

FOIA Marker

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

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
W	11	4	7	3	9726	22589	10808	10750

Folder Title:

604113 [2]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Talking Points	Ambassador Zoellick Talking Points [with attachments]	25	12/11/2003	P5;
002	Email	FW: River - To: Karl C. Rove - From: Barbara J. Goergen, et al	1	12/22/2003	P5; P6/b6;
003	Email	Fw: NAACP - To: Ken Mehlman - From: Karl Rove	1	12/09/2003	PRM;
004	Email	Fw: Myrick meeting tomorrow - To: Barbar J. Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	12/02/2003	P5;
005	Memorandum	3 P.M. Meeting with Realtors - To: Karl Rove - From: Barry Jackson	1	12/3/2003	P5;
006	Email	FW: An idea that might help - To: Susan B. Ralston, et al - From: Barry S. Jackson	2	11/14/2003	P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

604113 [2]

FRC ID:

9726

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
007	Draft	Foreward - Third Volume of the President's Public Papers Draft #4	2	10/15/2003	P5;
008	Email	FW: Realtors - To: Susan B. Ralston - From: Barbara J. Goergen	1	12/02/2003	P5;
009	Memorandum	3 P.M. Meeting with Realtors - To: Karl Rove - From: Barry Jackson	1	12/03/2003	P5;
010	Email	Fw: Myrick meeting tomorrow - To: Barbara J. Goergen - From: Karl Rove	1	12/02/2003	P5;
011	Email	JSC Agenda - To: Tracy Lucas - From: Jonathan F. Ganter	2	12/02/2003	P5;

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012	Draft	Bill Signing - Fair and Accurate Credit Transactions Act Draft #5	4	12/04/2003	P5; P6/b6;
013	Comments	WHC (White House Counsel)/OVP (Office of the Vice President) Edits to Intro and Facts	12	01/07/2004	PRM;
014	List	Open Positions and Top Candidates	8	01/12/2004	P2; P5; P6/b6;
015	List	Cuba Broadcasting Board	1	N.D.	P2; P5; P6/b6;
016	Email	Fw: Kentucky Advisory Opinion - To: Susan B. Ralston - From: Karl Rove	2	01/07/2004	PRM;
017	Email	thoughts for your breakfast meeting - To: Karl Rove - From: Peter J. Wehner	1	01/05/2004	P5;

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FILE: RESPA

604/17

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Jackson, Barry S.
Sent: Tuesday, December 23, 2003 12:02 PM
To: 'malcolm@stewart.com'
Cc: Ralston, Susan B.; Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: FW: Email for Malcolm Morris

Malcolm, per your conversation with Karl, you can send any additional thoughts or comments on to John Graham, Administrator, Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC, 20503. John will be responsible for reviewing what ever HUD sends over regarding RESPA. Thanks

12/23/2003

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Email	FW: River - To: Karl C. Rove - From: Barbara J. Goergen, et al	1	12/22/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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~~SR STAFF~~

P: Tommy Thompson
604113

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Rove, Karl C.
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 4:40 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: Tommy Thompson on record on Dean - per Bill Pierce

share with Ed and Ken and put in discuss with Ken file

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

From: Bartlett, Daniel J.
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 4:29 PM
To: Rove, Karl C.
Subject: FW: Tommy Thompson on record on Dean - per Bill Pierce

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

From: Duffy, Trent D.
Sent: Thursday, December 11, 2003 4:25 PM
To: McClellan, Scott ; Bartlett, Daniel J.
Cc: Mamo, Jeanie S.
Subject: Tommy Thompson on record on Dean - per Bill Pierce

TGT did interview w/ Mil. Journal Sentinel today on WI '04 and how we'll win this time, etc. He was asked about Dean and said he's not convinced Dean will be the nominee. When asked why, he responded that, "no Governor ever running for President has ever run without an endorsement from another Governor." He also noted that Dean left the NGA in a mess that TGT had to clean up; and that the "general feeling is that the GOP will be happy to have him as a candidate."

Undoubtedly runs tomorrow.

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Email	Fw: NAACP - To: Ken Mehlman - From: Karl Rove	1	12/09/2003	PRM;

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LC: Sr Staff

FW: Highway Bill

Goergen, Barbara J.

From: Ralston, Susan B.
Sent: Wednesday, December 10, 2003 6:53 PM
To: Goergen, Barbara J.
Subject: FW: Do you have

604113

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

From: Karl Rove [mailto:kr@georgewbush.com]
Sent: Wednesday, December 10, 2003 6:31 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: Do you have

- ✓ A) the materials from the Illinois Chamber of Commerce President on highway funding that I got when I was in Chicago with POTUS? → *see letter*
- ✓ B) the materials from my meeting with Steve Sandheer and Tom Johnson and Doug Pitcock about a form of bonding?

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld

COPY
from ORM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 9, 2003

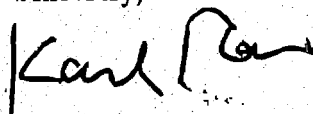
Dear Mr. Whitley,

Thanks for your September 30th letter regarding transportation.

The Administration strongly supports the enactment of a six-year reauthorization of surface transportation programs and agrees that robust federal investment in infrastructure should be a priority. The President's proposal would provide an unprecedented \$247 billion to states for highway, mass transit, highway safety and motor carrier safety improvements - a near 20 percent increase over the past six years - while maintaining the "user pays" philosophy and without resorting to a gas tax hike.

Thanks for sharing your ideas as the Administration works to improve the economy and our nation's infrastructure.

Sincerely,



Karl Rove
Senior Advisor to the President

Mr. Douglas L. Whitley
President and CEO
Illinois State Chamber of Commerce
311 S. Wacker Dr. Suite 1500
Chicago, IL 60606

KR:mcd

OCT 24 2003



Senior Advisor to the President

The White House

Karl Rove

Phone: (202) 456-2369

Fax: (202) 456-0191

62577
572598
FG006-27

Date: Thursday, October 02, 2003

Date Due: 10/16/03

To: **Action Requested:**

Barry Jackson OSI 486

Draft response to be sent by Senior Advisor

Correspondence Subject:

9/30/03 ltr from Douglas Whitley. Karl was handed this letter at the Chicago event and requests you draft a response for him to send outlining the Administration's position. Thanks.

Prepared by:

Susan Ralston (202) 456-2369

COPY
from ORM

572598 Chicago event
BS - respond
Good to meet you, the
the Admin
position

Mr. President, Everyone appreciates the many burdens and responsibilities that come with your office. We are grateful for your devotion to protecting the nation and combating terrorism. We know your attention and energy is pulled in many directions, increasingly so towards international affairs.

Here in the heartland there are two issues that are utmost on my mind... First, the destruction of our industrial jobs is at a crisis stage. I shall defer to Greg Baise and others to lead that discussion.

If I have only one chance to discuss an issue with you it must be the federal government's investment in infrastructure.

The business community depends upon government to invest in transportation. The nation's commerce depends upon highways, bridges, public transportation, airports, locks and efficient rail systems.

Transportation legislation is one area where business, labor and government must have a partnership. Business can't build its own left turn lane, extend a commuter line, modernize an airport, build a critical bridge or invest in highway construction. We rely upon government funds and leadership.

I have been amazed and disappointed that your council of economic advisors and your political counselors haven't made passage of a major federal highway and transit funding bill a priority going into the election year. With tax cuts already in place, it seems a natural that a job creation bill like highway funding would go hand in hand with economic recovery. Yet, it seems conspicuously absent from the White House agenda. This issue needs your attention and blessing.

The nation needs JOBS. A significant highway funding bill can put people to work in early '04. The suppliers of building materials, the construction companies, and laborers, among others, are desperate for a new multi-year federal program. THIS IS A JOBS BILL. It is critical to put people to work.

We appreciate the administration introducing a surface transportation reauthorization bill. Unfortunately, that proposal is inadequate and will not even maintain, much less improve the nation's highway and transit needs. If the Congress doesn't authorize a measure in excess of \$300 billion the nation is facing six years of stagnation. We will be backsliding.

Approving a significant boost to road and transit funds will NOT add to the deficit as user fees are dedicated to the trust fund. The trust fund needs periodic infusion of new revenue to sustain a viable program and keep up with expenses.

The Congress will vote for more funding. The business community will support this investment. The people need and want improved transportation systems and are prepared to pay higher user fees to sustain our economy.

Mr. President, you need to take a second look at this as a job creation measure and make it a priority in your domestic agenda.

Douglas. L. Whitley
President and CEO
Illinois State Chamber of Commerce
September 30, 2003

FEDERAL MOBILITY PLAN

PURPOSE AND OVERVIEW

The purpose of the Federal Mobility Plan is to address the congestion problem in America in the most efficient and rapid way possible. The Federal Mobility Plan (FMP) will be administered by DOT using current formulas. There will be a dedicated fund within the agency for the sole purpose of addressing congestion. The funds for the program will come from the ethanol switch, which will average approximately \$2 billion per year over the next 6 years. The agency will be permitted to early access the funds by selling bonds using the ethanol switch as the source of funds to repay the bonds. Unlike regular bonds for highways or Garvees, which use the current revenue stream of highway dollars to pay for the bonds, the mobility fund will be more like turnpike bonds where you identify a new revenue stream and sell the amount of bonds that could be retired over twenty years with the identified revenue. This does not place debt on your current highway funds. Bonds on the current revenue stream create a brief acceleration of the program and then leave a complete vacuum. These mobility funds address a specific need, like getting workers to their place of employment in less time, and are paid for out of a specific new revenue stream. This program will provide about \$20 billion dollars, and will also provide about 940,000 jobs.

Federal Mobility Plan

The Administration's TEA-21 Reauthorization proposal provides about \$250 billion in funding over six years. To address significant and growing costs for safety improvements and congestion reduction, the House Committee is looking for \$375 billion, the Senate Committee is looking for \$320 billion and the Speaker of the House has been talking about a six-year bill at \$350 billion. How do we make up the \$70 billion to \$125 billion difference between the administration's plan and the congressional plans necessary to address the growing needs?

User Fees

The traditional and most successful way to fund the highway program is through a pay as you go user fee system. Increasing the user fee to both restore its purchasing power and to address growing highway and bridge needs is the preferred method for the future. Some have suggested new user fees such as charging people for a national ID card or a national driver's license as the way to supplement existing user fees. While this concept maintains the traditional relationship between user fees and road improvements, there does not appear to be political support for a national driver's license at this time.

National Mobility Fund

A National Mobility Fund could be created to supplement the existing core highway program. A dedicated revenue stream would be used to finance the issuance of revenue bonds. This fund could be funded initially by ensuring ethanol users pay the full cost of driving on American roads. This would raise about \$2.4 billion annually which could be leveraged to finance about \$24 billion in bonds over the course of the reauthorization. Currently 2.5 cents of the federal user fee on ethanol blends is directed to the general fund rather than the highway trust fund. Redirecting this funding to the National Mobility fund would raise an estimated \$783 million annually.

In addition, gasohol blends including ethanol blends are taxed at 13.2 cents per gallon compared to 18.4 cents per gallon for gasoline. Equalizing the user fees and contributing the funds to the National Mobility Fund would add an additional \$1.6 billion annually. The difference in the user fee between gasoline and ethanol blends could be replaced by a general fund credit to ethanol blenders that could be paid quarterly to subsidize the marketing and manufacturing of ethanol blends and encouraging a lower cost at the pump. Other new or existing federal revenue streams could also be identified and used.

The National Mobility Fund concept is modeled after the Texas Mobility Fund which was enacted in the last legislative session there. The Texas Mobility Fund allows the state to issue bonds to raise between \$2.5-3 billion in new funds for congestion relief. These bonds will be retired over twenty years from the dedicated proceeds from the state driver's license fee. Additional bonds will be issued as additional dedicated revenue sources are added to the fund. Fees from DWI citations and other sources are directed to the Mobility Fund at a future time certain to retire the debt from these bonds. As this model contemplates additional future revenue sources, additional federal revenue sources could be identified to support the Federal Mobility Fund.

