

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Handwritten Note	[Kartina Notes]	1	09/15/2005	P5;
002	Spreadsheet	Karl Rove - Suggested Invites for the Prince Charles Dinner	5	09/22/2005	P5; P6/b6;
003	Handwritten Note	Policy Meeting	1	N.D.	P5;
004	Fax Cover Sheet	WCIT Invitation Letters - To: Susan Ralston - From: Ted Heydinger	1	09/07/2005	P5; P6/b6;
005	Email	Fw: Fwd: Topline for IL Statewide... [with attachment] - To: Taylor Hughes - From: Karl Rove	13	09/26/2005	PRM;
006	Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Dan Burton	1	09/21/2005	P5; P6/b6;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

674668 [3]

FRC ID:

9749

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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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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007	Fax Cover Sheet	Problems with FEMA... - To: Andrew Card - From: Rick Montoya	1	09/26/2005	P6/b6;
008	Letter	[Letter] - To: Andrew Card - From: Rick Montoya	2	09/26/2005	P5; P6/b6;
009	Agenda	Crawford	1	07/25/2005	P5;
010	Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Karl - From: Jeremy	1	N.D.	P5;
011	Report	Market-Based Reforms for Strengthening the U.S. Health Care System	5	N.D.	P5;
012	Report	Structural Changes in the U.S. Cement Industry...	2	09/16/2005	P5;

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013	Email	Fw: Bobby Jindal on Rebuilding - Newt - To: Taylor Hughes - From: Karl Rove	2	09/23/2005	P5; P6/b6;
014	Report	The O'Connor Vacancy	3	N.D.	PRM;
015	Email	RE: Pozen Comments During Soc Sec Meeting - To: Charles Blahous, et al. - From: Christal West	2	09/22/2005	P5;

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F:KR

Sent to: Mike Meeco

9/23/05

674668



The Voice of Small Business®

SEP 22 PM

September 14, 2005

Dear Friend of Small Business:

The NFIB Education Foundation, with the co-sponsorship of Wells Fargo, established the *National Small Business Poll*, an initiative designed to quantify selected policies, behaviors, and attitudes among the small-business owner population. The purpose of the project is to fill the large data gaps that often exist about small business, rather than to prove or disprove any particular hypothesis.

The *National Small Business Poll* is a series of regularly published survey reports based on data collected from national samples of small-business employers – not just NFIB members. The data is collected through telephone surveys by The Gallup Organization, which bears responsibility for sampling and data collection integrity. Each *National Small Business Poll* examines a unique subject matter and provides descriptive reports and survey percentages on each topic.

Enclosed is a copy of the *National Small Business Poll* titled *Training Employees, Volume 5, Issue 1, 2005* and *The Use of Lawyers, Volume 5, Issue 2, 2005*. Current individual reports are publicly accessible on the NFIB Web site (www.nfib.com/research) without charge. Also enclosed is an index of our released publications.

Published results from the *National Small Business Poll* appear eight times a year. I am pleased to advise that you will be receiving them as issued. If you have any questions or comments regarding the *National Small Business Poll*, please feel free to contact me or its editor, William "Denny" Dennis at 202-554-9000.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dan Danner", written over a horizontal line.

Dan Danner
Executive Vice President
Public Policy and Political

Enclosure

NFIB Small Business Polls

<u>Title</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Volume</u>	<u>Issue</u>
<u>2001</u>			
The Changing Search for Employees	2001	1	1
The Use and Value of Web Sites	2001	1	2
The Cash Flow Problem	2001	1	3
Adjusting to Cost Increases	2001	1	4
Coping with Regulation	2001	1	5
Success, Satisfaction and Growth	2001	1	6
Getting Paid	2001	1	7
Privacy	2001	1	8
<u>2002</u>			
Workplace Safety	2002	2	1
Liability	2002	2	2
Postal Rates	2002	2	3
Administering the Sales Tax	2002	2	4
Advice and Advisors	2002	2	5
Families in Business	2002	2	6
Business Insurance	2002	2	7
Pre-ownership Experience	2002	2	8
<u>2003</u>			
Contacting Government	2003	3	1
Compensating Employees	2003	3	2
Reinvesting in the Business	2003	3	3
Health Insurance	2003	3	4
Paperwork and Record-Keeping	2003	3	5
Membership in Business Organizations	2003	3	6
Road Transportation	2003	3	7
Competition	2003	3	8
<u>2004</u>			
International Trade	2004	4	1
Family and Medical Leave	2004	4	2
Alcohol, Drugs, Violence and Obesity in the workplace	2004	4	3
Strategic Alliances	2004	4	4
Disasters	2004	4	5
Contributions to Community	2004	4	6
Business Structure	2004	4	7
Telecommunications	2004	4	8
<u>2005</u>			
Training Employees	2005	5	1
The Use of Lawyers	2005	5	2



F:KR
Sent to Steve Lineberry

674668

SEP 22 2005

September 9, 2005

Mr. Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20502

Dear Mr. Rove:

Karl

Social Security, Medicaid, Medicare, threats to retirement pensions—are all on the national agenda. And this is only the beginning of facing up to the dramatic change marked by increased longevity and the coming retirement of the boomers.

At the heart of all this is an even larger issue: can America afford to grow older...with intergenerational fairness—that is, without sticking our children and grandchildren with the bills?

The answer is **yes**, we can. As to how, I am pleased to send you *Reimagining America: AARP's Blueprint for the Future*. The goal is for people 50 and older—and their families—to have independence, choice and control in ways that are affordable for them **and for society**, including younger generations.

Achieving this requires promoting economic growth, rethinking work and retirement, creating livable communities and most important, transforming the American health care system. A narrow gauge focus on government and entitlement programs alone is not nearly enough.

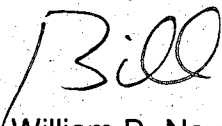
Reimagining America is a realistic framework for getting it done. It rejects the-gloom and doom viewpoint that we can't afford what longer life expectancy has brought us. It identifies positive trends that are often overlooked, and it addresses nine challenges that we must overcome in the years ahead.

The issues facing our aging society are manageable if we begin addressing them now, with American creativity and ingenuity. The changes we propose are wide-ranging, comprehensive...and within our reach. Achieving them is the shared responsibility of government, the private sector and individual citizens.

Mr. Karl Rove
September 9, 2005
Page 2

Reimagining America is a Declaration of Independence not just for older Americans, but for all generations. We are the best equipped nation in the world in virtually every way to reinvent our systems, our programs and our perspectives. But it will take all of us working together to make it happen. Please join us in *Reimagining America*.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bill". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

William D. Novelli
Chief Executive Officer

Enclosure

F: KR

Sent to: Mike
Meece

674668

THE CARLYLE GROUP

EXEC. OFC. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-2505
Tel: (202) 347-2626 / Fax: (202) 347-1818

2005 SEP 22 PM 3:18

Mr. Karl Rove
Office of the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Karl:

Over the years I have assembled a periodic compendium of information pertaining to the financial markets and related topics. In doing so, I try to depict current conditions, highlight anomalies, identify emerging issues, provide a historic perspective, and capture a sense of the times.

My most recent effort is enclosed. As always proves to be the case, there existed an ample amount of topical material, and I cannot recall a period in which so many significant structural issues surfaced. Included among these would be an explosion in oil prices, a growing recognition of the problems facing Social Security and Medicare/Medicaid, the size of the "twin deficits", recognition of China's growing global influence, the rise of Exchange Traded Funds (ETF's), the dollar's volatility, the "conundrum" related to long-term interest rates and the effectiveness of Fed policy, a focus on the cost of private sector retirement and health benefits, the rise in home prices and its importance to the general economy, an increased pressure on senior executives (e.g. Morgan Stanley and Disney), the continuing attraction to alternative assets and the popularity of hedge funds, the gradual resolution of the various "scandals" of the '90's, the beginning of efforts devoted to tax reform, and the effects of Eliot Spitzer's wide ranging activities. All of this, and much more, was within the context of a nation dealing with the Iraqi War and the continuing threat of terrorism.

Topical economic, business, and investment issues proved popular among editorial cartoonists attesting to their broad relevance and general interest.

Sincerely,



Edward J. Mathias
Managing Director
[edward.mathias@carlyle.com]

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F: Immigration

674669


 Print

Bush to Press Congress for Guest-Worker Program, Tancredo Says Listen

Sept. 20 (Bloomberg) -- President George W. Bush will push this year for legislation overhauling immigration laws, including creating a new guest-worker program, said U.S. Representative Tom Tancredo, chairman of the House Immigration Reform Caucus.

The Bush administration has met with Republican lawmakers to press the issue and will likely urge party leaders such as House Speaker Dennis Hastert to hold votes on immigration measures before the end of the congressional session, Tancredo said.

"Certainly there will be a tremendous amount of pressure to do something before Thanksgiving," Tancredo, a Colorado Republican who opposes Bush's guest-worker plan, said in an interview. "The president wants it. They're not going to tell him no."

Bush has made an overhaul of immigration laws, including a new program to allow immigrants to temporarily work in the U.S., a priority for his second term. The legislative fight on the issue is likely to split Republicans, Tancredo said.

"It will be a terribly divisive thing in the party," he said. Tancredo said he opposes any guest-worker program that allows those in the U.S. illegally to stay and would delay any such program until the borders are deemed secure.

White House Deputy Chief of Staff Karl Rove met with House Republicans last week to reiterate the administration's desire to pass a comprehensive bill this year.

"It was very encouraging," Arizona Republican Jeff Flake, an attendee at the meeting, said in an interview. "I don't think it's a sure thing. I think it's likely. And it's more likely than most people thought."

Comprehensive

Flake said the administration will push for comprehensive legislation that includes border security, workplace enforcement and a new guest-worker program. Tancredo said two measures introduced in the Senate creating a guest-worker program would face opposition in the House.

Legislation in the Senate backed by Massachusetts Democrat Ted Kennedy and Arizona Republican John McCain would let undocumented immigrants work legally in the country after paying a fine. A competing measure sponsored by Republicans John Cornyn of Texas and Jon Kyl of Arizona creates a guest-worker program that requires undocumented immigrants to return home before applying to work in the U.S. legally.

Proposals put forward by Rove last week closely tracked the Kennedy/McCain measure, said Flake, who has introduced the legislation in the House.

