

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Report	LSG on the Budget Resolution	3	02/25/2003	P5;
002	Report	Arguments for Supporting a Federal Marriage Amendment...	3	N.D.	P5;
003	Email	The Case for a Federal Marriage Amendment - From: Peter Wehner	1	03/02/2004	P5;
004	Report	Efforts to Extend UI Benefits	1	03/01/2004	P5;
005	Report	Minimum Wage	2	02/27/2004	P5;
006	Chart	[Safetea Spending Charts]	5	N.D.	P5;
007	Email	FW: RFK, JR. - To: Barbara Goergen, et al. - From: Barry Jackson	1	12/02/2003	P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

616199 [3]

FRC ID:

9731

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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008	Email	Fw: Norquist: State Legislator - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/04/2003	PRM;
009	Letter	FW: Letter from the President of the Christian Coalition... [page 1] - To: Barbara Goergen, et al. - From: Matthew Smith	1	02/20/2004	P6/b6;
010	Email	[Federal Marriage Amendment] - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	1	02/18/2004	P5;
011	Memorandum	State Action on No Child Left Behind [with attachments] - To: Karl Rove - From: Keith Brancato	4	02/19/2004	P5;
012	Agenda	Environment and Natural Resources Principals Meeting	1	02/20/2004	P5;
013	Report	Environment and Natural Resources Communications...	2	02/20/2004	P5;

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014	Memorandum	Environmental Principals Meeting - To: Karl Rove, et al. - From: Bill Greene	1	02/18/2004	P5;
015	Report	Opinion Data Summary: Environment	1	02/19/2004	P5;
016	Email	Friday's Environment Briefing - To: Barbara Goergen, et al. - From: Peter Wehner	2	02/19/2004	P5;
017	Memorandum	Communicator Alert System Operational Evaluation - To: Karl Rove - From: Michael Miller	1	02/20/2004	b7f;
018	Information Sheet	[Contact Information - A.K. Mago]	1	N.D.	P6/b6;
019	Information Sheet	[Contact Information - Felix Chen]	1	N.D.	P6/b6;
020	Information Sheet	[Contact Information - Robert Hsueh]	1	N.D.	P6/b6;

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021	Information Sheet	[Contact Information - I.K & Nim Kim]	1	N.D.	P6/b6;
022	Information Sheet	[Contact Information - Bob Driegert]	1	N.D.	P6/b6;
023	Information Sheet	[Contact Information - Emily Melton]	1	N.D.	P6/b6;
024	Email	FW: FW: Thoughts about FMA - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein	2	02/17/2004	P5;
025	Email	FW: Some Thoughts on Proliferation - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Tim Goeglein	2	02/07/2004	P5;
026	Letter	[CAFTA] - To: Karl Rove - From: Vince Abentroth	1	01/22/2004	P6/b6;
027	Email	FW: Message from John Nau re: Chancellorsville - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	06/23/2003	PRM;

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028	Email	FW: Bill Clements / Nov. 7 - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Susan Ralston	1	07/22/2003	PRM;
029	Note	[Note] - To: Karl - From: Pete	1	08/29/2003	P5;
030	Letter	[Steel] - To: Karl Rove - From: Marc Ellinger	1	09/03/2003	P6/b6;

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FOIA IDs and Segments:

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Report	Arguments for Supporting a Federal Marriage Amendment...	3	N.D.	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: RFK, JR. - To: Barbara Goergen, et al. - From: Barry Jackson	1	12/02/2003	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:

616199 [3]

FRC ID:

9731

OA Num.:

10755

NARA Num.:

10813

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Norquist: State Legislator - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	12/04/2003	PRM;

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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AKIN GUMP
STRAUSS HAUER & FELD LLP

Attorneys at Law

Ask Barry
KR Declines

6/6/99

MEMORANDUM

December 5, 2003

To: Karl Rove
Susan Ralston

From: Maurie Dugger
Bill Paxon's Office

Re: Florida Citrus Mutual Tariff Negotiations

Via Facsimile: (202) 456-0191

This memo will serve as a request for a short meeting with Karl Rove and Bill Paxon to discuss the status of the tariff negotiations and FTAA. If there is time available in the next two weeks, we'd appreciate the opportunity to come in at Mr. Rove's convenience.

Joining Mr. Paxon will be Ron Kaufman of the Dutko Group and Dave Hoppe of Quinn Gillespie.

Please do not hesitate to contact me or my assistant, Maurie Dugger at 202-887-4297 if there is any time available for a meeting. Thank you for your assistance.

616199

POLICY TIME – FEBRUARY 2004

SUN	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SAT
1	2 Time Released	3 3:15-4:00pm: NEC Health Care (45 min)	4 Time Released	5 3:15-4:00pm: NEC/NSC FTA-Australia (45 min)	6 Time Released	7
8	9 NO TIME TRAVEL	10 Time Released	11 4:00-4:45pm: NEC Health Care (45 min)	12 2:15-3:00pm: DPC: DoED Issues (45 min)	13 Time Released	14
15	16 NO TIME HOLIDAY	17 9:20-10:05am: DPC: Faith-based Initiatives (45 min)	18 Time Released	19 Time Released	20 1:05-1:50pm: NEC Social Security (45 min) 2:05-2:35pm: DPC Meeting on AIDS (30 min)	21
22	23 1:30-2:15pm: NEC: Health Care (45 min)	24 2:10pm-2:55pm: DPC: Clear Skies (45 min)	25 3:00-3:45pm: NEC: Medicare (45 min)	26 NO TIME TRAVEL	27 1:05-1:50pm: NEC: GSEs (45 min)	28
29						

POLICY TIME – MARCH 2004

SUN	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SAT
	1 1:30-2:15pm: TBD (45 min)	2 1:30-2:15pm: TBD (45 min)	3 NO TIME	4 NO TIME	5 NO TIME	6
7	8	9	10 TRAVEL	11 TRAVEL	12 TRAVEL	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

F: FWA 6/6/99

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Smith, Matthew E.
Sent: Friday, February 20, 2004 9:34 AM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.; Goeglein, Tim
Subject: FW: Letter from the President of the Christian Coalition of America

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

From: Jim Backlin [mailto:jimbacklin@cc.org]
Sent: Friday, February 20, 2004 1:11 AM
To: Smith, Matthew E.
Subject: Letter from the President of the Christian Coalition of America

Matt,
I thought you would like to read this letter from Roberta to the Arlington Group members. Key excerpt:
"We do not need President Bush to do our work for us. He has said he will support our efforts to amend the constitution. It is up to us to do the work now and get the Musgrave FMA and the FMA introduced by Senators Wayne Allard, Jeff Sessions, and Sam Brownback passed."

Jim Backlin
cell: (b)(6)

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

From: Roberta Combs

To: [Redacted]

[Redacted]

(b)(6)

Sent: Thursday, February 19, 2004 5:08 PM
Subject: Letter from the President of the Christian Coalition of America

TO: Arlington Group
FROM: Roberta Combs
President, Christian Coalition of America

Although I have not been able to attend the meetings of the Arlington Group due to an illness of my husband Andy, I have been following all of the developments regarding the federal marriage amendment debate. After receiving the latest email from Don Hodel, "Subject: Don Wildmon's email - Subj: 'had enough,'" I decided to send you my perspective, from someone who has been involved with grassroots organizing, consulted on many

campaigns and been involved in politics for at least two decades. My husband and/or I have been delegates to the last four National Republican Party Conventions, and I have served on the National Platform Committee during which we have always protected the institution of marriage in the party platform.

Last spring my staff and I met with Congresswoman Marilyn Musgrave and gave her Christian Coalition's full support for her Federal Marriage Amendment (FMA.) We thought that her FMA language was the toughest language which could pass both chambers of the Congress. Christian Coalition's legislative director, Jim Backlin, who represented me at the Arlington Group meetings, made it clear each time that Christian Coalition wholeheartedly supported the Musgrave FMA language as written.

During the Arlington Group meeting in November 2003 chaired by House Values Action Team Chairman Joe Pitts and Congresswoman Marilyn Musgrave, Jim Backlin was the only speaker who said that the Musgrave FMA should not be "toughened up" because such an amendment had no chance of passing the United States Senate. He mentioned that he had worked on Capitol Hill for 13 years at the Republican Study Committee (RSC) chaired by Congressmen Tom DeLay, Dan Burton and Bob Dornan, and was chief of staff for Congressman Roscoe Bartlett. He told the Arlington Group that during that time, he was the RSC staffer responsible for helping Democrat Chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee, Sonny Montgomery and Republican ranking member, Jerry Solomon, get their flag protection constitutional amendment passed. He told the Arlington Group participants that although the U.S. House always overwhelmingly passes the flag amendment, the U.S. Senate was always a few votes short. To this day, it has not passed the U.S. Congress.