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Records Not Subject to FOIA

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

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	3 P.M. Meeting with Realtors - To: Karl Rove - From: Barry Jackson	1	12/3/2003	P5;

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

COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

604113 [2]

FRC ID:

9726

OA Num.:

10750

NARA Num.:

10808

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0036-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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Ralston, Susan B.

604113

From: Karl Rove [kr@georgewbush.com]
Sent: Thursday, November 20, 2003 8:33 AM
To: Goeglein, Tim
Cc: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: Karl -- We appreciated receiving this note (below) from Trey.

Tim, please handle this issue. Can you make a recommendation about the requested letter.

----- Forwarded Message

From: "Clifford D. May" <cliff@defenddemocracy.org.cnhost.com>
Organization: FDD
Reply-To: <cliff@defenddemocracy.org>
Date: Tue, 18 Nov 2003 17:34:22 -0500
To: "Karl Rove" <KR@georgewbush.com>
Subject: Karl -- We appreciated receiving this note (below) from Trey.

It's a busy news week but we're managing to get the women out on radio and TV, as well as newspaper interviews. BTW, Karl, if it's ever possible to get a letter of thanks from the President -- not to me but to those who support the FDD -- that would sure be swell. And I suspect it would make a lot of prominent folks who lean toward the president now, lean even further, including both Republicans and Democrats.

Best, as always,

Cliff

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

From: Bohn, Trey [mailto:Trey_Bohn@who.eop.gov]
Sent: Monday, November 17, 2003 2:53 PM
To: cliff@defenddemocracy.org
Subject: Thank you

Cliff,

I just wanted to say how great Eleana has been in getting the Iraqi women's/Coalition's message out on radio and TV. She has been a God-send. Hope all is well on your end. I always look forward to your TV appearances.

Best,

11/20/2003

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: An idea that might help - To: Susan B. Ralston, et al - From: Barry S. Jackson	2	11/14/2003	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:

604113 [2]

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*Dir. DHS.
cc: Ruben B.*

*add Rich Falkenworth
to call list*

604113

VIEWS ON NATIONAL ID CARDS AND ID STANDARDS

(10/1/03 – House Select Committee on Homeland Security hearing)

REP. CHRIS COX (R-CA)

- “The Congress and this committee must consider whether it is not time for uniform minimum standards for identification to board aircraft and to purchase dangerous weapons. Our 50 states, territories and the District of Columbia need direction from the Department of Homeland Security about the best way to defend against document fraud and identity theft.”
- “It may be that the federal system is our strength here because one of the great fears that people have about the National ID Card is that it will become the means and the basis for a central government repository of all information about you as an individual. Whereas if we decentralize the issuance of identification, that is less likely to happen.”

REP. JIM TURNER (D-TX)

- “...Congress and the American people have had an aversion to any form of uniform identification. It does seem incumbent upon us, however, to revisit the issue, to look more carefully at providing uniform standards for at least state driver's licenses so we can begin to make some inroads upon a very serious problem that places our nation at risk.”

REP. ELEANOR HOLMES-NORTON (D-DC)

- “I'm a card carrying civil libertarian. I practice civil liberties law in the courts and you know, I kind of had a gut reaction against the National ID Card. There are many people like me who are libertarians and civil libertarians who have begun to rethink that matter. Because they are much more intrusive actions that the government is using in order to discern identity and because -- and I'll give you an example. I mean, ultimately what we're using is racing profiling finally when we can't think of anything else to do. And I don't know if a National ID Card would finally get to the root of the problem or not. I mean, you can counterfeit those, although probably less easily than counterfeiting all of these different birth certificates and 240 other documents. So, I'm really looking for something beyond the retail that produces less intrusion into the privacy of the American people and greater security.

REP. JOHN SHADEGG (R-AZ)

- “I have grave reservations about a national identification card, but if the standards for issuance of a driver's license can vary as greatly as the state of Virginia requires proof of legal presence in the United States to get a driver's license but the states of New Mexico and California do not require even proof that you are legally in the country for the issuance of the driver's license, it seems to me the driver's license then becomes not what it has been as a standard for identification in this country.”

REP. ROBERT ANDREWS (D-NJ)

- “We've made it quite easy for a terrorist to pose as someone else. We have developing technologies that would make it a lot harder to pose as someone else. That seems like a no-brainer to me, that it should become the law somehow, whether it is by requiring states to meet this standard or having one national entity that takes care of this, that we ought to do

this.....And again, I think it shouldn't be federally mandated and state funded, I'd be in favor of us paying for it if we're going to mandate it."

- "We want to be able to build in continuous improvements in biometric technology so it works better and better and better. But I'm as much of a civil libertarian as anyone here...but it seems to me that if I want the privilege of driving down the roads or availing myself these other public services, requiring me to show that I am who I say I am is not at all an intrusion upon one's liberties, and it's something that we ought to just make happen."

REP. BOB ETHERIDGE (D-NC)

- "You know, we have a lot of federal, state and local partnerships. We do it through transportation systems, we provide monies for highway transportation, interstate systems, secondary roads etcetera. That's a partnership. And to get that money, you've got to meet a certain standard...and yet here we are talking about an issue that's critical to our national defense and the security of our people and we can't seem to agree that we ought to have a standard from state to state."

REP. KENDRICK MEEK (D-FL)

- "I don't believe that the country is ready to do what it has to do for a national identification card."

REP. SHEILA JACKSON-LEE (D-TX)

- "First I'd like to say that I am on record for being opposed to a national identification card, I don't think that is going to be advantageous because any unified document is subjected to even more opportunities to fraud because you become familiar with it and it becomes a document that you can then make more perfect, the ones who are perpetrating fraud."

Keith M. Kiser, Chair, American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators

- "We must adopt a uniform list of acceptable ID documents relied on for license issuance."
- "AAMVA's perspective is that a national ID is probably not needed. One of the by-products of a national ID is the creation of an infrastructure to actually issue one and we believe that the infrastructure to issue ID is in place in the state DMVs."
- "We believe that in order to move to the 21st century you have to have unified standards. The document may not look exactly the same from jurisdiction from jurisdiction, but it should have a set of standard security features, it should have placement of data in particular positions so that it's recognized by a law enforcement officer or an airport worker, whoever that might be."

John Pistole, Assistant Director for Counterterrorism, FBI

- "Obviously, as long as the government, whether that's a state or federal government, is relying on paper documents which can be easily fabricated and fraudulent documents, it is problematic that we rely on those for authenticity of the person. And that's where the biometrics come in. Whether you relate that to a National ID Card or some other type of

identification that has either fingerprints or something else on it that allows for a match-up of that person to the card with that print on it goes a long way.”

SEN. MAX BAUCUS (D-MT)

“First, we need better standards for issuing identity documents. This will increase detection of fictitious or fraudulent documents used to establish identity.” (9/9/03 -- Senate Finance Hearing)

REP. RON PAUL (R-TX)

- “A national ID card threatens liberty, but it will not enhance safety... Furthermore, the federal government has no constitutional authority to require law-abiding Americans to present any form of identification before engaging in private transactions (e.g. getting a job, opening a bank account, or seeking medical assistance).” (11/16/01 statement)

REP. PAUL RYAN (R-WI)

- “The Homeland Security bill also contains vital provisions that protect Americans’ civil liberties. Of particular importance, the legislation prohibits two proposals Rep. Ryan opposes. It prohibits the national ID card or system...” (Press Release)

SEN. HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON (D-NY)

- “Clearly, we have to make some tough decisions as a country. And one of them ought to be coming up with a much better entry and exit system so that if we are going to let people in for the work that otherwise would not be done, let’s have a system that keeps track of them.”
- When asked about requiring a national identifying system of all U.S. citizens, she replied, “at least a visa ID. And, you know, perhaps, although I’m not a big fan of it, we might have to move towards an ID system for citizens.”

REP. JANE HARMAN (D-CA)

At a Brookings Institution discussion of counter-terrorism actions, Rep. Harman said she thinks the United States needs what she called “smart card technology.”

“I think we need increased use of biometrics so that we’re sure a person using some form of identification is in fact the person on the identification. Obviously to get there and to rely on it, you need to know the person who is applying for the piece of identification is in fact who she says she is.” She said the identification needs to be connected to national databases to check on the background of driver’s permit applicants.”

“I think this issue must be looked at. We don’t automatically have to call it a national ID card, that’s a radioactive term, but we can certainly think about smart cards for essential functions, but we need the database to support that.” (4/30/02)

Center for Immigration Studies, April 2002

“Opinion polls consistently reveal that a cross-section of American residents would say we need a national identity card. Immediately after September 11, a Pew Research Center poll found that 70 percent of those surveyed favor such a card. Gallup Polls taken in 1983, 1993, and 1995 consistently showed a majority of respondents favored such a card. When demographic

subcategories were indicated, immigrants favored the card at a higher rate than native-born Americans.

When this topic arose in the past, the opponents were predictable, including civil liberties advocates, libertarians, and data privacy specialists. Since the terrorist attacks, however, the ground has shifted. Alan Dershowitz, a Harvard Law School professor and one of country's most outspoken civil libertarians, wrote a much-quoted column in *The New York Times* saying that anonymity was not a freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. He argued that being asked for identification is already a daily occurrence and that fears of government intrusion could be allayed by clearly delineating the criteria under which a national identity card could be requested."

Progressive Policy Institute, February 7, 2002

"Though we have long known that our identification system is broken, we now have a key opportunity to obtain consensus on fixing it. If done properly, a new identification system can not only reduce the threat of terrorism as well as more common crimes, but also lead to significant economic benefits. Placing 21st-century technology on our driver's licenses and ID cards will jump-start the New Economy, making offline and online transactions more convenient and more secure than ever before.

To accomplish this, there is no need for the federal government to build a new infrastructure for issuing "national ID cards." Modernizing the current system, in which the primary form of identification is issued by the Department of Motor Vehicles in each state, will be sufficient, provided that Congress requires an appropriate amount of standardization both in the cards themselves and in the processes for issuing them."

The National Research Council, April 2002

Creating a national standard won't be easy, according to a report from a committee of the National Research Council. It cited numerous legal, policy and technical challenges, including questions about authenticating a valid ID card.

A photo ID "would not be sufficient if very high assurance is sought," the report said. If a card uses a magnetic strip, it would be easy to copy stored information to a new card with a different picture. Duplication of a smart card, while difficult, is still possible. And being able to match card information with databases requires systems that are reliable and secure, the report said. Large back-end systems accessible by large numbers of people would raise security issues, the report said. "Moreover, if verification of identity required an online database query at airports, a handful of 'accidents' at key places around the country (such as wires being cut at critical points in a way that appears accidental) could cripple civil aviation."

Electric Privacy Information Center (EPIC)

Opposes the national ID system. An AAMVA proposal called on Congress to mandate that drivers' licenses be standardized with biometric identification and fund a system that links state drivers' databases. The proposal was endorsed by Sen. Durbin. EPIC said it, "is a step backward for individual privacy with no substantial countervailing safety or security benefits."

Free Congress Foundation

A national ID means "a massive bureaucracy that would limit our basic freedoms." However, they agree with the National Strategy for Homeland Security that says federal agencies should "coordinate suggested minimum standards for state driver's licenses."

The ACLU

"That language (in the National Strategy) points to the fact that the Bush administration appears to support national IDs through the standardization of state driver's licenses."

Cato Institute, May 13, 1997

"We have seen on many occasions over the past sixty years abuses of the Social Security system that were never envisioned when the system was created--just as abuses of the proposed I.D. card that we cannot now envision would almost certainly occur when expediency takes precedence over safeguards of privacy rights and civil liberties. In fact, privacy rights have already been eroded. The SSA disclosed Social Security numbers to the private sector until public outrage halted the activity in 1989. The disclosures affected more than three million Americans."