'Hell of a Battle'

"It's going to be one hell of a battle," Tancredo said.

It's "possible" the measure backed by Cornyn and Kyl could garner support from a majority of Republicans in the House, while the McCain/Kennedy bill could not, he said.

The Kyl/Cornyn bill, he said `` certainly has a better chance than McCain. I think that one is DOA," for dead on arrival.

Flake said there is limited House support for Tancredo's immigration position.

`` The Tancredo caucus, in terms of wanting the Tancredo approach, is pretty small," Flake said.

Tancredo also said the U.S. Congress should delay a prescription drug benefit for seniors enrolled in Medicare as a way to offset relief costs for Hurricane Katrina.

`` That would save significant dollars," Tancredo said.

The benefit is scheduled to begin in January. He said lawmakers also should consider reducing farm subsidies and selling off federal land to offset costs for Katrina, which hit Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi on Aug. 29. Other lawmakers, including McCain, also have called for delaying or canceling the prescription drug benefit.

White House press secretary Scott McClellan indicated yesterday that the administration would oppose delaying the drug benefit.

`` It's important to move forward, and we are" with the prescription drug plan, McClellan said at a news briefing.

To contact the reporter on this story:
Nicholas Johnston in Washington at Njohnston3@bloomberg.net

Last Updated: September 20, 2005 12:42 EDT

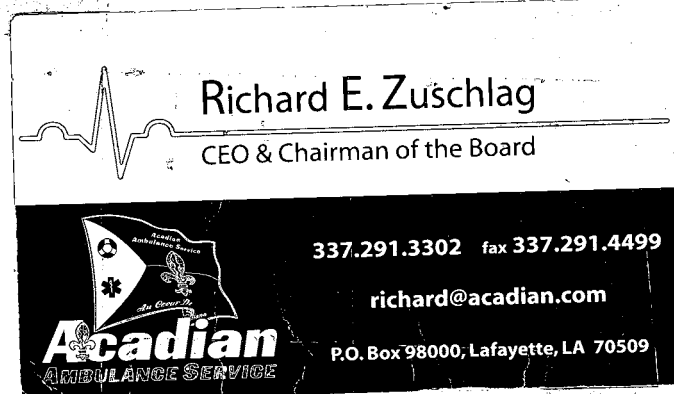
▶  **Print**

F.

674668

Hughes, Taylor A.

From: Karl Rove [KR@georgewbush.com]
Sent: Friday, September 16, 2005 12:13 PM
To: Hughes, Taylor A.
Subject: Fw: Federal Commission
Attachments: image001.jpg



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

From: Zuschlag, Richard <rzuschlag@acadian.com>
To: Rove, Karl <kr@rove.com>
Sent: Fri Sep 16 11:13:14 2005
Subject: Federal Commission

Dear Karl,

I am sorry time did not permit us to meet this morning. The President had a home run last evening. It was the best speech he has ever given. He conveyed compassion and had a great delivery.

I was with about 100 CEO's from Louisiana and the consensus was that in order for us to move forward to build our state the President has to find a czar that everyone can look up to and put together some type of Federal commission that would have appointments from the Governor and the Mayor. Quite frankly, both the Mayor and the Governor are too weak to chair such a committee, and while I have a great deal of admiration for David Vitter he has been too terse and is the new guy on the block.

If the President could get John Breaux and Billy Tauzin to co-chair the re-building of New Orleans, there would be 90% support across the board. Everyone in our state looks to these two as leaders and both are respected by the rich and poor, black and white, and Republican and Democrat. They might not be interested and then it would take some other person such as Lt. Gen. Russel Honore who is overseeing the disaster relief, and I believe is originally from New Orleans.

Finally, I had a chance to meet with Vice President Cheney in Washington D.C. yesterday afternoon, and hopefully, in the next few days you could find time to visit with me for a few minutes on the phone. You can reach me 24 hours a day at my switchboard phone 337-291-3302. I will be in the air between 12:00 - 3:00 pm this afternoon flying back to Louisiana, but I would be available over the weekend. Just call that number and ask them to patch you through to me.

Thanks for everything you do in your leadership role to assist our great President.

Sincerely,

<< image001.jpg >>

Richard E. Zuschlag

Chairman & CEO

Acadian Ambulance Service

337-291-3302

rzuschlag@acadian.com

<http://www.acadian.com> <<http://www.acadian.com>>

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~~Pub~~ LL 9/21

Hughes, Taylor A.

From: Karl Rove [KR@georgewbush.com]
Sent: Tuesday, September 20, 2005 10:44 AM
To: Hughes, Taylor A.
Subject: Fw: any ideas?

Dir mtg

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

From: Alex Ray <alex@goccp-state-md.org>
To: Karl Rove <KR@georgewbush.com>
Sent: Tue Sep 20 10:31:55 2005
Subject: Re: any ideas?

University of Maryland - College Park Campus

Alex Ray
Public Information Officer
Governor's Office of Crime Control & Prevention 300 East Joppa Road - Suite 1105
Baltimore, MD 21286 Tel. 410-321-3521

>>> "Karl Rove" <KR@georgewbush.com> 09/20/05 10:19 AM >>>
What college?

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

From: Alex Ray <alex@goccp-state-md.org>
To: KR@Rove.com <KR@Rove.com>
Sent: Tue Sep 20 09:58:15 2005
Subject: any ideas?

Staff Editorial: Students should embrace political engagement Next week's visit by Cindy Sheehan could help rekindle student interest and debate over Iraq, domestic issues September 20, 2005

Cindy Sheehan's scheduled appearance on the campus next Tuesday will likely evoke much fervor among the university's political community. But the arrival of this icon of the anti-war movement * and conversely, a lightning rod of criticism for war proponents * should also elicit a strong response from the entire university community.

We encourage students to take this opportunity to show the level of engagement the campus saw during visits in recent years by political figures like Howard Dean, Terry McAuliffe and stops in 2002 by then-gubernatorial candidates Robert Ehrlich and Kathleen Kennedy Townsend.

Students should voice their opinions, no matter which camp take they side with, to participate in the spectacle of dissent and agreement. But they should also concentrate on maintaining civility above disagreements.

So far, some campus political groups seem to have the right idea.

"I hope that students appreciate the different perspectives on the war and hear the voice of someone who's been touched by it so personally," said sophomore government and politics major Melanie Share of the College Democrats. "I think we all agree, Republicans and Democrats, that something needs to be done."

Other students, mainly conservative, have voiced that they wish to avoid Sheehan's visit altogether because they disagree with her views. But disagreement can only make this event better. Healthy and strong debate about the Iraq

war has been lacking on this campus and this event offers the opportunity needed to spark such conversation.