With only 27 constitutional amendments ratified out of thousands of amendments introduced during the past 200+ years, we need to support a federal marriage amendment which will actually pass Congress and which will be ratified by 38 states. That is why we made the Musgrave FMA one of our top issues in Christian Coalition's "Let's Take America Back" campaign.

We need to look at this issue as more than a spiritual issue; we must also consider the political aspects of this debate. We waited for 8 long years to have a committed Christian in the White House. We now have one. Our president must represent all of the American people, not just those with whom he agrees. We are encouraged by the news that the president supports amending the constitution to protect the institution of marriage.

I do not understand the disagreement amongst pro-family groups with regards to support for a federal marriage constitutional amendment. We do not need President Bush to do our work for us. He has said he will support our efforts to amend the constitution. It is up to us to do the work now and get the Musgrave FMA and the FMA introduced by Senators Wayne Allard, Jeff Sessions, and Sam Brownback passed. These Members of Congress should be commended for their courage in introducing this most critical legislation.

We now all need to offer our wholehearted support to them and get the votes to pass the Musgrave/Allard FMA before the Congress adjourns for the year, preferably before the summer recess. And then we will work to get the 38 States to ratify it. In closing let me express my deep gratitude for your great ministries and to Don Wildmon for putting this group together. It is a pleasure to be associated with you. Thank you for all your hard work and all that you do. May God bless you and your families.

VALIS ASSOCIATES

Karl -
Thanks for your
support & friendship.
Best,
WV

February 20, 2004

WV
6/6/99

Memorandum For: The Honorable Karl Rove

From: Wayne Valis *Wayne*

Subject: Ethanol Industry

I just attended the National Ethanol Conference in Miami. The enclosed message from the President, as well as a message from Secretary Abraham, were both well received by the more than 800 company attendees.

As you know, the ethanol industry has more than doubled during George Bush's Presidency. All of the attendees were well-aware that President Bush has done more than any other President to make their industry successful.

The President's unswerving support of ethanol and his strong commitment to the maintenance of the oxygenate requirement are redounding to the President's benefit in the battleground states of Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Ohio, Michigan, and others.

Also, I would like to thank Susan Ralston and Misty Marshall whose good work made both of these messages possible.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 2004

I send greetings to those gathered for the 2004 National Ethanol Conference, hosted by the Renewable Fuels Association (RFA).

Renewable fuels, such as ethanol and biodiesel, play an important role in a comprehensive energy plan that promotes conservation and reduces dependence on foreign sources of energy. Ethanol and biodiesel are also an important part of our rural economy and a great example of the success of value-added agriculture.

As we continue to work with the Congress to pass good energy legislation, I appreciate the ongoing support of RFA members. Together, we can enact commonsense energy policies and build a secure and reliable energy future for our Nation.

Laura joins me in sending our best wishes.

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	[Federal Marriage Amendment] - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter Wehner	1	02/18/2004	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	State Action on No Child Left Behind [with attachments] - To: Karl Rove - From: Keith Brancato	4	02/19/2004	P5;

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More States Are Fighting 'No Child Left

Complex Provisions, Funding Gaps In Bush Education Initiative Cited

By MICHAEL DOBBS
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two years after President Bush proclaimed a "new era" in American public education with the passage of his No Child Left Behind initiative, a growing number of state legislators and school administrators are looking for ways to opt out of requirements they view as intrusive and underfunded.

Resistance that began in New England last year over the implementation of the broadest-education reforms in a generation has spread to several southern and western states, with Republicans joining Democrats in criticizing a plan that once enjoyed bipartisan support.

Utah's Republican-dominated House voted last week to refuse to implement No Child Left Behind "except where there is adequate federal funding." The bill, now before the state Senate, closely parallels a move last year by the Vermont legislature to bar any state funding for the Bush education reforms.

Over the past few days, Republican legislators in Arizona and Minnesota have introduced bills that would allow the states to reject parts of No Child Left Behind or opt out of its provisions. The legislatures of at least 10 other states, from Virginia to Washington, have adopted resolutions critical of the law or requested waivers from the Education Department.

While the protests have yet to become a nationwide rebellion, some analysts predict that the movement to opt out of the program will gather momentum as more and more schools are put on watch lists required by the law that designate them "in need of improvement." As many as half the schools in some states have failed to meet the law's complicated definition of "adequate yearly progress" in student test scores, triggering a range of costly remedial measures and sanctions.

No Child Left Behind, enacted in 2002, requires annual testing of students in grades three through eight and forces schools whose students do not improve at a steady rate to take remedial action. The remedies include profes-

sional help for teachers, extra tutoring for students and transfers of students to higher-achieving schools. Schools that continue to underperform could ultimately be forced to replace their staffs or even reopen as charter schools.

The unhappiness with No Child Left Behind could develop into a major election-year issue, said John F. "Jack" Jennings, director of the Center on Education Policy, an independent think tank that has studied the implementation of the law. He noted that states are due to publish updated watch lists of failing schools in August or September, and that "there are bound to be more schools that don't make the grade."

"We will know in the heat of the election battle how many schools are on the lists, and it is likely to add oil to the fire," Jennings said, noting that Democratic presidential candidates have begun to criticize the Bush education reforms. "States do not have the resources to deal with it."

In an interview Friday, Education Secretary Roderick R. Paige said many of the protests against the No Child Left Behind law are the result of its very complexity—it is more than 1,000 pages long—and a failure to understand its provisions. He said that much of the opposition is coming from a Washington-based "union establishment" that has mounted "a deliberate and highly financed effort to distort information" about the law.

"For every person out there who is criticizing this law, there are tens out there who are supporting it," Paige said.

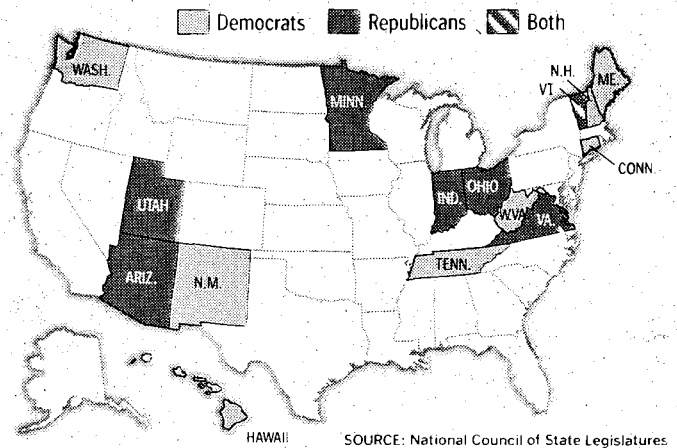
In an attempt to defuse resistance to the plan, Paige has dispatched senior officials to states challenging the law. Ron Tomalis, a senior Paige adviser, met with Utah lawmakers earlier this month and told them that they would lose \$106 million in federal money if they refused to cooperate with Washington.

After the meeting, Utah Republicans softened their opposition to the law, replacing their threat to opt out of the program with a demand that it be fully funded by the federal government. Margaret Dayton, chairwoman of the Utah House's Education Committee,

Opposition to Education Law

Legislatures in several states have taken measures against the No Child Left Behind law.

States that have protested against NCLB, and party leading the protests



Nature of Protest

Arizona: Senate resolution requests exemptions for students with disabilities. House introduced opt-out bill.

Connecticut: Senate resolution requests waivers from NCLB.

Hawaii: House resolution authorized state to opt out of NCLB. Did not pass Senate.

Indiana: Senate bill would authorize waivers for NCLB accountability requirements that conflict with state requirements.

Maine: Senate resolution would bar state funding of NCLB.

Minnesota: Opt-out legislation proposed in House and Senate.

New Hampshire: Bill would bar state from spending money on law.

New Mexico: Opt-out bill introduced in House.

Ohio: Released cost study estimating cost to state of implementing NCLB at \$1.5 billion.

Tennessee: Senate joint resolution calls for increased federal funding for NCLB.

Utah: House passed bill opting out of NCLB provisions for which there is insufficient federal funding.

Vermont: Passed law in 2003 barring state funding of NCLB.

Virginia: House resolution requests exemptions from NCLB.

Washington: House passed resolution describing NCLB as "largest act of federal intrusion in history."

West Virginia: House passed resolution criticizing inadequate level of federal funding.

said she was torn between "the idea of turning away \$106 million" and concern that the federal reforms would be costly and undermine "state sovereignty."

Public opinion surveys have shown that most parents and school administrators support the goals of No Child Left Behind, which is designed to bring all children in the nation up to proficiency, as defined by the states themselves, in reading and math by 2014. But doubts are increasingly

being raised about how the reforms will be funded and the extension of federal authority into an area that has traditionally been reserved for states and school districts.