National Conference of State Legislatures Policy Statement

Members of Congress have introduced legislation that would provide uniform standards for issuance and administration of state-issued licenses, allow for federal-state sharing of information for data verification, and include enhanced penalties for fraud and making or using false IDs. NCSL believes innovative and constructive solutions to security, identity and application concerns are best suited to resolution by states individually and collectively, without federal direction, mandates or preemption.

Linda Lewis, President and CEO, American Association Of Motor Vehicle Administration

"To combat this problem, we need to adopt minimum uniform card design and security features for the license and then train others to identify fraudulent documents." (9/9/03 -- Senate Finance Hearing)

Robert Douglas, Chief Executive Officer, American Privacy Consultants

"When you start talking about putting security features into drivers licenses and to the other breeder documents, of course the hue and cry comes up about a national ID card. That we are federalizing a system and all of the political concerns therein. The reality is all of these systems are out there. All of the information about all of us is either in government hands, or I could demonstrate ad infinitum that it's already in the private sector." (9/9/03 -- Senate Finance Hearing)

Edmund Mierzwinski, Consumer Program Director, State Public Interest Research Groups

- "National ID cards and restrictions of drivers' licenses, I don't think, will solve the problem of identity theft." (6/25/02)

LEGISLATION:

SEN. DICK DURBIN (D-IL)

- In the 107th, Durbin introduced a bill (S. 3107) that would establish uniform standards for state driver's licenses. "This is not a national ID. It is a state driver's license that is established by uniform standards and each state will follow it to make sure that it's not tamper proof, to make certain that you establish your identity."
- The legislation from Durbin would require motor vehicle departments to link their databases. The measure would allow clerks to verify previous residency of new applicants moving into their states and would prevent drivers from holding multiple licenses in several states.

REPS. TOM DAVIS (R-VA), JAMES MORAN (D-VA), and ADAM SMITH (D-WA)

- In the 107th, Reps. Tom Davis (R-VA) and James Moran (D-VA) introduced legislation (H.R. 4633) calling for a biometric-enabled smart card. Cosponsor: Rep. Adam Smith (D-WA). The bill would establish standards for State programs for the issuance of drivers' licenses and identification cards. A key feature would be a standardized license, embedded with a computer chip that would contain the driver's personal and biometric data and history of moving violations. The chip also would be capable of storing financial information for possible use as a credit card.
- Rep. James Moran (D-VA) endorsed the Democratic Leadership Council's Progressive Policy Institute proposal that would require smart cards as well as biometric identification on the licenses.
- Representative Smith introduced H.R. 1915, which would have a national identification system running in 1999. The bill ordered the Department of Transportation to require states to create counterfeit-resistant driver's licenses.

REP. RON PAUL (R-TX)

- In the last three Congresses, Rep. Paul has introduced H.R. 220 to prohibit Federal agencies from imposing standards for identification and to prohibit the Federal government from establishing any uniform national identifying number. Cosponsors during any of the last 3 Congresses: Bartlett (R-MD), Duncan (R-TN), Hefley (R-CO), Hinchey (D-NY), Nethercutt (R-WA), Rehberg (R-MT), Sensenbrenner (R-WI), Wamp (R-TN), Burton (R-IN), Foley (R-FL), LaTourette (R-OH), Ney (R-OH), Upton (R-MI), Weldon (R-FL), Hoeffel (D-PA), Pearce (R-NM), Beauprez (R-CO), Kildee (D-MI), Bachus (R-AL), Cubin (R-WY), Filner (D-CA), Herger (R-CA), Hostettler (R-IN), Kolbe (R-AZ), Lofgren (D-CA), Moran (R-KS), Pombo (R-CA), Sununu (R-NH), Tiahrt (R-KS), Crane (R-IL), Doolittle (R-CA), English (R-PA), Kingston (R-GA), Manzullo (R-IL), Miller (R-CA), Petri (R-WI), Sessions (R-TX), Taylor (R-NC), Walden (R-OR)

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act

In 1996, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act was passed into law. Section 656 (b) of this Act allowed government agencies to issue new drivers' licenses that were National ID Cards.

In the House, an attempt to strike provisions providing for the implementation of a national identification system and those provisions requiring State driver's licenses and birth certificates to conform to new Federal regulations and standards (from the immigration bill) failed by a vote of 159 to 260. A similar attempt in the Senate failed by a vote of 46 to 54.

Current Senators that voted for the national ID:

Shelby (R-AL), Murkowski (R-AK), Stevens (R-AK), Kyl (R-AZ), Lincoln (D-AR), Pryor (D-AR), Boxer (D-CA), Feinstein (D-CA), Allard (R-CO), Campbell (R-CO), Dodd (D-CT), Biden (D-DE), Chambliss (R-GA), Akaka (D-HI), Inouye (D-HI), Crapo (R-ID), Durbin (D-IL), Grassley (R-IA), Harkin (D-IA), Brownback (R-KS), Bunning (R-KY), Mikulski (D-MD), Sarbanes (D-MD), Kennedy (D-MA), Kerry (D-MA), Levin (D-MI), Cochran (R-MS), Bond (R-MO), Ensign (R-NV), Reid (D-NV), Gregg (R-NH), Lautenberg (D-NJ), Bingaman (D-NM), Schumer (D-NY), Conrad (D-ND), Specter (R-PA), Chafee (R-RI), Hollings (D-SC), Daschle (D-SD), Jeffords (I-VT), Byrd (D-WV), Rockefeller (D-WV), Kohl (D-WI)

Current Senators that voted against the national ID:

McCain (R-AZ), Lieberman (D-CT), Graham (D-FL), Craig (R-ID), Lugar (R-IN), McConnell (R-KY), Breaux (D-LA), Snowe (R-ME), Lott (R-MS), Baucus (D-MT), Burns (R-MT), Domenici (R-NM), Dorgan (D-ND), DeWine (R-OH), Inhofe (R-OK), Nickles (R-OK), Wyden (D-OR), Santorum (R-PA), Frist (R-TN), Hutchison (R-TX), Bennett (R-UT), Hatch (R-UT), Leahy (D-VT), Warner (R-VA), Murray (D-WA), Feingold (D-WI), Thomas (R-WY)

Current Representatives that voted for the national ID:

Bachus (R-AL), Cramer (D-AL), Everett (R-AL), Kolbe (R-AZ), Shadegg (R-AZ), Berman (D-CA), Cox (R-CA), Cunningham (R-CA), Dooley (D-CA), Dreier (R-CA), Eshoo (D-CA), Farr (D-CA), Gallegly (R-CA), Harman (D-CA), Herger (R-CA), Hunter (R-CA), Lantos (D-CA), Lewis (R-CA), Lofgren (D-CA), McKeon (R-CA), Miller (D-CA), Rohrabacher (R-CA), Royce (R-CA), Thomas (R-CA), Waxman (D-CA), Hefley (R-CO), McInnis (R-CO), DeLauro (D-CT), Johnson (R-CT), Shays (R-CT), Castle (R-DE), Bilirakis (R-FL), Deutsch (D-FL), Foley (R-FL), Goss (R-FL), Shaw (R-FL), Stearns (R-FL), Weldon (R-FL), Young (R-FL), Bishop (D-GA), Deal (R-GA), Costello (D-IL), Gutierrez (D-IL), Hastert (R-IL), Hyde (R-IL), Lipinski (D-IL), Weller (R-IL), Burton (R-IN), Visclosky (D-IN), Latham (R-IA), Leach (R-IA), Nussle (R-IA), Rogers (R-KY), Whitfield (R-KY), Baker (R-LA), McCrery (R-LA), Tauzin (R-LA), Cardin (D-MD), Gilchrest (R-MD), Hoyer (D-MD), Frank (D-MA), Kennedy (D-MA), Markey (D-MA), Meehan (D-MA), Neal (D-MA), Dingell (D-MI), Kildee (D-MI), Knollenberg (R-MI), Levin (D-MI), Gutknecht (R-MN), Peterson (D-MN), Sabo (D-MN), Taylor (D-MS), Wicker (R-MS), Gephardt (D-MO), McCarthy (D-MO), Skelton (D-MO), Bereuter (R-NE), Bass (R-NH), Frelinghuysen (R-NJ), LoBiondo (R-NJ), Pallone (D-NJ), Saxton (R-NJ), Ackerman (D-NY), Boehlert (R-NY), Houghton (R-NY), Kelly (R-NY), Lowey (D-NY), Maloney (D-NY), Quinn (R-NY), Ballenger (R-NC), Burr (R-NC), Coble (R-NC), Pomeroy (D-ND), Hobson (R-OH), Kaptur (D-OH), LaTourette (R-OH), Pryce (R-OH), Regula (R-OH), Istook (R-OK), DeFazio (D-OR), Fattah (D-PA), Greenwood (R-PA), Holden (D-PA), Kanjorski (D-PA), Shuster (R-PA), Kennedy (D-RI), Spratt (D-SC), Duncan (R-TN), Ford (D-TN), Gordon (D-TN), Tanner (D-TN), Wamp (R-TN), Barton (R-TX), Bonilla (R-TX), Combest (R-TX), Doggett (D-TX), Frost (D-TX), Gonzalez (D-TX), Hall (D-TX), Smith (R-TX), Stenholm (D-TX), Thornberry (R-

TX), Davis (R-VA), Goodlatte (R-VA), Moran (D-VA), Payne (D-VA), Wolf (R-VA), Dicks (D-WA), Dunn (R-WA), Kleczka (D-WI)

Current Representatives that voted against the national ID:

Young (R-AK), Hayworth (R-AZ), Becerra (D-CA), Pelosi (D-CA), Doolittle (R-CA), Filner (D-CA), Matsui (D-CA), Pombo (R-CA), Roybal-Allard (D-CA), Woolsey (D-CA), Brown (D-FL), Diaz-Balart (R-FL), Hastings (D-FL), Mica (R-FL), Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), Kingston (R-GA), Lewis (D-GA), Linder (R-GA), Norwood (R-GA), Abercrombie (D-HI), Jackson (D-IL), LaHood (R-IL), Manzullo (D-IL), Buyer (R-IN), Souder (R-IN), Tiahrt (R-KS), Lewis (R-KY), Jefferson (D-LA), Bartlett (R-MD), Wynn (D-MD), Olver (D-MA), Camp (R-MI), Conyers (D-MI), Ehlers (R-MI), Hoekstra (R-MI), Smith (R-MI), Stupak (D-MI), Upton (R-MI), Oberstar (D-MN), Ramstad (R-MN), Thompson (D-MS), Clay (D-MO), Andrews (D-NJ), Menendez (D-NJ), Payne (D-NJ), Smith (R-NJ), Engel (D-NY), Hinchey (D-NY), King (R-NY), McHugh (R-NY), McNulty (D-NY), Owens (D-NY), Rangel (D-NY), Serrano (D-NY), Slaughter (D-NY), Towns (D-NY), Velazquez (D-NY), Walsh (R-NY), Jones (R-NC), Myrick (R-NC), Taylor (R-NC), Watt (D-NC), Boehner (R-OH), Brown (D-OH), Chabot (R-OH), Gillmor (R-OH), Ney (R-OH), Oxley (R-OH), Portman (R-OH), Lucas (R-OK), Doyle (D-PA), English (R-PA), Murtha (D-PA), Weldon (R-PA), Clyburn (D-SC), DeLay (R-TX), Edwards (D-TX), Green (D-TX), Jackson-Lee (D-TX), Johnson (R-TX), Johnson (D-TX), Ortiz (D-TX), Sanders (I-VT), Boucher (D-VA), Hastings (R-WA), McDermott (D-WA), Nethercutt (R-WA), Mollohan (D-WV), Rahall (D-WV), Obey (D-WI), Petri (R-WI), Sensenbrenner (R-WI), Cubin (R-WY)

Clinton passed the Transportation Appropriations Bill that included the Shelby Amendment repealing Section 656 (b) of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, eliminating the National ID Card provision.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	Foreward - Third Volume of the President's Public Papers - Draft #4	2	10/15/2003	P5;

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SERIES:

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FOLDER TITLE:

604113 [2]

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9726

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0036-F

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F: POTUS

604113

Media Monitor

Wisdom Before It Becomes Conventional: *The Hotline* is the backbone of what we do, but don't forget EVERYTHING else you receive with your subscription which makes us the Epicenter of American Politics. From the early morning and late afternoon updates of Wake-Up Call, Earlybird and Last Call to the most complete daily coverage of House races in House Race Hotline; And then there's the incredible news, analysis and resources of nationaljournal.com. In short, The Hotline allows you one-stop shopping access to not just news for every important campaign in the country, but exclusive access to every poll, every TV ad the most accurate analysis in the business.

