

# FOIA Marker

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Records Management, White House Office of  
Subject Files - FG006-27 (Office of Senior Advisor - Karl Rove)

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
W	11	4	7	2	9725	22588	10807	10749

Folder Title:

600826 [1] - [2]

# Withdrawn/Redacted Material

## The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Schedule	Line by Line	2	12/08/2003	PRM;
002	Briefing	Red, White, and Blue Celebration for the Republican Party...	2	12/08/2003	PRM;
003	Information Sheet	CEA Notes on Employment Data for November 2003	1	12/05/2003	P5;
004	Memorandum	An Assessment of Current Macroeconomic Conditions - From: Andrew Samwick	2	12/05/2003	P5;
005	Memorandum	Update on No Child Left Behind Team Effort at the Department of Education - To: Barry Jackson - From: Emily Lampkin	5	09/11/2003	P5;

**COLLECTION TITLE:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

600826 [1]

**FRC ID:**

9725

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

**Deed of Gift Restrictions**

- A. Closed by Executive Order 13526 governing access to national security information.
- B. Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
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006	Memorandum	Update on No Child Left Behind Team Effort at the Department of Education - To: Barry Jackson - From: Emily Lampkin	5	09/11/2003	P5;
007	Email	Fw: Medicare Next Steps Newt - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/03/2003	P5; P6/b6;
008	Email	A Bold Plan for Space - To: Karl Rove, et al - From: Newt [Gingrich]	2	12/06/2003	P5; P6/b6;
009	Report	The 2004 Political Landscape	10	11/06/2003	PRM;
010	Memorandum	[Memo] - To: Karl Rove - From: Antonio Garza	1	12/03/2003	P5;

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011	Email	Fw: Good News Even I Can't Believe! - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	3	12/04/2003	PRM;
012	Briefing	A Conversation on the Economy with Employers and Employees	1	12/05/2003	P3/b3;
013	Memorandum	Potential African-American History Bill Signing Scenarios - To: Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy - From: Ron Christie	2	12/03/2003	P5;
014	Email	RE: Remarks by the President at Bush-Cheney 2004 Luncheon - To: Susan Ralston - From: Kimberly Ellison	7	12/05/2003	PRM;
015	List	[List]	1	12/04/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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016	Memorandum	Lt. General William Boykin - To: Tim Goeglein - From: James Dobson	2	11/20/2003	P5;
017	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Esther Ellspermann	1	07/08/2003	PRM;
018	Memorandum	Proposed Strategy to Solve the FMA Divisions - To: Karl Rove - From: Mike Farris	2	12/04/2003	P5;

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### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

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F: ATR

600826

**Goergen, Barbara J.**

**From:** Estes, John D.  
**Sent:** Friday, December 05, 2003 10:31 AM  
**To:** Rove, Karl C.; Goergen, Barbara J.; Jackson, Barry S.; Westine, Lezlee J.; Goeglein, Tim  
**Cc:** Wolff, Candida P.; Sell, Clay  
**Subject:** Grover - Organizations Urge Senators to Oppose Energy Policy Act  
**Importance:** High

Did you guys see this?

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

**Organizations Urge Senators to Oppose Energy Policy Act**

**Leaders of several taxpayer organizations in a December 1 letter urged Senate members to oppose H.R. 6, the Energy Tax Policy Act of 2003, and contended that the bill is full of pork barrel projects including bonds for shopping malls.**

**Date:** Dec. 1, 2003

Full Text Published by **taxanalysts™**

**Taxpayers for Common Sense Action  
 Council For Citizens Against Government Waste  
 National Taxpayers Union  
 Americans for Tax Reform  
 American Conservative Union**

**POP THE BALLOONING ENERGY BILL**

**ATTN: Energy LA**

December 1, 2003

Dear Senator:

[1] On behalf of our members, the undersigned groups urge you to oppose H.R. 6, the so-called "Energy Policy Act of 2003." We are concerned that at every opportunity the energy bill has been larded up with more and more waste and inappropriate taxpayer-funded subsidies. Between initial passage on the floor of the House of Representatives and the bill's emergence from the sequestered conference committee, the bill's price tag ballooned from \$46 billion to over \$72 billion in authorized spending. That is a 50% increase in authorized spending in just a few months. Our organizations will strongly consider including votes on this bill in our end-of-the-year scorecards.

[2] H.R. 6 is chock full of subsidies, pork barrel projects, and unnecessary spending that have little, if anything, to do with our nation's energy needs. Even supporters of the legislation have admitted that it is not real comprehensive energy policy, but merely a goodie bag of various projects and policies. The *Wall Street Journal* called this bill "one of the great logrolling exercises in recent Congressional history" and that to get the bill through, leadership has "greased more wheels than a Nascar pit crew." The *Washington Post* also editorialized against the bill, calling on lawmakers to "make sure the bill doesn't become law." We echo that sentiment.

[3] There is too much waste to describe in one letter. Suffice it to say, the energy bill touches everyone and everything, from giving billions to ethanol producers to "green" bonds for shopping malls, from billions to the nuclear and coal industries to billions in loan guarantees for an Alaska natural gas pipeline. There are also millions for various pet projects at colleges across the country. The oil and gas industry alone reaps more than a quarter of the bill's funding.

[4] Again, we urge you to oppose H.R. 6 and we will strongly consider including votes on this wasteful legislation in our organizations' end-of-year scorecards. We would be happy to discuss these issues with you further. Please contact Aileen Roder at Taxpayers for Common Sense Action at (202) 546-8500 x130 or aileen@taxpayer.net with questions or comments.

Sincerely,

Jill Lancelot  
President Taxpayers for Common  
Sense Action

Grover G. Norquist  
President  
Americans for Tax Reform

Tom Schatz  
President  
Council for Citizens against  
Government Waste

Richard Lessner, Ph.D  
Executive Director  
American Conservative Union

John Berthoud  
President  
National Taxpayers Union

---

#### Tax Analysts Information

**Geographic Identifier:** United States

**Subject Area:** Corporate taxation

Credits

Legislative tax issues


Natural resources

**Author:** Lancelot, Jill; Schatz, Tom; Berthoud, John; Norquist, Grover G.; Lessner, Richard

**Institutional Author:** Taxpayers for Common Sense Action; Council for Citizens Against Government Waste; National Taxpayers Union; Americans for Tax Reform; American Conservative Union

**Tax Analysts Document Number:** Doc 2003-25679 (1 original page) [PDF]

**Tax Analysts Electronic Citation:** 2003 TNT 233-9

**Cross Reference:** For the text of H.R. 6, see *Doc 2003-24802 (226 original pages)* [PDF]  
or *2003 TNT 223-14* 

Rove, Karl C.

F: Patriot Act

600826

**From:** Falkenrath, Richard  
**Sent:** Friday, December 05, 2003 3:53 PM  
**Subject:** FW: Great Patriot Act Op-Ed

I thought you might be interested in this piece on the Patriot Act by the former Democratic Mayor of NYC. Two highlights:

- "The bottom line is that the criticisms by Gore and the other critics are shameful and irresponsible."
- "... [W]e commend President Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft for the superb job they have done over the past two years. Our liberties have been protected and our country has not been attacked. Unlike their critics, George W. Bush and John Ashcroft have had to face the hard choices and make the hard decisions. And they have made them well."

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

**From:** Stiles, Ryan P.  
**Sent:** Friday, December 05, 2003 9:32 AM  
**To:** Falkenrath, Richard; McNally, Edward; Cooper, Rory S.; Allen, Michael; Ellis, Jamie D.  
**Subject:** Great Patriot Act Op-Ed

In today's NY Post (note also that they join in Viet's recent commentary regarding enemy combatants):

**STOP THE CHEAP SHOTS AT THE PATRIOT ACT**  
By PETER KING & ED KOCH

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[✉ Email](#) [📁 Archives](#) *December 5, 2003* -- THE brutal attacks of 9/11 brought home to the American people what should have been clear to our nation's leaders years before that fateful day: We are at war with Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda and their radical Islamic terrorist allies throughout the world and within our borders.

It is a war that threatens our national survival. Yet, listening to an increasingly shrill chorus of political voices, Americans could almost conclude that the real threat to our country comes not from bin Laden and al Qaeda but John Ashcroft and the Patriot Act.

Wesley Clark says the Patriot Act "essentially suspended habeas corpus." Howard Dean calls the law "shameful" and "unconstitutional." Dick Gephardt pledges to fire Aschroft in his "first five minutes as president." John Kerry assures his audiences, "There will be no John Ashcroft trampling on the Bill of Rights" in a Kerry administration.

All this for a law that two years ago passed both houses overwhelmingly, with only one dissenting vote in the Senate.

12/5/2003

For the most part, the Democratic presidential aspirants have not gone beyond applause-gathering one-liners. But former Vice President Al Gore recently delivered a detailed speech extremely critical of the Patriot Act and the motives of the Bush administration itself.

Gore accused the president and his attorney general of "constant violations of civil liberties," "putting our country in grave and unnecessary danger" and "using the war against terrorism for partisan advantage." His attacks centered on three parts of the Patriot Act: Sec. 214, which allows federal agents to delay giving suspects notice after a search has been carried out; Sec. 215, which allows searches of medical, business and library records of suspected terrorists; and Sec. 218, which allows surveillance of cell phones and Internet communications.

Before addressing these specifics, let's put Gore's case in its proper perspective by citing Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.), who recently said she hadn't found a "single abuse of the Patriot Act" - and when she asked the ACLU for any instance of abuse, was told, "they had none." Similarly, Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del.) said criticism of the Patriot Act "is both misinformed and overblown" and the Justice Department has "done a pretty good job in terms of implementing" the law.

#### Sponsored Links

##### **Clark for President**

Leadership. Character. Courage. Official Wesley Clark campaign site  
clark04.com

##### **Patriot Act Compliance**

Learn the rules and regulations of the act from our legal experts.  
www.legal-database.com

##### **Did Bush Falsify WMD?**

Send a free fax to Congress urging them to investigate now!  
www.truemajority.org

#### Now for the details.

\* The delayed notification in Sec. 213 was already the law in cases involving organized crime, narcotics and pornography. It makes common sense because it would be absurd to inform a suspected mobster or a terrorist during the course of an investigation that a listening device had been installed in his home or office.

\* Sec. 215 - the much-feared "assault against librarians" - has not been used *even* once. Nonetheless, we strongly believe this is a weapon that must remain in the prosecutor's arsenal. There could well be cases, for instance, when it would be critical to learn whether a suspected terrorist is reading books on explosives or the

structural design of office buildings, landmark sites, bridges or tunnels. It should also be noted that library records were instrumental in tracking down such murderers as the Zodiac killer and the Unabomber.

\* Sec. 218 merely gives federal agents authority to conduct surveillance of cell phones and the Internet to the same extent they can surveil rotary phones. It would be foolhardy to let terrorists use the technology of modern telecommunications without fear of being detected.

The bottom line is that the criticisms by Gore and the other critics are shameful and irresponsible. *Of course* we gave our government added power in the aftermath of 9/11. These powers are essential to confront a new and deadly threat.

We are also well aware that all police powers are susceptible to abuse. That risk exists, however, every time we give a law-enforcement office a loaded weapon. It is the job of the Legislatures and the courts to guard against such abuses. Responsible criticism is essential to safeguarding our citizens against governmental abuse.

It is in that spirit of responsible criticism that we raise our own concern - on President Bush's claimed

right (which is not a part of the Patriot Act) to declare American citizens "enemy combatants" and effectively take them out of the legal system by detaining them indefinitely without judicial review. This practice is too susceptible to well-intentioned error - let alone abuse - without built-in judicial safeguards. Similarly, whether or not an individual is entitled to proceed in a court action, any person being detained should have the right to consult with an attorney.

Having raised these concerns, we commend President Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft for the superb job they have done over the past two years. Our liberties have been protected and our country has not been attacked. Unlike their critics, George W. Bush and John Ashcroft have had to face the hard choices and make the hard decisions. And they have made them well.