Opposition to the law is now coming equally from both political parties, said Scott Young, an analyst with the National Conference of State Legislatures, which represents 7,500 elected officials nationwide. "Republicans tend to see this as federal intrusion into

ft Behind' Law

state rights, while Democrats complain more about insufficient funding. But the two concerns overlap," he said.

Bush administration officials note that federal spending on education has increased by 35 percent, or \$15 billion, since Bush took office. Much of the money is earmarked for underprivileged groups, such as poor children or students with limited knowledge of English.

Paige said he is eager to work with the nation's 15,000 school districts in implementing No Child Left Behind, and is ready "to examine every regulation letter by letter to see how much help we can provide them." But he said he "emphatically" opposes any legislative changes that would water down the emphasis on bringing student subgroups—including ethnic minorities and special education students—up to proficiency by 2014.

Nevertheless, Paige is scheduled to hold a news conference today at which he will announce new, more flexible testing requirements for students with limited knowledge of English, department officials said. The changes are likely to make it easier for schools to meet the yearly progress goals of No Child Left Behind, defusing some of the criticism that has been leveled at the law over the past few months.

Until now, no state has been prepared to reject No Child Left Behind altogether, which would mean relinquishing federal subsidies, which account for about 11 percent of total expenditures on education. Instead, they are looking for ways to escape the most onerous parts of the legislation.

In an early example of this trend, Vermont passed a law in 2003 refusing to implement unfunded federal mandates. William Mathis, who supervises a group of school districts in central Vermont, said the No Child Left Behind law will force him to divert money from several of his neediest public schools to support student transfers and supplemental tutoring. It is tantamount, he said, to a "death sentence" for several small rural schools.

If Mathis accepted the federal money (about \$500,000 in his case) for schools in low-income areas, he would also have to implement a slew of federal regulations and sanctions. Instead, he is channeling the same money into other

programs, such as early education, that have fewer strings attached.

It is unclear whether this tactic, which has been implemented in other Vermont school districts, will pass muster with the federal government. Mathis and other opponents of No Child Left Behind cite a clause in the law that stipulates that states cannot be compelled by the federal government "to incur any costs not paid for under this act."

In Utah, meanwhile, the superintendent of the state's largest school district has calculated that he will have to spend \$182 million over the next 10 years to implement all the provisions of No Child Left Behind. The Jordan school district currently receives about \$2.2 million a year in federal Title I funding.

"Imagine that you are building a new home, and you have reached agreement with the contractor on when the home will be finished and what the price will be," superintendent Barry Newbold said. "Then someone comes along and says they want the house to be completed much more quickly, and with a spectacular new addition. You would say, 'I can accomplish that, but I will need more money, more resources.'" A similar study estimated that Ohio will have to spend nearly \$1.5 billion over the next 10 years to implement No Child Left Behind. While some extra money will be required for student testing, most of it will go to raising student achievement through tutoring, longer school days and summer school.

Federal officials strongly contest the Ohio and Utah cost estimates, noting that they do not separate the costs of existing state and federal programs and assume a perfect world, in which every goal of No Child Left Behind is achieved. In fact, they say, the law is much less rigid than critics acknowledge, and is designed to raise the overall level of academic achievement rather than dictate how school districts spend their money.

"Right now, between 40 and 50 percent of children are reading on grade level," said Tomalis, the Paige adviser who was dispatched to Utah. "Say we don't get to 100 percent, we only get to 85 or 90 percent, we will still be in a much stronger position than we are now."

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Agenda	Environment and Natural Resources Principals Meeting	1	02/20/2004	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Environment and Natural Resources Communications...	2	02/20/2004	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:

616199 [3]

FRC ID:

9731

OA Num.:

10755

NARA Num.:

10813

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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Rove, Karl C.

From: Wehner, Peter H.
Sent: Friday, February 20, 2004 8:48 AM
To: Rove, Karl C.; Gerson, Michael J.; Willson, Lauren L.
Subject: "The Wonder is Why Bush Polls Aren't Even Worse"

February 20, 2004

The Wonder Is Why Bush Polls Aren't Even Worse

By Mort Kondracke

President Bush got such a negative TV coverage during the month of January - and Democrats got so much favorable attention - that one wonders why Bush's polls aren't worse than they are.

Bush's approval ratings are now down to the low 50s and he loses in head-to-head matchups with both the Democratic frontrunner, Sen. John Kerry (Mass.), and his only rival, Sen. John Edwards (N.C.).

But, considering where he's at after the pummeling he's taken, Bush should begin to show a comeback when he starts fighting back in earnest and when (as seems likely) the economy picks up.

Meantime, results from the Wisconsin primary show that Democrats are less than entirely enthusiastic about Kerry. The Bush campaign may have stirred up doubts about Kerry, but it certainly doesn't want to help Edwards, who might be a stronger general election candidate than Kerry.

Bush's depressed polls can be explained by what the public has heard over the past month. A study by the Center for Media and Public Affairs shows that references to Bush in January were more than two-thirds negative on the three broadcast network evening newscasts, while references to Democratic presidential candidates were 71 percent positive.

A negative press isn't new for Bush, according to the center's director, Robert Lichter. "Except after Sept. 11 and during the Iraq war, he's had a terrible press," Lichter said. "The fact is that all presidents do. Presidential coverage is overwhelmingly negative, a little less for Democrats, more for Republicans."

A large-scale study by the center prior to Bush's arrival in the presidency showed that Ronald Reagan got only 30 percent positive notices in the network newscasts and in the New York Times and Washington Post during his first year in office.

Bush's father got 33 percent positive coverage, while Bill Clinton got 38 percent.

During January, Bush's bad press was a combination of the content of the news - continuing casualties in Iraq, the David Kay report declaring that Iraq probably had no weapons of mass destruction before the war, drooping job-creation numbers, a lackluster State of the Union speech - plus coverage of the Democrats attacking Bush, according to Lichter.

"The Democrats didn't spend much time attacking each other," he said. "They focused

most on Bush and that got picked up every night in the broadcasts."

Moreover, the spin put on most news reports about the Democrats has been favorable, center data shows - 79 percent favorable for Kerry for the month, 96 percent favorable for Edwards and 52 percent favorable for Howard Dean.

Prior to the Iowa caucuses, Dean's media coverage was 58 percent positive. Afterwards, especially after his screechy election-night speech, his coverage dipped to only 40 percent positive.

The consequence of this coverage is a definite drop in Bush's approval ratings. Bush began the year with a 60 percent approval rating. By the end of the month, it was at 49 percent. Gallup's latest February report shows a lift back to 51 percent.

The new USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll showed Kerry beating Bush by 55 percent to 43 percent and Edwards ahead, 54 percent to 44 percent.

Kerry has become the far-away frontrunner based mostly on Democrats' perceptions that he is the most electable of the candidates. Enthusiasm for him seems to be based on the notion that he can beat Bush while others, apparently, cannot.

Exit polls in the latest primary contest in Wisconsin confirm the point. Asked about the candidates' strengths, Wisconsin Democrats said they marginally preferred Dean or Edwards as one who "stands up for what he believes."

Those who most wanted a candidate with "a positive message" favored Edwards over Kerry by 57 percent to 27 percent. Those who wanted a candidate who "cares about people" went with Edwards over Kerry by 47 percent to 30 percent.

Only on the quality "can defeat Bush" did Kerry sweep - 69 percent to 21 percent over Edwards. Interestingly, though, independents in Wisconsin favored Edwards by 40 percent to 28 percent - a suggestion that, actually, Edwards would have a better chance against Bush than Kerry.

Of course, only Kerry has received any negative scrutiny from the media, rival Democrats or the Bush campaign. All three have pointed out that Kerry, while claiming to be a fighter against "special interests," has received more money from lobbyists over his career than any other Senator.

Doubts also have been raised about his voting record on national security - especially his opposition to various weapons systems and intelligence budgets.

Edwards, by contrast, has had a free ride. The Washington Post editorialized that he was the one major candidate who has refused to publish lists of his top fundraisers - the suspicion being that they would overwhelmingly be trial lawyers, another "special interest."

Going into the biggest Tuesday of the Democratic contest, Edwards would be helped if major polls indicated that he, too, could beat Bush. Catching Kerry, who's miles ahead in delegates, would be difficult. But the race might get interesting.

Meantime, though, Bush is likely to score a comeback in the polls. Any minute now, his campaign will begin spending its vast treasure on ads reminding voters of his leadership in crisis and his dedication, above all, to keeping America safe.

And, as the Post reported on Tuesday that average weekly wages have risen 4.1 percent since Bush became president, taxes have dropped by 19 percent and disposable income

has risen 11.2 percent.

With the stock market surging and inventories falling, hiring should begin to rise shortly, helping to erase the Democrats' biggest argument against Bush - the loss of 2.2 million jobs on his watch.

A jobs turnaround and decent progress toward stability in Iraq would put Bush back in command of the presidential race. Of course, it hasn't happened yet.