??? OVERLOOKED ???

POLLSTER PROBLEM

Telephone polling seems to be providing more and more hurdles. The latest: cell phones replacing local hardlines, particularly in the 18-30 age demographic. Why is this a hurdle? Because if one is to believe that Howard Dean's campaign is indeed bringing in more 18-30 year-olds into the process, then pollsters are going to have a hard time finding those folks meaning there could be more hidden Dean support in IA and NH than the polls show. Of course, there are cynics who will believe young vote participation when they see it.

POTUS

► WHITE HOUSE 2004 -- THE PRIMARY

1 IOWA (1/19 caucuses): Zogby Poll Has Dean Back Up Over Gephardt; No One Else In Double Digits

A Zogby Int'l poll, conducted 12/1-2, surveyed 500 likely caucus goers; margin of error +/- 4.5% (release, 12/3).

Caucus Preference Matchup				Now	9/03
	Now	10/03	9/03	Fav/Unfav	Fav/Unfav
Howard Dean	26%	21%	23%	74%/10%	57%/ 6%
Dick Gephardt	22	22	17	70 /18	66 /15
John Kerry	9	9	11	64 /17	54 /15
John Edwards	5	7	6	51 /12	42 / 7
Wesley Clark	4	7	1	33 /22	12 /13
Joe Lieberman	2	5	4	35 /42	46 /27
Dennis Kucinich	2	1	2	20 /22	18 /17
Carol Moseley Braun	1	1	1	24 /18	10 /39
Al Sharpton	0	0	0	17 /41	18 /17
Not Sure	28	26	32		

Pollster **John Zogby** notes Dean leads Gephardt among self-described Dems and indies, while Gephardt has a nearly 2-1 lead among union households. Dean leads by a similar 2-1 margin over Gephardt among non-union households (release, 12/3).

([Back to Contents](#))

PDSW

F: POTUS

604/113

Gotta Have Faith

Washington Post's Vandehei, on if the GOP truly has the advantage with religious voters: "They really do. ... There really is a divide in this nation, and Bush has done really well with white evangelicals and really well with people who go to church on a regular basis. ... There are many Democrats who think that people of faith is one area where Democrats can make up some of the difference."

Vandehei, on why WH Dems haven't made their beliefs more prominent: "They're not comfortable talking about it. But one way is that if you start from the fact that all of them do consider themselves religious. And when I talked to them, all of them really talked pretty freely about their own beliefs and their faith in God. And what a lot of strategists think they need to do is start communicating that to voters, particularly in the Midwest and the South, which are the battleground regions for the 2004 election, where a lot of folks consider themselves people of faith."

Vandehei, on how many religious voters Dems can gain: "I don't think that we're talking about a dramatic shift. But if you look at states like Florida or Tennessee, where a few thousand votes can make a big difference, a lot of strategists think that is fertile ground."

Vandehei, on which Dems seem most comfortable with the issue: "Two candidates who when I was talking to them really liked to talk about their faith and really clearly put a lot of thought into it were John Edwards and Wesley Clark, both of whom went on at great length about how often they pray and read the Bible and the role that it's played in shaping their own views. And they're both from the South in a region that a lot of people think is fertile ground for Democrats to make inroads. ... You know, Howard Dean, the frontrunner, also considers himself very religious. Says he's read the bible from cover to cover. But we have not seen him sort of reach out and try to talk more to evangelical Christians and people of faith."

Vandehei, on the perception that Dean is the most secular of the Dems: "I don't know that that's necessarily true, but I think in the public perception, maybe he's looked at as the most secular of the candidates, particularly because he's so closely affiliated with gay rights, because he signed the civil unions bill when he was in Vermont. But he actually really does talk a lot about his faith in his conversation with me" ("IP," CNN, 12/2).

The Date Has Been Set?

AP's **Glover**, on when the Dem nominee will be picked: "I see no reason to believe anything other than there will be a Democratic nominee on March 2nd when California and New York vote. ... If you don't start winning early in this compressed cycle, I don't know if you can hang on" ("Road to the White House," C-SPAN, 12/2).

[\(Back to Contents\)](#)

8**CLARK: 2/3, Or Not 2/3, That Is The Question**

Wesley Clark will go on the air in three 2/3 states this week, "spreading the TV ad wars beyond" IA and NH. Clark is spending about \$200K in each state -- SC and OK beginning 12/2 and AZ later in the week -- to run a 60-sec bio ad "for at least a week." It's "a hefty purchase that so far is unmatched" by any '04 Dem. Clark "is the only candidate on the air" in OK, "and no other candidate plans to run campaign commercials this week" in AZ (**Sidoti**, AP/*Foster's Daily Democrat*, 12/3).

Cause We Are Living In A Material World ...

Clark said 12/2 "that he has paid as much as" \$540K in taxes in a single year since leaving the Army in '00. During a Manchester, NH, stop, Clark said the tax payment was "five times what I made as four-star general." Asked later what that amount was, he said \$108K.

F. POTUS

604117

How's The Weather Up Here?

RNC chair **Ed Gillespie** traveled to VT 12/2 where he criticized Dean on "the war, comments about military pay and refusal to open his records." According to prepared remarks, Gillespie: "I'm sure that when Dr. Dean learns that President Bush's public papers as governor are now unsealed, he will be good to his word and unseal the papers of his governorship as well." Dean spokesperson **Jay Carson**: "The fact that the Bush campaign is flying one of their top political operatives to attack Governor Dean in his hometown shows just how much they don't want to run against Governor Dean and his army of grassroots supporters" (**Lester**, AP, 12/3). More Gillespie, from prepared remarks to be delivered at a VT GOP fundraiser: "As everyone in this room surely knows, your former governor would never say one thing and do another." Dean, on his campaign's response to Gillespie: "We thought we were going to take a whack at him. But we're not going to take a whack at him. So we don't have anything" (*New York Times*, 12/3).

CNN's **Crowley**, on how the Dean camp is responding to the records issue: "They obviously believe what with the Republican Party chairman going up to Vermont to talk about this, and with his Democratic rivals criticizing Dean for keeping these records secret, they believe this is all pretty much a political play. ... However, for a man who has said much about President Bush and his secrecy, it certainly creates a public relations problem. ... In his conversation with us, Dean did seem to kind of intimate that there might be some flexibility there. Pretty difficult, however, to tell how much flexibility."

CNN's **Mercurio** reports that Gillespie is to continue his "criticism" of Dean in NH today. Gillespie will speak at St. Anselm's College tonight, "picking up on themes he outlined" in VT 12/2 on Dean's "refusal to release state records." The DNC "already has organized a response to Gillespie's response" and NH Dem chair **Kathy Sullivan** holds a conference call today to discuss Gillespie's trip. Sullivan "sounded like she was spoiling for a fight," telling CNN: "He's turned the GOP into the party of negativity and intimidation. I don't know if that's what I'm going to say (Wednesday), that's just how I feel about Gillespie in general. Gillespie and some of his minions have this idea that Democrats will let him stand there and beat up on us. That's not going to happen. There's only one way to beat a bully and that's to stand up to him" ("Morning Grind," 12/3).

Bush Rules To Apply?

Gillespie's remarks came as Dean officials "scrambled to decide whether to take action to address the controversy." Dean said that the "rules covering" Bush's records 'might be' acceptable to him and added that he had asked his staff and the lawyers who negotiated the deal to seal the records to explore his options," but added that "the issue was too complicated to be decided immediately" (**Balz/Allen**, *Washington Post*, 12/3).

No Matter How Hard They Try ...

USA Today's **Shapiro** writes that, Dean "has become a modern-day Achilles dominating" the Dem field. But "if history is any guide, sooner or later an arrow will pierce Dean's heel. The wound may not prove to be politically fatal, since the parallels with Achilles only carry us so far." Now Dean is "under fire on new fronts" -- his Vietnam draft deferment and his Gov. records. "At some point there should be a statute of limitations in politics against endlessly debating the personal decisions that anyone made during the wrenching Vietnam years. It is much harder to defend Dean on his decision to wall off from public view for a decade almost half of his records as Vermont governor. ... And, if Dean is the nominee, it may limit the Democrats' ability to assail the Bush administration for its own penchant for secrecy in matters like **Dick Cheney's** energy task force." At "worst, the episode paints Dean as a political operator careful to protect himself on all fronts. But how do you square the notion of Dean the Cynic with the attacks on him as too naive to be an effective candidate against Bush? That's the Dean conundrum: a front-runner with many vulnerabilities but no obvious Achilles heel" (12/3).

F: POTUS

604113

Ralston, Susan B.

From: Karl Rove [kr@georgewbush.com]
Sent: Monday, December 01, 2003 3:47 PM
To: Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: FW: With enemies like these you don't need friends....

Potus file

----- Forwarded Message

From: <BenStein@aol.com>
Date: Mon, 1 Dec 2003 10:32:53 EST
To: <kr@georgewbush.com>
Cc: <Alexandradenman@aol.com>
Subject: With enemies like these you don't need friends....

XXXXX DRUDGE REPORT XXXXX SUN NOV 30, 2003 20:42:05 ET XXXXX

HOLLYWOOD DEMS GATHER FOR 'HATE BUSH' MEETING AT HILTON

****Exclusive****

Top Hollywood activists and intellectuals are planning to gather this week in Beverly Hills for an event billed as 'Hate Bush,' the DRUDGE REPORT has learned!

Laurie David [wife of SEINFELD creator Larry David] has sent out invites to the planned Tuesday evening meeting at the Hilton with the bold heading: 'Hate Bush 12/2 - Event'

The message reads:

"This is the most important meeting you can attend to prevent the advancement of the current extremist right wing agenda. Do not miss this meeting. This will be a high-level briefing to discuss the strategies... to affect what happens next November."

Political heavies Harold Ickes, Former Deputy White House Chief of Staff and Campaign Manager for the '96 Clinton/Gore re-elect, and Ellen Malcolm, Founder of Emily's List, a political action committee that elects pro-choice, Democratic women, will chair the gathering.

Names included on the "HATE BUSH" invite, obtained by DRUDGE, include:

Julie Bergman: producer ("G.I. Jane," "The Fabulous Baker Boys," "Washington Square"), daughter of lyricists Alan and Marilyn Bergman. Came up with the anti-Iraq war "silent protest" idea for Oscars where celebrities wore blue-and-green quarter-sized peace sign pins.

Scott Burns: "Got Milk?" campaign creator and producer of Arianna Huffington ad campaign which linked SUVs with terrorism.

Steve Byrnes & Jamie Mandelbaum: Jamie is an entertainment attorney at Armstrong, Hirsch -- represents Hillary Duff, Tori Spelling, among others.

Ariel "Ari" Emanuel: Emanuel is a founding partner of Endeavor Talent agency. Brother of White House Rahm and agent to West Wing Sorkin.

Naomi Foner: Screenwriter of **RUNNING ON EMPTY**, **LOSING ISAIAH**; executive producer of **HOME GROWN** a comedy thriller set in northern California about inept but lovable pot farmers.