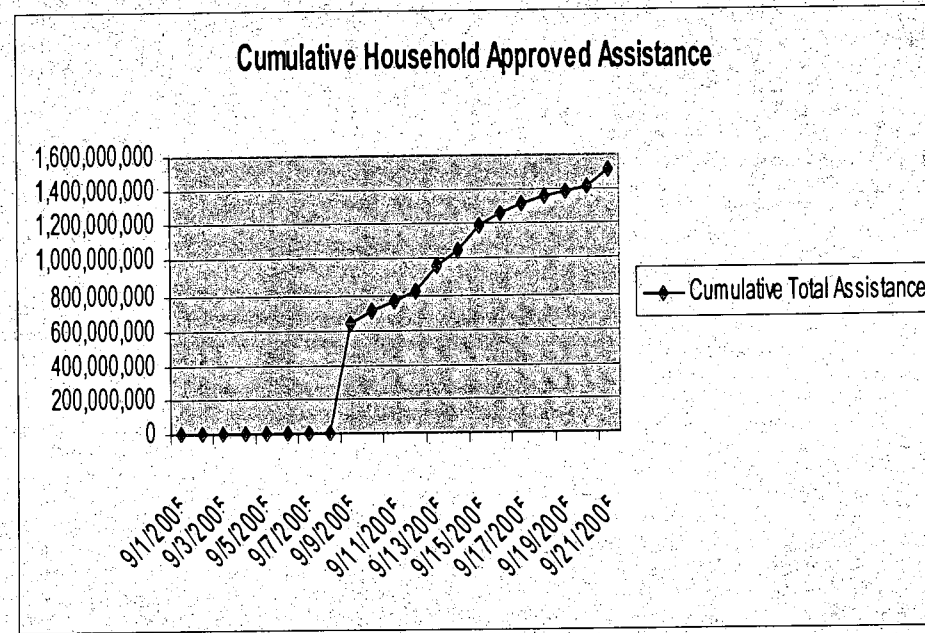
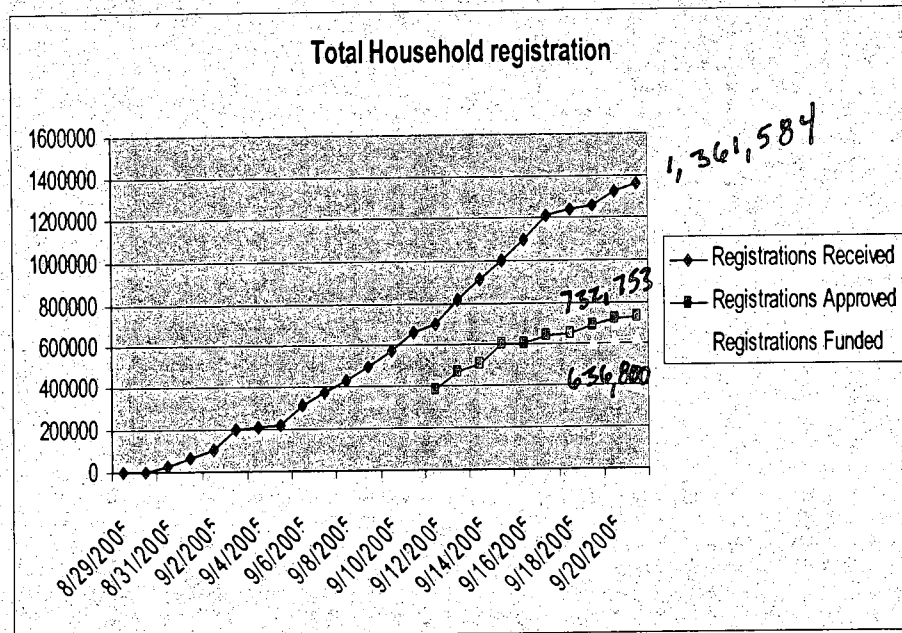
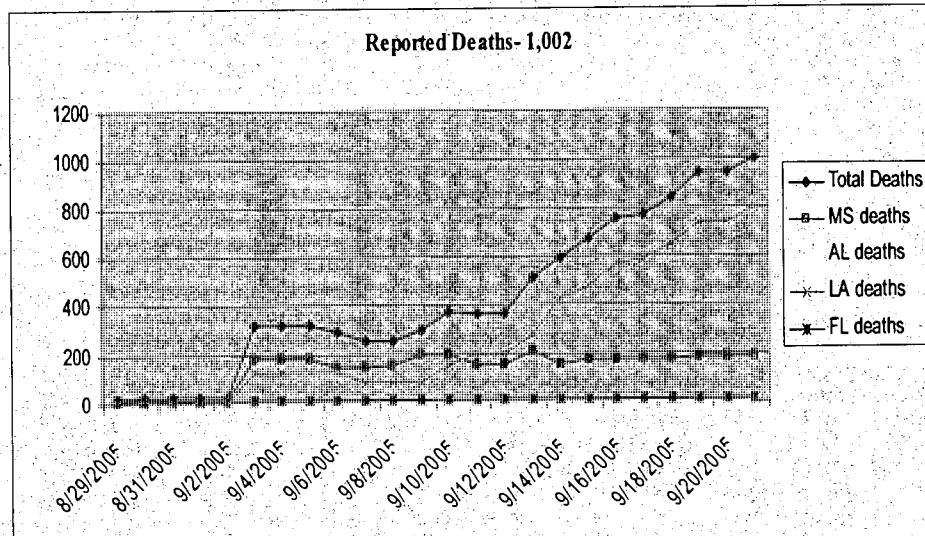
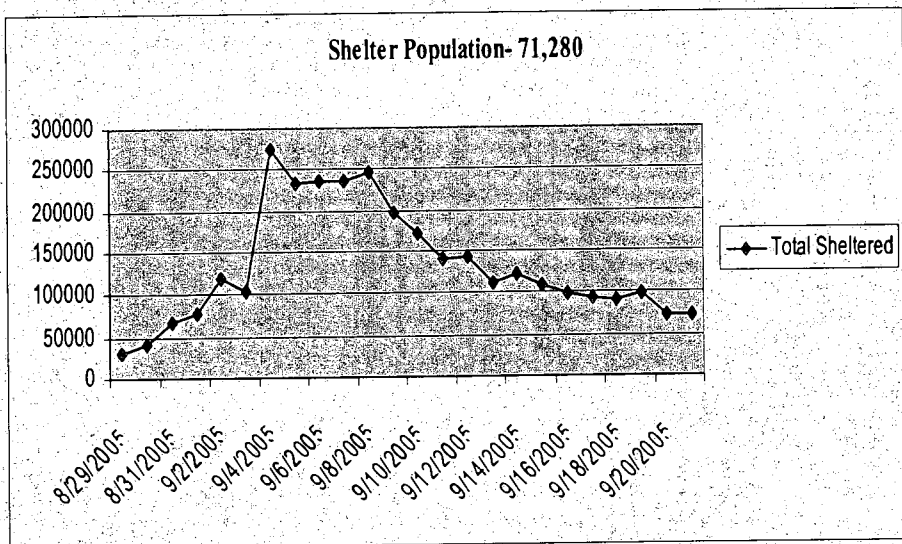
Students should seize the opportunity to observe the spectacle of politics and participate in Sheehan's appearance at every level, from support to opposition and robust protest. In turn, those who feel Sheehan's appearance only further tilts the campus environment toward liberals can begin to orchestrate the appearance of conservative counterpart.

The point is this: If nothing else, the appearance of Sheehan should * if only temporarily * ignite the interest of students about the state of both foreign and domestic policy. Hopefully the visit of a woman reviled in some corners and revered in another will leave behind an important, nonpartisan legacy: Getting students to critically discuss and consider the war in Iraq.

Alex Ray
Public Information Officer
Governor's Office of Crime Control & Prevention 300 East Joppa Road - Suite 1105
Baltimore, MD 21286 Tel. 410-321-3521

Katrina Snapshot

(As of 0600, 22 Sep 05)



67468

Withdrawal Marker

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Fax Cover Sheet	WCIT Invitation Letters - To: Susan Ralston - From: Ted Heydinger	1	09/07/2005	P5; P6/b6;

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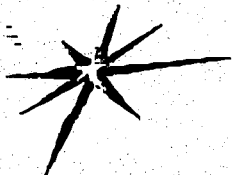
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www.WCIT2006.org

November 17, 2004

The Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

It is with great honor and anticipation that we invite you to be the keynote speaker at the opening ceremony of the 2006 World Congress on Information Technology (WCIT 2006), the world's premiere information technology (IT) forum. WCIT 2006 will be held in Austin, Texas May 3-5, 2006 with the opening ceremony on the morning of May 3.

WCIT 2006 will bring together an estimated 2,000 technology leaders from over 90 countries to discuss and debate IT policy, chart the future of technology and drive social and economic development. It is an extremely unique forum that attracts and connects the most respected leaders in business, government and academia to drive decisions—and change lives—on a global scale. Past WCIT speakers have included Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev, Bill Clinton, Carly Fiorina, Steve Forbes and Bill Gates.

Momentum for WCIT 2006 is building: Michael Dell, Chairman of Dell, Inc., and Hector de J. Ruiz, Chairman, President and CEO of Advanced Micro Devices will be keynote speakers and soon others will be announced. We have strong support from the State of Texas and the City of Austin as well as a strategic partnership with the U.S. Department of Commerce.

The world spotlight of IT will be on the United States and Texas during WCIT 2006, and we view this as a significant opportunity to showcase both the state and the country as technology trailblazers. The theme of WCIT 2006—"Inspire, Connect, Lead"—promises to spark provocative discussions that will serve as a catalyst for global innovation.

We would be tremendously honored for you to help us welcome this dynamic gathering to Austin, to Texas and to the United States. We will follow up with your staff to discuss your participation and provide additional details for review.

Sincerely,

J. Nixon Fox III
Chairman, WCIT 2006, Inc.
Partner, Vinson & Elkins L.L.P.

JNF/

cc: Daniel J. Bartlett

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WCIT 2006, Inc. • 10 Barton Springs Road • Suite 400 • Austin, Texas 78704

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

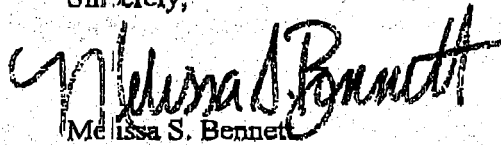
January 18, 2005

Dear Mr. Fox:

Thank you for your letter inviting President Bush to be the keynote speaker at the opening ceremony of the 2006 World Congress on Information Technology in Austin, Texas, on May 3-5, 2006.

We appreciate your invitation and the valuable opportunity it presents. As the President's schedule continues to develop, your request will be given every consideration. We will contact you once a final decision has been made. If you have any questions regarding your request, you may contact the Office of Appointments and Presidential Scheduling at 202-456-5324.

Sincerely,



Melissa S. Bennett
Deputy Assistant to the President
and Director of Appointments and Scheduling

Mr. J. Nixon Fox, III
Chairman, WCIT 2006
210 Barton Springs Road, Suite 400
Austin, Texas 78704-1253



OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

February 1, 2005

RICK PERRY
GOVERNOR

The Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

On behalf of the State of Texas, I would like to personally extend an invitation to you to participate as a keynote speaker at the World Congress on Information Technology (WCIT 2006), the world's preeminent gathering of global IT leaders, in May of 2006.

As governor, one of my primary goals is to keep Texas at the forefront of emerging markets, technologies and industries to ensure our state's jobs for the future. Austin's selection as host city for WCIT 2006 is a testament to the tremendous progress we have made in achieving this goal.

Launched in 1978 as a biennial event, WCIT has a proven track record of bringing people from across the globe together to engage in high-level networking, discussion, debate and future planning. It is the premier forum of the World Information Technology Services Alliance (WITSA), a consortium of more than 65 IT industry associations representing more than 90 percent of the global IT market.

As a speaker, you will have the opportunity to address an invitation-only audience comprised of approximately 2,000 technology leaders from more than 80 countries. Past WCIT speakers include Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev, Bill Gates, Carly Fiorina, Larry Ellison, Steve Forbes and Bill Clinton.

This unique forum is designed to encourage peer level discussions regarding IT policy, the future of technology, and how technology is used effectively to drive social and economic development.

The World Congress will be held May 3-5, 2006, in Austin, Texas. Momentum is already building. Michael Dell, Chairman of Dell, and Hector de J. Ruiz, Chairman, President and CEO of Advanced Micro Devices, will be among the keynote speakers, with others to be announced soon.

I look forward to personally welcoming you to Texas and extending our warmest hospitality.

Sincerely,

A large, handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Rick Perry".

Rick Perry
Governor

RP:mgp



Michael S. Dell
Chairman of the Board

February 15, 2005

The Honorable George W. Bush
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20005

Mr. President,

Your office has received invitations from Governor Perry and the chairman of the World Congress on Information Technology to provide the keynote address at the 15th annual meeting in Austin in May 2006. I would like to add my support of this invitation and hope that your schedule will allow you to join us.

You've been an outstanding advocate for the use of information technology in driving our nation's productivity and growth. This gathering would be an ideal forum to share those thoughts with the global information-technology community and to highlight our nation's ongoing leadership in the changing global economy.

We appreciate your consideration of this invitation.

Best regards


Michael S. Dell

Dell Inc. | One Dell Way | Round Rock, TX 78662 | Telephone 512.728.8400 | Telex 512 252.1469
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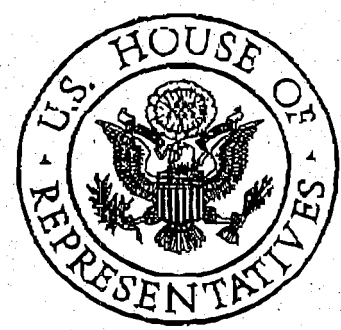
FUE: Frank
West.