Mort Kondracke is the Executive Editor of Roll Call.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Environmental Principals Meeting - To: Karl Rove, et al. - From: Bill Greene	1	02/18/2004	P5;

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2015-0037-F

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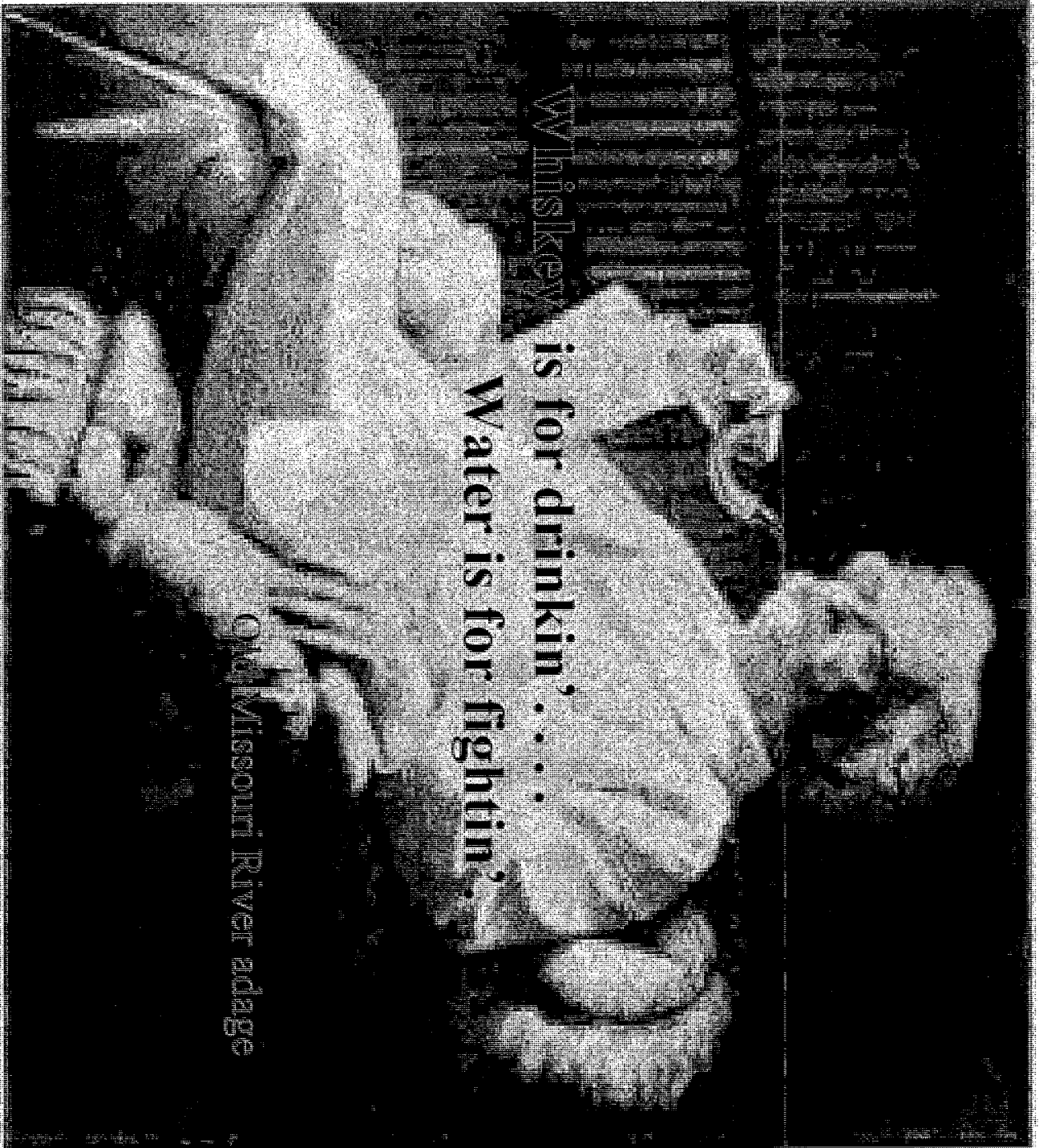
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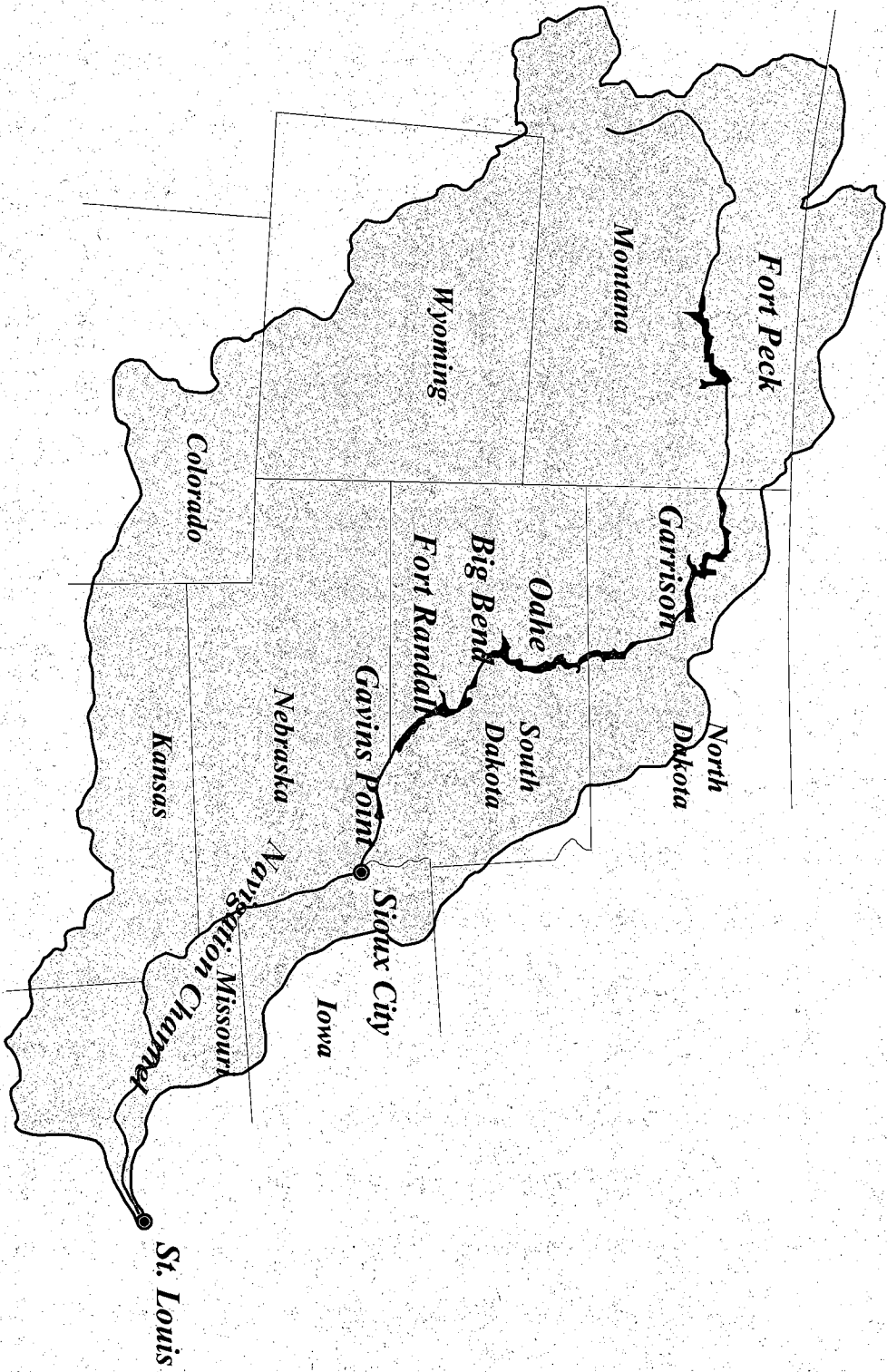
Whiskey

is for drinkin'.....