*Rep. Peter King (R-Seaford), is a member of the House Homeland Security Committee. Ed Koch was New York City mayor, 1978-1989.*

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	An Assessment of Current Macroeconomic Conditions - From: Andrew Samwick	2	12/05/2003	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:

600826 [1]

#### FRC ID:

9725

#### OA Num.:

10749

#### NARA Num.:

10807

#### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

#### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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

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##### Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Update on No Child Left Behind Team Effort at the Department of Education - To: Barry Jackson - From: Emily Lampkin	5	09/11/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Medicare Next Steps Newt - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/03/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	A Bold Plan for Space - To: Karl Rove, et al - From: Newt [Gingrich]	2	12/06/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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**SERIES:**

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

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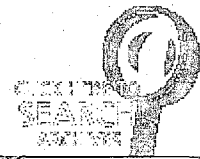
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600826

# Arkansas News Bureau

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Wed, Dec. 3, 2003

CONTENT &amp; ONLINE PARTNERS INFORMATION

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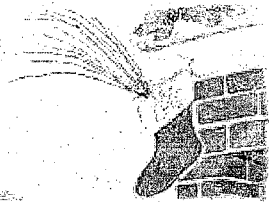
### COLUMNISTS

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### HARVILLE'S CARTOONS

### WASHINGTON D.C. BUREAU

#### Today's Vic Harville Cartoon



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## Former GOP interim chairman documents problems

Wednesday, Dec 3, 2003

By **Doug Thompson**  
Arkansas News Bureau

FAYETTEVILLE - The Republican Party of Arkansas lost its attorney in the midst of a Federal Election Commission audit because it failed to pay legal fees, according to a six-page summary of the party's woes obtained Tuesday.

Losing the attorney was a major contributing factor to the FEC's ruling that the party had 11 election law violations in the 2000 election cycle, the summary by former interim chairman Gunner DeLay states.

DeLay also writes that Gov. Mike Huckabee was consulted about party financial problems while members of the committee overseeing the party were not.

Former state party chairman Marty Ryall said Tuesday that Huckabee was kept informed while others were not because some of the party leadership "can't be trusted."

The party's executive steering committee did not know until October that the Washington, D.C., law firm of Arent Fox had stopped work on the party's FEC case months before, according to DeLay's summary. The firm stopped work on the case because it was owed \$100,000 in legal fees for the FEC work and for preparing a lawsuit on Sunday voting that was never filed, according to the summary and supporting documents.

DeLay mailed a copy of the summary and 48 pages of supporting documents to members of the party's state committee on Monday. The state committee is meeting in North Little Rock on Saturday, where it is expected to elect a new chairman and address the party's financial crisis.

The documents include a copy of a June 12 letter from Arent Fox attorney Craig Engle that includes the sentence: "As you know, Arent Fox has stopped work on all RPA representations due to your serious delinquency."

The FEC cited the state party on July 11 for 11 violations of federal election law.

Engle declined comment on Tuesday.

The documents in DeLay's summary also included a copy of an Aug. 21 certified mail letter informing the party that Engle and

his firm were dropping it as a client "due to the extraordinary debt your committee owes to the firm and your inability to address the numerous requests for payment."

The \$100,000 past-due legal bill isn't the only surprise the GOP's executive steering committee has received recently, DeLay's letter said.

The governor learned of overpayments to former party finance director Heather Rackley weeks before some members of the party's executive committee, DeLay's letter said and Ryall confirmed.

"In the meeting I had with the governor, I briefed him on everything we had discovered to let him know what was going on," Ryall said Tuesday. "There was no talk of covering up and hiding it or anything else. I did brief a majority of the executive steering committee. Some I did not brief because they can't be trusted. They'll leak it to the newspapers or, as we've seen, to the Democratic Party."

Ryall acknowledged that he was referring to Jebb Young, the 2nd District Party chairman and executive steering committee member. Young approached Democratic Party of Arkansas Chairman Ron Oliver and started telling Oliver of the Republican Party's troubles, Oliver has said in an interview.

Young denies this.

"I'm not going to debate Marty Ryall. He has almost 400,000 reasons why he has no credibility at this point," Young said Tuesday, referring to the dollar amount of the party's unpaid bills.

"If he's going to continue to attack me in the press, I would simply say, he talked to certain members but not others relating to Mrs. Rackley and the party's debts," Young said. "I'm calling on him to explain exactly to the state committee which of the 13 members he trusted and who trusted him. Since he has said that some of us were not trustworthy, he needs to explain which ones are not. The ones that he trusted and trusted him are responsible for the nearly \$400,000 in party debt if they in fact conspired with him to prevent the rest of the executive steering committee members from knowing about the party debt."

Asked for names of who was told about Rackley's overpayments and resignation, Ryall replied, "Everybody knows who everybody else is" within the party.

Huckabee, in a statement released by his office Tuesday, said: "I deeply regret that some in our party seem intent on making as public as possible a complex, sensitive financial situation.

"There will be an appropriate time and place for these allegations to be confronted and refuted. But that place is not in the media," he said.

Asked about the failure to pay Engle's bill, Ryall said that not all

of the debt was related to the FEC case.

"Part of the debt that was owed to Arent Fox was from a lawsuit that was prepared but never filed in the 2002 election cycle," Ryall said.

According to DeLay's version, about \$33,000 of Engle's bill "was for work that he and his firm did related to a lawsuit they prepared at the direction of Kevin Shuvalov," the regional RNC representative whose territory includes Arkansas.

"The suit was to challenge the legality of Sunday voting in Arkansas," according to the letter.

The practice of allowing voting on Sunday was favored by Democrats in the last election and opposed by Republicans.

"At the last minute, Mr. Shuvalov directed that the lawsuit be dropped," DeLay's letter said. "Mr. Shuvalov has repeatedly assured the RPA, including chairman Ryall that the RNC would contribute \$31,000 toward our outstanding legal bill. To date nothing has been paid toward our bill."

Lindsay Taylor, spokeswoman for the Republican National Committee, declined comment on the matter Tuesday.

"There are a lot of accusations and name-calling out there and that is not what the state party needs right now," Taylor said in a telephone interview. "It is not helpful in moving the party forward."

Ryall said that there "were multiple parties that were involved and agreed to pay for that lawsuit if it was prepared. They did not follow through."

Ryall would not confirm or deny whether the RNC was one of those parties, or whether the lawsuit he mentioned was about Sunday voting.

Arent Fox "quit working, frankly, because we didn't have the money to pay that debt by ourselves," Ryall said.

The party's dealing with Arent Fox is more complicated than it is presented in DeLay's summary, Ryall said. However, he isn't going to discuss those details in the media, Ryall said.

"In one simple word, the problem with our party has been 'mismanagement,'" DeLay's letter said. "Not by the current executive steering committee as some have alleged, but by some of our party chairmen and our RNC field representative. We have to understand that our problems with the FEC, our current party debt, and employees receiving unauthorized payment are all symptoms of this mismanagement."

Executive committee members did not learn anything was amiss until September, a month before the party's financial crisis brought on Ryall's resignation and the loss of jobs for most of the headquarters' staff, according to DeLay's summary. That's when

they first learned that Rackley had resigned in August, the summary said.

In October, the party executive committee also discovered that a fund set aside for scholarships was missing almost \$60,000, DeLay's summary says. Someone depleted the Elizabeth Redman Scholarship Fund and "presumably transferred the money to our (the party's) operating expense account," the letter said.

"One of the most glaring examples of mismanagement I found in my personal examination of records is the fact that there are no original signatures on 99 percent of the checks written off of our party accounts," DeLay's letter said.

"Another cause of our downfall was that no one at the headquarters was raising money to support our operations," DeLay's summary said.

"To make up for the lack of fund raising, it appears two things happened. One, we began to funnel money out of the scholarship fund to make up the difference. Two, we stopped paying our creditors, including our payroll taxes. Things got so bad at the end of the summer, the party borrowed \$10,000 from the governor's inaugural account to pay our salary obligations. In the meantime, the officers of the party were kept in the dark about our financial status."

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F: Clinton

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November, 2003

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg. 25

LENGTH: 3705 words

HEADLINE: Clinton Formula;

Forget the left-center divide -- it's not 1992 anymore. Defend government. Fight smarter. Smile. Win

BYLINE: BY MICHAEL TOMASKY

BODY:

When Sylvia Plachy and I walked into Bill Clinton's Harlem office around 2:30 p.m. on Sept. 8, the former president was courteous to me, but he was more interested in telling Sylvia -- who, aside from being a world-renowned photographer, is the mother of Oscar-winning actor Adrien Brody -- that he'd enjoyed *The Pianist*, but he'd also recently rented and loved *Oxygen*, a 1999 thriller in which Brody played a kidnapper. How Clinton pulled *that* one out we didn't ask; we just took it as a quick reminder that there is such a thing as a president with broad intellectual and cultural interests, and got down to business.

The bulk of his time now is devoted to his book and to the Clinton Foundation HIV/AIDS Initiative, which delivers medicines to sub-Saharan Africa and the Caribbean. But there's always time for politics. The Clinton on display here is combative, and he has some surprising things to say about how this election's crop of Democrats needs to do more than just ape what he did in 1992. But let him tell it.

**MICHAEL TOMASKY** I'd like to begin by talking about the historical moment. **Karl Rove** wants to create a realignment along the lines of that which coalesced around the New Deal. This realignment would undo a lot of the work of the last 60 years, including, of course, a lot of your work. Do you think we're at such a turning point?

**BILL CLINTON** I do think it's a very important moment. Essentially, **Karl Rove's** politics are a combination of efforts by the increasingly conservative Republican Party to recover from the '64 election and assume a dominant position in America -- through the advocacy of ideas and policies that were designed to have more appeal to the middle class, through the use of socially conservative issues that were designed to get people to vote for them for reasons other than economic ones, and through the extraordinary ability to increase their dominance in the mainstream press [and to] have a competing right-wing press and label Democrats . . . almost turn them into cartoons in a way that got them votes from people who otherwise never would have voted for them. And that's basically been their strategy.

So they believe those things, coupled with their extraordinary ability to raise money from the people they're helping financially with the government, will enable them to pursue policies which are way to the right of where the American people are.

I don't think we're headed for a realignment. If anything, we should be realigning in the direction I took the country. When I left office we had a 65 percent job approval, or something like that, so two-thirds of the people favored my policies. And that's why they attacked me personally so much, why they tried to attack Al Gore and make him look dishonest. And to say that compared to President Bush, and their backgrounds in public life, that Gore was dishonest was ludicrous. But they got away with it.

And if you look at these tax cuts, they got a good return for their investment. I mean, people say, "Gosh, how did Bush raise \$ 200 million, \$ 300 million?" I say it's peanuts compared to the tax cuts he gave. It's not even a tithe, you know? Not even 1 percent!

MT They continue to get away with it . . .

BC Well, they do, but I think that we as a country, including the press and the political opposition, were profoundly traumatized by what happened on [September 11], and we were angered and we wanted to be united. And we were collectively prepared to check our critical judgment in a deep freeze somewhere for a period of time.

And in that period, they actually had a chance to effect their realignment. But instead, they chose to use the moment to try to consolidate their power, to extend the secrecy of government and to move the country way, way to the right. And there was a slow but building reaction to it. . . . And no democracy can go without debate for very long. So it was inevitable that one by one, the American people would go back to the deep freeze and get their brains back and start thinking, and that's basically what's happening now.

MT But the Democrats participated in this lack of debate for far too long.

BC I think that the only place where we really were derelict was in not being tougher in the last six, eight weeks of the [midterm] election cycle. Because that's the only time it could have been made manifest to the voters what [the Republicans] were doing. I mean, the idea that they could be against the homeland-security bill for seven, eight months and then decide that . . . I can just hear Rove now; I mean, it's impressive. Going in there and saying, "You know, we can't make any security votes against the Democrats. One-hundred percent of them are with us in Afghanistan, and two-thirds of them are with us in Iraq. We've got to have some issue, so let's be for this bill we've been against. And let's put a poison pill or two in there that'll give the Democrats some pause, and hope it doesn't get passed by election day, and call everybody a virtual traitor that's not for a bill that we weren't for either until yesterday. Let's just do that. See if we can make *that* work!"