SEP 12 2005
4:45 P

FAX COVER SHEET

Rep. Frank R. Wolf
10th District, Virginia

TO	NAME: <i>KARL ROVE</i>
	FAX NUMBER:
	DATE:



TEL: 202-225-5136
FAX: 202-225-0437

OF PAGES (Including Cover Sheet): *15*

SENDER: *FRANK WOLF*

COMMENTS:

*See conversation
this morning*

*(see if Megan O'Sullivan
has seen this)*

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IRAQ-AFGHANISTAN-QATAR

**Trip Report
Congressman Frank Wolf
September 2005**

AVAILABLE ONLINE AT: [HTTP://WWW.HOUSE.GOV/WOLF](http://www.house.gov/wolf)

ON THE COVER

(Clockwise from left)

Winchester, Virginia, resident Michelle Thrift hands out toys to children at the renovated Al Qudus Pediatric Hospital in Kirkuk. She is a civilian employee with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Transatlantic Program Center in Frederick County. She is on temporary assignment in Iraq.

Nearly 5,000 plastic containers are being filled with supplies for the polling stations that will be set up across Afghanistan later this month for the national elections. Among the items in each container: a stamp to certify each ballot and a container of purple ink that voters will dip their fingers in - like used in Iraq - to prevent fraud. Congressman Wolf visited the warehouse where the containers are being prepared during his trip to Afghanistan.

The men and women in uniform serving our country in Iraq, Afghanistan and Qatar - and around the world - deserve our deepest admiration. They work under tough conditions and are making great sacrifices. The men and women in this photo are from Virginia and are stationed at the Air Force's Al-Udeid Air Base in Qatar, the largest expeditionary base outside the United States. They are well trained, highly motivated and entirely dedicated to their mission. They work long days, many in extreme heat. The temperature on the flight line at Al-Udeid often reaches 130 degrees.



Progress is being made on several fronts in Iraq. Hospitals, like this one in Tikrit, are being built, schools are being refurbished, electricity is being restored and oil pipelines are being repaired.

I just returned from spending two days in Iraq (August 28 - 29), a day in Qatar (August 30) – home of the Air Force's Al-Udeid Air Base and the Army's Camp As-Sahliyah – and two days in Afghanistan (August 31 - September 1). This was my third trip to Iraq and my second to Afghanistan since 9/11.

Before detailing my trip and providing a series of recommendations concerning the ongoing efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, I want to express my sincere thanks to all the members of the U.S. military serving in both Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. They are still very much in harm's way and are doing a tremendous job. Many are serving their second tour in the regions; some even their third. Their morale remains high and their commitment to completing their mission has never wavered.

I talked with dozens of service men and women – active duty, Reserve and Guard, from privates to generals – and cannot say enough about their call to duty and professionalism. They are incredible individuals and deserve the deepest admiration and respect of the American people.

The families of our service men and women also deserve our thanks. They, too, continue to make tremendous sacrifices. It has been particularly hard on Reserve and Guard families who often do not have the same support system readily available as the families of career soldiers who live on or near military bases. I know every family that has a husband or wife, dad or mom, son or daughter, brother or sister, serving in either Iraq or Afghanistan worries every day about the safety of their loved ones. These families have my respect and my support.

My heartfelt sympathy especially goes out to all the families who have lost loved ones or whose family members have been seriously wounded in either Iraq or Afghanistan. We will never forget – and will always be grateful for – their service to the cause of freedom and the war against terrorism. During my trip I was particularly moved by the comments of Army Chaplain J.D. Moore from Gloucester, Virginia. He told me one of his duties is to accompany troops assigned to recover the bodies of soldiers killed in action. He said that the remains of a fallen soldier – called "heroes" in the field by their comrades – are treated with respect and honor. He explained that as the body of the fallen soldier is put onto a helicopter to be flown back to a base camp, the soldiers on the ground salute and then stand at attention until the helicopter takes off. He said he will often look back

and see the soldiers still standing at attention even though the helicopter is more than a mile away. I cannot say enough about the extraordinary men and women serving in uniform today. (On the back of this report is an excerpt from Chaplain's Moore's journal describing a "Hero Mission." You can read other entries by Chaplain Moore online at: <http://www.unionbaptistchurch.net/> Click on: "Chronicles of Pastor JD.")

The civilians serving in Iraq, Afghanistan and the surrounding region – whether with the Department of Defense, the State Department, USAID, FBI, DEA, Department of Energy, Department of Transportation or with one of the many contractors helping support our efforts – also are doing an outstanding job. They, too, are separated from their families and are working long hours in tough conditions. We are grateful, as well, for their efforts.

IRAQ

I thought it was important for me to return to Iraq to assess the conditions in the country since my last visit in December 2003. On this trip, I returned to Baghdad for a second time and also visited Tikrit – Saddam Hussein's ancestral hometown – and Kirkuk. On my two previous trips, I spent time in Al Nassiriyah, Al Kut (both times), Al Amarah and Basra. I have now spent time in all but the Kurdish areas in northern Iraq. This also was my first trip with the U.S. military. My previous visits were with NGOs (non-governmental organizations).

While I recognize that mistakes have been made in the war effort in Iraq, the purpose of this report is to

look forward, not back. I also recognize there were good and reasonable people on both sides of the decision to send U.S. armed forces to Iraq. But we are there now and cannot abandon the mission to bring peace and stability to Iraq and its people.

Up front, I want to make clear that there are many positive things happening in Iraq. I saw with my own eyes real progress being made on several fronts. Safe drinking water is available in places that have never had it before. Electricity is being restored. Oil pipelines are being repaired. Schools are being renovated. Hospitals and health clinics are being built. Police stations are being constructed. The Iraqi army is being reconstituted and will live and train in modern facilities built by Iraqis under the supervision and guidance of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Perhaps most impressive: Iraq held its first election in more than 30 years and will vote on a constitution later this month. These are all positive steps forward, and are the result of

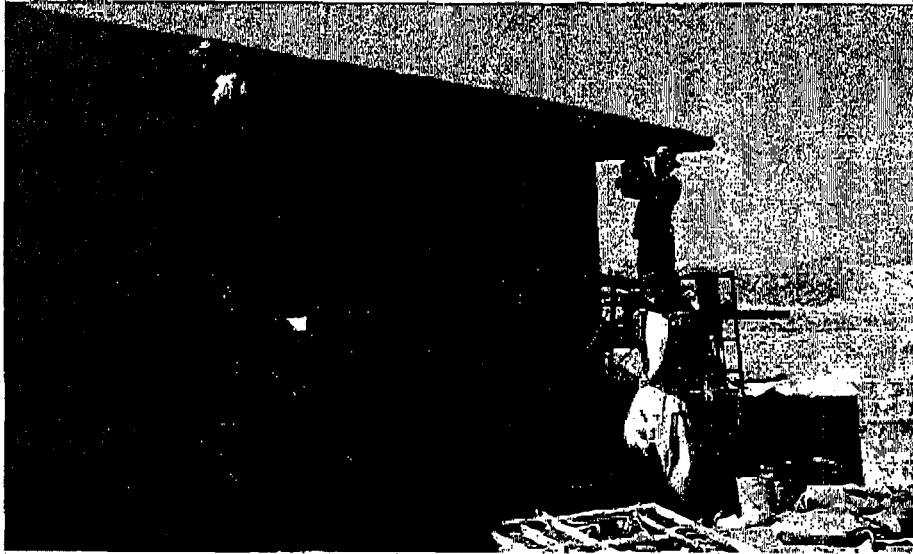
the efforts of the United States and its coalition partners.

Sadly, much of this "good" news is going unreported because security still remains the number one problem facing Iraq. The country is far from being safe. Everywhere I went I was escorted by a full complement of heavily armed soldiers and security personnel. Even while riding in armored vehicles, I wore body armor and a helmet.

Until we get security under control, our efforts to rebuild Iraq will continue to be a challenge. If embassy officials, USAID staff, NGOs, contractors – and, yes, even the media – cannot move around the country without the fear of being attacked, our efforts to bring peace to Iraq will be hampered. I was told many contractors remain unwilling to bid on work because of the level of violence that still exists, and those who do take on projects spend enormous sums of money on private security. I also was told the World Bank, a criti-



During my trip, I met with members of the Iraqi leadership, including the president and the speaker of the National Assembly.



Iraqis, under the supervision of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, are helping build military bases for the new Iraqi army.

cal element to helping rebuild Iraq, has refused to send staff because of security concerns.

To really understand what is happening in Iraq, you have to talk to the service men and women who are serving or have served — there. They are the fathers, the mothers, the sons, the daughters who have put their lives on the line in the war on terror. They are the neighbor down the street who has been called up for Reserve or Guard duty. They also are the federal employee who has volunteered for a temporary assignment.

In speaking with our service personnel, I was troubled to learn our troops serving in Iraq and Afghanistan are well aware of the media coverage of anti-war protests in America, especially the vigil of Cindy Sheehan, whose son was killed in action while serving in the war. The televisions in the mess halls, offices and sleeping quarters are all tuned into CNN, CNBC and Fox. I had several soldiers express wonderment on what is taking place back home. At one point, an enlisted soldier pulled

me aside and asked if he could talk to me in private. He said he has been watching the news about the protests and wanted to know if the American people were still behind the soldiers. I reassured him that they were but he just looked at me and asked again, almost as if he didn't believe me. He then said that when some of his fellow soldiers learned about the anti-war vigil their morale plummeted.

I raise this point because I believe it is important for the anti-war protesters to know how their actions potentially could be perceived by our soldiers on the front lines who are doing their jobs. Protest and dissent is the beauty of democracy, but the anti-war demonstrators need to understand that our soldiers know about their actions. They need to realize that those actions can have a negative impact on soldiers' spirits.

I believe President Bush should have met with Mrs. Sheehan last month. I have read news accounts of some of the president's meetings with families of soldiers who have been

killed in action. You can't help but get emotional reading the reports. The president is a compassionate man. He shares in the grief of those families who have lost a loved one. I know the burden on him as commander-in-chief is tremendous. He should include Mrs. Sheehan in his next meeting with families of fallen or wounded soldiers.

I also was struck by the number of soldiers who told me they were bewildered by the news accounts coming out of Iraq. Many said the Iraq being portrayed on the news is not the Iraq they see every day. One young officer said he no longer watches television news. Time and again I had soldiers, civilians and even members of the Iraqi government say they wished the media would report some "good" things happening in Iraq.