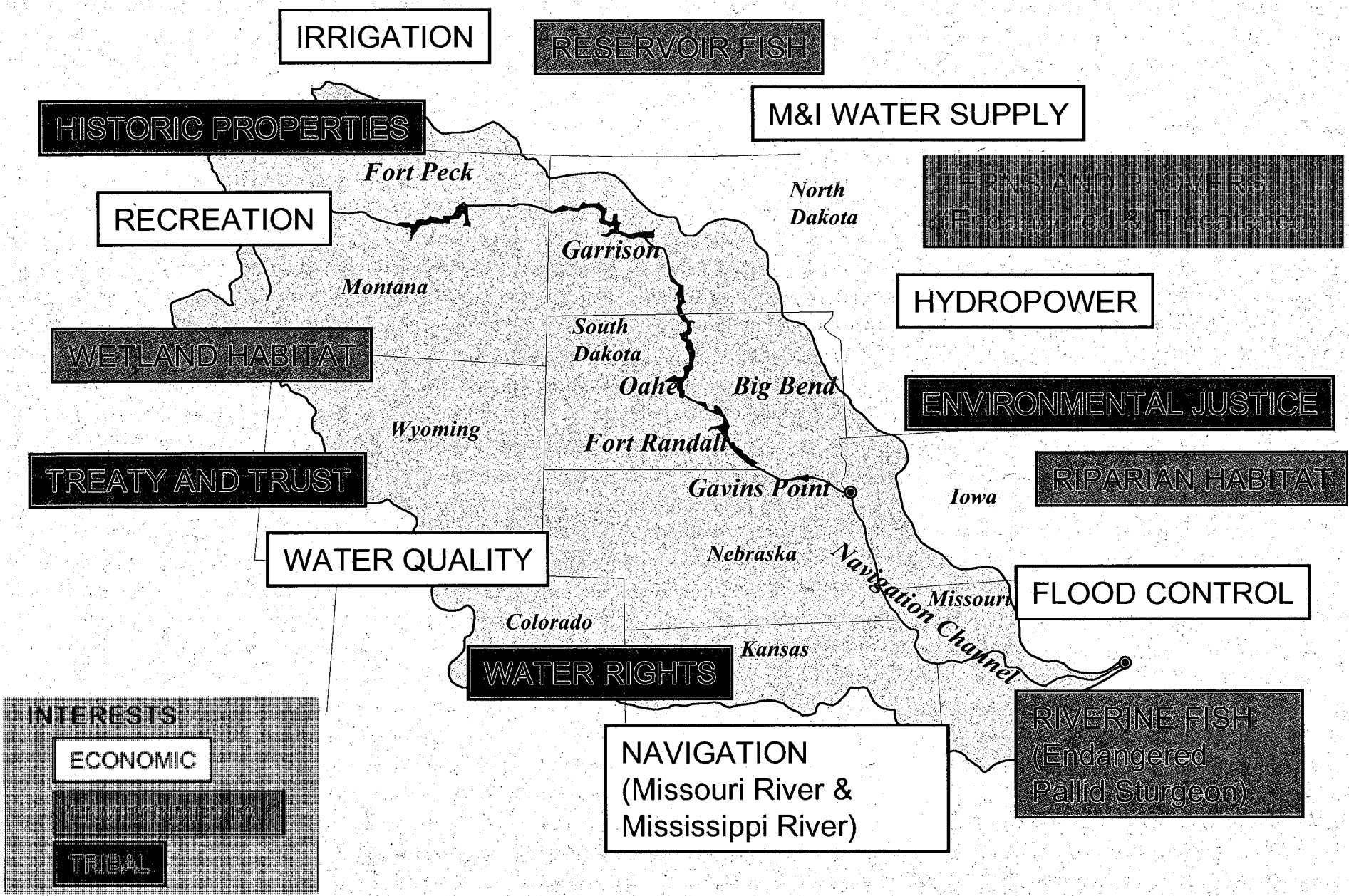
Water is for fightin'.

Old Missouri River adage

Missouri River Basin



MISSOURI RIVER MULTIPLE PURPOSES, MULTIPLE INTERESTS



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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Opinion Data Summary: Environment	1	02/19/2004	P5;

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George W. Bush Environment Job Approval

Newsweek: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
January 8-9, 2004	44%	40%	16%
December 18-19, 2003	43%	41%	16%
November 6-7, 2003	44%	42%	14%
October 9-10, 2003	43%	41%	16%
September 25-26, 2003	45%	40%	15%
September 18-19, 2003	43%	44%	13%
July 24-25, 2003	47%	38%	15%
May 29-30, 2003	48%	36%	16%
May 1-2, 2003	47%	37%	16%
April 10-11, 2003	47%	34%	19%
September 2002	51%	33%	16%
August 2002	52%	36%	12%
May 2001	45%	41%	14%
April 2001	42%	39%	19%

CNN/Time: Do you think President Bush is doing a very good job, somewhat good job, somewhat poor job or a very poor job handling each of the following issues?

	Good	Poor	Not Sure
November 18-19, 2003	48%	43%	9%
May 21-22, 2003	49%	40%	11%
January 15-16, 2003	47%	40%	11%
March 2001	45%	36%	19%

ABC/Washington Post: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
September 10-13, 2003	51%	42%	7%
April 27-30, 2003	49%	40%	11%
December 2002	50%	40%	10%
September 2002	49%	40%	11%
July 2002	52%	39%	9%
January 2002	54%	31%	15%
July 2001	45%	49%	6%
March 2001	46%	41%	13%

Gallup: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
Jan. 31 – Feb. 2, 2003	53%	37%	10%
March 2002	53%	36%	11%
July 2001	46%	42%	12%
April 2001	46%	44%	10%

Los Angeles Times: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
Jan. 30-Feb. 2, 2003	48%	30%	22%
December 2002	48%	34%	18%
February 2002	52%	29%	19%
April 2001	41%	38%	21%

Fox: Do you approve or disapprove of the job President Bush is doing on the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
January 29-30, 2003	47%	35%	18%
January 2002	44%	31%	25%

Pew: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't Know
June 2002	50%	38%	12%

Historical Environment Job Approval

Gallup: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
August 1996	58%	31%	10%
March 1996	62%	29%	9%
June 1995	55%	31%	15%
July 1994	53%	34%	14%
January 1994	56%	29%	15%
November 1993	58%	32%	10%
August 1993	53%	32%	15%
April 1993	60%	25%	15%

Gallup: Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the environment?

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
June 1992	29%	58%	13%
January 1992	49%	41%	10%
July 1991	49%	41%	10%
March 1991	52%	38%	10%
October 1990	45%	45%	10%
July 1990	42%	46%	12%
November 1989	46%	40%	14%

Gallup: *Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Reagan is handling the environment?*

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
August 1983	36%	45%	19%
April 1983	33%	49%	17%
July 1982	35%	41%	25%
June 1982	35%	42%	24%
June 1981	39%	33%	28%

Bush Administration Record

Gallup: *When it comes to environmental protection, which of these do you think is happening under the Bush Administration – the nation’s environmental protection policies are being strengthened, the nation’s environmental policies are being kept about the same, or the nation’s environmental protection policies are being weakened?*

	Strengthened	Kept Same	Weakened	No Opinion
March 3-5, 2003	9%	53%	34%	3%

Gallup: *When it comes to environmental protection, which of these do you think is most likely to happen over the next four years under the Bush administration – the nation’s environmental protection policies will be being strengthened, the nation’s environmental policies will be kept about the same, or the nation’s environmental protection policies will be weakened?*

	Strengthened	Kept Same	Weakened	No Opinion
April 2001	13%	48%	34%	5%

CBS: *Do you think the Bush Administration has made a lot of progress, some progress, not much progress, or not progress at all in improving the environment?*

	A Lot	Some	Not Much	None	Don’t Know
August 26-28, 2003	2%	33%	21%	34%	10%

Rating the Environment

Gallup: *Right now, do you think the quality of the environment in the country as a whole is getting better or getting worse?*

	Getting Better	Getting Worse	Same	No Opinion
March 3-5, 2003	33%	57%	8%	2%
March 2002	40%	54%	4%	2%
March 2001	36%	57%	5%	2%

Gallup: *How would you rate the overall quality of the environment in this country today – as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?*

	Excellent	Good	Only Fair	Poor	No Opinion
March 3-5, 2003	5%	36%	48%	10%	10%
March 2002	4%	43%	45%	7%	
March 2001	5%	41%	47%	6%	

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/20/04

To: Candi Williams

From: Strategic Initiatives Susan Halston

X 6-2323

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

Comments: I met the two ladies e an event in NYC. They discussed KR coming to their dinner. Wanted you to have their contact info.



LILA PROUNIS
President Emeritus

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New York, NY 10019

(212) 288-3085
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Monica Smith
President

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111 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10003
212.806.8828
msmith@alger-ny.com

THE WHITE HOUSE 616199
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/20/04

To: ~~Ed May, Abel Guerra, Ramona Jones,~~
Mina Nguyen

From: Strategic Initiatives
Susan

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

Comments: People I met BRIEFLY
e PALC. For your databases.

