58% Germany
4% Canada
3% The United States
10% Other
8% Don't Know/Refused



U. Saab

12% France
42% Germany
1% Canada
3% The United States
31% Other
11% Don't Know/Refused

V. Krupp

8% France
56% Germany
2% Canada
9% The United States
6% Other
19% Don't Know/Refused

W. Bayer

5% France
20% Germany
8% Canada
55% The United States
2% Other
10% Don't Know/Refused

X. Adidas

15% France
15% Germany
6% Canada
33% The United States
21% Other
10% Don't Know/Refused

Y. T-Mobile

7% France
8% Germany
11% Canada
49% The United States
7% Other
18% Don't Know/Refused

Z. Heineken

1% France
70% Germany
4% Canada
7% The United States
10% Other
7% Don't Know/Refused

AA. Walther Firearms

4% France
30% Germany
6% Canada
35% The United States
6% Other
19% Don't Know/Refused

BB. Heckler and Koch Firearms

3% France
40% Germany
5% Canada
25% The United States
6% Other
21% Don't Know/Refused

CC. Braun

10% France
47% Germany
5% Canada
18% The United States
6% Other
15% Don't Know/Refused

DD. Siemens

16% France
24% Germany
10% Canada
31% The United States
4% Other
15% Don't Know/Refused

EE. Stihl

- 7% France
- 32% Germany
- 7% Canada
- 29% The United States
- 12% Other
- 14% Don't Know/Refused

FF. Miele

- 34% France
- 14% Germany
- 3% Canada
- 4% The United States
- 23% Other
- 22% Don't Know/Refused

CANADA

GG. Molson

- 4% France
- 25% Germany
- 30% Canada
- 13% The United States
- 8% Other
- 20% Don't Know/Refused

HH. Moosehead

- 5% France
- 12% Germany
- 49% Canada
- 19% The United States
- 5% Other
- 9% Don't Know/Refused

II. Canadian Club

-- France
** Germany
79% Canada
16% The United States
** Other
5% Don't Know/Refused

JJ. Canada Dry

** France
-- Germany
68% Canada
27% The United States
2% Other
3% Don't Know/Refused

KK. LaBatts

37% France
13% Germany
24% Canada
5% The United States
6% Other
16% Don't Know/Refused

LL. Air Canada

** France
** Germany
90% Canada
4% The United States
1% Other
4% Don't Know/Refused

MM. Bombardier

25% France
14% Germany
12% Canada
15% The United States
9% Other
24% Don't Know/Refused

NN. Roots

- 9% France
- 11% Germany
- 8% Canada
- 32% The United States
- 16% Other
- 25% Don't Know/Refused

OO. Ski-doo

- 9% France
- 11% Germany
- 17% Canada
- 31% The United States
- 13% Other
- 19% Don't Know/Refused

PP. LearJet

- 22% France
- 13% Germany
- 6% Canada
- 45% The United States
- 4% Other
- 10% Don't Know/Refused

QQ. Sun Life

- 9% France
- 4% Germany
- 13% Canada
- 48% The United States
- 4% Other
- 23% Don't Know/Refused

RR. T.D. Waterhouse

- 6% France
- 7% Germany
- 13% Canada
- 47% The United States
- 5% Other
- 22% Don't Know/Refused

SUMMARY TABLE OF "FRANCE"

- 80% Perrier
- 64% Grey Poupon
- 62% Christian Dior
- 60% Evian
- 52% L'Oreal
- 45% Yoplait
- 48% Peugeot
- 41% Lancome
- 37% LaBatts
- 34% Miele
- 29% French's Mustard
- 24% Orangina
- 25% Bombardier
- 23% Dannon
- 23% Michelin
- 22% Learjet
- 18% Allegra
- 16% Audi
- 15% Adidas
- 16% Siemens
- 12% Saab
- 10% Nestle
- 9% Sun Life
- 10% Braun
- 9% Roots
- 9% Ski-Doo
- 8% Krupp
- 9% Mercedes Benz
- 8% Universal Pictures
- 7% T-Mobile
- 7% Stihl
- 6% T.D. Waterhouse
- 5% Bayer
- 5% Moosehead
- 5% BMW
- 4% Molson
- 4% Walther Firearms
- 3% Heckelr And Koch Firearms
- 2% Chrysler
- 1% Heineken
- 1% Volkswagen