I recognize and understand that the media, like everyone else in Iraq, are working under difficult conditions. It is not easy to move around the country and more than 60 reporters have lost their lives. Many have done an outstanding job and I am sure they, too, would like to report "good" news more regularly, but their reports are often overtaken by the events of the day, such as the tragic stampede over a Tigris River bridge in Baghdad on Wednesday, August 31, where more than 900 innocent people were killed fleeing from a mosque that was rumored to be the target of a suicide bomber.

During my visit, I had the opportunity to meet with Lt. Gen. Dave Petraeus, commander, Multinational Security Transition Command in Iraq, and a number of other officers under his command. General Petraeus has

done an outstanding job. Regrettably, his tour in Iraq is winding down. While he was extremely upbeat about the progress being made, he cautioned that there is still a long way to go.

I also attended a lunch meeting with U.S. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad and several members of the Iraqi government, including Iraq's president, Jalal Al-Talabani; the speaker of the National Assembly, Hajim Al-Hasani; the president of the Kurdistan Regional government, Nechirvan Idris Barzani, and several members of the country's constitution committee. I am extremely impressed with Ambassador Khalilzad. He has the respect of the Iraqi leadership and is a skillful negotiator. He is playing a major role in Iraq as he did in Afghanistan, where he served as ambassador for the past two years.

Our meeting was only a few hours before the Iraqi government announced it had reached an agreement on the country's constitution. It was interesting to watch all sides involved in the process talk about "compromise." They each acknowledged that no one is entirely satisfied with the constitution but realized each party involved had to give up something in order to move the process forward. Changes are still expected to be made before the October 15 vote. They also were all in agreement that it would be a mistake for the United States to leave before Iraq is safe and that no timetable should be set for U.S. troops to be withdrawn.

I had a separate meeting with Ibrahim Al-Jaafari, Iraq's prime minister, where we discussed the evolution-

ary process of the new constitution. I was struck by his knowledge of the development of our own constitution and the amount of compromise and length of time it took for it to be adopted. He, too, expressed concern about the United States leaving Iraq too soon.

I heard compelling stories of Iraqi men and women meeting with family, friends and neighbors to discuss the October 15 vote on the Iraqi constitution. I was told many are going to great lengths - some even risking their lives - to spread the word and distribute information about the upcoming vote. One story involved a group of individuals who were randomly stopped by local police. While waiting to be allowed to proceed they used the opportunity to talk about the constitution with the police officers.

My trip included a visit to two of the military bases being built for the Iraqi army, a hospital being built in Tikrit and a pediatric hospital in Kirkuk that has been refurbished. I also flew over the Al Fathah Tigris

River bridge/pipeline project, just south of Kirkuk. Coalition forces bombed the bridge during the war to restrict enemy movement and contain the old Iraqi Army. Suspended under the bridge deck were critical oil pipelines that carried oil from the Kirkuk oil fields to the Iraq-Turkey pipeline and then north, south and west to petroleum processing facilities across Iraq.

Repairing this critically important pipeline, considered to be the center of gravity for the Iraqi oil infrastructure, has been a challenge. The geology of the area prevented a new pipeline from being laid under the river and a new strategy has had to be developed. Security also has been a problem. The insurgents are fully cognizant of the importance of this pipeline and regularly attempt to disrupt progress on the project. I was told there is small arms fire almost daily at the site. A Washington Post article on Sunday, September 4, reported that "armed men" set fire to oil leaking from the pipeline the day before and the pipeline eventually caught fire. The Reuters news service



The men and women serving in Iraq deserve the admiration of the American people. They are all incredible individuals.

reported that a bomb, rather than arson, caused the pipeline fire and the blaze shut down exports to the Turkish city of Cohen on the Mediterranean.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is playing a key role in many of the construction and rehabilitation projects in Iraq. Nearly a dozen civilians from the Corps' Transatlantic Programs Center from my congressional district in Winchester are presently serving in the Gulf region. All volunteered for the temporary assignment. Winchester resident Michelle Thrift, whom I had met earlier this year during a visit to the Winchester office, traveled with our group as we toured Tikrit and Kirkuk. She and her colleagues are making a difference.

Patience is the key to our success in Iraq. We have to manage our expectations when it comes to rebuilding the country. Almost an entire generation of Iraqis know nothing but the brutal, murderous regime of Saddam Hussein. While Saddam, his two sons and other loyal supporters lived lavishly in Baghdad, the rest of Iraq lived in extreme poverty. In parts of the country where Saddam felt threatened, he did everything possible to make life even more difficult, particularly after the uprisings following the first Gulf War. It was their punishment for opposing his iron-fisted rule.

Saddam spent millions of dollars on ornate palaces and tributes to himself and only invested the bare minimum in keeping the country's infrastructure in place. Consequently, the task of repairing oil pipelines, electric generation plants, roads and the country's rail system is going to

be much greater than ever believed.

One interesting comment I heard is that the rebuilding of Iraq cannot be on America's timetable. It will have to be on Iraq's timetable. Life – and timetables – in Iraq are not the same as in the United States. This is a key point, and one the Bush administration must explain better.

It also is important to remember that in its early years, America had its share of growing pains. While we declared our independence in 1776, it was 11 years before our forefathers began to draft a constitution that wasn't ratified until 1789. Few remember that our constitution was debated in complete secrecy. Delegates knew that they would generate heated differences and did not want to advertise their own dissension the workings of the House of Commons. Democracy and an elected government are truly foreign concepts to the Iraqi people.

The Bush administration also needs to do a better job of explaining what the consequences of "failing" in Iraq would mean to the average person in Chantilly, Virginia; Topeka, Kansas, or Portland, Oregon.

I repeatedly asked people I met during the trip – from generals, to State Department officials, to members of the Iraqi government – what they thought "failure" would mean. The responses were chilling.

I heard references to Somalia – think of the movie "Black Hawk Down" – and the former Yugoslavia with all its ethnic cleansing. The images that flashed in my mind when I

heard these countries were disturbing. I was in Somalia during the crisis in 1993. I traveled to Sarajevo and the Yugoslavia region several times in the early to mid-1990's where so many were killed. In fact, many of the people I met with in Vukovar, Croatia, in 1991 were killed several months later and buried in mass graves.

Many speculated that civil war would break out in Iraq and even more foreign fighters from across the region would pour into the country in hopes of influencing the outcome. I was told almost all of the insurgents now carrying out the suicide attacks are foreigners, most coming across the Syrian border from places like Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan and Afghanistan. I also was told militias are already fighting each other on a regular basis in some parts of the country.

If our mission fails and civil war comes, the country would almost certainly divide into three parts: the Kurds in the north, the Sunnis in central Iraq, and the Shias in the south. It is believed the Kurds would most likely be able to keep from being drawn into the fighting and could govern themselves. In the central region of the Sunni Triangle, warring factions would fight for control and most agree that there would be sheer chaos. Iran's presence is already being felt in the south as it tries to influence the upcoming elections and if civil war erupts, elements in Iran could be expected to even further infiltrate the south.

With civil war, almost everyone I asked said that Iraq would become a haven from which terrorists groups



U.S. Ambassador Khalilzad is playing a major role in Iraq as he did in Afghanistan, where he served as ambassador for two years.

could launch attacks against the United States and other countries. No one has to be reminded of what happened on 9/11. Thirty people from the Virginia's 10th congressional district were among the thousands who died that day.

Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups would like nothing more than to have a new "base" from which to operate, much like Afghanistan in the 1990s after the Soviets were defeated. There is no denying that the terrorists have designs on the United States and, as one U.S. officer told me, "we must win the war so we don't fight the next war in America."

Terrorists are doing everything in their power to prevent the United States and its coalition partners from being successful in Iraq. They believe time is on their side and that they can "wait out" the United States. They will do anything – including blowing themselves up in busy marketplaces – to disrupt our

progress and turn the Iraqi people against America. They believe that the war being fought in Iraq is not a "military" war but rather a "political" war and American public opinion will dictate when the United States leaves, not military success.

There is a general belief among terrorism experts that the top priority of terrorists is to seek chemical, biological, radiological or nuclear weapons. The video of two commercial airliners being flown into the World Trade Center is ingrained in every American's mind. I shudder to think what terrorists would do if they obtained a biological or chemical weapon.

Many I spoke with also said failure in Iraq could destabilize the entire Gulf region and possibly lead to the downfall of the governments of Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Failure also could have serious impact on the world's economy,

especially the increasing demand for energy. Japan, I was told, imports more than 75 percent of its oil from the region, Western Europe 30 percent and the United States 22 percent. The United States is now seeing record gasoline prices and supply disruptions in the wake of Hurricane Katrina as consumers fear gas shortages. Failure in Iraq would directly impact the cost of oil and have far-ranging negative consequences on the U.S. and world economies.

Others said they believe the United States has a moral obligation to the people of Iraq to successfully complete what it started. They asked how the American public would feel if civil war were to break out and thousands upon thousands of innocent Iraqis were slaughtered in the subsequent fighting?

Finally, many believe the United States' credibility is at stake. In The Washington Post's Outlook Section on September 4, Victor Davis Hanson, a military historian at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and the author of the forthcoming book, "A War Like No Other," wrote:

If we fled precipitously, moderates in the Middle East could never again believe American assurances of support for reform and would have to retreat into the shadows – or find themselves at the mercy of fascist killers. Jihadists would swell their ranks as they hyped their defeat of the American infidels. Our forward strategy of hitting terrorists hard abroad would be discredited and replaced by a return to the pre-9/11 tactics of a few cruise missiles and writs. And loyal al-

lies in Eastern Europe, the United Kingdom, Australia and Japan, along with new friends in India and the former Soviet republics, would find themselves leaderless in the global struggle against Islamic radicalism.

Failure cannot be an option in Iraq nor can the creation of an arbitrary deadline for pulling out U.S. troops. The ramifications for our country and other countries in the West would be huge. Our withdrawal must be event driven and not artificially tied to a calendar. We must set conditions for victory, not dates for withdrawal.