MT And they did, and part of the reason that they did is that the Democrats didn't do what you're saying. Why not?

BC I just think a lot of people were just unsure how to proceed after 9-11, and they were somewhat intimidated by the president's big poll numbers. But we always do that in a wartime when we feel threatened. But you know, Max Cleland, the idea that his patriotism could be questioned after he left three limbs in Vietnam, and questioned by a man who had a deferment like I did . . . you know, it's just unbelievable to me. [Then] the Bush people took a compromise on the public-employee issue as soon as the election was over. It was just a scam. One of the great scams of modern American history, the way they did that homeland-security bill.

But we shouldn't whine about that. Their job is to beat us. Our job is to beat them. If they come at us with a deal we think is a scam, we ought to be smart enough to expose it. So I'm not mad at them. That's their job.

MT Let me ask you about the schism within the Democratic Party. The liberals and the centrists, when you talk with them, express a lot of contempt for each other. At times, the rhetorical tone has crossed the



line from reasoned argument to mockery. And this has happened more from the centrists toward the liberals than the other way around --

BC Yeah, and I think it's a big mistake. And I'd like to say why:

First of all, I think the differences in most cases are overrated. And I'd like to give some examples. When I was president and we did welfare reform, I vetoed the first two bills because they eliminated the guarantee of nutrition, food stamps and health care to poor children. I signed the third bill even though it had restrictions I didn't like on immigrants because I thought that this was a historic opportunity to get a bill that emphasized work over welfare and dependence without hurting poor kids. Now, when I did that we had over two-thirds of the House members and about three-quarters of the Senate voting for it. So we were sort of together.

If you listen to the debate now among the candidates, to take another issue, on fiscal responsibility, there isn't that much difference between the liberals and the conservatives. I reached a judgment that with the baby boomers retiring in a few years, we couldn't keep running these huge deficits and raiding Social Security, and middle-class people were better off having low interest rates in a growing economy. And that would create more revenues, which we could then spend on poor people. And that's exactly what happened. So we developed a consensus around fiscal responsibility.

I make these two points, just to use welfare reform and fiscal responsibility, to point out that I think it is very easy to overstate the differences.

Now: If there are differences, there's a better way to get them out than having our candidates dump on each other. I have no objection in this primary season [to] Candidate X saying, "I'm for that," and Candidate Y saying, "I'm against it." You've got to have a little of that. But I don't believe that either side should be saying, "I'm a real Democrat and the other one's not," or, "I'm a winning Democrat and the other one's not."

It oversimplifies the issue. The public is operationally progressive and rhetorically conservative. The more they believe that you're careful with tax money and responsible in the way you run the programs and require responsibility from citizens, the more the public in general is willing to be liberal in the expenditure of tax money. The more the public believes the Democrats can be trusted with the national security of America, to protect and defend the country against terror and weapons of mass destruction, the more free they are emotionally to think about the other issues.

Therefore I think it is highly counterproductive to spend a great deal of time trying to identify the wings of the party and [having] each wing criticize the other. I think it's fine to explore specific differences among the candidates. We can't win if people think we're too liberal. But we can't get our own folks out if people think we have no convictions. So the trick is to get them both.

I thought in the [Albuquerque] debate, to be fair to our crowd, they were much better about avoiding these kind of ad hominem attacks, which I think are dead-bang losers.

MT How do you get both? You, in 1992, given where the Democratic Party had been, made certain steps in the direction of showing you were willing to reject some old nostrums. But is that as necessary a politics today as it was in 1992?

BC No, I think it has to be done differently today.

MT How?

BC Well, first of all I think the Democrats ought to all pocket some of the gains I made. They ought to say, "We're the party that gave you responsible welfare reform. We're the party that gave you fiscal

responsibility, low interest rates and high growth. And we're the party that gave you the weapons systems and the training programs that won in Iraq and Afghanistan." The question is, what do we do now?

[The Republicans'] argument to their base is gonna be, "We kept our promises. We promised to cut taxes as much on wealthy people as we could, and we did it. We promised to weaken environmental controls, and we did it. We promised to weaken labor regulations and put less money into workers' safety and more money into investigating unions. We promised to put right-wingers on the court, and we've done it every chance we got. We promised to get rid of Saddam Hussein, and we did it, and we promised to undo everything Bill Clinton did, and we did a lot of that." So that's their promises to their base.

The only promises they have broken so far are promises to swing voters. So [Bush is] gonna say, "I kept my promises to my base. How am I gonna get the others? The same way I got them in 2002. By convincing people the Democrats can't be trusted with national security."

So what we have to say is, "You can trust us with the national security. If America has to fight, we ain't gonna lose, because we've got the only military in the world. And they won in Afghanistan and Iraq with the training programs and the weapons systems developed during the Clinton years. So what you need a good president for is not to win a war. It's for when you don't fight, for a good diplomacy and a good domestic policy. And we don't agree with the diplomacy or the domestic policy."

But to go back to '92, I don't think we have to do as much conscious adding to the base in the way I did it. I was never against wealth and business creation. My theory was that class warfare wouldn't take us very far, but that if we were growing jobs and growing the economy, the government then should make extra efforts to help the poor. And we did a lot of that.

Now what we should say is that they, not we, have brought class warfare back to America. You know, every time I complain about these tax cuts some conservative says I'm practicing class warfare. I am not. I pay these taxes. And I live in New York state and Westchester County, so I think I probably pay as high [of] rates as anybody in America. And I should. Nobody makes me live in this country. America has been good to me. And I think for somebody to give me a tax cut and then turn around and say, "We've gotta have \$ 87 billion spent in Iraq, but we're gonna kick 300,000 kids out of after-school programs, 84,000 kids out of student loans . . . 25,000 uniformed police *off the street*? We're gonna kick a coupla thousand police off the street in New York City who put their lives on the line on September the 11th, and they're gonna give me a tax cut?" That's class warfare! And I think we ought to say that!

And the other thing I think is, we can smile when we say that. I don't want our side ever to treat the Republicans with the sort of personal animosity and contempt with which Hillary and I and Al were treated. I don't like that, I don't believe that, I don't think that's necessary. But we *got* to argue. And we got to fight hard. Otherwise they'll run right over us like they did in 2002.

MT How vulnerable is this administration? What are the main targets of opportunity?

BC Well, I think the economy is a target of opportunity. I think the fact that most of the world doesn't trust us anymore is a target of opportunity. I think the assault on the environment is a target of opportunity. I think giving me a tax cut and then [trying to take] overtime away from 8 million workers is a target of opportunity. . . . We're gonna spend \$ 87 billion in Iraq. We're gonna give the 400 wealthiest Americans an average tax cut of \$ 8-and-a-half million, \$ 8-and-a-half million! And that's just a start. And they tried to get rid of the children's health-insurance program. That's 5 million kids' health insurance.

Man, if we can't sell that, we ought to get in another line of work! Either that or I don't live in the

country I think I live in.

MT Is part of the problem that when Bush says, "It's your money, you deserve it back," that that's so emotionally compelling --  
BC It is.

MT What is a good emotional counterargument to that? I believe that Democrats should be willing to make a more direct case for government than they make.

BC Oh, I do, too. I think we should say, "It *is* your money. And the government should only take your money to do those things which you need done collectively, which we have to do as a community --"

MT Which neither the private sector nor the states --

BC Yes, which the private sector won't do in the economy, and which charity can't do. And those things are plainly national security, basic infrastructure, law enforcement, environmental protection, education and health care for the elderly, for poor children, the disabled and others for whom it is inaccessible. Just to start there. And we have a government, and we raise taxes because we think that we rise or fall together, and we want to live in a country where everybody has a chance to live their dreams.

And so, to say that it's your money does not answer any question. That's a demagogic statement that every Democrat could say as well as every Republican. Of *course* it's their money! It's all their money. But the question is, who's doing what with the money? They made a decision to give me a tax cut with the money and kick 300,000 kids out of after-school programs. I haven't met a single person in my income group, Republican or Democrat, who believes that we should get the check and the kids should get the boot. Not one! And I ask a bunch of them. So I think we ought to say, "It's your money, and it's your *country*. What kind of country do you want?"

I also think we ought to say, "It's not like they're not spendin' money! They're creating a big lie here. They're spending the money and giving you a tax cut and printing money to pay the bills." And let me just say, I didn't object to the president's running deficits after 9-11. He didn't make those conditions. But they did decide how to respond to them. And to give a big tax cut in 2001 before we knew what our income, expense or emergency [costs] were gonna be was not responsible. Except to those who believe it was ideologically dictated. So in 2003 we come back, and usually when you find yourself in a hole you're supposed to quit digging, but people who are ideologically inclined will only ask for a bigger shovel. So the 2003 tax cut was the bigger shovel.

MT One of the problems liberals have had is they haven't found a compelling way to deliver their message. I've been reading lately some scholars who talk about conservatism and liberalism not only as ideologies but as psychological belief systems.

BC Yeah, I read some of that.

MT It says basically [that] conservatives believe in authority, they do see things in black and white, and that makes it easier for them to get their message out -- it's stark, it's more reducible to the five-second sound bite. Liberals tend to see more nuance, tend to be more skeptical of authority, and it makes it harder, especially in this media climate, to get the message out.

BC I think that's right. And I think the psychological setting after 9-11 helped them. Because we all wanted to see things in black and white for a while. A grievous thing had been done to us, and we wanted to stand united against it.

But we think there are some things that are not open to debate. One is the historic mission of America, to form a more perfect union. What does that mean? It means widening the circle of opportunity, deepening the meaning of freedom and strengthening the bonds of community. And we feel passionately

about that. We feel just as strongly as the Republicans do.

And we are not gonna demonize them the way they demonize us. We will never have the talk-show people saying things about them without regard to whether they're true or not. That's not who we are. But we do show up to fight. We think you're worth fighting for. We think your future's worth fighting for. And we need to use the rhetoric of passion, commitment and combat on behalf of ordinary people without ever slipping into the kind of vicious, personal, evidence-free -- to use my wife's phrase -- assaults that they're so good at.

We don't have to do that. And it doesn't really sell all that well with our crowd. But people have to believe that we wake up in the morning just as passionately committed to what we believe as they are. And in the process of conducting ourselves in that way, people get the sense intuitively that we're strong enough to defend the country.

This is a contact sport. They're supposed to try to beat us. Now, they do things by and large that we don't think are legitimate. And lord knows they did while I was president. But . . . nobody *gags* us! The press has moved way, way, way to the right. And the mainstream press was incredibly supine in the face of all this secrecy, you know, covering up the [Ronald] Reagan and [George] Bush [Senior] records, covering up the [Miguel] Estrada legal opinions, covering up the 9-11 report, covering up the global-warming deal and the air-quality issue down there [in lower Manhattan]. And it all started with putting the governor's records in the Bush presidential library. And [the press] just laid down and let it happen. But we don't have to contribute to it.

Now, let me just close on an upbeat note here. I don't entirely buy the Ruy Teixeira [and John B. Judis] analysis about the natural Democratic majority. On the other hand, there is *something* to it.

[Lyndon] Johnson wins big in '64 cuz he marginalizes [Barry] Goldwater. They never got over it and they've been trying to do it to us ever since. By '68, Nixon wins by a point, but we all know he would have beaten [Hubert] Humphrey handily if [George] Wallace hadn't been in the race. So there was a traumatic coalescing of a culturally conservative majority in the Republican Party between '64 and '68, ratified by the '72 election, OK? So essentially from '68 forward the Republican Party had a hardcore base of roughly 45 percent. The Democrats had a hardcore base of roughly 40 percent.