- ** Canada Dry
- ** Air Canada

SUMMARY TABLE OF "GERMANY"

87%	Volkswagen
70%	Heineken
70%	BMW
76%	Mercedes Benz
58%	Audi
56%	Krupp
47%	Braun
40%	Heckelr And Koch Firearms
42%	Saab
32%	Stihl
30%	Walther Firearms
25%	Molson
24%	Siemens
19%	Chrysler
20%	Bayer
15%	Adidas
16%	Michelin
14%	Bombardier
14%	Peugeot
14%	Miele
13%	Learjet
12%	Moosehead
12%	Lancome
13%	LaBatts
10%	Dannon
11%	Ski-Doo
11%	Roots
9%	Orangina
8%	T-Mobile
7%	T.D. Waterhouse
7%	Grey Poupon
7%	Nestle
6%	Allegra
5%	Yoplait
5%	Evian
5%	Christian Dior
4%	Sun Life
2%	L'Oreal

- 2% Universal Pictures
- 1% Perrier
- 1% French's Mustard
- ** Air Canada
- ** Canadian Club

SUMMARY TABLE OF "CANADA"

- 90% Air Canada
- 79% Canadian Club
- 68% Canada Dry
- 49% Moosehead
- 30% Molson
- 24% LaBatts
- 17% Ski-Doo
- 13% T.D. Waterhouse
- 13% Sun Life
- 12% Bombardier
- 11% T-Mobile
- 9% Allegra
- 10% Siemens
- 8% Dannon
- 8% Roots
- 8% Bayer
- 7% Stihl
- 7% Nestle
- 8% Evian
- 6% Orangina
- 6% Adidas
- 6% Lancome
- 6% Walther Firearms
- 6% Learjet
- 5% Heckelr And Koch Firearms
- 5% Yoplait
- 5% Braun
- 4% L'Oreal
- 4% Audi
- 4% Universal Pictures
- 4% Chrysler
- 4% Michelin
- 4% Heineken
- 3% Christian Dior
- 3% Miele

- 2% Perrier
- 2% Krupp
- 2% Peugeot
- 1% French's Mustard
- 1% Grey Poupon
- 1% Saab
- 1% Volkswagen
- 1% BMW
- ** Mercedes Benz

SUMMARY TABLE OF "UNITED STATES"

- 78% Universal Pictures
- 67% Chrysler
- 64% French's Mustard
- 59% Nestle
- 48% Sun Life
- 47% T.D. Waterhouse
- 55% Bayer
- 49% T-Mobile
- 48% Allegra
- 45% Learjet
- 43% Michelin
- 33% Adidas
- 34% Dannon
- 35% Walther Firearms
- 32% Roots
- 29% Stihl
- 31% Siemens
- 28% L'Oreal
- 31% Ski-Doo
- 27% Canada Dry
- 24% Yoplait
- 25% Heckelr And Koch Firearms
- 19% Moosehead
- 16% Canadian Club
- 18% Braun
- 15% Bombardier
- 15% Grey Poupon
- 14% Orangina
- 13% Molson
- 13% Lancome
- 11% Christian Dior

- 9% Krupp
- 10% Evian
- 7% Heineken
- 6% BMW
- 5% Peugeot
- 5% Volkswagen
- 5% LaBatts
- 4% Air Canada
- 4% Mercedes Benz
- 4% Perrier
- 4% Miele
- 3% Audi
- 3% Saab