The Bush Administration must do a better job articulating just what is at stake and the potentially catastrophic consequences. Time is not on the side of the administration. There is a sense that public support is waning in both the United States and in Great Britain. No one believes we will lose the war on the ground in Iraq; it's here at home that there is a concern. One general officer said point blank that the "center of gravity" for our success in Iraq is the American public.

The administration also needs to do a better job of letting the American people know how they can participate in the war effort. During World War II, the American people were asked to buy war bonds. They were asked to plant "Victory Gardens." They were asked to collect cans for scrap metal. They were asked to do tangible, real things to help in the war effort. For the 21st century, there must be more all Americans can do to participate. I know the American people are anx-



Iraqis play an important role in the making of a new Iraq. Failure cannot be an option.

ious to support our troops and many are doing just that. But I am confident more can be done.

For example, when I was in Qatar, we visited the facility where soldiers can come for four days of R&R from the front lines. It is a great place for soldiers to relax, call or e-mail home, watch television and even go sightseeing in Doha. I was told, however, that many of the soldiers come there either in uniform or without the proper clothes to leave the base since Qatar, like many of the countries in the region, adheres to strict, conservative dress codes, particularly for women.

I learned there is a collection of clothing available for the service men and women to borrow, but in all honesty, the facility doesn't have enough. As Americans look for ways to support our troops, perhaps civic organizations could organize clothes drives or purchase suitable clothing to ship to the Qatar base via FedEx

or DHL or any carrier servicing the region. Something as simple as this would allow the American public to get more involved, and surely would be welcomed by the men and women who are coming back from the front for a few days of rest and relaxation.

While there has been real progress in Iraq, there is still a long way to go. To ensure progress continues as quickly as possible, I strongly urge the Bush Administration to select a group of capable and distinguished individuals – some with a military background and others with extensive foreign policy experience – to go to the Iraq and other parts of the Gulf region to comprehensively review our efforts. All of the individuals selected would be known for their honesty, integrity and competence.

The group would essentially provide "fresh eyes on the target." The target, of course, being how we bring about success in Iraq. Upon their return, the group would report to the president, Congress and the American public.

My motive behind the appointment of this group is not to find fault with the U.S. effort there now. Such an independent, comprehensive review could help to assure Americans – no matter what their position is on the war – that every effort possible is being made to protect our troops and realize our goal of a secure and peaceful Iraq. I see no downside in such a review. In our daily lives, we regularly seek second opinions.

I recognize that the Bush administration has sent other teams of individuals to Iraq to assess the

ongoing situation. But what I call a "fresh eyes" review would be different in that rather than just reporting back to the president, the secretary of Defense or the secretary of State, this group also would report to the American public. Frankly, I believe the administration has an obligation to the American people to provide this information.

As I stated at the beginning of this report, I wanted to return to Iraq to assess the present conditions. Like many Americans I was growing more and more concerned about the daily media reports coming out of Iraq, particularly the steady stream of stories of soldiers losing their lives. I voted to send American men and women to war and I strongly believe I have an obligation to see firsthand how things are going so I can fully explain the situation to a mother in Warrenton or a father in Berryville.

Before this most recent trip, I heard a constant drum beat of negative reports. But I have seen with my own eyes the progress we are making. There is a huge difference between December 2003 and today. Yes, security is still a big problem, and yes, we still have a long way to go. But complete and total success is not going to come overnight. This is going to be a long and difficult struggle. In fact, many predict the insurgents will increase their level of attacks in the coming weeks in hope of disrupting next month's referendum on Iraq's draft constitution.

The Bush Administration needs to face the reality that a growing number of Americans are becoming skeptical. While they clearly support our troops, they are tiring of all the

negative stories coming out of the country and do not have the benefit of seeing the entire picture.

The administration has nothing to fear by pulling together the "fresh eyes" group I propose. Progress is being made. The American people need to know that. Mistakes have been made, too, and I believe the American public is an understanding public and are willing to forgive as mistakes are acknowledged. Most of all, Americans just want an honest assessment.

As chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee with oversight of the State Department and the Justice Department, in addition to being the author of the legislation creating the National Commission on Terrorism, later known as the Bremer Commission, I am keenly aware of what is at stake if we fail to achieve our goal in Iraq. This group could help ensure that we are successful. It would examine each and every operation – from how we are dealing with the insurgency to the status of the thousands of reconstruction projects being undertaken in Iraq to what we are doing to improve America's image through public diplomacy in the region – and perhaps offer different perspectives in addressing what is a very complex issue. The group would travel to all parts of Iraq – the Shia south, the central Sunni Triangle and the north where the Kurds reside. They would meet with general officers, junior officers, NCOs and privates in Iraq and at our ancillary facilities in the region. They would meet embassy officials and other federal government employees working in Baghdad. They would meet with civilian contractors

and NGOs operating in the country. Meetings with Iraqi leaders would be scheduled as well as meetings with ordinary Iraqis in the country's towns and villages.

In an effort to better educate the American public about our ongoing efforts in Iraq – and the Gulf region – perhaps a select group of media should accompany this group during its visit, not as a tool for U.S. "propaganda" but to ensure transparency. This would give the media the opportunity to travel to all parts of the country and report on both the "good and the bad." The "pool" would include both broadcast and print media.

This "fresh eyes" review would assess answers to questions such as the following:

- How accurate a picture do we have of the insurgency? What is the realistic strength of the insurgency? Is the insurgency growing or diminishing in capability?
- What can we do to get better tactical intelligence on the enemy and what will it take to get actionable intelligence?
- How reliable and effective is the growing Iraqi security establishment? What is its ethnic makeup?
- What is the power and effectiveness of local militias in the country and how much of a problem do they pose in the longer term for an Iraqi government?
- What role is Iran playing in the evolving political and security situation in Iraq? What role is Syria playing?
- What will it take in terms of resources, organization and time to effectively control the Iraqi bor-

ders?

- Is there an anti-sabotage strategy to protect the energy infrastructure? If so, why isn't it working? Are there alternatives?
- What is the status of the efforts to organize the Iraqi ministries and get them up and running? Is progress being made? If not, what more needs to be done?
- What criteria should guide the pace of withdrawal of American and coalition forces?

We owe it to the thousands of men and women who are in harm's way to test the process and ask questions. We also owe it to the American public. I urge the administration to act quickly to put together this team to offer "fresh eyes on the target."

QATAR

Both the Air Force and the Army have large command, operation, staging and warehousing facilities in Qatar. The Air Force operates out of Al-Udeid Air Base, the largest expeditionary base outside the United States; the Army at Camp As-Sahliyah. I was extremely impressed with both facilities. The airmen and soldiers stationed here are well trained, highly motivated and entirely dedicated to their mission. They work long days, many in extreme heat. The temperature on the flight line at Al-Udeid often reaches 130 degrees and can get even hotter because of all the pavement. Keeping the airmen who maintain and load the planes hydrated is a top priority.

I received high-level briefings at both facilities, including one from the Army's U.S. Central Command. I also toured the Air Force's Combined Air Operations Center (CAOC), where all aircraft opera-



In a meeting with President Karzai, I voiced concern about ongoing production of opium and its derivative heroin in Afghanistan.

tions in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa are monitored. It is a truly amazing facility. Massive floor-to-ceiling monitors track flights much like an FAA operations center tracks commercial flights. The facility hums with activity 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

In addition, I visited a facility where thousands upon thousands of documents uncovered or captured in Iraq are translated and reviewed as part of the war on terror. I was told more than 50,000 boxes of documents have been collected in Iraq alone. Items captured include computers, hard drives, videos, maps, film and blueprints. The work being done at this facility is critically important. A number of DOD civilians have volunteered for temporary duty at this facility, including several from Virginia.

As I mentioned earlier, I also toured the facility where soldiers serving on the front lines can come

spend four days of R&R. The facility has televisions, computers with access to the Internet and American-style restaurants. It also has a stage where USO shows featuring Hollywood entertainers and popular musicians can perform. Sightseeing tours of Qatar also are scheduled out of the facility. Providing our soldiers with a place to decompress and escape from the stress of the front lines is vital.

AFGHANISTAN

Significant strides have been made in Afghanistan since my first visit in January 2002, when I led the first congressional delegation into the country following 9/11. Kabul is full of life. The streets are crowded with shoppers and young children. Schools are open – for both boys and girls. Hospitals are being improved. Health clinics, I was told, are opening in villages that never had any form of health care before. New roads are being built. The country elected its first president, and on



On my trip, I met civilian and military personnel from across Virginia. They - and their families - are all making great sacrifices.

September 18 will elect a national assembly. I also saw kites flying in the sky - a longstanding Afghan tradition which was forbidden by the Taliban.

While in Afghanistan I met with Ambassador Ronald Neumann and members of the embassy staff; Lt. Gen. Karl Eikenberry, commander, Combined Forces - Afghanistan; representatives from the Department of Justice, including the FBI, and some of the NGOs operating in the country. I also met with Afghan President Hamid Karzai.

Nearly all the individuals with whom I met seemed pleased with the progress made to date, but stressed that like Iraq, there is still a long way to go. Many described the situation as "fragile." Security still remains an issue, from both internal and external threats - internally from some of the militias that continue to exist; externally from Al Qaeda. One long-time American friend I saw during my visit, though, told me he feels perfectly safe in Kabul and regularly takes taxis around town.

Aside from security, there are two other threats to the future of Afghanistan: corruption and drug trafficking. The government must get a better handle on both. Almost half of the nation's GDP comes from the sale of illicit drugs. I was told nearly 90 percent of the world's supply of opium and its derivative heroin comes from Afghanistan. I am concerned that some of the profits from the drug trade could be helping support the terrorist network around the globe.