Cami Gordon: Children's book author lives in Pacific Palisades, Calif. Member of Mothers for Natural Law. Husband Howard, producer ("X-Files", "Strange World").

Robert Greenwald: Executive producer of the 2002 documentary, **UNPRECEDENTED: THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**, about the "stealing" of the 2000 presidential election in Florida. Also produced **CROOKED E: THE UNSHREDDED TRUTH ABOUT ENRON**. He and Mike Farrell started "Artists United," a group of actors and other stars opposed to war in Iraq.

Sally Hardwicke: [no data].

Ruth Hunter: [no data].

Lyn Lear: Wife of Norman Lear.

Michelle Kydd Lee: Executive Director, Creative Artists Agency (CAA) Foundation.

Julia Louis-Dreyfus: 'SNL', 'Seinfeld' alum. Married to fellow SNL alum and sitcom producer Brad Hall.

Darcy Pollack: [no data].

Nancy Stephens: Actress (**RUSSKIES**), environmentalist.

Laure & Daniel Stern: Daniel is actor (**CITY SLICKERS**, **HOME ALONE**).

Anne & Jay Sures: Jay Sures is an agent at United Talent Agency. Hosted fund-raiser for Democratic presidential candidate General Wesley Clark at his Brentwood home.

Marge Tabankin & Earl Katz: Tabankin is Barbra Streisand's philanthropic and political guru. Ran the Hollywood Women's Political Committee.

Katz is the executive producer of UNPRECEDENTED: THE 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

Heather Thomas: Actress ("The Fall Guy"), 80s pin-up model. Married to Skip Brittenham, top Hollywood lawyer.

Elizabeth Wiatt: Wife of William Morris heavyweight Jim Wiatt.

----- End of Forwarded Message

Withdrawal Marker

The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	FW: Realtors - To: Susan B. Ralston - From: Barbara J. Goergen	1	12/02/2003	P5;

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SERIES:

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FOLDER TITLE:

604113 [2]

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9726

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	3 P.M. Meeting with Realtors - To: Karl Rove - From: Barry Jackson	1	12/03/2003	P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	Bill Signing - Fair and Accurate Credit Transactions Act Draft #5	4	12/04/2003	P5; P6/b6;

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COLLECTION:

Records Management, White House Office of

SERIES:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

604113 [2]

FRC ID:

9726

FOIA IDs and Segments:

2015-0036-F

OA Num.:

10750

NARA Num.:

10808

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- 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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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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F: Marriage
604/13

NOVEMBER 18, 2003

Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court decision rendered

FEBRUARY 1, 2004

Massachusetts Legislature Convenes

ON MAY 16, 2004 (180 days after decision)

IF Massachusetts Civil Union
statute enacted and Court
finds it satisfies constitution

IF Massachusetts Civil Union
statute either not enacted or
is enacted but rejected by Court

THEN

Massachusetts does not issue
marriage licenses to same-sex
couples; instead permits civil
unions

THEN

Massachusetts begins issuing marriage
licenses to same-sex couples

CONSEQUENCE

Status quo continues – there are
no same-sex marriages in the
United States.

CONSEQUENCE

Marriage in the United States includes
same-sex couples in Massachusetts.

AS EARLY AS MAY 17, 2004

A same sex couple “married” by Massachusetts can
ask their marriage to be recognized in another state.
Some states could grant recognition, which is
permitted under DOMA.

Federal
benefit

If the second state’s laws are such that it does not
give full faith and credit to same-sex marriages, the
couple could bring suit based on Lawrence. A trial
court or appellate court could require the state to
recognize the marriage, pending appeal.

NOT LIKELY IN 2004, BUT SOMETIME IN 2005

The constitutional challenge to a state’s failure to
give full faith and credit to a Massachusetts same-
sex marriage could be eligible for Supreme Court
consideration.

2006

A Massachusetts Constitutional
Amendment limiting marriage to
a man and a woman, if successful,
becomes effective.

A Massachusetts Constitutional Amendment
limiting marriage to a man and a woman, if
successful, becomes effective.

N.J. *
AZ.
IN. }
NE. }

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Comments	WHC (White House Counsel)/OVP (Office of the Vice President) Edits to Intro and Facts	12	01/07/2004	PRM;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	Open Positions and Top Candidates	8	01/12/2004	P2; P5; P6/b6;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
List	Cuba Broadcasting Board	1	N.D.	P2; P5; P6/b6;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	Fw: Kentucky Advisory Opinion - To: Susan B. Ralston - From: Karl Rove	2	01/07/2004	PRM;

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F: Rush

604/113

Rove, Karl C.

From: Wehner, Peter H.
Sent: Friday, January 09, 2004 8:05 AM
To: Rove, Karl C.
Cc: Goergen, Barbara J.; Ralston, Susan B.
Subject: As good as we could have possibly hoped for...

Like It or Not, Bush Leads

January 8, 2004

Listen to Rush...

(...discuss the substance and politics of the immigration disagreement)

BEGIN TRANSCRIPT 12:10 PM ET

RUSH: What's still on everybody's mind out there is this immigration business. And we've got some audio sound bites on this and some stories. I want to start out though with a little ditty, if you will, how should I phrase this? I guess I could call it leadership.

And I do to want contrast some things going on here, President Bush with recent Democratic presidents, or a recent Democrat president, in the current crop of Democrat candidates. It's about this immigration business. I know there's outrage and anger out there and I think it's real, and, by the way, I know it's real and I know that there are many of you that are beside yourselves you don't understand this and you're just fed up and you think, "My gosh just being taken for granted and forgotten." And many of you are saying that this is pure politics, I don't like this, this is trying to secure the Latino vote, and there is no Latino vote, and they already got 30% of the Latino vote in the 2000 election, so what's the deal?

But let me ask you something. For those of you who think that this is a purely political maneuver on the part of the White House, do you disagree with the politics of it or do you disagree with the substance of it? I mean, you may say both, but you can't ignore the substance in this, can you? You disagree with the substance of this as much as you do the politics. In fact, some of you probably, I would venture to say that the vast majority of you who disagree with the announced immigration policy yesterday disagree more so with the substance of it than you do with the politics. The politics of it maybe you could somewhat understand, might disagree with it, but you don't understand the substance. And so the key is, to me here, we are in a futile disagreement over substances here as well as, if not more so, than politics.

But aside from the outrage and the anger on the right, there is something important to note here. Now I'm just going to throw it out there, and you're free to accept it and absorb it and process it and deal with it or you can reject it but I still want to throw it out there, because for better or worse what has happened here is the first Bush salvo of 2004. And it's not random. This is not throwing it up against the wall and hoping it sticks. This is not saying, "Hey, what we can do to make people like us today, hey, throw that out there, see if they like that, poll on where I should go on vacation." We're dealing with somebody who is coming up with substantive proposals here, whether you disagree with them or not, it's a planned, coordinated, timed announcement.

Now, the consensus seems to be that Bush is risking his base in order to gain Hispanic votes. The New York Times today theorizes that Bush is simply trying to be nice. This is just the new version of compassionate conservatism, that he's again seeking the votes of people that pay scant attention, who don't like stridency. New tone, think new tone, that this is just an outgrowth of the new tone. We're just going to be nice to people! And that it's a pitch for that group of people. But regardless of what it is, it is a planned and coordinated and timed announcement. As I say, the consensus seems to be that Bush is saying [raspberry sound] to the base in order to gain Hispanic votes. Now, oftentimes the

consensus is right, but oftentimes it's wrong. Consensus opinion sometimes has a tendency to be way wrong.

Here's some things to consider about this as you stew in it, some things to consider as you consider to fume about this. What Bush has proposed is legal status, proposed, and I want to emphasize proposed and this is something I began with yesterday. This is all going to be up for debate. He did not issue an executive order, he's not using the Clinton MO, he's not pardoning all Mexicans on the last day of his administration, he's not pardoning all illegals and then flying the coop with the White House silverware while Janet Reno makes a speech in some hangar. He is doing this out in the open. He's not using a judicial MO, there's no executive order, there's no fiat here, there's going to be debate about this. Debate has already begun. And the president, for better or worse, in terms of the substance of this, is taking on another leadership challenge. I mean it would be much easier to duck this. It would be much easier to duck it and wait for somebody in Congress to come up with their own version, or say, "You know what, I'd be safer if I don't do this. I mean, it's an election year, I've got a dunderhead out there named Dean who is screwing up every day. What do I have to do? I'll just sit back and relax at the ranch and play golf, I'll advance a couple tax proposals, but I'll take it easy." He's not doing that!

Here he is in the midst of an election year, this is a true substantive issue, and this is, he thinks, and the substance is something I want to focus on, because I've been thinking about that this morning because the debate has been going back and forth about whether this is wholly political. As I say, you can't take the politics out of it, but there's substance here, and admit it, folks. It's the substance of this that has you mad, not the politics. As I say the politics may have you upset - it's the substance of it that you just don't understand and you're just trying to figure it out. It doesn't make any sense so why do this, you know, why do this now? This is the kind of thing you do in an off year, this is the kind of thing you do when nobody will notice, this is the kind of thing you sign at two o'clock in the morning when even the press corps is still in the bars and they're not even going to be sober enough to write the story right in the first place once they hear about this. They did this under the full morning sunshine, well, afternoon sunshine yesterday. After a whole day of the nation talking about it, the president goes on interrupting 15 minutes of this program, a communication breakdown there, to announce the policy. And I'm struck by this.

He could have said, "You know what, I think on this immigration thing we need to mend it but not end it," which is what Clinton said about what? Mend it - affirmative action. Yeah, we need to mend that but not end it. This is not that, this is not avoiding the issue, this is not sweeping it underneath rug, this is not letting somebody else deal with it, this is taking it on. And it strikes me that whether you agree with it or not, you've got some leadership going on here. You know, real leaders lead in the war on terrorism. The whole world thought that was a mistake. The whole world was lined up against us ostensibly, and the whole world said we shouldn't do it and everybody, the Democrats were aligning with the world in trying to talk to the president, he wouldn't be dissuaded, would he? Went ahead, stimulate the economy, tax cuts, going to do it, doesn't matter what people say, going to tackle it, needs to be done, coming out of a recession, when he takes office. And yeah, that's right, he ran touching the third rail of Social Security, risking political electrocution. You just don't do that, but he's talking about privatizing Social Security and that's going to be brought up, that's going to happen.

Now, for those of you - I know a lot of you think he's out there pandering for votes but remember his sister-in-law is Hispanic, his nephew is Hispanic. I mean, he's got Hispanics throughout his family. This business of pandering is, you know, if you want to think it, go ahead, I'm not going to try to talk you out of anything I just want to throw something out there else for you to consider.

Now, amidst all of this, we got the Democrats, we got the MoveOn.org crowd, we've got Wesley Clark and Howard Dean all these other guys are calling Bush an extremist. Now, if you look at the domestic agenda of this administration the last thing any Democrat would call it is extremist it's been pretty much what they want in a lot of ways, so why do these Bush-haters hate Bush? And I've advanced this theory once before, and I think it really comes home here in this issue again. One of the reasons Bush-haters hate Bush is because he's actually doing something he's actually leading. I mean these guys are trying to construct a legacy for their boy, Bill Clinton, and their boy doesn't have a legacy, that's why they're having to manufacture one out of whole cloth and thin air.

By comparison, regardless of what he is doing, Bush is leading. It is a matter of substance from issue to issue to issue and Bush by an A-B, side-by-side comparison is making their

boy look really bad, and they love their boy, their boy is the greatest thing that ever happened to the country, if they could only get him back. And Bush is making this guy look as inconsequential as a president has ever looked. I mean, Bill Clinton said out there, "You know I worked harder than I ever have on this" on about 14 things that he never got done, and Bush is not talking about how hard he's working. He's getting things done. You could say that Clinton was all talk and no leadership. Bush is all leadership and no talk.