So in '80, Reagan wins 51-to-41, and [John] Anderson gets, what, [6 percent], [7 percent], whatever he got? Then in '84, [Reagan] wins 6-to-4. And in '88, they win 54-to-46, which means they won 9 points of the undecided vote and we won 6 points. In '92, because of the campaign I ran, if no [Ross] Perot had been in there, all the analyses show that it would have been 52 [percent], 53 percent. In '96, if no Perot had been in there and we'd had a normal turnout, it would have been about 55 percent. [So] by 2000, sometime between '92 and 2000, because of immigration, urbanization and the suburbanite voters developing a more communitarian ethic, both parties had a base of about 45 percent. And what happened in 2000 is they were fighting over an effective 10 percent, and they fought to a draw.

So that means that we're in every race. You start with 45 percent, you're in a race. I don't care what anybody says. So sometime between 1992 and 2000, for the first time -- probably in the last four years, for the first time since 1964 -- we were no longer at a cultural disadvantage in our base. So both parties go into this next election with a natural base of about 45 percent. So in 2004, this race will be about -- it goes back to your question about the Democrats' dilemma and our division. We have to improve our turnout to their level, as we did in '98 and 2000 but not in 2002. And then we have to win the votes among the other 10 percent. That's eminently doable.

But we've got to fight. And we gotta look like we're havin' a good time doing it.

**GRAPHIC:** Photos 1 through 5, no caption, PHOTOGRAPHS BY SYLVIA PLACHY

**LOAD-DATE:** October 29, 2003

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# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	The 2004 Political Landscape	10	11/06/2003	PRM;

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#### COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

#### SERIES:

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

#### FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [1]

#### FRC ID:

9725

#### OA Num.:

10749

#### NARA Num.:

10807

#### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

#### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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✓

Reading  
600826

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT  
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2003 DEC -4 PM 2:02

Karl:

Worth a glance.

Regards,

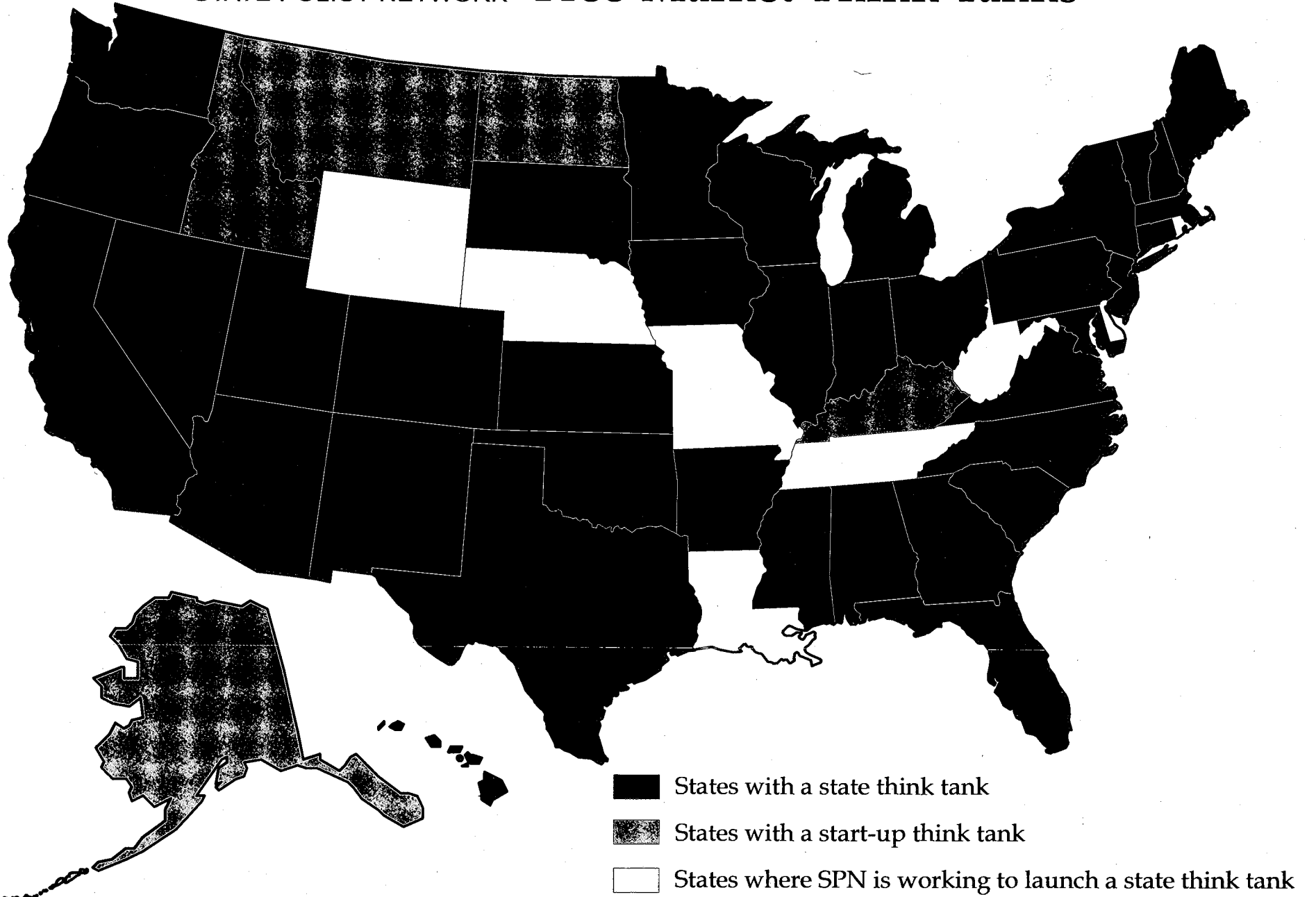


Tim Goeglein



STATE POLICY NETWORK

# A Profile of State-Based, Free-Market Think Tanks





Goergen, Barbara J.

F: Steel

600826

**From:** Howell, Richard  
**Sent:** Thursday, December 04, 2003 5:21 PM  
**To:** Goergen, Barbara J.  
**Subject:** Phil English, Steel

BJ,  
Barry told me that this press release from Phil English (R-PA) needs to get to Karl.  
Richard

News for immediate release  
December 4, 2003

#### English Disappointed by Decision to End Steel Safeguard, Vows to Find Additional Help

Washington, D.C. -

In response to President Bush's decision to end the steel safeguard program, Congressional Steel Caucus Chairman U.S. Rep. Phil English today issued the following statement:

"I am disappointed that President Bush was obliged to terminate the Section 201 safeguard program early. This remedy has been critical to the industry's nascent recovery from unfair import surges.

"Although today's announcement comes as a real disappointment, I commend President Bush for standing up for steel and making the politically difficult decision to safeguard our steel workers as long as he did. This administration has done more for steel than any other administration in the last 20 years.

"While the administration has publicly based their position on changed circumstances, clearly an important 'changed circumstance' is the outrageous decision by the WTO, which exposes American producers to billions of dollars in crippling sanctions.

"I respect the president's decision to accommodate the ill-conceived WTO ruling against the safeguard measure and avoid stiff retaliatory tariffs. However, this entire process reveals just how badly broken the WTO dispute-resolution mechanism really is, and I fear this will further erode that body's credibility as a fair arbiter of global trade.

"There is no question that the American steel industry fell victim to a surge in unfairly traded imports from a number of our trading partners and it was our legal right to respond as the president did by imposing the safeguard program.

"The president's steel program has been a singular success. The domestic steel industry has restructured and the mid-term review by the International Trade Commission largely supported that view.

"I call on Congress to adopt new legislation to strengthen our domestic trade laws and protect our businesses from unfair trade. My bill, The Trade Law Reform Act, would do just that and I am hopeful that moving this will become a priority in the wake of this decision.

"We must remain vigilant in our pursuit of open and rules-based trade and redouble our efforts to level the playing field for all domestic manufacturing. To this end, the administration's assurances of being willing to self-initiate future remedies, if conditions warrant, are very reassuring."

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	[Memo] - To: Karl Rove - From: Antonio Garza	1	12/03/2003	P5;

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

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**FRC ID:**

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**OA Num.:**

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**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2015-0037-F

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## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Good News Even I Can't Believe! - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	3	12/04/2003	PRM;

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#### SERIES:

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

#### FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [1]

#### FRC ID:

9725

#### OA Num.:

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#### NARA Num.:

10807

#### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

#### RESTRICTION CODES

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Barneycam Script

F: KR Briefings  
600826

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Orr, Christopher J.

Sent: Thursday, December 04, 2003 4:05 PM

To: Goergen, Barbara J.

VIDEO

SHOT OF MELISSA BENNETT BEHIND HER DESK  
SHOT OF BARNEY SITTING AT THE CHAIR BEHIND DESK

Melissa: Barney, the Chief of Staff will see you now....

Barney walking into the Chief of Staff's office (perhaps the fire hydrant prop)

SEC CARD: Barney, we've got a big job for you....

SEC CARD: Everyone is very busy here at the White House. We need you to take charge and direct the Christmas decoration process. We need you to oversee every aspect of it. No playing with your ball. No interviews. And most of all, no playing golf until everything is completed. Ok Barney? Get to work.....

VIDEO OF BARNEY LEAVING THE OFFICE

CHRISTMAS MUSIC

VIDEO OF JUDGE GONZALES OUTSIDE HANGING A WREATH

Judge: What are we supposed to do? I thought Barney was supposed to tell us what to do?

VIDEO OF DR. RICE

Dr. Rice: I don't know. Barney is supposed to be in charge.....

VIDEO OF BARNEY ON SOUTH LAWN WITH BALL

VIDEO OF SCOTT MCCLELLAN AT CHRISTMAS TREE

SCOTT: Barney - where do you want me to hang this ornament? Barney? Barney?

VIDEO OF BARNEY DOING AN INTERVIEW

VIDEO OF SCOTT MCCLELLAN

SCOTT: I'm supposed to be the one talking to the press.....

VIDEO OF KARL ROVE COMPLETELY TANGLED IN LIGHTS

KARL: Barney - where do you want me to hang the lights?

VIDEO OF BARNEY PLAYING GOLF

VIDEO OF MRS. BUSH WITH COMPLETED DECORATIONS IN WH

MRS. BUSH: Well, I think we have it done and barely just in time for the holidays.....

VIDEO OF ANDY CARD'S OFFICE. SEC CARD AT DESK

SEC CARD: Barney, it is officially holiday season. I hoped you worked hard. Show me all your hard work.....

VIDEO OF BARNEY AND SEC CARD LEAVING THE OFFICE

STILL WORKING THIS TRANSITION OUT.....

VIDEO OF BARNEY RUNNING THROUGH THE WHITE HOUSE

BRIEF STOP BY THE VP'S OFFICE

FINAL SHOT:

SEC CARD: Barney, you did an excellent job. Because of you, we can celebrate the holiday season at the White House.

MRS. BUSH OUTRO.....

# Ford's Theatre

511 Tenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004

*F. Christmas Carol*

*Karl did not attend  
Tickets to Izzy  
Hernandez*

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT  
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2003 NOV 13 AM 7:40

800826

November 6, 2003

Brian J. Laczko  
*Acting Executive Producer*

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- Edward T. Tobin III
- Jill Cooper Udall
- Hon. C. William Verity, Jr. \*
- Hon. Ronald H. Walker
- Mrs. Charles Wick \*

\* *Life Members*

TO: The Honorable Karl Rove  
and Mrs. Rove

FROM: Diana Hart Gomillion  
Director of Special Events

RE: ***A Christmas Carol***

We look forward to having you join us for our holiday celebration on Saturday, December 6<sup>th</sup>. We are holding 4 tickets for you for the 2:30 p.m. matinee performance of Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* and for the reception immediately following in the atrium at the Old Ebbitt Grill.

Your tickets will be available for pick-up at the Ford's Theatre Box Office beginning at 12 noon on Friday, December 5<sup>th</sup>. On Saturday the 6<sup>th</sup>, the Box Office will open at 12 noon with the Theatre opening for seating at 2:00 p.m. The performance will begin promptly at 2:30 p.m.