I also visited the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) Election Training and Information Center in Kabul. I was extremely impressed with the work of NDI. It has done an outstanding job teaching candidates about the electoral process and is now training nearly 200,000 polling officials whose goal will be to ensure that the upcoming elections are honest and fair. The center is training both men and women since each will vote at separate polling places. More than 3,000 candidates are running for 249 seats in the national assembly; women must hold 68 seats. Each

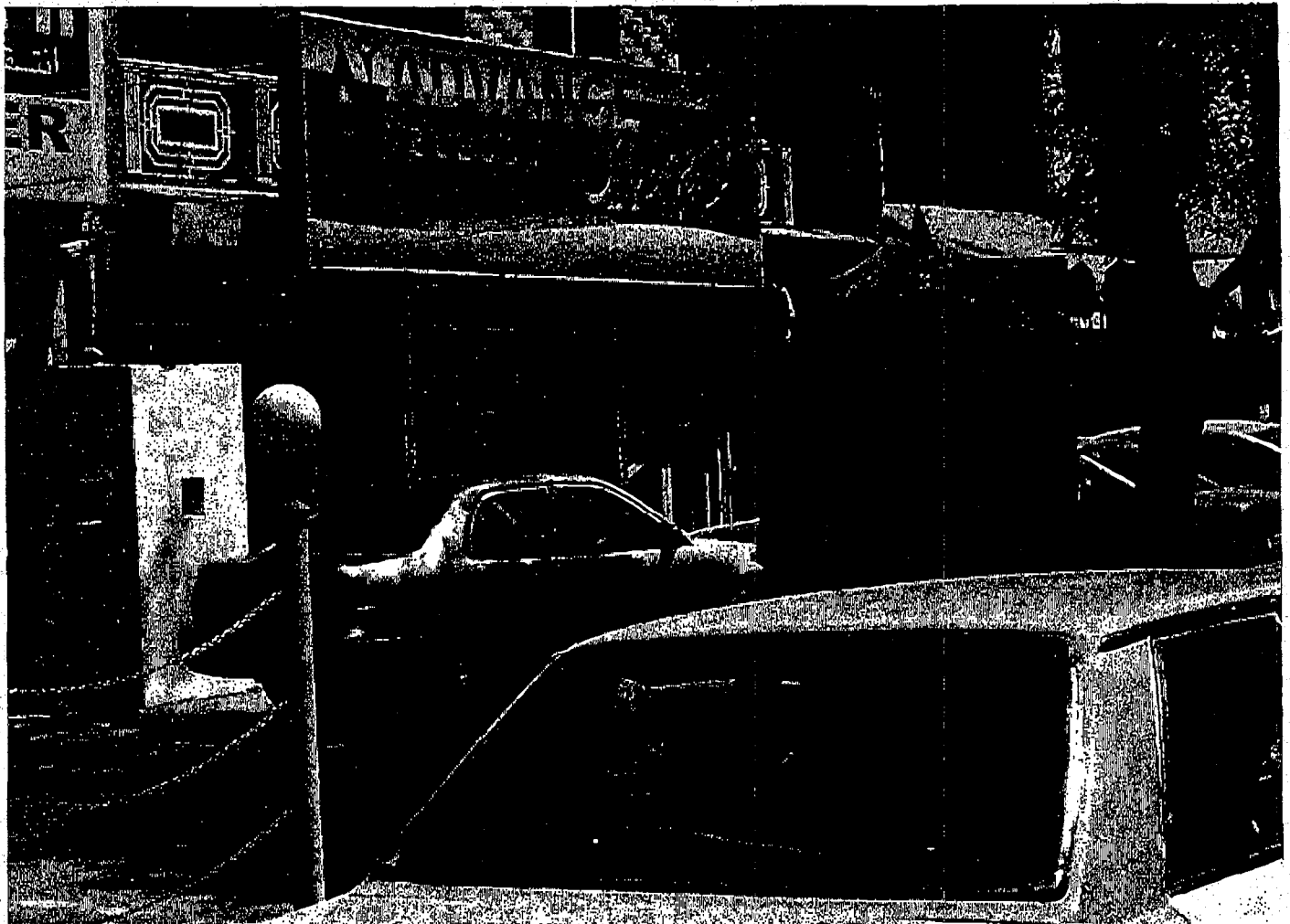
candidate was permitted to select 20 polling officials to be trained as observers.

I wish C-SPAN could have been with me when I visited NDI to capture the excitement in the air. The Afghans are enthusiastic about the upcoming elections. Candidates are going to people's homes to solicit votes and holding "campaign" barbecues. Campaign posters are plastered on sign posts, walls and storefronts all over Kabul. Candidates are even being given three minutes of free airtime on television and two minutes of free airtime on the radio.

My only concern is that their expectations may be too high. Because there are so many candidates running in Kabul alone and the ballot there will be seven pages, the election is expected to be complicated and confusing. Since so few people in Afghanistan can read or write, each ballot will not only list candidates by name, but will include the candidate's photo and an identifying symbol, such as a dove or a camel.

In addition to visiting NDI, I toured the site where the media will broadcast the election results and the warehouse where the election day materials are being assembled. Among the items included in each plastic container for the polling places is a stamp that will be used to certify each ballot and a container of the now famous purple ink in which voters will dip their fingers to show they have voted.

The progress in Afghanistan is truly remarkable. Five years ago women were being executed in soccer stadiums. Today, almost all walk the



Kabul is full of life. Its streets are crowded with cars and shoppers. Campaign signs are posted on shop fronts, kiosks and even hang from trees in anticipation of the upcoming election.

streets of Kabul without a burka, the head-to-toe sky-blue garment Afghan women were required to wear in public by the Taliban. Like Iraq, however, patience is key to its success. Afghanistan was a failed state. It has known nothing but war for 25 of the last 30 years. It is slowly but surely making the transition to a democracy, but its future is very much tied to the commitment of the United States – and its coalition partners – to seeing it through to the end. We walked away once from Afghanistan. We cannot make the same mistake twice.

END NOTES

I want to thank all those who

helped make my trip possible, particularly the U.S. Army, who served as my host, and my Army escort, Lt. Col. Donna Shahbaz. I also want to thank the U.S. Air Force for providing transportation in and out of both Iraq and Afghanistan and the embassy staff in Iraq, Afghanistan and Qatar for all their support. My appreciation also goes to the military staff who provided assistance on the ground as well as to all the individuals who helped provide security.

I also want to thank several members of my staff for their help in putting together this report. Dan Scandling, my chief of staff, accompanied me on the trip, helped write this

report and served as photographer; Janet Shaffron, my legislative director, edited the report, and Kristin Erb, my scheduler, played a critical role in planning the trip. Colin Samples did the layout and design.

Congressman Wolf represents Virginia's 10th Congressional District in the U.S. House of representatives. He is the chairman of the Science-State-Commerce-Justice Appropriations Subcommittee and co-chairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. Copies of Congressman Wolf's "Trip Reports" earlier trips to Iraq and Afghanistan are online at: <http://www.house.gov/wolf>

"HERO MISSION"

Excerpted with permission from

Army Chaplain J.D. Moore's "Chronicles of Pastor J.D."

(Online at: <http://www.unionbaptistchurch.net/>)

January 27, 2005

"I was abruptly caught off guard today by one of the Administrative Privates from flight operations. He told me that the flight operation Battle Captain was looking for me. When I arrived to see the Battle Captain, he told me that I was given a Hero Mission for a young soldier who had died in battle only hours before. I had about twenty minutes to ready myself and to go by Black-hawk with Specialist Toussaint to recover the soldier's body from his unit and to escort the Hero to another base where he would be sent home to his family. I found Specialist Toussaint, gathered my gear, and made my way to the flight line to board the aircraft. When I arrived, everyone was as somber as I. I prayed over the aircraft, received our mission briefing, and then we departed. Once arriving to the location of the unit, I found the fallen soldier's unit neatly and sharply in formation next to the landing zone. Their clothes were muddy and their faces were downcast. Immediately you could sense their pain.

"Toussaint and I immediately departed the aircraft and hastily made our way to the Chaplain of the unit who was standing with his soldiers like a good shepherd. In the Chaplain's arms was his large red Bible embraced against his chest. The soldiers carefully opened the back of the vehicle and solemnly and with honor removed their fallen friend from the vehicle. The black body bag hung in the hands of his friends. Toussaint and I stood next to the vehicle and rendered a slow salute. We slowly and reverently followed the soldiers and their fallen comrade to the aircraft. Once arriving to the helicopter with the blades still churning and whirling, we all carefully placed the Hero in the aircraft. The crew chiefs of the aircraft gently situated the new crew member, our Hero. We stopped and prayed. As I turned to my rear, I looked back to see the rest of the America's Sons. Their Chaplain, Chaplain Fisher, came to me, embraced me tightly, and with a shattered voice said, "Thank you for being here and escorting our friend part way home. Thank your unit for us for their help." I could only return his embrace, pat his shoulder, and look into his face. I then boarded the aircraft, and we began our ascent. As the aircraft blades aggressively moved the air and we began to rise off the ground, I looked to my right out of the window to see the unit being swayed by the turbulence but still saluting their fallen hero. As long as I could see Hero's unit standing at attention in the blowing turbulence saluting their combat buddy, one of the soldiers, they remained standing, steadfast, saluting and honoring our hero.

"I certainly will never forget this Hero Mission. I was very quiet all the way back to Speicher and could only think about the pain a family back home was getting ready to experience. I prayed for the family."

Love,

Pastor J. D.

67466F

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/20/05

To: Mike Meece
From: Deputy Chief of Staff / Lacey
6-4574

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

Comments: Mike - do you recommend
KP meet w/ these CDOs? If not, pls.
handle as you deem appropriate.
Thanks! Lacey

**Industrial Energy Consumers of America**

One Thomas Circle, NW, Tenth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005

Telephone 202-223-1661 Fax 202-530-0659 www.ieca-us.org

EXEC. OFF. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES

2005 SEP 26 AM 6:25

September 23, 2005

Mr. Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President
The Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Rove:

A small group of Chief Operating Officers or Presidents from companies who rely on affordable natural gas to operate their facilities, the agriculture industry, along with companies from the independent oil and gas industry request to meet with you as soon as possible. It is critically essential that the Congress and the Administration move as quickly as possible to increase domestic supply of natural gas.

We wish to discuss upcoming OCS legislation and our concern that the OMB may only score it considering the outflows of funds from the Treasury as coastal states are given a share of the leasing royalties.

Unless the country increases domestic production of natural gas that increases affordability, a significant number of manufacturing jobs will move off-shore with enormous impact on jobs and the United States economy. These changes will have a greater negative impact on the Treasury than sharing leasing royalties. Much is at stake.

Please let us know when it is possible to visit. A list of our companies is attached. We will confirm which companies will be in the meeting once we know when you can meet with us. We believe International Paper will lead the group.