So, like this or not, we've got a problem here in immigration, and he's facing it, and he's doing what he thinks is right about it. Now, we're free to disagree with it, but it is an issue of substance, and again I'm going to admit and acknowledge that there's a political component to here to it, but the disagreement is primary on substance. And, remember now, this is up for debate. It may not ever happen. He did not demand this, and he did not put it on us with an executive order, he's throwing it up to the Congress, our elected officials, and I might say that in that very Congress, there are 180 Democrats who want every illegal given a green card today.

Now, let me give you this possibility. Let's say that you are the president, you are the president's team and you know that you've got 180 Democrats in the House, maybe more, who want this issue so badly because they, too, want the Latino vote, and they want to give every illegal a green card, amnesty, and citizenship today, nothing less. Well, you don't like that, you can't do that, how do you stop that? So you come up with your own plan that slows down what the Democrats are trying to do. Maybe doesn't stop them and maybe is not conservative enough but you know that that's going on, and you have to stop it somehow because that's not what you intend with this. There is no blanket amnesty here, and there is no blanket citizenship here, folks. All there is, as I said yesterday, is hope. All there is some opportunities for some of these people. But it is not a blanket amnesty, and it is not granting illegals automatic citizenship or legal status right off the bat in mass in toto.

Anyway, in the Washington Post today, I know I'm a little long here, "Democratic strategist speaking on a not-for-attribution basis described the proposal as brilliant politics that could help to refurbish Bush's compassionate conservative credentials, appeal to moderate swing voters and make it much harder for Democrats to win several states on their target list." Quote from this guy who didn't want his name used, "They've done a lot to try to put the general election away, and at a minimum they may have taken Arizona and New Mexico off the table," and it's no coincidence that Bill Richardson, the governor of New Mexico is fit to be tied over this. At any rate, so what - Arizona, New Mexico, big deal. Folks, I'm not trying to persuade you of anything here. Throwing it out. You're going to make up your own minds on this anyway.

Candidates CAN Perform 3 Or 4 Points Better Or Worse In A Matter Of Hours!

A *Hotline* source provided a comparison of past entrance polling data and past caucus results:

2000	Vote	EntrancePoll	Change
Gore	63.4%	60.6%	+2.8%
Bradley	35.0	38.4	-3.4
Uncommitted	1.6	1.0	+0.6

1988	Vote	EntrancePoll	Change
Gephardt	31.3%	27.4%	+3.9%
Simon	26.7	24.3	+2.4
Dukakis	22.2	20.5	+1.7
Jackson	8.8	11.1	-2.3
Babbitt	6.1	9.2	-3.1
Uncommitted	4.5	6.0	-1.5
Hart	0.3	1.0	-0.7
Gore	0.0	0.2	-0.2

1984	Vote	EntrancePoll	Change
Mondale	48.9%	44.5%	+4.4%
Hart	16.5	14.8	+1.7
McGovern	10.3	12.6	-2.3
Uncommitted	9.4	7.5	+1.9
Cranston	7.4	9.0	-1.6
Glenn	3.5	5.3	-1.8
Askew	2.5	3.3	-0.8
Jackson	1.5	2.7	-1.2
Hollings	0.0	0.3	-0.3

Dem Voter Concentrations

County-by-county Dem voter registration, as of 12/1. %age indicates the number of Dems as a percentage of the total number of voters in the county, based on numbers from the IA Sec/State. The counties are placed in the order of total number of regis. Dem voters.

County-By-County Dem Registration

	-----Active-----			-----Total-----		
	Dems	total	%age	Dems	total	%age
Polk	81,641	225,212	36%	85,215	238,330	36%
Linn	34,699	119,615	29	38,560	136,508	28
Johnson	26,548	70,735	38	31,172	85,230	37
Scott	24,507	96,384	25	25,015	98,798	25
Black Hawk	22,035	71,021	31	24,715	81,347	30
Dubuque	21,947	54,774	40	23,527	60,062	39
Woodbury	16,520	56,170	29	19,663	67,509	29
Pottawattamie	13,961	50,211	28	15,828	57,630	27
Des Moines	12,320	27,005	46	12,322	27,013	46
Story	12,022	44,994	27	15,094	57,586	26
Wapello	10,907	21,413	51	11,589	23,383	50
Lee	9,590	23,375	41	10,480	25,991	40
Cerro Gordo	8,982	28,850	31	9,510	31,207	30
Jasper	8,855	24,397	36	9,579	26,810	36
Warren	8,726	26,445	33	9,396	28,866	33
Clinton	8,267	32,323	26	8,588	33,704	25
Webster	7,981	22,060	36	8,575	24,378	35
Marshall	7,396	25,665	29	7,706	27,065	28
Dallas	7,372	29,135	25	7,781	31,136	25

Jackson	6,125	13,645	45	6,293	14,168	44
Marion	6,117	21,230	29	6,275	21,935	29
Muscatine	5,822	24,420	24	6,405	26,861	24
Boone	5,555	16,669	33	6,077	18,804	32
Carroll	4,672	13,947	33	4,888	14,941	33
Kossuth	4,224	11,642	36	4,430	12,451	36
Benton	4,200	16,666	25	4,449	17,812	25
Buchanan	3,810	13,003	29	4,075	14,172	29
Poweshiek	3,808	12,327	31	4,188	13,524	31
Jones	3,444	12,556	27	3,613	13,372	27
Clayton	3,382	12,420	27	3,550	13,109	27
Bremer	3,349	16,600	20	3,426	17,031	20
Fayette	3,157	13,200	24	3,401	14,432	24
Chickasaw	3,046	9,009	34	3,108	9,273	34
Tama	3,026	11,158	27	3,086	11,488	27
Mahaska	3,023	13,780	22	3,182	14,525	22
Floyd	3,005	10,692	28	3,122	11,207	28
Madison	2,934	9,769	30	3,091	10,447	30
Appanoose	2,916	8,745	33	3,164	9,523	33
Hardin	2,873	12,237	23	3,126	13,395	23
Dickinson	2,832	11,792	24	3,065	12,901	24
Plymouth	2,832	15,675	18	3,027	16,823	18
Winneshiek	2,795	13,494	21	2,878	13,875	21
Crawford	2,767	9,700	29	2,895	10,308	28
Cedar	2,752	11,629	24	2,950	12,564	23
Washington	2,725	13,207	21	2,889	14,080	21
Harrison	2,621	9,262	28	2,777	9,920	28
Henry	2,612	12,265	21	2,829	13,298	21
Palo Alto	2,527	6,759	37	2,649	7,222	37
Hamilton	2,472	10,284	24	2,704	11,280	24
Delaware	2,421	11,925	20	2,500	12,337	20
Clay	2,381	11,503	21	2,514	12,211	21
Buena Vista	2,303	11,251	20	2,406	11,967	20
Davis	2,282	4,976	46	2,305	5,073	45
Shelby	2,262	8,635	26	2,471	9,569	26
Iowa	2,195	10,318	21	2,373	11,173	21
Keokuk	2,192	7,074	31	2,280	7,424	31
Cherokee	2,151	8,357	26	2,259	8,884	25
Emmet	2,125	7,139	30	2,184	7,434	29
Monona	2,111	6,496	32	2,286	7,216	32
Union	2,060	7,926	26	2,251	8,727	26
Jefferson	2,050	11,655	18	2,140	12,261	17
Howard	1,978	6,098	32	2,066	6,509	32
Monroe	1,912	4,945	39	1,966	5,137	38
Clarke	1,902	6,195	31	1,981	6,537	30
Greene	1,899	6,915	27	1,917	7,010	27
Wright	1,892	8,994	21	1,965	9,486	21
Guthrie	1,869	7,553	25	2,019	8,190	25
Mills	1,817	9,577	19	1,993	10,521	19
Cass	1,788	10,033	18	1,946	10,903	18
Decatur	1,718	5,224	33	1,754	5,362	33
Louisa	1,710	6,939	25	1,837	7,476	25
Page	1,671	10,514	16	1,757	11,032	16
Mitchell	1,622	6,735	24	1,725	7,384	23
Winnebago	1,577	7,281	22	1,648	7,738	21
Allamakee	1,574	9,482	17	1,617	9,750	17
Hancock	1,551	8,103	19	1,661	8,719	19
Sioux	1,546	20,557	8	1,707	21,821	8
O'Brien	1,540	10,227	15	1,571	10,439	15

Calhoun	1,526	7,064	22	1,543	7,182	21
Butler	1,524	9,202	17	1,638	9,938	16
Lucas	1,519	5,555	27	1,658	6,087	27
Sac	1,470	8,411	17	1,472	8,431	17
Audubon	1,433	4,712	30	1,527	5,055	30
Humboldt	1,383	6,685	21	1,468	7,157	21
Fremont	1,378	5,604	25	1,455	6,023	24
Pocahontas	1,354	5,552	24	1,437	5,978	24
Worth	1,345	5,338	25	1,383	5,531	25
Wayne	1,289	4,164	31	1,308	4,247	31
Franklin	1,259	7,096	18	1,335	7,470	18
Grundy	1,238	8,411	15	1,335	8,964	15
Adair	1,218	5,508	22	1,304	5,913	22
Van Buren	1,127	4,889	23	1,187	5,122	23
Montgomery	1,121	7,419	15	1,333	8,860	15
Lyon	1,054	7,803	14	1,187	8,544	14
Ringgold	1,045	3,687	28	1,046	3,690	28
Ida	1,042	5,070	21	1,121	5,491	20
Taylor	1,028	4,569	22	1,083	4,877	22
Adams	857	3,236	26	892	3,429	26
Osceola	650	4,395	15	723	4,828	15
TOTAL	531,658	1,814,563	29	572,461	1,978,401	29

A Statewide Focus -- Would McCormick Have Eked It Out Over Vilsack Had He Secured SEIU and AFSCME, A LA Dean?

Election results from the top ten most Dem counties (based on Dem voter concentration; see above) in the last competitive statewide Dem primary. Results courtesy of the IA Sec/State.

The 2000 *Almanac of American Politics* sums up the '98 Dem primary battle in the GOV race between state Sen. **Tom Vilsack** (D) and ex-state Supreme Court Justice **Mark McCormick** (D). McCormick "campaigned as a moderate and said the party had to broaden its appeal." Vilsack had "a liberal record in the legislature" and was endorsed by the UAW, the AFL-CIO, and other unions.

The IA Dem Party did not have archived county-by-county caucus results. The 2000 county-by-county results are courtesy of George Washington Univ.'s "Democracy In Action" program.

'98 IA GOV	----TOTAL----		----VILSACK----		--MCCORMICK---	
County	vote	%age	vote	%age	vote	%age
Polk	25,035	28%	11,842	49%	12,040	50%
Linn	6,392	18	3,884	61	2,427	39
Johnson	8,309	32	3,586	50	3,597	50
Scott	2,666	11	1,556	60	1,016	39
Black Hawk	3,042	13	1,690	57	1,263	43
Dubuque	4,667	19	2,659	62	1,600	38
Woodbury	1,880	11	712	39	1,130	61
Pottawattamie	1,574	11	764	53	672	46
Des Moines	3,602	29	2,816	83	558	17
Story	3,578	24	1,055	30	2,437	70
STATEWIDE	122,640	22	59,130	51	55,950	48

WH 2000	GORE	BRADLEY	OTHER	UNCOMMITTED
Polk	54.75%	44.92%	0.00%	0.33%
Linn	58.35	41.44	0.00	0.21
Johnson	45.19	54.44	0.00	0.37
Scott	64.03	35.64	0.00	0.33
Black Hawk	70.88	29.12	0.00	0.00
Dubuque	61.92	37.31	0.00	0.77

Woodbury	66.24	33.44	0.00	0.32
Pottawattamie	71.07	26.20	0.00	2.73
Des Moines	72.50	27.00	0.50	0.00
Story	50.00	49.72	0.00	0.28
STATEWIDE	63.44	34.92	1.60	0.05

The Latest Iowa Polling

The most recent polling of likely Dem caucus voters, culled from the *Hotline* archives:

WH '04 Dem Caucus Matchups

	KCCI/Rscrh 2000 1/5-7 600 LVs	Zogby 12/1-2 500 LVs	Pew 11/25-12/4 394 LVs	DM Register/Selzer 11/2-5 501 LVs
Dean	29%	26%	29%	20%
Gephardt	25	22	21	27
Kerry	18	9	18	15
Edwards	8	5	5	5
Clark	3	4	3	4
Kucinich	2	2	4	3
Lieberman	2	2	1	5
Braun	-	1	1	1
Sharpton	-	-	1	1
Undec.	13	28	17	19

2000 Caucus Entrance Poll

Results are based on surveys conducted by Voter News Service among random samples of IA caucus-goers. According to CBS News, a VNS partner, 1,078 caucus-goers were interviewed; +/- 3% (CBS News.com, 1/25/00). The results below were gleaned from the web sites of multiple VNS partners, including CBS, ABC, NBC and CNN (*Hotline*, 1/25/00).