Beginning at 1 p.m. on Saturday, complimentary valet parking will be provided for the day's event at the Old Ebbitt Grill. Please have your *A Christmas Carol* invitation with you to show the valet upon parking at the 15<sup>th</sup> Street main entrance (between F & G Streets, NW). Ford's Theatre is just a 5-block walk from the Old Ebbitt Grill (Ford's Theatre is on 10th Street between E and F Streets).

To capture the holiday spirit, Focused Images Photography will take a complimentary photo of you and your family at the reception. To ensure that your holiday image is mailed to the correct address please fill out your name and address, in advance, on the back of the card that will be with your tickets. You will then present the card to the photographer when your photo is taken.

I understand that sometimes plans change, so if you find that you are unable to attend, please call us as soon as possible at 202-434-9527.

With warmest holiday wishes!

*Diana*

*Marguerite Mulder*

*-yes  
-need name*

*Diane direct: 202-434-9533*

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

WASHINGTON

**A CONVERSATION ON THE ECONOMY  
WITH EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES**

Friday, December 5, 2003

1:10 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.

The Home Depot

Halethorpe, Maryland

Karl Rove / Steve Friedman

**I. PURPOSE**

To highlight your six-point economic plan, focusing on increasing opportunities for U.S. retailers, and to discuss jobs and the economy with employers and employees from the Baltimore metropolitan area.

**II. BACKGROUND**

Recent economic news is positive, with overall economic growth in the third quarter revised upwards from 7.2 percent to 8.2 percent, the highest level in almost twenty years. More importantly, this economic growth is starting to translate into job creation.

According to the Department of Labor, 286,000 jobs were created in August through October. Market consensus is that the report due out December 5 will continue to show strong employment growth, with perhaps 150,000 or more new jobs in November. Meanwhile, the initial weekly jobless claims have fallen substantially below the 400,000 threshold in the past two months, indicating the new job growth will continue in the fourth quarter.

Personal consumption and the housing sector have been particularly strong over the past three years. Personal consumption growth has remained positive throughout the recession and subsequent recovery, while homeownership rates are at all-time highs. Nearly seven out ten American families own their own homes today.

Record low mortgage rates are responsible for much of this strength. Prospective homeowners have been attracted by low-cost loans, while millions of existing homeowners have refinanced (also in record numbers), reducing their monthly payments and tapping into their homes' equity. The Home Depot's growth over this same time frame reflects these trends.

The event will be held at The Home Depot in Halethorpe, Maryland. Nationally, The Home Depot Inc., operates full-service, warehouse-style stores offering approximately 40,000 to 50,000 different kinds of building materials, home improvement supplies, and lawn and garden products to do-it-yourselfers, home improvement contractors, trades people, and building maintenance professionals.

The Home Depot is the second largest retailer in the United States and the largest home retailer in the world, with more than 1.2 billion transactions annually. This year, The Home Depot predicts it will have created 40,000 net new jobs, adding 200 new stores (one every 43 hours). For the nine-month sales period just ended, net sales rose 14.8 percent to \$49.7 billion. Net income rose eight percent to \$2.21 billion.

The Home Depot's Chairman, President and CEO Bob Nardelli is a key member of the President's Council on Service and Civic Participation, a group of distinguished Americans who rally Americans to answer your Call to Service. The Home Depot is part of Businesses Strengthening America, a self-directed initiative that encourages businesses to support volunteer service across America, in concert with your USA Freedom Corps. You met with the original 18 CEOs (including Nardelli) who organized Business Strengthening America in the White House in June 2002.

The Home Depot is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia, and has over 280,900 employees in over 1,600 stores.

Today's event is in Congressman Benjamin Cardin's Congressional District (D, MD-03).

### III. PARTICIPANTS

#### Stage Participants

Robert "Bob" Nardelli, Chairman, President and CEO, The Home Depot  
Jessica "Jessie" Adamson, Paint Associate, Lansdowne The Home Depot  
John Ferraiuolo [ferry-EL-o], Store Manager, Lansdowne The Home Depot  
Brandy Foble, Store Manager, Ellicott City The Home Depot  
Gary Mangum [MANG-um], Co-Owner, Bell Nursery

**Note:** Bell Nursery is a supplier to The Home Depot.

Alison Anderson, Regional Manager, Bell Nursery  
James "Jim" Montgomery, Owner, James S. Montgomery & Sons

**Note:** James S. Montgomery is a home-building company.

#### VIPs in Attendance

Governor Robert "Bob" L. Ehrlich, Jr. (R)  
Kendal S. Ehrlich, wife of Bob Ehrlich  
Lieutenant Governor Michael S. Steele (R)  
Congressman Wayne Gilchrest (R, MD-01)  
Congressman Dutch Ruppersberger (D, MD-02)  
Congressman Roscoe Bartlett (R, MD-06)  
Aris Melissaratos, State Secretary of Business and Economic Development (D)  
Jim Fielder, Jr., Ph.D, State Secretary of Labor, Licensing, and Regulation (D)  
Victor L. Hoskins, State Secretary of Housing and Community Development (D)  
Sharon R. Pinder, Director of the Governor's Office on Minority Affairs (D)  
State Senator Edward J. Kasemeyer (R)  
State Senator E.J. Pipkin (R) (candidate to replace Senator Mikulski)  
State Senator Richard Colburn (R) (T) (challenging Congressman Gilchrest in the Republican primary)



State Senator Janet Greenip (R)  
State Senator Nancy Jacobs (R)  
State Delegate John G. Trueschler (R)  
State Delegate Joseph C. Boteler, III (R)  
State Delegate A. Wade Kach (R)  
State Delegate J.B. Jennings (R)  
State Delegate Steven J. DeBoy, Sr. (D)  
State Delegate James E. Malone, Jr. (R)  
State Delegate Carmen Amedori (R)  
State Delegate Susan Aumann (R)  
State Delegate Gail Bates (R)  
State Delegate David Boschert (R) (challenging Congressman Cardin)  
State Delegate J.B. Jennings (R)  
State Delegate Susan McComas (R)  
State Delegate Warren Miller (R)  
State Delegate LeRoy Myers (R)  
State Delegate Tony O'Donnell (R)  
State Delegate Mike Smiegiel (R)  
State Delegate Nancy Stocksdale (R)  
State Delegate Kathryn Y. Szeliga (R)  
State Delegate Susan W. Krebs (R)  
State Delegate John Cluster (R)  
State Delegate Joseph C. Boteler, III (R)  
Executive James T. "Jim" Smith, Baltimore County (D)  
Councilman Stephen "Sam" Moxley, Baltimore County Council (D)  
Frank Blake, Executive Vice President, Business Development, The Home Depot; and  
former Deputy Secretary of Energy  
Dennis Donovan, Executive Vice President, Human Resources, The Home Depot  
Tom Taylor, President-Eastern Division, The Home Depot  
Ken Langone, Board of Directors, The Home Depot

The Home Depot Employee Military Reservists In Attendance

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b Marine Corps Corporal

William Myers, U.S. Navy Commander, retired honorably July 2003

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b Active Reserve

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b Marine Corps

**Note:** He was part of the team who rescued Jessica Lynch.

(b)(3) 10 USC 130b Air Force

250 invited guests, including local business people, elected officials, and community residents

White House Staff

Joe Hagin, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations

Karl Rove, Senior Advisor

Brian Reardon, Special Assistant to the President for Economic Policy

#### IV. PRESS PLAN

Open

#### V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You arrive at The Home Depot and are greeted by Bob Nardelli, Congressman Ruppberger, and Frank Blake, Dennis Donovan, Tom Taylor, and Ken Langone.
- You proceed to Stage Participant Holding Area to briefly meet stage participants.
- Conversation participants are escorted on to stage.
- You and Bob Nardelli are announced on to stage and proceed to your seats.
- Bob Nardelli will deliver opening remarks, introduce participants, and help moderate the conversation with stage participants.
- You participate in the discussion at your discretion.
- You conclude conversation and depart.

#### VI. REMARKS

Talking Points provided by Speechwriting

#### VII. ATTACHMENTS

Talking Points  
Background Information on Stage Participants

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Potential African-American History Bill Signing Scenarios - To: Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy - From: Ron Christie	2	12/03/2003	P5;

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

#### COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

#### SERIES:

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

#### FOLDER TITLE:

600826 [1]

#### FRC ID:

9725

#### OA Num.:

10749

#### NARA Num.:

10807

#### FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

#### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

#### Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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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.

**Goergen, Barbara J.**

---

**From:** Rove, Karl C.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 03, 2003 12:23 PM  
**To:** Goergen, Barbara J.; Hernandez, Israel  
**Subject:** FW: Black History Museum Signing Options

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

**From:** Miers, Harriet  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 03, 2003 12:12 PM  
**To:** Rove, Karl C.; Jackson, Barry S.; Hernandez, Israel; Hobbs, David W.; Pelletier, Eric C.  
**Subject:** FW: Black History Museum Signing Options

FYI. Ron is very interested in this Bill and I am providing his thoughts on bill signing possibilities for your consideration. Thanks.

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

**From:** Christie, Ronald I.  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 03, 2003 11:31 AM  
**To:** Miers, Harriet  
**Cc:** Campbell, Anne E.  
**Subject:** Black History Museum Signing Options

Good morning, Harriet. For your review, I have attached a memorandum discussing potential signing ceremony options for the National Museum of African-American History and Culture. I will deliver a hard copy of the document within the next hour. I look forward to speaking with you soon!

Ron

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	RE: Remarks by the President at Bush-Cheney 2004 Luncheon - To: Susan Ralston - From: Kimberly Ellison	7	12/05/2003	PRM;

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**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2015-0037-F

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# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	[List]	1	12/04/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

600826 [1]

**FRC ID:**

9725

**OA Num.:**

10749

**NARA Num.:**

10807

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2015-0037-F

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

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600826

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Pete Wehner*

From: Strategic Initiatives *Karl Rove*

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

~~Discussed w/ Andy~~

Karl:

xc: Pete

Dr. Dobson asked me to share this with you.

Regards,



Tim Goeglein

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT  
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES  
2003 NOV 25 PM 3:04



# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Lt. General William Boykin - To: Tim Goeglein - From: James Dobson	2	11/20/2003	P5;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.  
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#### FOLDER TITLE:

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#### FRC ID:

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#### OA Num.:

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#### FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

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600 826

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Matt Schlapp*

From: **Strategic Initiatives** *Karl Rove*

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

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

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

xc: Matt Schlapp  
Ken Mehlman

**Goergen, Barbara J.**

---

**From:** Goeglein, Tim  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 03, 2003 2:55 PM  
**To:** Goergen, Barbara J.; Leitch, David G.  
**Subject:** FW: Rothenberg analysis.

Karl and David-

FYI, he thinks judicial nominations will be a big issue ... See underlined near bottom.

tsg

---

Roll Call - 12/1/03

As Election Nears, Is Everything Coming Up Roses for Bush?  
By Stuart Rothenberg

While the situation in Iraq continues to be a political problem for the White House and President Bush's re-election numbers remain unimpressive, I can't help but believe that things are lining up pretty well for the president.

The economy appears to have turned the corner, and there are plenty of reasons to believe that the nation will have enough economic growth to produce substantial job growth during the next two and a half quarters.

No, the nation isn't going to replace 2.7 million manufacturing jobs before Labor Day, but the White House may well be able to make the case quite credibly that the economy — and the job market — is on the upswing.

Iraq certainly is a mess now, and there is no alternative to using U.S. military personnel and billions of dollars in the effort to stabilize the situations there and in Afghanistan. The United States may be part of a "coalition of the willing," but this country will certainly carry the overwhelming military and financial burden — and absorb most of the casualties — in the region for many months.

Still, if (and it is a big "if") Bush can make the case before Labor Day that Iraqi security personnel and governmental authorities are starting to shoulder increasing responsibilities in that country, then he can argue that the worst is over for the United States.