Sincerely,

Paul N. Cicio
Executive Director



Industrial Energy Consumers of America

One Thomas Circle, NW, Tenth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005

Telephone 202-223-1661 Fax 202-530-0659 www.ieca-us.org

Board of Directors 2005

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Industrial Energy Consumers of America

PAUL N. CICIO
ONE THOMAS CIRCLE, NW
TENTH FLOOR
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
TELE: 202-223-1661
FAX: 202-530-0659
WWW.IECA-US.ORG
EMAIL: PCICIO@CARBONLEAF.NET

FAX

DATE: 9/25/05

TO: Karl Rove - attn Lacey Liedtke

FROM: Paul Cicio

NUMBER OF PAGES: 3

COMMENTS: _____

Withdrawal Marker

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Fwd: Topline for IL Statewide... [with attachment] - To: Taylor Hughes - From: Karl Rove	13	09/26/2005	PRM;

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- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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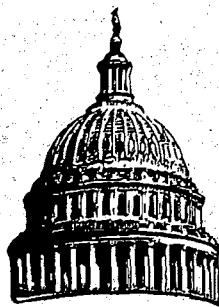
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674668



Congressman Dan Burton
5th Congressional District Indiana

2185 Rayburn Building
Washington, DC 20515-1406
Phone: (202) 225-2276 Fax: (202) 225-0016

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Barrett Carr
FR: Diane
DT: 9/22/05
Fax: 2-456-3501

→ ~~Taylor will pick up the stuff~~
Taylor, Dan Burton would like for Karl to see this.

Total Pages (Including Cover): 2

Message: Here is the letter from Rep. Burton to Mr. Rove. Please forward to the appropriate Channels.

Rep. Burton would really appreciate if this letter was read by Mr. Rove himself.

Thank you

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Karl Rove - From: Dan Burton	1	09/21/2005	P5; P6/b6;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

674668 [3]

FRC ID:

9749

OA Num.:

10773

NARA Num.:

10831

FOIA ID and Segment:

2015-0037-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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F:

Dr. Sun W/ Andy

679668

THE HONORABLE
RICK MONTOYA

SEP 26 2005

6:25p

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO:	The Hon. Andrew H. Card, Jr.	FROM:	Rick Montoya
COMPANY:		DATE:	9/26/2005
FAX NUMBER:	301-301-384-0954	TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER:	5
PHONE NUMBER:	(b)(6)	SENDER'S REFERENCE NUMBER:	AME/Katrina092605
RE:	Problems with FEMA --Housing- Black Coalition Opportunity		

URGENT
 FOR REVIEW
 PLEASE COMMENT
 PLEASE REPLY
 PLEASE RECYCLE

NOTES/COMMENTS:

Andy,

Feel free to share with Karl Rovel

I can be reached at (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Rick Montoya

[CLICK HERE AND TYPE RETURN ADDRESS]

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter] - To: Andrew Card - From: Rick Montoya	2	09/26/2005	P5; P6/b6;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Agenda	Crawford	1	07/25/2005	P5;

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Hughes, Taylor A.

From: Simmons, Lee D.
Sent: Wednesday, July 27, 2005 4:03 PM
To: Hughes, Taylor A.
Cc: Simmons, Lee D.
Subject: August 9th Meeting Participants

Meeting Participants
Crawford, Texas
Meeting with Economic Advisors
August 9, 2005

Secretary John Snow
Secretary Carlos Gutierrez
Secretary Elaine Chao
Ambassador Rob Portman
Secretary Andrew Card
Josh Bolten
Karl Rove
Dan Bartlett
Scott McClellan
Al Hubbard
Ben Bernanke
Steve Hadley
Keith Hennessey
V.P.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Handwritten Note	[Note] - To: Karl - From: Jeremy	1	N.D.	P5;

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674668

Topic	Meeting/Briefing Dates		
	Deputies	Principals	POTUS
Vision & Principles	8-Sep	12-Sep	
Price & Quality Transparency	15-Sep	19-Sep	26-Sep
Provider Competition	22-Sep	26-Sep	29-Sep
Portability & Healthy Behavior	29-Sep	3-Oct	10-Oct
Adverse Selection	6-Oct	10-Oct	
Adverse Selection	13-Oct	17-Oct	24-Oct
Uninsured & Vouchers	20-Oct	24-Oct	
Uninsured & Vouchers	27-Oct	31-Oct	14-Nov
Financing	3-Nov	7-Nov	
Financing	10-Nov	14-Nov	
Financing	17-Nov	28-Nov	1-Dec
HSAs	1-Dec	5-Dec	
Financing & HSAs	8-Dec	12-Dec	15-Dec

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Market-Based Reforms for Strengthening the U.S. Health Care System	5	N.D.	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	Structural Changes in the U.S. Cement Industry...	2	09/16/2005	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Bobby Jindal on Rebuilding - Newt - To: Taylor Hughes - From: Karl Rove	2	09/23/2005	P5; P6/b6;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	The O'Connor Vacancy	3	N.D.	PRM;

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074668

SEP 26 2005
5:00 p.m.

FYI



US Commission on Civil Rights
624 Ninth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20425

NRW

To: Harriet Myers, Counsel to the President
 Fax number: 1 202 456-6279

From: Kimberly Schuld
 Fax number: 775-295-7518
 Business phone: (703)855-8755
 Home phone:

Date & Time: 9/26/2005 1:56:33 PM
 Pages: 2
 Re: Letter Regarding Nominee to Supreme Court

A Sunday Washington Post article referenced a letter sent by Jennifer Braceras, Linda Chavez, and Abigail Thernstrom regarding the next nominee to the Supreme Court. The Post story mischaracterized the content of the letter and the recipient list. The following letter was sent to the members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

September 23, 2005

The Honorable Arlen Specter
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510


VIA FAX: 202-224-9102

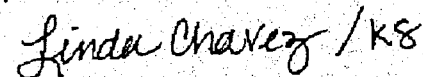
Dear Senator Specter,

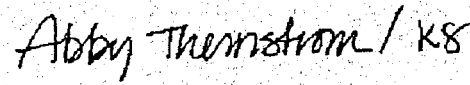
In his reelection campaign, President Bush promised to appoint constitutionalist justices who share his vision of the Court as a neutral umpire, not a super-legislature. We share the President's view that justices with a properly modest view of the judicial function are the best guardians of our rights and liberties.

We believe that the most important criterion for the selection of an associate justice to succeed Justice Sandra Day O'Connor is a commitment to judicial restraint and to the rule of law. But we have no doubt that this singularly important qualification can be found among both men and women and in all of the racial and ethnic communities of our country.

Sincerely,


Jennifer C. Braceras
Commissioner, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights


Linda Chavez
President, Center for Equal Opportunity and
former Staff Director, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights


Abigail Thornstrom
Vice Chair, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	RE: Pozen Comments During Soc Sec Meeting - To: Charles Blahous, et al. - From: Christal West	2	09/22/2005	P5;

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/26/05

To: *Susan
Ralston*

From: Deputy Chief of Staff */facey*

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

Comments: 9/12 letter to POTUS re:
reauthorizing the Volney flights
act as a tribute to Barbara
Jordan. Please handle as you deem
appropriate. Thanks!

Consp

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
3100 CLEBURNE STREET • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77004

EXEC. OFF. PRESIDENT
WH STRATEGIC INITIATIVES
2005 SEP 26 11 12: 42



713-313-7011

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE: 713-313-7035; TELEFAX: 713-313-1092

September 12, 2005

Honorable George W. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Bush:

In anticipation of the reauthorization of the special provisions of the Voting Rights Act that are scheduled to expire in August of 2007, we invite you to sign into law the extension of the special provisions of this landmark civil rights legislation at Texas Southern University (TSU) in Houston, Texas on January 17, 2006. One of the special provisions up for reauthorization (Bilingual Voting Materials Requirement, 42U.S.C. §1973 aa-1a) was added to the Voting Rights Act by Congresswoman Barbara Jordan and January 17, 2006 will mark the tenth anniversary of her death.

What a special and worthy tribute it would be to Congresswoman Jordan's memory, and her service to all Americans, for the President of the United States to sign the legislation reauthorizing the special provisions of the Voting Rights Act on the campus of Texas Southern University - her alma mater - at the Barbara Jordan-Mickey Leland School of Public Affairs in the Congresswoman's hometown of Houston, Texas.

As a former Governor of the great state of Texas, you are well aware that TSU is now the largest Historically Black College or University in our nation. It is also the alma mater of Barbara Jordan and Mickey Leland, both former members of Congress, and we feel genuine American heroes. Capturing this historical moment on such a significant date in our history will inspire our students, our community, and the nation as well as demonstrate your commitment to all that the Voting Rights Act guarantees all citizens at a place where excellence and achievement were once instilled in these heroes and continues to be instilled in tomorrow's leaders.

We appreciate your consideration of this opportunity and share with you this hope - God Bless America.

Sincerely,

Priscilla D. Slade, Ph.D.
President

Attachment

cc: Secretary of Education, Margaret Spelling
Senior Presidential Advisor, Karl Rove
Reverend Kirbyjon Caldwell

March 31, 1975

The Honorable Mickey Leland
House of Representatives
State Capitol
Austin, Texas 78711

Dear Mickey:

I have recently introduced, along with Congressman Badillo of New York and Congressman Roybal of California, legislation which would expand the Voting Rights Act to cover Texas and other areas where Mexican-Americans reside. Because of your interest in protecting the voting rights of both blacks and Mexican-Americans I thought you should have the enclosed material which explains the bill.

The right to vote is a basic American right protected by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The Congress has the authority to enforce these Amendments by the passage of appropriate legislation. This bill merely implements the guarantees expressed in our Constitution.

The Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the House Judiciary Committee has heard extensive testimony about the degree to which the voting rights of minorities are not adequately protected in Texas. The need for this bill has been clearly and dramatically established. When the Subcommittee meets in mid April to consider amendments to the Voting Rights Act I am hopeful this bill will be favorably reported.

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The bill has been carefully drafted in order that efforts to include areas where Mexican-Americans reside does not jeopardize the Act's continued applicability to the South. It is important that the life of the Voting Rights Act be extended beyond its current August, 1975, expiration date. Nothing should deter us from that goal. Title I of this bill fulfills that pledge.

Should you have any comments or suggestions please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

BARBARA JORDAN
Member of Congress

BJ/ba
enc.