Highlights:

- **Gender Gap** -- No significant deviations from the overall results for either party.
- **Age** -- Gore's best number came from those 60+, while his worst numbers were among the 18-29 year olds. Bradley did best among those 18-29 and worst among the 60+ crowd.

A sampling of the results:

Dem Caucus (overall %age of electorate are in parentheses)

	Attended A Previous Caucus? (54%) (46%)		Regular Internet User? (50%) (50%)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Gore	63%	59%	50%	72%
Bradley	30	32	39	23

	Union Member? (33%) (67%)		Clinton Job (84%) (13%)		Clinton Personal Rating (49%) (44%)	
	Yes	No	Approve	Disapprove	Fav	Unfav
Gore	69%	57%	68%	25%	76%	45%
Bradley	24	35	25	62	19	45

Campaign Rolodex

Contact information for the five major Dems competing in Iowa. All state staff information provided by the campaigns; for the state dir./state manager, the links will take you to *Hotline's*

604/13

Wake-Up Call! is available via your PDA. [Click here](#) for instructions on downloading. Nationaljournal.com's pm update also is available for PDA users. [Click here](#) for details.

To access *Wake-Up Call!* on your phone, you need to directly bookmark the sites above. The bookmark for *Wake-Up Call!* is <http://nationaljournal.com/avantgo/wakeup.htm>.

Stay In Touch

Keep up with the latest developments. *The Hotline's* email alerts let you know when our publications become available so you can stay up-to-date with events.

- **Wake-Up Call** -- available at 9am daily.
- **The Hotline** -- available before noon daily.
- **Last Call** -- available at 4pm daily.
- **House Race Hotline** -- available at 2pm daily.

Putting The Numbers In Your In-Box

NationalJournal.com's **Poll Track** -- where, by the way, you can find the numbers that have run here in *Hotline* archived by [campaign](#) and [issue](#) -- now offers a daily **HTML E-Mail Alert**.

Get a quick rundown of the newest national polls, along with direct links to Poll Track's archives and other resources. [Click here](#) for a sample edition, or [sign up](#) right now.

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► POLL UPDATE

37 ANNENBERG PUBLIC POLICY CENTER: Check Out The Right/Wrong Track Gender Gap

The Univ. of PA's Nat'l Annenberg Election survey; conducted 12/16-1/5; surveyed 3,243 adults; margin of error +/- 2% (release, 1/8).

Direction Of The Nation							18-	30-	45-		
	All	Men	Wom	GOP	Dem	Ind	29	44	64	65+	12/15
Right direction	47%	52%	42%	70%	30%	45%	52%	48%	45%	41%	41%
Wrong track	43	39	46	22	59	42	40	39	46	48	48
Bush Job As President							18-	30-	45-		
	All	Men	Wom	GOP	Dem	Ind	29	44	64	65+	12/15
Approve	63%	66%	61%	92%	40%	64%	59%	68%	64%	60%	59%
Disapprove	34	32	36	7	58	34	39	29	34	37	38
Bush Job Handling War On Terrorism							18-	30-	45-		
	All	Men	Wom	GOP	Dem	Ind	29	44	64	65+	12/15
Approve	67%	69%	65%	92%	49%	64%	59%	67%	73%	67%	58%
Disapprove	30	26	33	7	48	31	38	29	24	31	37
Bush Handling The Situation In Iraq							18-	30-	45-		
	All	Men	Wom	GOP	Dem	Ind	29	44	64	65+	12/15
Approve	59%	64%	54%	88%	37%	58%	53%	62%	60%	57%	49%
Disapprove	37	34	41	11	58	38	43	33	37	38	47
Situation In Iraq Worth Going To War Over?							18-	30-	45-		
	All	Men	Wom	GOP	Dem	Ind	29	44	64	65+	12/15
Worth it	55%	59%	52%	81%	36%	53%	54%	59%	59%	43%	52%
Not worth	39	36	42	15	60	41	43	35	34	51	42

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38 PEW HISPANIC CENTER: Bush Reelect Among Hispanics At 27%

Conducted by Bendixen & Assocs. January sample conducted 1/2-4; surveyed 500 adults in both English and Spanish; margin of error +/- 4.4%. December sample conducted 12/8-11; surveyed 500 adults in both English and Spanish; margin of error +/- 4.4% (release, 1/8). "U.S." indicates those born in the U.S.; "Foreign" indicates those born outside the U.S.

Would You Like To See Bush Reelected President In '04?

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Bush	27%	25%	28%	37%	38%	36%
Dem candidate	56	64	50	47	47	46
Undec.	17	11	22	17	15	18

Direction Of The Nation

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Satisfied	40%	42%	39%	49%	52%	48%
Dissatisfied	50	51	48	40	40	40

Bush Job As President

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Excellent	8%	8%	8%	13%	15%	12%
Good	38	31	43	41	38	43
Mediocre	29	34	25	27	28	26
Poor	20	25	17	16	18	16

Bush Job Handling The Situation In Iraq

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Approve	32%	32%	33%	47%	48%	46%
Disapprove	57	61	54	41	43	40

Think The Bush Admin Deliberately Misled The American Public About How Big The Threat Iraq Was To U.S. Before War Began?

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Yes	53%	59%	49%	48%	49%	47%
No	38	35	40	42	45	40

Bush Job On Economy

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Approve	38%	37%	39%	45%	42%	47%
Disapprove	50	54	47	45	53	41

Which Is More Important For Bush To Focus On:

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
The economy	70%	63%	75%	70%	62%	75%
The war on terrorism	22	28	18	23	31	17

U.S. Decision To Use Military Force Against Iraq:

	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Right decision	45%	52%	40%	54%	62%	48%
Wrong decision	47	42	51	38	33	42

War In Iraq Worth The Toll It Has Taken In American Lives; Other Kinds Of Costs?	-----Now-----			-----12/03-----		
	All	U.S.	Foreign	All	U.S.	Foreign
Worth the costs	31%	32%	30%	40%	43%	37%
Not worth costs	60	64	58	50	45	53

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► PEOPLE

39 HOTLINE HOTTIES (and the notties): The Week In Review

Hotline's list of what's hot and what's not in DC:

HOT	not
Howard Dean tapes	Paris Hilton tapes
Mars Bars	Moon Pies
Dean's middle-class tax cut	Repealing Bush's tax cuts
Bradley	Gore
Angry Dems	Mad cows
Attack politics	Congeniality
Hillary Rodham Clinton	John Cooksey
Steve Irwin	Jacko
Splitney	Bennifer
Joe Gibbs	Robert Gibbs

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40 CAMPAIGN STAFFER SPOTLIGHT: The Gibson Is Shining

In conjunction with the WH campaign staffer profiles available in *National Journal*, the *Hotline* takes an additional look at the players in '04. Today's profile: **Dick Gephardt** OK dir. **Julie Gibson**:

Before serving as Gephardt's OK dir., she was CoS to MO LG **Joe Maxwell** and a consultant to the MO Dem Party. She was born in Mobile, AL, and currently lives in Jefferson City, MO.

What's your first political memory?

Bobby Kennedy's assassination.

What's the most recent book you read?

"DaVinci Code."

Now, what's the most recent book you read?

"DaVinci Code."

Who's your political hero?

Harry S. Truman.

Who's your favorite GOp?

Jeff Davis, Chief of Staff to Pro Tem of Missouri State Senate.

What's the best campaign that's ever been run?

Clinton/Gore '92.

Who did you support/work for in 2000, 1992, 1988, 1984, and 1980 primaries?

1992 -- Bob Kerrey for President in the Primary (Deputy Political Director) and Clinton-

F: Health
Credit
604/113

Additional Media Coverage of Refundable Health Credit

- **"CROWLEY: Bush policy advisers believe the credits will provide up to 90 percent of the cost of health insurance and reach about 18 million of the estimated 44 million who are currently uninsured."** (*CNN, Inside Politics, Candy Crowley, April 11, 2000*)
- The AP (4/11, Johnson) reported, "Continuing his outreach to independent and moderate Democratic voters, Republican George W. Bush on Tuesday rolled out a five-year, \$42 billion plan to help the working poor move up into the middle class." **The "biggest share of money, \$35 billion, would be used for tax credits to help people who don't get health insurance from their employers but earn too much to qualify for government programs like Medicaid."** (*The Bulletin's Front Runner, April 12, 2000*)
- **But even Bush advisers estimate that the plan would trim only about 4 million people from the ranks of the uninsured. Many of the 18 million who could take advantage of the plan already pay for coverage.** (*Business Week April 24, 2000*)
- "Bush has proposed a \$ 3.6 billion program for new health care clinics, a \$ 2 billion program to clean up brownfield sites, **a \$ 35 billion plan to help families purchase health insurance**, a \$ 5 billion plan to address illiteracy, a \$ 1.7 billion plan to encourage developers to rehab housing, a \$ 500 million grant plan to improve Latino health, and so on and so on." (*David Brooks, Weekly Standard, May 22, 2000*)
- "Gore would also spend more on health care than Bush. His program to expand coverage would cost \$ 127 billion **compared with the \$ 35 billion Bush would reserve for tax credits**. And Gore would use the surplus to help fund his health initiatives, money that Bush wants to plow into tax cuts." (*Orange County Register, August 16, 2000*)
- **"Bush proposed \$35 billion in refundable health credits – a maximum of \$1,000 per person or \$2,000 per family that would cover up to 90 percent of the cost of health insurance -- to help those on low and moderate incomes buy private health coverage. (Tax credits would be phased out as a family's income rose above \$60,000.)"** (*California Journal, November 1, 2000*)

Extra info
for you - |

Alicia

Clark, Alicia P.

From: Smythe, Augustine T.
Sent: Friday, January 09, 2004 10:55 AM
To: Foster, James D.
Cc: Clark, Alicia P.
Subject: Re: \$63 billion over 10 years

JD:

Alicia mentioned you were looking for materials for the health care tax credit.

During the campaign, Marc carried year-by-year estimates of the President's plan relative to a CBO baseline. My recollection is that he only made public the deltas for the 10-year period. For the the health care credit, the 10-year delta came to \$63 billion.

If you have additional questions on the budget impact of the President's original campaign commitment, let me know.

- Austin

----- Forwarded by Augustine T. Smythe/OMB/EOP on 01/09/2004 10:54 AM -----



Augustine T. Smythe
12/17/2003 06:26:54 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Alicia P. Clark/WHO/EOP@Exchange
cc:
bcc: Records Management@EOP



Augustine T.
Smythe

Subject: Re: \$63 billion over 10 years

I would need to check with Marc or Sally.

My recollection is that we did publish the major components of the President's 10 year budget plan on the campaign web site.

From: Alicia P. Clark/WHO/EOP@Exchange on 12/17/2003 06:23:19 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Augustine T. Smythe/OMB/EOP@EOP
cc:

Clark, Alicia P.