Friend of Betty Wu




(212) 788-7426
Fax: (212) 788-7754
email: LYoon@cityhall.nyc.gov

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Susan Ralston

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Friday's Environment Briefing - To: Barbara Goergen, et al. - From: Peter Wehner	2	02/19/2004	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Communicator Alert System Operational Evaluation - To: Karl Rove - From: Michael Miller	1	02/20/2004	b7f;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

616199 [3]

FRC ID:

9731

OA Num.:

10755

NARA Num.:

10813

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6/6/98

Date: 2/23/01

To: Abel Guerra, Ramona Jones,
Miha Nguyen

From: Strategic Initiatives
Susan

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

Comments: For your database

THE FINANCIAL SERVICES ROUNDTABLE

Steve Bartlett
PRESIDENT

5-12-03

Susan
As promised, attached
is list of Dallas Texas
Asian - American Leaders
6/10/03

May 12, 2003

Per your discussion, please see the attachments for contact information for the following people.

A.K. Mago

Felix Chen

Robert Hsueh

I.K. Kim

Bob and Julie Driegert

Emily Melton

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT
WILSON CENTER INITIATIVES
2004 FEB 13 3:56

Nancy Wilkins

Full Name: A.K. Mago
Last Name: Mago
First Name: A.K.
Job Title: Chairman of the Board
Company: Grt. Dallas Indo-American Chamber of Commerce

Home Address:

(b)(6)

Business: (214) 696-3435
Other: (214) 696-9798
Business Fax: (214) 696-9798

E-mail:
E-mail Display As:

(b)(6)

Spouse:

A

Nancy Wilkins

Full Name: Felix Chen Mr.
Last Name: Chen
First Name: Felix
Job Title: President
Company: Prime Art & Jewel

Business Address: 2930 North Stemmons Freeway
Dallas, TX 75247

Business: (214) 688-0088
Other: (b)(6)

Nancy Wilkins

Full Name: Robert Hsueh
Last Name: Hsueh
First Name: Robert

Business Address: 8117 Preston Rd.
570 Preston Commons West
Dallas, TX 75225

Business: (214) 788-1400
Other:

Spouse: A

Nancy Wilkins

Full Name: I. K & Nim Kim
Last Name: Kim
First Name: I.K & Nim

Home: (b)(6)

Spouse: A

Nancy Wilkins

Full Name: Driegert, Bob
Last Name: Driegert
First Name: Bob
Job Title: Attorney & Counselor at Law
Company: Lawson Fields P.C.

Business Address: 5323 Spring Valley Road - Suite 300
Dallas, TX 75254

Business: (972) 661-5323
Other:

E-mail: www.lawsonfields.com
E-mail Display As: www.lawsonfields.com

Bob and Julie

Nancy Wilkins

Full Name: Emily Melton
Last Name: Melton
First Name: Emily

Business Address:

(b)(6)

Home:



OFFICE OF THE SENIOR ADVISOR

202-456-2369

202-456-0191 FAX

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: Ramona Jones	FROM: Susan Ralston
COMPANY:	DATE: FEBRUARY 20, 2004
FAX NUMBER: 202-219-1989	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 9
PHONE NUMBER:	SENDER'S PHONE NUMBER: 202-456-2020
RE:	SENDER'S FAX NUMBER: 202-456-0191

URGENT FOR REVIEW PLEASE COMMENT PLEASE REPLY PLEASE RECYCLE

616199

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Goeglein, Tim
Sent: Tuesday, February 17, 2004 7:29 AM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: FW: Charlotte Observer (2/16/04) re: President (unofficially) endorsed by Franklin Graham

Karl

fyi

tsg

Posted on Mon, Feb. 16, 2004

President endorsed as shield from smut

Franklin Graham veers from father's avoidance of partisan politics

KEN GARFIELD
 Religion Editor

Evangelist Franklin Graham unofficially endorsed President Bush Sunday in Charlotte, telling Christian broadcasters that the president is the only one who can save America from what he called the "garbage" that was seen during halftime of the Super Bowl.

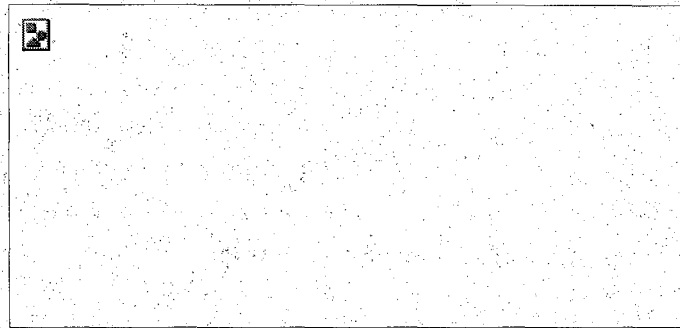
"If this president is not re-elected," Graham told the National Religious Broadcasters' convention, "the floodgates of this garbage is going to be open because there won't be anyone to stand against it."

Franklin Graham's fiery talk represents his latest departure from the style embraced by his father, Billy. In the later years of his long ministry, the 85-year-old Charlotte native said he regretted getting so deeply involved in partisan politics.

"I went too far," Billy Graham said years ago. "I should have limited myself to the moral and spiritual situation in the country."

By contrast, Franklin Graham -- who now heads his father's ministry -- took stands on a number of hot-button issues during his 30-minute talk Sunday morning.

He said the Super Bowl halftime at which Janet Jackson exposed a breast is the "tip of the iceberg" for what secularists have in store for the nation. Without mentioning names, he said the goal of "these



Leaving From:

Going To:

of Travelers:

RELATED LINKS

- [Israeli officials honor evangelist](#)

people" is to show open sex on TV, much like what he said is shown on TV in Europe.

Graham was preaching to the choir on this and other points -- the National Religious Broadcasters group on Friday called on Congress and the FCC to crack down on indecency on the air.

Graham said CBS, CNN, New York Times and Washington Post are among media outlets that will do everything they can to elect someone other than the president. "They'll spin little negative barbs toward Bush," he told the gathering of several thousand Christian radio, TV and print executives in a ballroom of the uptown convention center.

He praised Bush for leading the nation into war against Iraq and Saddam Hussein, saying, "If we don't fight 'em over there, we're going to be fighting 'em here."

'Shame on you'

While stopping short of his earlier, much-publicized claim that Islam is "a very evil and very wicked religion," Graham said Islamic fundamentalists want to destroy the United States. He urged broadcasters to back God-fearing candidates "who will stand against this moral corruption that is coming like a flood against this nation."

He closed by saying "shame on you" to broadcasters who remain politically correct and avoid taking stands. "I'm not going to be politically correct," he promised the crowd. "I'm going to tell you the truth."

Franklin Graham, 51, left for a speaking engagement in Orlando, Fla., and was not available to comment after his Charlotte address.

Ministry spokesman Mark DeMoss said Sunday wasn't the first time Franklin Graham had publicly backed Bush.

DeMoss said Franklin Graham doesn't differ dramatically from his father in avoiding partisan politics, explaining that Sunday's audience was a private gathering of Christian broadcasters. Franklin Graham, said DeMoss, typically wouldn't give that sort of talk at one of his festivals or public speaking engagements.

Bush-Graham ties

Franklin Graham's endorsement of Bush is not unexpected, given the long, close relationship between the two families.

The night in 1991 that the first President Bush declared war on Iraq, Graham was there in the White House to lead a prayer. The current President Bush said his Christian faith was rekindled during several walks with Billy Graham in 1985 in Kennebunkport, Maine. Franklin Graham gave the invocation at President Bush's inauguration.

But Billy Graham in recent years has stopped short of publicly backing even personal friends. Graham, recovering from partial hip replacement surgery, was unavailable to comment Sunday on Franklin Graham's comments about Bush. But spokesman A. Larry Ross said Billy Graham will continue his policy of not endorsing candidates or getting involved in partisan politics.

Franklin Graham's endorsement drew a standing ovation.

But it drew criticism from a divinity school professor who said preachers should avoid aligning themselves with one candidate or political party.

M. Douglas Meeks of The Divinity School at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., said he appreciated how Billy Graham grew to see the wisdom of avoiding taking political sides.

Meeks criticized Franklin Graham's argument that Bush is the only who can clean up the airwaves, saying the president has a "terrible record" in curbing the media's exploitation of sexuality.

He also criticized the evangelist's willingness Sunday to stand with one candidate or party.

"It's always unwise for the church to identify with a king or an emperor or a parliament or a party," Meeks said. "The church must be free to criticize all politics."

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The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: FW: Thoughts about FMA - To: Karl Rove - From: Tim Goeglein	2	02/17/2004	P5;

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2015-0037-F

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Some Thoughts on Proliferation - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Tim Goeglein	2	02/07/2004	P5;

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616199

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 2/20/04

To: *Barry Jackson*
From: Strategic Initiatives *BJ Gargen*

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

Comments: _____

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT
WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVES

2004 FEB 20 AM 11:25

January 22, 2004

Mr. Karl Rove
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

I'm concerned with the Bush Administration's decision to complete a free trade agreement with Australia. This is similar to the agreement that was reached during the CAFTA Agreement.

If this agreement is reached with Australia, the imports of sugar would destroy the sugar industry within the United States. It would have a huge negative impact on the Red River Valley economy.