SUMMARY TABLE OF "OTHER"

- 31% Saab
- 21% Adidas
- 23% Miele
- 17% Peugeot
- 16% Orangina
- 16% Roots
- 14% BMW
- 13% Ski-Doo
- 12% Stihl
- 11% Dannon
- 10% Heineken
- 10% Audi
- 10% Nestle
- 9% Yoplait
- 9% Bombardier
- 8% Molson
- 7% T-Mobile
- 7% Michelin
- 6% Krupp
- 7% Christian Dior
- 6% Walther Firearms
- 6% Lancome
- 6% Grey Poupon
- 6% Heckelr And Koch Firearms
- 5% T.D. Waterhouse
- 6% Braun
- 6% Evian

- 6% LaBatts
 - 4% Sun Life
 - 4% Allegra
 - 5% Mercedes Benz
 - 5% Moosehead
 - 4% Siemens
 - 4% Learjet
 - 3% L'Oreal
 - 3% Perrier
 - 3% Volkswagen
 - 3% Chrysler
 - 3% Universal Pictures
 - 2% Bayer
 - 2% Canada Dry
 - 1% Air Canada
 - 1% French's Mustard
 - ** Canadian Club
-

France	Germany	Canada	U.S.	Other	Brand
48%	14%	2%	5%	17%	Peugeot
80%	1%	2%	4%	3%	Perrier
60%	5%	8%	10%	6%	Evian
41%	12%	6%	13%	6%	Lancome
62%	5%	3%	11%	7%	Christian Dior
8%	2%	4%	78%	3%	Universal Pictures
45%	5%	5%	24%	9%	Yoplait
23%	10%	8%	34%	11%	Dannon
29%	1%	1%	64%	1%	French's Mustard
64%	7%	1%	15%	6%	Grey Poupon
52%	2%	4%	28%	3%	L'Oreal
10%	7%	7%	59%	10%	Nestle
24%	9%	6%	14%	16%	Orangina
18%	6%	9%	48%	4%	Allegra
23%	16%	4%	43%	7%	Michelin
1%	87%	1%	5%	3%	Volkswagen
5%	70%	1%	6%	14%	BMW
2%	19%	4%	67%	3%	Chrysler
9%	76%	*	4%	5%	Mercedes Benz
16%	58%	4%	3%	10%	Audi
12%	42%	1%	3%	31%	Saab
8%	56%	2%	9%	6%	Krupp
5%	20%	8%	55%	2%	Bayer
15%	15%	6%	33%	21%	Adidas
7%	8%	11%	49%	7%	T-Mobile
1%	70%	4%	7%	10%	Heineken
4%	30%	6%	35%	6%	Walther Firearms
3%	40%	5%	25%	6%	Heckelr And Koch Firearms
10%	47%	5%	18%	6%	Braun
16%	24%	10%	31%	4%	Siemens
7%	32%	7%	29%	12%	Stihl
34%	14%	3%	4%	23%	Miele
4%	25%	30%	13%	8%	Molson
5%	12%	49%	19%	5%	Moosehead
*	*	79%	16%	*	Canadian Club
*	*	68%	27%	2%	Canada Dry
37%	13%	24%	5%	6%	LaBatts
*	*	90%	4%	1%	Air Canada
25%	14%	12%	15%	9%	Bombardier
9%	11%	8%	32%	16%	Roots
9%	11%	17%	31%	13%	Ski-Doo
22%	13%	6%	45%	4%	Learjet
9%	4%	13%	48%	4%	Sun Life
6%	7%	13%	47%	5%	T.D. Waterhouse

A11a. How concerned would you say you are that U.S. consumer boycotts of French, German or Canadian products will hurt the U.S. employees of these companies and employees of their U.S. suppliers?