From: Clark, Alicia P.
Sent: Friday, January 09, 2004 12:43 PM
To: Smythe, Augustine T.; Foster, James D.
Subject: RE: \$63 billion over 10 years

JD-

In case you need it quickly-- Austin tells me that he also has an estimate in Marc's table that reads \$35 billion over 5 years. I have a notation of that as well, but I don't have any original source material. I do have press coverage of that number. Let me know if you would like a copy of those articles.

Also, one news account also says "18 million" would take advantage of the credit and another says the credit would trim "4 million" from the ranks of the uninsured. But I have no original source material on that. Thanks.

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cc:

Subject: Re: \$63 billion over 10 years

Would that have been a public number or an internal number? I can't find any reference to it.

Clark, Alicia P.

From: Clark, Alicia P.
Sent: Friday, January 09, 2004 12:46 PM
To: Smythe, Augustine T.; Foster, James D.
Subject: RE: \$63 billion over 10 years

Clarification- The news coverage says the "18 million" relates to the number who could take advantage or who the credit could reach.

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<< OLE Object: Picture (Device Independent Bitmap) >>

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SERIES:

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10750

NARA Num.:

10808

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The Limbaugh Diagnosis of Dr. Dean

January 5, 2004

Listen to Rush...

(...talk about how Dean is stoking the flame of his followers' rage)

BEGIN TRANSCRIPT 12:40 PM ET

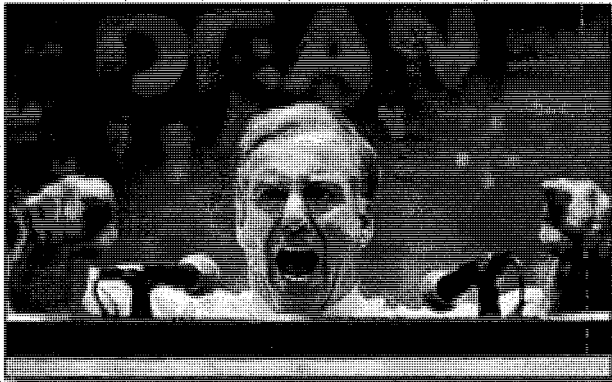
RUSH: Ladies and gentlemen, let me cut to the chase here, because I've had several thoughts on what we've seen about Dr. Dean since the last time we were together on Christmas Eve. Now, the first has to do with Dr. Dean's display of weakness. I just mentioned this. He publicly whined about Terry McAuliffe not intervening when other Democratic presidential candidates criticized him. We've been told time and time again by Dr. Dean that if the president criticizes him, Dean's going to hit back and he's going to hit back hard. He's been warning Bush to lay off. If Bush attacks him, then Dean is going to show no mercy. He's going to hit back hard. And he's cultivated this image of a scrapper, a tough guy, short little guy, stocky but it doesn't matter, he's going to take on all comers, he can take and deliver a punch.

Yet when he's the object of relatively mild attacks by the Democrats, Dean shows that he's weak and needs protection and puts out an APB for McAuliffe to protect him. I found it all very revealing, and it was entirely predictable that in the aftermath of his plaintive cry for help, the other Democrat candidates for president would act like sharks that smell blood in the water, and they did.

The second thing, Dr. Dean is in danger of losing the one appealing quality he allegedly has and that's authenticity. I say allegedly because he's one of these - his supporters think - 'well, this guy, no end to this, he's just great, he's authentic.' That's how they explain his gaffes. You tell me that Bush knew about this before 9-11, and I'm going to tell you I might believe you. Saudis told Bush to get out of Washington. I tell you I might believe you. That's authentic, that's how they defend these guys. His various comments about religion, first how the Democrats should not get in a values debate about God, gays, and guns. Oh, speaking of that, turns out that some of his original supporters are from the very affluent and militant gay community. Affluent and militant gay sector of the Democratic Party. More on that as the program unfolds.

He said a few months ago, "I don't think that religion ought to be part of American policy." And then his newfound willingness to talk, only in the South though, about Jesus, appears to be pandering and cynical, maybe even craven. And then there was that line that James Carville used about him, Dr. No and that he needs to learn the glory of the unspoken thought. Third, Dean's reputation as being a straight talker has been damaged by his lack of straight talk. Let me just give you one ongoing example, and there are many. His continuing refusal to open up his records when he was governor. Dean promised he'd do so when Bush did and when it turned out that Bush has revealed his records, Dean balked. Lieberman and John F-ing Kerry were effective in making that case during yesterday's debate. The problem is nobody saw it.

Fourth, based on his public comments, at least it appears as though Dr. Dean has more animus for President Bush than he does for either Saddam Hussein or Osama bin Laden. Now, this is astonishing. It's astonishing that Dean would throw it out - he did it on a public broadcast, National Public Radio, the government-funded NPR - sorry, my friends, don't think of them much. NPR. He threw out on NPR the wholly unsubstantiated charge that President Bush was told in advance about September 11th and the attacks then but when speaking about bin Laden, who claims credit - I mean bin Laden is out there proudly claiming credit for those attacks - Dean is most concerned that we not prejudice bin Laden's case. I mean, this is amazing when he said this. I wouldn't prejudice bin Laden, there's nothing that tells me bin Laden is guilty. Bin Laden is out there claiming credit for it. This is the guy that thinks Bush knew about it in advance but we've got to not prejudice bin Laden. And of course these kooks at MoveOn.org and all these Dean supporters, yay, that's our man! They're nuts.



I tell you what, if you are one who has trouble controlling your emotions, particularly anger and rage, let the average Democrat today be a lesson for you. You run the risk of becoming exactly as loony and kooky as they have become. I can't even relate to it. I have never been as mad as these people are, nor for as long, I don't know how they sustain it. The normal human being doesn't have this reservoir of emotion. I mean you can only keep this level of emotion fever pitch up for so long and then you run out. The reservoir is empty. These people, I think, it's one of the things that Dean keeps stoking it, you know, Dean keeps stoking their anger and keeps them up there, and I'm going to tell you, they have to have it. These people cannot live today without this rage and anger. It's almost like they've become addicted to it and they can't get rid of it and they don't want to get rid of it, and if they don't feel angry and if they don't feel seething with rage then they're not happy. These people are the most miserably happy people I've ever seen, or happily miserable people I've ever seen, and Dean is stoking these people and keeping them at this fevered pitch.



It's increasingly clear also to me, a very seasoned observer, ladies and gentlemen, Dr. Dean not very good when speaking on his feet. He makes mistake after mistake. Soviet Union instead of Russia, Book of Job in the New Testament he says, his comment that he supposes the fall of Saddam would be a good thing for the people of Iraq, his statement about Confederate flags on pickup trucks, on and on and on, I mean the list is too long to mention here. And he says he has a tendency to mouth off. I think it's just that he's not ready for prime time. Listen to this. This is Howard Dean in the current issue of Time magazine. Quote, this whole thing is a Howard Dean statement. "I'm intuitive, and I jump steps ahead. Part of what gets me in trouble on the stump is I shorthand things. I know what I'm thinking but I don't say every word of it. I was that way as a doctor. I eliminate possibilities unconsciously before they get to my consciousness. It's also part of my political judgment. I often know I want to do things before I know why, although the

thinking goes on all the time. The way I think is, if you give me information, I tuck it back somewhere and I work on it and work on it and work on it without being aware of it and then all of the sudden ten months later something will pop out based on a whole series of things that I've learned in the last ten months and finally all of a sudden it falls into place." Howard Dean, quote, unquote, explaining how his mind works. Charles Krauthammer had it right. Krauthammer said I went to medical school with guys like this. They're never wrong, they don't ever think they make a mistake and they think they're the smartest people in the room.

END TRANSCRIPT

Read the Articles...

[\(NY Post: Dean Deflects Dem Jabs\)](#)

[\(TIME: 'Who is the real Dean?'\)](#)

[\(NH Union Leader: Bob Novak: Dean's holiday gaffes have Democrats worried\)](#)

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Published by the Wall Street Journal
10 December 2003
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The Real Bush Budget Record

by Joshua B. Bolten

President Bush has resolutely pursued three top priorities: winning the war on terror, protecting the homeland, and strengthening the economy.

While rarely challenging these goals, some commentators now suggest that, in their pursuit, the Administration has unwisely neglected deficit reduction and fiscal discipline. From the left, the President's tax cuts are blamed for driving the federal budget into deficit. From the right, the President is criticized for acquiescing in a Congressional domestic spending spree. Neither charge stands up to scrutiny.

First, to trace the roots of today's deficits, recall the circumstances the country faced in the early months of this Administration: President Bush took office with a stock market in collapse and an economy entering recession; he was soon to confront as well the revelation of corporate scandals and, of course, terrorism on American soil.

The resulting economic "perfect storm," which dramatically drove down Treasury receipts, is by far the largest reason we face budget deficits today. Had there not been one dime of tax relief under President Bush, the federal budget would still have run a substantial deficit in 2003.

In fact, the President's tax cuts have been critical to his priority of strengthening the economy and creating jobs. Perhaps the best timed in American history, these tax cuts deserve much credit for today's brightening economic picture: the highest quarterly growth in 20 years (8.2%), which, though unlikely to remain as high, is a harbinger of sustained growth to come; extraordinary productivity growth; continued strength in housing starts and retail sales; and encouraging signs of renewed business investment. These indicators suggest that job growth, which typically lags recovery, should continue to strengthen in the months ahead. And sustained growth will be good news for our budget picture as well: As the economy

improves, Treasury revenues will too – and budget deficits, now projected to peak in this fiscal year, will decline.

Second, as to the President's spending policies, what the record shows is a commitment to national security – and restraint elsewhere. Most critics of the President's fiscal record begin by saying they support the additional spending that has been necessary to respond to 9/11 and the global war on terror, but they then proceed to complain about spending levels that are largely made up of those costs. It is true that discretionary spending (the spending over which the President and Congress have control through annual appropriations) has risen substantially in the three most recent budget years. But more than *three-quarters* of that increase has been directly related to our response to 9/11, enhanced homeland security, and the global war on terror.

The increases in all other discretionary accounts have been modest by historical standards. In the last budget year of the previous Administration (FY '01), domestic spending unrelated to defense or homeland security grew by an eye-popping 15%. With the adoption of President Bush's first budget (FY '02), that number was reduced to 6%; then 5% the following year; and now 3% for the current fiscal year. There is room for more restraint, especially as the economy recovers, but this is hardly the record of a domestic-program spending spree.

To those who lament that the President hasn't vetoed a single spending bill, the response is simple: He hasn't needed to. Recently concluded negotiations on the latest appropriations bills, for example, reflect effective presidential and congressional leadership. The President asked for, and the House passed, a total increase in discretionary budget authority no larger than the growth in family income this year: 4%.

As in previous years, commentators of all stripes will doubtless find plenty to criticize in the latest appropriations spending priorities and policies. But a complaint that domestic spending has run amok in this year's appropriations bills is not supported by the numbers, which bear repeating: 3% growth in non-national-security related spending authority, and 4% growth in overall discretionary spending authority.

None of this is to suggest that our fiscal situation should not remain a matter of concern. With major expenditures in Iraq, and Treasury receipts only

beginning to reflect a recovering economy, we still face a deficit in the \$500 billion range for the current fiscal year – larger than anyone wants. But that size deficit, at roughly 4.5% of GDP (compared with a modern peak of 6% during the Reagan years), is not historically out of range; and it is entirely manageable, if we continue the President's strong pro-growth economic policies and sound fiscal restraint. Indeed, with adoption of the President's policies, our projections show a solid path toward cutting the deficit in half, toward a size that is below 2% of GDP, within the next five years.

With renewed economic growth and Congress' cooperation in focusing spending on our most critical priorities, we can accomplish the great goals the President has set for the country, while dramatically improving our budget situation.

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(Mr. Bolton is the director of the Office of Management and Budget)