I am a sugar beet farmer and we need to get this message to the Bush Administration. It would force me and many other farmers **out of business**.

Sincerely,



Vince Abentroth

(b)(6)

*Barry,
Please respond
directly.
Barbara Jo*

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The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Message from John Nau re: Chancellorsville - To: Susan Ralston - From: Karl Rove	1	06/23/2003	PRM;

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616199

BJ:

Can you phone me about this?

Thanks,



Tim Goeglein
6-2617

2003 AUG 27 PM 6:30

July 31, 2003

The Honorable Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Rove:

As members of the Board of Directors for the Center for Individual Freedom (CFIF), we are writing to request the opportunity to meet with you and/or your staff to discuss the pressing issue of judicial confirmations.

Since President Bush nominated his first candidates to the federal circuit courts of appeal on May 9, 2001, CFIF has been at the forefront of the fight to ensure the U.S. Senate fulfills its constitutional obligation of "advice and consent" in the confirmation process. Working closely with The Federalist Society and within the Judicial Umbrella Group, CFIF has made this issue a top priority. Through ad campaigns, radio and print interviews, letter writing efforts, opinion editorials and letters-to-the-editor, CFIF has worked diligently to end the obstructionism in the Senate and has sought to educate the public and opinion leaders on the harmful and serious ramifications of that obstructionism.

CFIF shares the President's view that the nation's courts must be seated with judges who will apply constitutional and statutory mandates, along with established legal precedent, rather than practice the judicial activism that is all too prevalent in the courts today. Indeed, our interest in this issue lies with the strongly held belief in the critical need for meaningful judicial reform as a means to restore common sense to a U.S. legal system run amok.

While we and the rest of the Judicial Umbrella Group have made progress, there is much more work that needs to be done. The ability of a small minority of senators, taking their marching orders from a well-funded, tightly-organized coalition of opposition groups, to obstruct the confirmations of highly qualified nominees like Miguel Estrada, Priscilla Owen and Bill Pryor, is only a small sampling of what is to come.

Again, we would enjoy the opportunity to meet with you and/or your staff to discuss our activities in more detail, because we need your assistance as our organization continues to combat the attacks on the President and his judicial nominees.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,



Anthony M. Fabrizio, Jr.
Chairman



Guy Vander Jagt
Secretary & Treasurer

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The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Bill Clements / Nov. 7 - To: Barbara Goergen - From: Susan Ralston	1	07/22/2003	PRM;

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Note	[Note] - To: Karl - From: Pete	1	08/29/2003	P5;

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AScribe Newswire

July 21, 2003 Monday

LENGTH: 605 words

HEADLINE: Mounting Casualties in Iraq Not Yet Imminent Threat to Public Support for Mission, Duke Political Scientists Say

BODY:

DURHAM, N.C., July 21 -- Public support for the mission in Iraq remains strong despite mounting casualties, but President Bush must work quickly to improve morale among soldiers and focus on the administration's successes, say two Duke University political scientists.

Political science professors Peter D. Feaver and Christopher Gelpi are co-authors of a forthcoming book on civilian and military attitudes toward war and casualties, "Choosing Your Battles," which will be published by Princeton University Press this fall.

The public will tolerate casualties as long as it considers the mission important for American national interests and the best possible alternative. It is also important for the president to show continued resolve and convince the public that the mission will ultimately be successful, Feaver and Gelpi said.

"The other vulnerability is military morale. In the past decade, the American military has developed a fairly high degree of casualty aversion," said Gelpi, whose primary research interests are international militarized conflict and strategies for international conflict resolution. "The reports of morale problems among the units that have been deployed the longest are worrisome and the underlying cause should be addressed urgently."

However, Feaver added: "The worst thing the president could do is to read the headlines, panic and ask the military to hunker down or get out quickly. That would be catastrophic, both in terms of policy but especially in terms of politics and public opinion."

More than 30 U.S. soldiers have died, including three in the past two days, in attacks and ambushes since President Bush declared an end to major combat May 1, leading to a drop in his approval rating. But people should distinguish between support for the president and support for the mission in Iraq, Gelpi and Feaver said.

"Support for the president matters for re-election, whereas support for the mission matters for the ability of the U.S. to sustain the mission in Iraq," Gelpi said. "Because the public understands that there is no alternative to U.S. presence in Iraq - we cannot simply cut and run just because the reconstruction phase is proving tougher than expected - the former can drop without the latter moving much."

To shore up his polling numbers, Bush should be "more concerned about delivering success than in stopping the drip-drip-drip of casualties," said Feaver, who is also director of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, an interdisciplinary consortium sponsored by Duke, N.C. State University and the University of North Carolina. "The public is defeat phobic, not casualty phobic." The administration needs to teach the public about its successes, such as explaining that many regions in Iraq are stable and have improved public services.

"The American public recognizes that things are not going well, but still believes we can

ultimately be successful in Iraq," Feaver said. "So far, the Bush administration has communicated this same message of resolve. So long as the president is not panicking at the sight of casualties, neither will the public."

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August 30, 2003 U.S. Edition

SECTION: UNITED STATES

LENGTH: 1071 words

HEADLINE: As summer days drift away

DATELINE: washington, dc

BODY:

IF GEORGE BUSH loses the presidency next year, he could well look back on this summer as the moment when things began to slip. While he has been "sleeping comfortably [at his ranch] in Crawford", to borrow a not-altogether-fair jibe from Howard Dean, the Democratic front-runner, the news from Iraq has worsened, and the economic recovery continues to be jobless. It may just be the mid-term blues, but Mr Bush will remember the experience of his father. When he went off on holiday in 1991, the first President Bush was best known as the conqueror of Iraq. By November he was the out-of-touch, burbling man who didn't understand the plight of normal Americans.

The polls certainly carry some unpleasant tidings for the current President Bush. His approval ratings have gradually worsened, now hovering around 55% (well below his father's rating of around 70% in August 1991). For the first time since September 11th, voters are saying that they would prefer to elect somebody else. Even the thought that the Democrats may nominate Mr Dean, a liberal governor from Vermont, is not as comforting as it may appear (see Lexington).

One particular, unfair act of God, the electricity blackout on the east coast, has allowed Democrats to point to Mr Bush's ties with the fiendish energy industry. This week, petrol prices hit a record average of \$1.75 a gallon, with Californians paying \$2, thanks in part to the blackout and to a burst pipeline in Phoenix which has disrupted supplies in the west.

There are also niggling rows for Mr Bush to soothe. John Ashcroft, his famously intolerant attorney-general, has been sent off on a tour designed to deflect criticism, from both left and right, of his beloved USA Patriot Act. The General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, has just issued a report that complains again about Dick Cheney's refusal to release any useful information about his energy task-force. Mr Bush is also in trouble for trying to fiddle with the Clean Air Act.

All summer stories, you might say. But the two main causes of Mr Bush's current plight will loom over the rest of his presidency: Iraq and the economy.

The number of troops killed in Iraq since Mr Bush declared "major combat over" on May 1st has now surpassed the 138 who died in the war. With e-mails streaming back home from unhappy troops in Baghdad, weapons of mass destruction unfound and the American administrator in Iraq asking for more money, the public is beginning to get nervous. A Newsweek poll last week showed nearly seven in ten Americans concerned that America will get bogged down in Iraq.

The Democrats are doing their best to attract those voters. Mr Dean, who opposed the war in the first place, is particularly savage. But Senator John Kerry, who voted for the Iraq

resolution, is now complaining about insufficient planning and training. The Democrats generally think Mr Bush needs to give the UN a bigger role, to bring in troops from other countries (as now looks like happening, see)page 45.

Mr Bush is also under some pressure from the Republican side. His old sparring partner, John McCain, who has just returned from Iraq, wants Mr Bush to send another division--some 20,000 soldiers--to reinforce the 140,000 already there. The neo-conservatives are fretting that the Bush White House (which, lo and behold, they do not control) seems less than committed to their dream of reshaping the Middle East. They worry that, having won the war, Donald Rumsfeld, the defence secretary, is now going to lose the peace by stubbornly refusing to send enough troops to do what is needed in Iraq.

Both Mr Bush and Mr Rumsfeld fired back this week, saying, in effect, that there would be no retreat and that there were enough troops in Iraq already. This may be partly based on the enormously optimistic belief that America can "transform" peacekeeping as it has transformed warfare (and so do it with fewer people). But politics is also at work. Mr Bush's people are determined to avoid the "mission creep" analogy with Vietnam, or any sense of setback.

They are probably right to do so. **Peter Feaver** at Duke University, who has studied the correlation between wars and public opinion, argues that most Americans care more about eventual victory than current casualties. He divides the electorate into four groups: those who hate war (in rough terms, around 15% of the total); those who will not accept casualties (20%); those who support most wars at any price (35%); and those who will tolerate casualties as long as they can see victory (30%). This latter group still seems to be sticking with the president. The generally pessimistic Newsweek poll also showed 56% of voters saying they were prepared to see the troops stay for two years; by contrast, just 5% want to bring them home now.