And if the U.S. military can produce Osama bin Laden or Saddam Hussein dead or alive in the next 11 months, that news would surely boost the president's prospects.

Of course, there are dangers for the White House. Increased casualties or terrorist attacks in Iraq will make it more difficult for the president to claim progress. And if the situation deteriorates toward civil war or the United States appears to cut and run from Iraq, Democrats will score more foreign policy points.

Whatever ultimately happens with the energy bill, the passage of a Medicare/prescription drugs bill means that Bush will seek re-election next year with two major tax cuts, a major education bill and a new prescription drug benefit for seniors to his credit.

Yes, Democrats will complain about the administration's accomplishments, insisting that Republicans have underfunded education or sold out to the energy, insurance and drug companies. But Republicans begin with the advantage in that debate, especially with the AARP giving their seal of approval to Medicare reform.

12/4/2003

While the prescription drug benefit won't begin until 2006, seniors will receive a benefit card sometime next year — just as the presidential race is heating up. Not bad timing for Bush and the GOP.

And then there is the Democratic nominee for president. While the race for the nomination is not yet over, everyone I talk with agrees that the most likely nominee is former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean.

While Dean is a determined, combative candidate who will take the fight to Bush, offer a strong contrast and, possibly, mobilize some new voters, he has more than his share of warts.

The former Vermont governor's stance on three highly salient issues — the war, the Bush tax cut and civil unions for gays — makes it easy for Republicans to paint him as an unapologetic liberal. Dean's call for more government regulation, which the Republicans will likely morph (fairly or unfairly, depending on your viewpoint) into a defense of red tape and big government, only adds to the stereotype.

Sure, Dean will stress his fiscal responsibility in the general election, but he isn't likely to emerge unscathed from the Republican attacks. Even most Democratic consultants are worried that Dean gives too much ammunition to the Republicans.

Finally, the combination of Dean's candidacy, the Massachusetts Supreme Court's decision on same-sex marriage and the lightning-rod nature of the Bush White House would seem to ensure that GOP base constituencies will be energized next November.

Some conservatives are unhappy with the GOP-backed Medicare bill, but that dissatisfaction will evaporate quickly as issues such as gay marriage and the Democrats' efforts to block a handful of highly visible federal judicial nominations take prominence.

But if the president's re-election prospects seem to be improving, there are enough question marks to make the Democratic nomination valuable. Issues not on the radar screen could surface. The economy could turn down, taking new jobs with it. The situation in Iraq could deteriorate further.

Democrats will continue to attack the president's priorities and performance, and some of their punches will likely find their mark. The presidential contest has not yet started, so it cannot yet be over. But it now appears that Bush may well be seeking a second term in a more favorable environment than the one that existed throughout much of 2003. That is good news for the White House.

600824

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Lezlee Westline*

From: Strategic Initiatives *BJ Goergen*

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

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

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

*hester -  
SK said you  
wanted to see a copy  
of this request.  
PJ*

PETER O'DONNELL, JR.  
100 CRESCENT COURT, SUITE 1690  
DALLAS, TEXAS 75201-1884  
214/855-8980 • FAX 214/855-8988

December 1, 2003

**FAX MEMORANDUM**

To: B. J. Goergen  
202/456-0191

From: Carolyn Bacon  
214/855-8988

Re: Appointment with Karl Rove

*BJ - Ok to schedule  
when convenient for  
KR. Fyi to  
MEM-S who should  
send someone from  
DPC who does medica  
tech.*

*KR*

Peter O'Donnell and Karl Rove have exchanged correspondence (attached) and talked about building White House and Congressional support for a national electronic medical records (EMR) system.

Mr. O'Donnell would like to meet with Karl for 30 minutes in early December to discuss two actions that can be taken now to begin building the system:

- 1) Approve a Hill-Burton type program to provide matching funds for regional EMR demonstration projects.
- 2) Approve legislation to establish the National Health Information Infrastructure (NHII) as proposed in House Bill 2915.

Mr. O'Donnell would like to meet on December 10 or 11, if possible. In addition, he has some flexibility on December 8, 12, and 19. He is available to come to Washington or any location most convenient for Karl.

Please let me know if you have any questions: phone: 214/871-5800, email: [bacon@odf.org](mailto:bacon@odf.org) or fax, 214/855-8988.

Thank you very much for your help.

Two pages attached

April 29, 2003

Honorable Karl Rove  
Senior Advisor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Karl:

I appreciated the opportunity to talk to you recently about the benefits of electronic medical records (EMR). My opinion is based on observations made at some of the leading medical centers, namely Duke, Johns Hopkins and Mass General.

In my opinion, advantages of EMR are to:

1. Improve patient care
2. Improve productivity of physicians, nurses and staff
3. Reduce prescription errors
4. Establish a reliable data base for longitudinal medical research
5. Substantially reduce administrative costs of medical care

I believe these factors justify a very substantial national program. Over and above these advantages will be its popularity with the general public and opinion leaders. Further, if it is undertaken on the scale that I think appropriate, there will be economic benefits through its impact on the high tech industry.

Attached is a brief case statement.

I have talked to the President of Johns Hopkins, Dr. William Brody, and to the President of the National Academy of Sciences, Dr. Bruce Alberts. They agree with these conclusions.

Sincerely yours,

Peter O'Donnell, Jr.

Enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

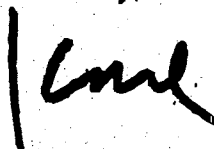
May 15, 2003

Dear Peter,

Thank you for your April 29<sup>th</sup> letter and for the material on electronic medical records. Sounds promising. I'll get people to look into it, though Medicare and Prescription Drugs will get most everyone's attention for some time to come.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,



Karl Rove  
Senior Advisor to the President

Mr. Peter O'Donnell, Jr.  
100 Crescent Court, Suite 1690  
Dallas, Texas 75201-1884

KR:mah



600826

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Matt Schloop*

From: Strategic Initiatives *BJ Goergen*

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

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Esther Ellspermann	1	07/08/2003	PRM;

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

**COLLECTION:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

600826 [1]

**FRC ID:**

9725

**OA Num.:**

10749

**NARA Num.:**

10807

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2015-0037-F

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

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

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

**Deed of Gift Restrictions**

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

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

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

**Records Not Subject to FOIA**

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Pete Wehner*

From: Strategic Initiatives *Karl Rove*

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

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT  
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2003 DEC -4 PM 2:02

Karl:

Worth your reading to see what Heritage is putting out.

Regards,



Tim Goeglein

cc Peter Wehner  
~~Josh sr. staff~~

# Background

No. 1710  
December 2, 2003



Published by The Heritage Foundation

## \$20,000 per Household: The Highest Level of Federal Spending Since World War II

DRAFT

Brian M. Riedl

DRAFT

The 2003 fiscal year mercifully concluded on September 30. Reckless spending by Congress and the President made it a year in which:

- Government spending exceeded \$20,000 per household for the first time since World War II,
- The federal budget expanded by \$353 billion over its 1998 level,
- Defense and the attacks on September 11, 2001, accounted for less than half of all new spending since 2001,
- Mandatory spending reached its highest level in history, and
- Spending increased despite net interest costs plummeting by \$110 billion.<sup>1</sup>

This paper examines the colossal expansion of the federal government since 1998. That year, a temporary tax revenue boom brought the first budget surplus in over a quarter-century. Abolishing the budget deficit also eliminated one of the most effective arguments for spending restraint, and the spending floodgates swung wide open. By 2001, the budget surplus was quickly evaporating because tax revenues, back to their historical levels, could no longer keep pace with runaway spending. The 9/11 terrorist attacks then necessitated new spending on national security. But by that point fiscal responsibility was a distant memory, and lawmakers steadfastly refused to balance these new high-priority security costs with savings elsewhere in the budget. As 2003 closes, the nation finds itself burdened by runaway federal

### Talking Points

- In 2003, federal spending exceeded \$20,000 per household for the first time since World War II.
- The federal budget has expanded by \$353 billion over its 1998 level, led by sharp increases in defense, education, health, farm subsidies, unemployment benefits, and dozens of small, lower-priority programs.
- Defense and the 9/11 attacks account for just 45 percent of all new spending since 2001.
- Mandatory spending has reached the highest level in US history.
- These total spending increases occurred despite net interest costs plummeting by \$110 billion.

This paper in its entirety can be found at  
[www.heritage.org/budget/bj1710.qm](http://www.heritage.org/budget/bj1710.qm)

Produced by the Thomas A. Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies

Published by The Heritage Foundation  
214 Massachusetts Ave. NE  
Washington, DC 20002-4999  
(202) 546-4400 [heritage.org](http://heritage.org)

Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

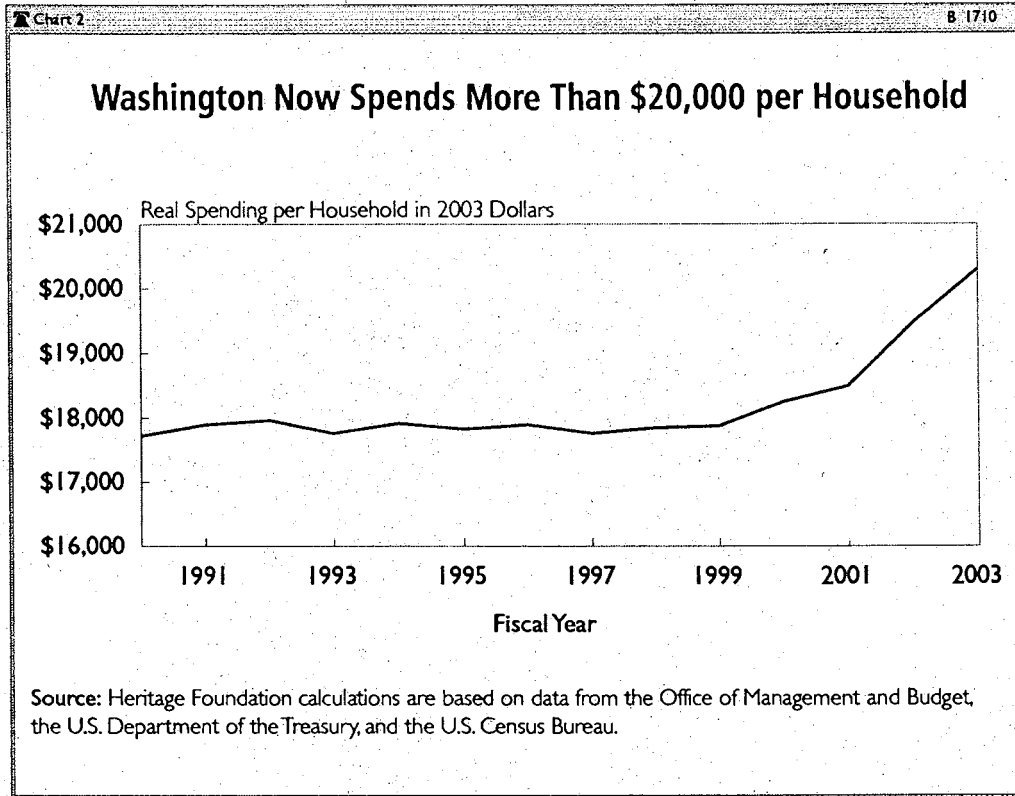


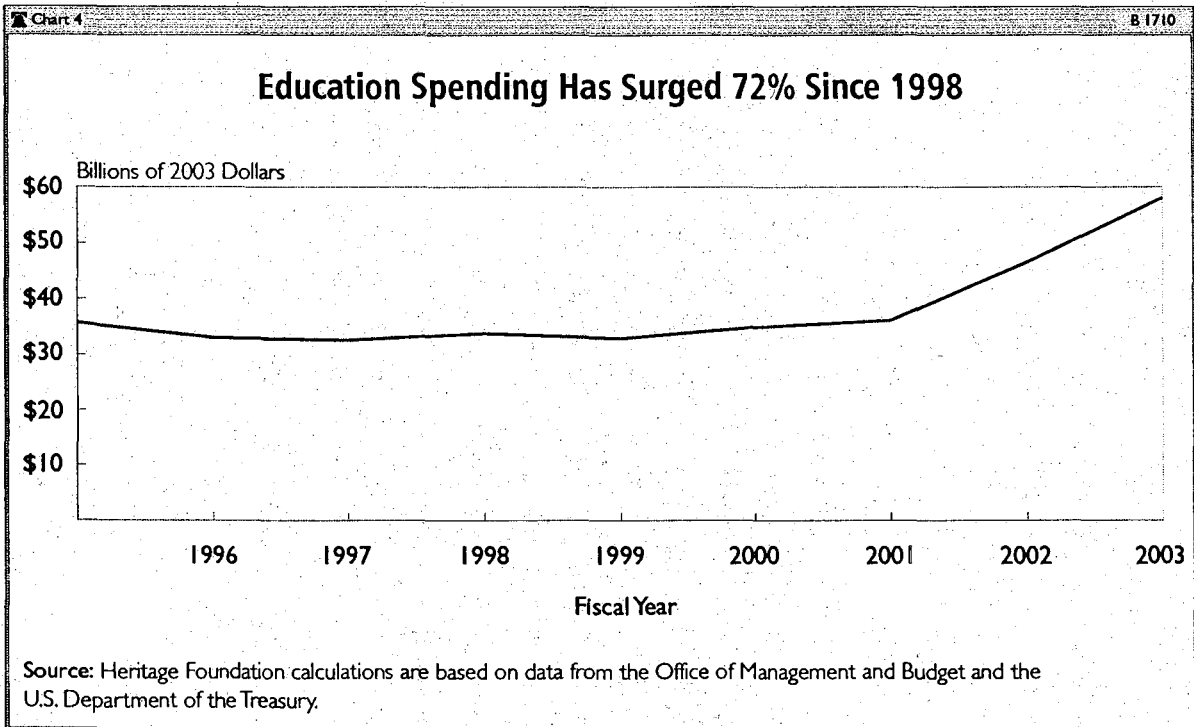
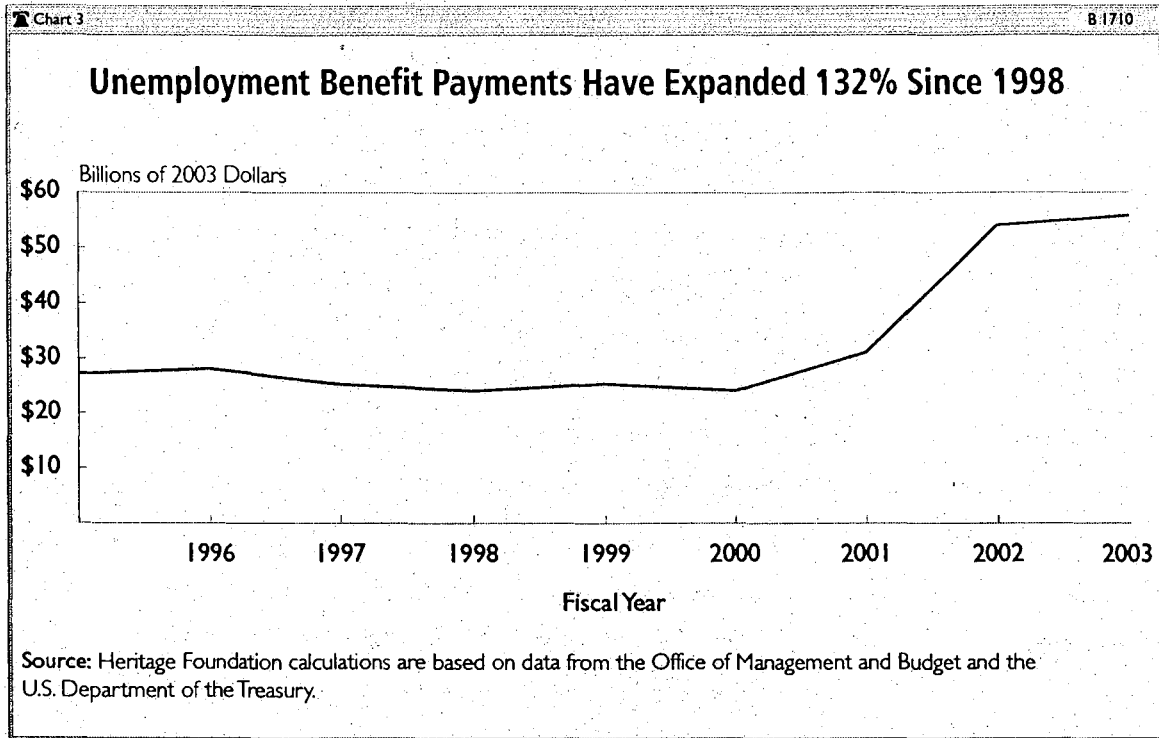
Table 1 B-1710

### Federal Spending Has Topped \$20,000 per Household Four Times in American History

Rank	Year	Federal Spending per Household
1	1944	\$26,445
2	1945	\$25,572
3	1943	\$23,370
4	2003	\$20,399

All amounts are in constant 2003 dollars.

Source: Heritage Foundation calculations are based on data from the Office of Management and Budget.



- \$32 billion (11 percent) was for 9/11-related spending for homeland security, compensating victims, rebuilding New York, and international assistance and security; and
- \$164 billion (55 percent) was unrelated to defense and the 9/11 attacks (see chart 7).<sup>4</sup>

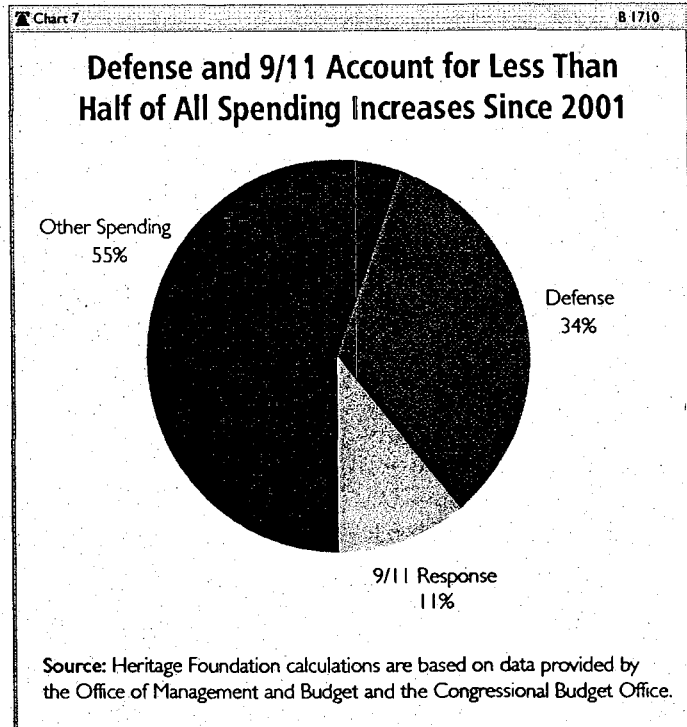
What would federal spending look like if the defense budget and all 9/11-related costs were excluded? Chart 8 shows that the portion of the budget unrelated to defense and 9/11 grew by 11 percent from 2001 through 2003—the largest two-year increase in a decade. Thus, not only did Congress and the President refuse to cut unrelated programs to fund the war on terrorism, but they also actually *accelerated* their growth rates. Although a convenient scapegoat, defense and other 9/11-related costs do not sufficiently explain why government is expanding so rapidly.

### Mandatory Spending

In 2003, mandatory spending reached its highest level in United States history. After holding between \$8,000 and \$9,000 per household through most of the 1990s, mandatory spending surged to a record \$11,144 per household in 2003, marking the first time that mandatory spending reached 11 percent of the gross domestic product.

Mandatory programs are those whose annual spending totals are not set annually, such as Social Security, Medicaid, and most welfare programs. Policymakers decide who is eligible for a program and what the benefit formula will be. For the next several years, total spending is determined by how many eligible individuals enroll in the program and where they fit in the benefit formula. Consequently, policymakers reject blame for mandatory spending trends that many of them did not vote to create. But elected officials are not forbidden from changing these spending formulas whenever they see fit. In fact, lawmakers have a responsibility to keep mandatory spending levels in tandem with the nation's evolving priorities.

Instead of pulling back these entitlement programs, Congress and the President expanded them.

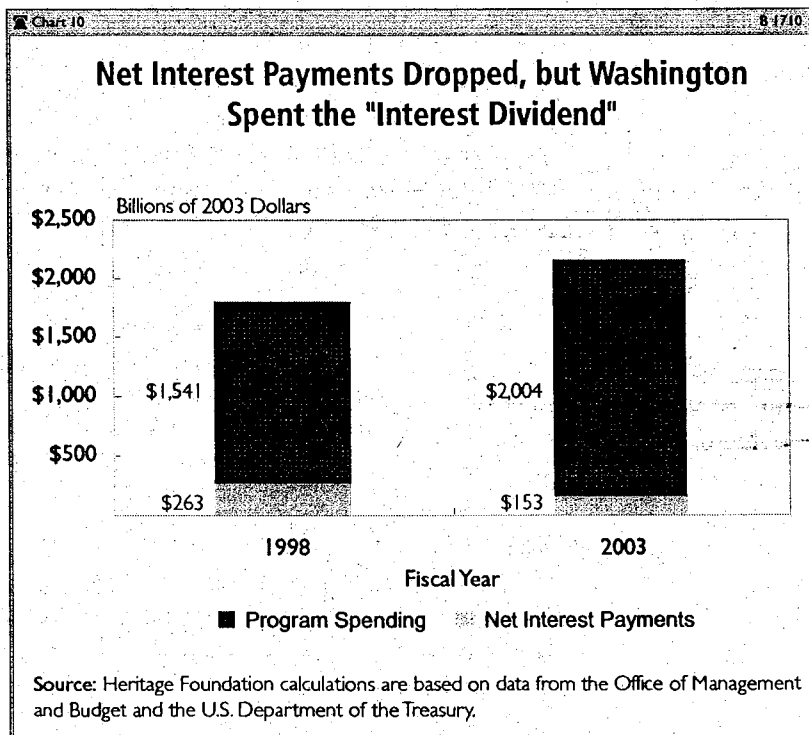
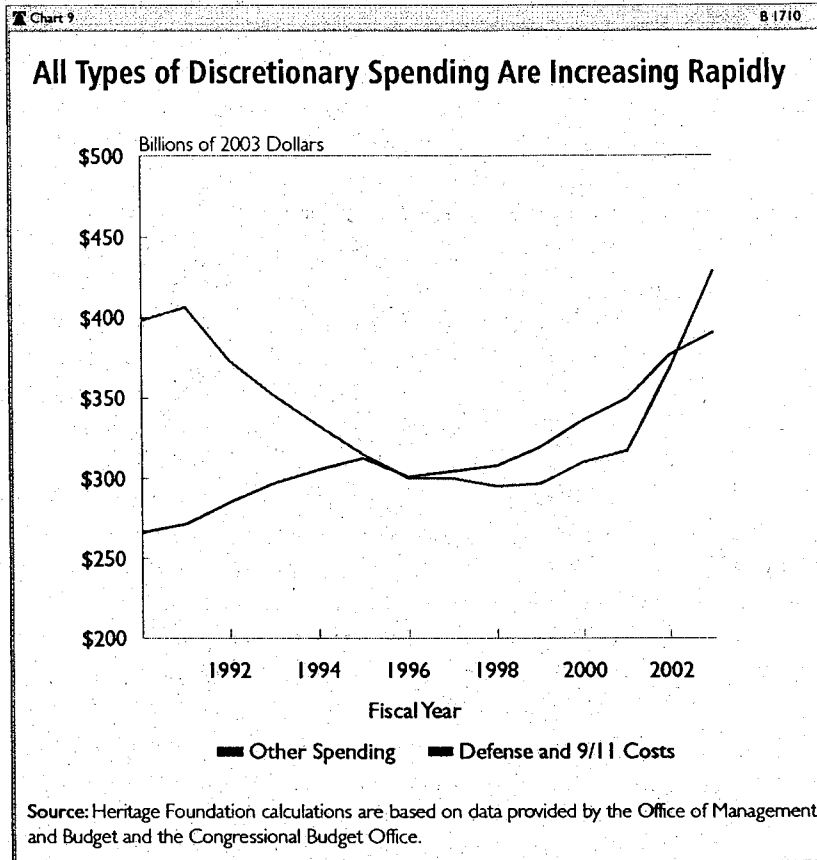


As stated earlier, lawmakers enacted large expansions in farm subsidies and unemployment benefits. They also failed to reform—and in 2003, increased funding for—Medicaid, the costs of which have jumped 45 percent since 1998. Social Security and Medicare grew by just 13 percent and 16 percent, respectively, in what is the calm before their coming budgetary storm.