- 58% **TOTAL CONCERNED**
 - 42% **TOTAL NOT CONCERNED**
 - 19% Very concerned
 - 39% Somewhat concerned
 - 25% Not too concerned
 - 16% Not at all concerned
 - ** Don't Know/Refused
-

A12. Moving on...Have you read seen or heard anything recently in the media about consumers in countries like France, Germany or Canadian boycotting US products sold in their countries due to the US led war in Iraq?

- 33% Yes
 - 67% No
-

*A13. Do you think that U.S. military action will lead to fewer acts of terrorism against U.S. citizens, or will it lead to even more terrorism because terrorists will try to get back at the U.S.?

<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	
42%	40%	Fewer acts of terrorism
52%	53%	More acts of terrorism
4%	5%	No difference
2%	2%	Don't Know/Refused

*A14. How long do you think it will take for things to pretty much go back to normal?

<u>4/03</u>	<u>3/03</u>	
33%	27%	More than 3 years
29%	21%	2-3 years
21%	20%	6-12 months
6%	10%	3-6 months
4%	8%	2-3 months
5%	6%	This will never go back to normal
1%	4%	1 month
1%	2%	2 weeks
1%	3%	Don't Know/Refused

A15. Based on recent world events, which do you think is more likely to be the target of a possible terrorist attack against the United States...US interests overseas like embassies, American Universities and American tourists, or targets here in the United States itself?

48%	U.S. interests overseas
46%	Targets in the U.S.
4%	Both equally
2%	Don't Know/Refused

A16. And finally, based on recent world events have you modified your behavior with respect to any of the following based on any concerns you have about possible terrorist attacks here in the US? The first one/next one is....

[PROBE IF NECESSARY: have you modified your behavior with respect to this activity out of concern over possible terrorist attacks?]

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	
25%	75%	—	D. Traveling for business or pleasure
13%	87%	—	B. Visiting shopping malls
9%	90%	1%	C. Traveling to and from work
16%	84%	—	*A. Dropping off or picking up your children from school

*n=294 respondents with school-age children; B-D were asked of all respondents

And just a few final questions for statistical purposes...

X1. Are you currently registered to vote?

82%	Yes
18%	No

D1. What is your age, please?

4%	18 - 20
4%	21 - 24
6%	25 - 29
9%	30 - 34
10%	35 - 39
12%	40 - 44
9%	45 - 49
9%	50 - 54
9%	55 - 59
8%	60 - 64
5%	65 - 69
6%	70 - 74
7%	75 and older
1%	Refused

D2. Do you have any children? [IF YES, ASK:] And how many children do you have?

75%	TOTAL YES
15%	Yes/1
26%	Yes/2
18%	Yes/3
9%	Yes/4
4%	Yes/5
4%	Yes/6 or more
24%	No/No children
1%	Refused

[n=750 RESPONDENTS WITH CHILDREN IN Q.D2]

D2a. Are any of your children school age? (IF YES) What grades are your children in at school?
[MULTIPLE RESPONSES ACCEPTED FOR THOSE WITH CHILDREN]

56%	No school age children
7%	Preschool/ kindergarten
23%	1-6
11%	7-8
15%	9-12
7%	College/Post graduate
1%	Don't Know/Refused

[n=323 RESPONDENTS WITH SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN IN Q.D2a]

D2b. Has the War in Iraq resulted in any changes in your children's activities at school?

17%	Yes
82%	No
1%	Don't Know/Refused

D3. What is the last grade of formal education you completed?

17%	Less than high school
24%	High school graduate
9%	Technical/Vocational
27%	Some college
16%	College graduate
8%	Post-graduate
**	Refused

D4. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

D4A. Would you call yourself a STRONG (Republican/Democrat) or a NOT-SO-STRONG (Republican/Democrat)?

D4B. Do you lean more toward the Republican Party or toward the Democratic Party?