Fundamentally, however, the economy is more important to Mr Bush's future than Iraq. Larry Sabato, director of the Centre of Politics at the University of Virginia, puts it this way: "A good economy can compensate for a bad Iraq; a good Iraq cannot compensate for a bad economy."

The economy has shown one or two signs of growth: new jobless claims are now just below 400,000 a week, industrial production is fairly strong and the stockmarket is rallying. But, in the end, the main concern for many voters will be jobs--and Mr Bush's presidency has seen more than 3m of these disappear. Unless the economy picks up, he could go into the election with the worst record since Herbert Hoover. Mr Sabato points out that the economy could hurt Mr Bush in key states like West Virginia, which he poached from the Democrats in 2000 by stressing economic issues. West Virginia now has an unemployment rate of 6.8%, compared with the national average of 6.2%.

Unlike his father, Mr Bush has been doing his best to look as active as possible. But he faces one problem. When it comes to economic policy, he has already used up most of his ammunition. Interest rates can hardly go much lower, and another tax cut would produce squeals of outrage about the federal deficit, this week estimated by the Congressional Budget Office to be anywhere between \$1.4 trillion and \$4 trillion over the next decade, depending on how many tax cuts and spending plans stay in place. In the economic war, throwing more battalions at the problem may not be an option for the president.

GRAPHIC: A host of problems beset the president, but the economy matters most

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AScribe Newswire

August 28, 2003 Thursday

LENGTH: 1138 words

HEADLINE: 9/11 Anniversary: Duke University Experts Available to Comment

BODY:

DURHAM, N.C., Aug. 28 [AScribe Newswire] -- Duke University faculty members from a variety of disciplines can be reached for commentary about the second anniversary of the Sept. 11 attacks. Story ideas and contact information include:

AMERICAN CITIES THRIVE AFTER SEPT. 11: Many observers speculated that terrorist attacks would lead some Americans to move away from large cities, to places that seemed like less obvious targets. In fact, there is no indication that this has happened. Census Bureau estimates suggest that the population of New York City actually increased by 22,000 between July 1, 2001, and July 1, 2002. The Sept. 11 attacks may have made American cities look more vulnerable, but the attacks also made them look more civil. Jacob Vigdor, assistant professor of public policy studies, can be reached at [919] 613-7354 or by email at jvigdor@pps.duke.edu.

DOES THE U.S. NEED A SEPT. 11 MEMORIAL?: Memorial rituals, which take different forms in various cultures, can serve many functions -- psychological, social and even political. Traditionally, ritual has given otherwise formless grief an outlet and closure, says Katherine Pratt Ewing, professor of cultural anthropology. Is ritual still important in our individualistic culture? Commemoration of the events of Sept. 11 also have a special resonance for African Americans, whose mourning and funeral practices memorialize a history of inexplicable and irresolvable tragedy -- an experience many Americans have shared in the aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks, according to Karla Holloway, author of *Passed On: African American Mourning Stories*. Holloway, William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor of English and Dean of Humanities and Social Sciences, can be reached at [919] 621-7698 or by e-mail at kholloway@asdean.duke.edu. Ewing can be reached at [919] 684-5170 or by email at ewing@socsci.duke.edu.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE TWO YEARS LATER: Attendance in churches swelled in the days and weeks following the Sept. 11 attacks. As thousands streamed to churches for the first time in years, many ministers brought the war into their sermons -- and sometimes American flags into their churches. Despite much publicized discussion of a newly awakened spirituality among Americans in the ensuing weeks, those attendance figures have returned to pre-Sept. 11 levels. Did churches miss an opportunity -- or exploit the situation? For commentary, contact: William H. Willimon, dean of Duke Chapel, professor of Christian Ministry in the Duke Divinity School and author of more than 50 books, at [919] 684-2177 or will@duke.edu; or Stanley Hauerwas, Gilbert T. Rowe Professor of Theological Ethics in the Duke Divinity School, at [919] 660-3420.

PREACHING AFTER A CATASTROPHE: Richard Lischer, a professor of preaching at Duke Divinity School, has prepared "Ten Suggestions for Preaching after a Catastrophe"; he can be contacted at [919] 660-3421 or rlischer@duke.edu.

A LINK BETWEEN LITERATURE AND VIOLENCE?: Do killers, artists and terrorists need one another? In the new book "Crimes of Art and Terror," to be published on the eve of the Sept. 11 anniversary, Frank Lentricchia and Jody McAuliffe explore how political extremism and

avant-garde artistic movements have fed upon each other for at least two centuries. McAuliffe, an associate professor of Theater Studies, can be reached at mca@duke.edu or [919] 660-3363; Lentricchia, professor of literature and Theater Studies, is at frll@duke.edu or [919] 684-6172.

AMERICAN PUBLIC'S TOLERANCE OF CASUALTIES: Will the American public continue to tolerate casualties in Iraq? Yes, as long as people consider the mission important for American national interests and the best possible alternative, say two Duke political science professors. It is also important for the president to show continued resolve and convince the public that the mission will ultimately be successful, say **Peter D. Feaver** and Christopher Gelpi, co-authors of a new book on civilian and military attitudes toward war and casualties. Feaver, director of the Triangle Institute for Security Studies, can be reached at [919] 660-4331 or by email at pfeaver@duke.edu. Gelpi can be reached at [919] 660-4318 or by email at gelpi@duke.edu.

SOWING SEEDS FOR FUTURE CATASTROPHES?: The response of the Bush administration to the Sept. 11 attacks "has turned a pathological crime into a messianic event," says Ebrahim Moosa, an associate research professor in Duke's Department of Religion and co-director of the Center for Study of Muslim Networks. Rather than uniting the international community around law and order, the United States' unilateral actions after Sept. 11 has alienated the Muslim world and sown the seeds for future catastrophes, Moosa says. He can be reached at [919] 270-3431 or moosa@duke.edu.

DEVASTATING ECONOMIC IMPACT: Beyond the psychological damage, what impact has Sept. 11 had on the United States? Frederick Mayer, an associate professor of public policy studies and political science, says the economic impact has been devastating. Mayer says federal spending for the war on terror, the war on Iraq and homeland defense are only part of the cost. Less visible costs include the immense amount of lost productive time spent waiting in airports, lost business and research opportunities because of difficulties foreign professionals now face in entering the United States and the huge drop in foreign tourism to the United States that is largely related to border hassles. Mayer can be reached at [919] 613-7338 or fmayer@duke.edu.

WAR ON TERRORISM JEOPARDIZES PERSONAL LIBERTIES: Aspects of the Bush administration's "War on Terrorism" are coming under increased criticism. Attorney General John Ashcroft is on the road defending the expansive use of the surveillance tools contained in the Patriot Act, a piece of legislation passed only weeks after Sept. 11. Civil rights attorneys are questioning the constitutionality of detaining American citizens at U.S. military installations while denying them access to attorneys and failing to charge them with any crimes. Also, the international community continues to rail against the detention of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay. Professor Scott Silliman of Duke Law School, who also serves as Executive Director of the Center on Law, Ethics and National Security, can comment at [919] 613-7138, or silliman@law.duke.edu.

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NOTE TO EDITORS: Duke provides an on-campus satellite uplink facility for live or pre-recorded television interviews. We are also equipped with ISDN connectivity for radio interviews. Broadcast reporters should contact the Office of Radio-TV Services at 919-681-8067 to arrange an interview.

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TO: Karl Rove, Senior Advisor to the President

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FROM: Attorney Marc H. Ellinger

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September 3, 2003

VIA FACSIMILE (202) 456-1907

Karl Rove, Senior Advisor to the President
Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C., 20500

Dear Mr. Rove:

(b)(6)

I know that some pressure is being brought to bear on the President regarding his steel tariff program, and certain groups would like to see the program cancelled at its midpoint. It is a great initiative that deserves the lion's share of the credit for the fact that the U.S. steel industry is regaining viability today, and I urge you to continue to support it. With the great many U. S. steel bankruptcies in recent years, President Bush's policy of temporary support is right on target.

The President recognizes that steel is the backbone of an industrialized society. Manufacturing depends on it, defense and security depend on it, and it would be incredibly foolish to allow any more of our domestic suppliers to go bankrupt. The United States cannot be dependent on foreign sources for such a key commodity.

The temporary tariffs have given the domestic steel industry the breathing room it needed to get back on its feet. The industry has responded well to the President's support and, while it has regained its feet, it is not yet steady on them. The industry needs the full three years that the President envisioned.

I hope you will let the President know that he should stand firm on his steel plan and that he has our strong backing in doing so. Thank you.

Sincerely,


Marc Ellinger