The coming crisis in Social Security and Medicare is staggering. These programs will be able to finance themselves through payroll taxes until approximately 2015, when the costs of funding retiring baby boomers will overwhelm the generation still in the workforce. The tax increase needed to fund the Medicare shortfall is projected to reach \$1,500 per household by 2020, and nearly \$3,000 per household by 2030. Funding the Social Security shortfall will require additional taxes nearly as large as those for Medicare, and neither the payroll tax nor any of these coming tax increases will be set aside for the worker paying all the taxes. All of it will fund current retirees.

4. These short-term growth rates are in nominal dollars. See Brian M. Riedl, "Most New Spending Since 2001 Unrelated to the War on Terrorism," Heritage Foundation *Backgrounder* No. 1703, November 13, 2003, at [www.heritage.org/Research/Budget/BG1703.cfm](http://www.heritage.org/Research/Budget/BG1703.cfm).





such cases, limited government involvement can aid economic growth.

Contrary to the fallacy that government spending stimulates the economy, government spending beyond this base level impedes economic growth for three reasons:<sup>7</sup>

- **Diminishing Effectiveness.** Governments often begin spending on such necessities as defense, law enforcement, and basic public goods. Empowered by the opportunities for economic growth that these services provide, they mistakenly conclude that they can solve any problem. Consequently, they tend to expand their efforts into services that the market is better equipped to provide, such as education, housing, food, and pensions. With each expansion, the government not only blocks the market from functioning, but also becomes less and less effective itself, until it ultimately becomes a barrier to economic growth.
- **Politics.** Markets use the profit motive to ensure that resources are allocated efficiently. Businesses seeking profits must consistently respond to consumer demand with quality products at low prices. Governments, by contrast, are monopolies with no real profit motive or incentive to spend money efficiently, so policymakers make re-election their "profit" and consequently allocate resources to even the most wasteful programs if they help ensure their return to office. While innovation and evolving with the changing times are required for businesses to survive, they represent an unnecessary risk for politicians who are guaranteed re-election as long as they do not interrupt the flow of government funds to their districts. Hence, while markets helped the Model T evolve into the Porsche and the Apple IIe into the supercomputer, the federal government continues to run many of the same federal agen-

cies—now obsolete—that it established as far back as the 1800s.

- **High Taxes.** Increased government spending makes it difficult for working families to make ends meet. Even when the government funds itself by borrowing money, repaying those loans will eventually require higher taxes. Unless lawmakers pare back the \$2,500 per household spending increase since 1998, the average household will eventually have \$2,500 less per year to spend on necessities such as health insurance, retirement, housing, and education. Regrettably, many people praise government spending on families without acknowledging that families first had to be taxed—and that the burden of those taxes often outweighs the benefits of the government programs.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to their high cost, taxes hurt the economy by distorting incentives. Families and businesses work, save, and invest because they expect a financial reward. These productive behaviors also make the rest of the nation wealthier by creating additional economic activity. But burdensome tax rates reduce the financial reward for being productive. Consequently, families and businesses cut back their productive behavior to escape taxes, and the entire economy slows down.

To see the consequences of excessive spending and taxation, one need look no further than Western Europe, where politicians have promised to provide for all of their citizens' needs in exchange for higher taxes and bigger government. Western Europeans have incomes 40 percent below Americans' and unemployment rates twice as high. They also pay 50 percent of their income in taxes.

## Conclusion

Budgets are about setting priorities. Each day, millions of households find ways to live within

7. This three-category breakdown of the side effects of government spending is from James Gwartney, Robert Lawson, and Randall Holcombe, "The Size and Functions of Government and Economic Growth," Joint Economic Committee, U.S. House of Representative and U.S. Senate, April 1998.

8. Milton Friedman, winner of the Nobel Prize in economics, has argued persuasively that individuals, because they are spending their own money and not someone else's, have better incentives to spend efficiently than do governments. Consequently, allowing families to spend their own money on items such as education and health care will be more effective than having governments tax these families in order to purchase the services for them.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Margaret Spellings*

From: **Strategic Initiatives** *Karl Rove*

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

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Tim Goeglein*

From: Strategic Initiatives *Kel Row*

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

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

600826

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Kristen Silverberg*

From: **Strategic Initiatives** *Rev (Rovc)*

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

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

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

# Withdrawal Marker

## The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Proposed Strategy to Solve the FMA Divisions - To: Karl Rove - From: Mike Farris	2	12/04/2003	P5;

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

**COLLECTION:**

Records Management, White House Office of

**SERIES:**

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

**FOLDER TITLE:**

600826 [1]

**FRC ID:**

9725

**OA Num.:**

10749

**NARA Num.:**

10807

**FOIA IDs and Segments:**

2015-0037-F

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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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).

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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.

# HOME SCHOOL LEGAL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

*Advocates for Family & Freedom*

J. MICHAEL SMITH, ESQ.  
PRESIDENT (CA, DC, VA)

CHRISTOPHER J. KLICKA, ESQ.  
SENIOR COUNSEL (VA)

DEWITT T. BLACK III, ESQ.  
SENIOR COUNSEL (AR, SC, DC)

SCOTT W. SOMERVILLE, ESQ.  
ATTORNEY (VA)

MICHAEL P. FARRIS, ESQ.  
GENERAL COUNSEL (DC, WA)

JAMES R. MASON III, ESQ.  
LITIGATION COUNSEL (OR)

SCOTT A. WOODRUFF, ESQ.  
ATTORNEY (VA, MO)

DARREN A. JONES, ESQ.  
ATTORNEY (CA)

## FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL

DATE: 12/4/03

TO: KARL ROVE

FAX NO: 202.456.0191

FROM: MIKE FARRIS

SENDER'S FAX NUMBER: (540) 338-7611

- URGENT - Please notify recipient for pickup
- LEAVE IN FAX AREA - Recipient is aware of fax.

No. of pages (including cover): 3

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

FMA "PEACE PLAN"

\*\*\*\*\*

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600826

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/3/03

To: Julie Thomas

From: Strategic Initiatives BJ. Goergen

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

Comments: Please decline for  
Karl and handle as  
appropriate. Thanks.





AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION

ATTN: Mr. Karl Rove  
Attn: Julie Thomas  
Fax: (202) 456-0191  
Date: December 3, 2003  
From: Marc Ross  
Director of Grassroots and Field Operations  
RE: Dealer Dialogue

---

Mr. Rove:

I wanted to invite you to participate in our dynamic "Dealer Dialogue" series.

"Dealer Dialogues" are town-hall style conference calls that permit the free exchange of ideas between our most active members, political personalities, senior administration officials, and leading business executives.

As leaders in the automotive industry and their local communities, our members are keenly aware the role legislation and economics play in the successful management of their auto retail facilities. AIADA's membership would benefit greatly from hearing your perspective on today's competitive business and economic atmosphere.

Attached you will find a formal letter inviting you to be a speaker at a time and date that is convenient for your schedule. Already we have had successful calls with Steve Forbes and Charlie Cook, and have Todd Cunningham of MTV networks scheduled for later this month.

You are exactly the type of speaker we are looking for to maintain the level of success we have enjoyed with this program.

I look forward to hearing from you in the coming days – thanks again - Marc



**AMERICAN  
INTERNATIONAL  
AUTOMOBILE  
DEALERS  
ASSOCIATION**

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

December 3, 2003

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

Dear Mr. Rove,

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

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

AIADA has organized a series of town-hall style conference calls called "Dealer Dialogues" with national leaders and our most active member dealers.

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

If your schedule allows, we would be honored to have you address our members via conference call on one of the following dates and time:

January 5, 2004	200pm (E)	July 19, 2004	200pm (E)
January 12, 2004	200pm (E)	August 2, 2004	200pm (E)
March 1, 2004	200pm (E)	September 13, 2004	200pm (E)
April 5, 2004	200pm (E)	October 4, 2004	200pm (E)
May 3, 2004	200pm (E)	November 8, 2004	200pm (E)
June 7, 2004	200pm (E)	December 6, 2004	200pm (E)

Please contact Marc Ross - Director of Grassroots and Field Operations at [rossm@aiada.org](mailto:rossm@aiada.org) or (703) 519-6886 to for additional information or to make the necessary arrangements.

Thank you in advance for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Marianne McInerney  
President



AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL AUTOMOBILE DEALERS ASSOCIATION

ATTN: Mr. Karl Rove  
Attn: Julie Thomas

Fax: (202) 456-0191

Date: December 3, 2003

From: Marc Ross  
Director of Grassroots and Field Operations

RE: Dealer Dialogue

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You are exactly the type of speaker we are looking for to maintain the level of success we have enjoyed with this program.

I look forward to hearing from you in the coming days – thanks again - Marc



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INTERNATIONAL  
AUTOMOBILE  
DEALERS  
ASSOCIATION**

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

December 3, 2003

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

Dear Mr. Rove,

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

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Thank you in advance for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

Marianne McInerney  
President

600826

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 12/5/03

To: *Tim Goeglein*

From: **Strategic Initiatives** *BJ Gaergen*

- FYI
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- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

INSIGHT



FAMILY  
RESEARCH  
COUNCIL

Tim Geoghegan - Tmj  
B.K.

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT  
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2003 DEC -5 PM 1:31

# HUMAN DIGNITY DENIED: SLAVERY, GENOCIDE, AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IN SUDAN

*William L. Saunders Jr.*

&

*Yuri G. Mantilla*

For more than ten years, the government of Sudan has waged war against its own citizens resulting in the greatest humanitarian and human rights catastrophe in the world.<sup>1</sup> The war has claimed more than 2 million lives<sup>2</sup> and displaced an additional 4 million.<sup>3</sup> While all sides in Sudan's civil war have committed human rights abuses, the forces of the Sudanese government – which scholar Paul Marshall calls “the worst practitioner of religious persecution and the worst violator of human rights in the world”<sup>4</sup> – bear the largest share of responsibility. As Macram Max Gassis, a Roman Catholic bishop in Sudan, states, “War is the cause of our problems. And the cause of the war is the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Khartoum.”<sup>5</sup>

The government of Sudan has tried to break the spirit of its opponents. It has attacked civilians, used famine as a weapon, and countenanced the revival of slavery. Sudan has also sponsored international terrorism.<sup>6</sup> Its aim is to force the non-Arab, non-Muslim peoples of the south and other marginalized areas, such as the Nuba Mountains, to abandon their culture and religion. The Department of State called the effort, which remains strong, nothing less than forced Islamization and Arabization.<sup>7</sup>

While starvation of civilians and systematic ethnic cleansing attest to the existence of genocide in Sudan, the tragedy of Sudan does not end there – the crime of slavery is also present. The evidence gathered on the existence of slavery by the United Nations, Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) and the media are especially relevant to this case study. This evidence proves that the government of Sudan is violating the Slavery Convention and the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery. The Sudanese regime is also violating the norms of international humanitarian law applicable to internal armed conflicts.

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