44%	Total Republican
12%	Total Independent
45%	Total Democrat
20%	Strong Republican
13%	Not-So-Strong Republican
11%	Lean to Republicans
12%	Independent
12%	Lean to Democrats
17%	Not-So-Strong Democrat
16%	Strong Democrat

D5. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be liberal or conservative on most issues?

D5A. Would you consider yourself VERY (Conservative/Liberal) or just SOMEWHAT (Conservative/Liberal)?

D5B. Would you say you lean more toward [ROTATE ORDER] conservative or liberal?

60%	Total Conservative
37%	Total Liberal
3%	Total Moderate
14%	Very Conservative
43%	Somewhat Conservative
2%	Lean Conservative
3%	Moderate
1%	Lean Liberal
31%	Somewhat Liberal
5%	Very Liberal

D6. What is your religious preference? (IF "PROTESTANT," ASK:) What denomination would that be?

1%	Episcopalian
4%	Presbyterian
8%	Methodist
6%	Lutheran
19%	Baptist
2%	Pentecostal
22%	Catholic
19%	Other Christian (Net)
2%	LDS/Mormon
1%	United Church of Christ
1%	Seventh Day Adventist
**	Church of the Nazarene
**	Assembly of God
1%	Church of God
**	Mennonite Churches/Amish
**	Reformed Churches
13%	Other Christian Churches
1%	Jewish
2%	Other Non-Christian
1%	Agnostic/Atheist
1%	Muslim/Islam
13%	None
2%	Don't Know/Refused

[n=801 CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS IN Q.D6]

D6a. Do you consider yourself to be a born again Christian?

53%	Yes
46%	No
1%	Don't Know/Refused

D7. What is your total annual family income? Please stop me when I reach your income.

23%	Less than \$20,000 (Net)
4%	Under \$5,000
5%	\$5,000 but less than \$10,000
8%	\$10,000 but less than \$15,000
6%	\$15,000 but less than \$20,000
14%	\$20,000 - less than \$30,000 (Net)
7%	\$20,000 but less than \$25,000
6%	\$25,000 but less than \$30,000
12%	\$30,000 - less than \$40,000 (Net)
7%	\$30,000 but less than \$35,000
5%	\$35,000 but less than \$40,000
8%	\$40,000 but less than \$50,000
7%	\$50,000 but less than \$60,000
6%	\$60,000 but less than \$70,000
5%	\$70,000 but less than \$80,000
6%	\$80,000 but less than \$100,000
8%	\$100,000 or more
11%	Refused

D8a. Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?

D8b. What is your race? [NOTE: If respondent says "Don't Know" or doesn't mention a punch below, SAY: "Which of the following race categories do you most closely identify with?"]

10%	Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino origin.
73%	White
12%	Black or African-American
1%	American Indian or Alaskan Native
1%	Asian (e.g., Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese)
**	Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (e.g., Samoan, Guamanian or Chamorro)
1%	Other ethnic origin
1%	Don't Know/Refused

D9. Are you married, separated, divorced, or single and never been married?

- 54% Married
 - 4% Separated
 - 14% Divorced
 - 18% Single, and Never Been Married
 - 9% Widowed
 - ** Engaged to Be Married
 - ** Living with Significant Other
 - 1% Refused
-

D9a. Are you currently employed, either full-time or part time? [IF NECESSARY] Is that full-time, or part time? [INTERVIEWER: SELF-EMPLOYED COUNTS AS YES, STILL GET FULL-TIME/PART-TIME]

- 61% **TOTAL YES**
 - 48% Yes, full-time
 - 13% Yes, part-time
 - 39% **No**
 - 1% Don't Know/Refused
-

[n=388 UNEMPLOYED RESPONDENTS IN Q.D9A]

D9b. Are you a full-time student, a homemaker, retired or something else?

- 7% Full-time student
 - 31% Homemaker
 - 46% Retired
 - 3% Unemployed
 - 7% Disabled
 - 6% Other
-

D11. Gender (BY OBSERVATION)

- 48% Male
 - 52% Female
-