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S. HRG. 108–720

TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

OVERSIGHT HEARING REGARDING TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS, ET AL

SEPTEMBER 29, 2004
NOVEMBER 17, 2004
WASHINGTON, DC

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TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 2004

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m. in room 216, Hart Senate Building, Hon. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (chairman of the committee), presiding.

Present: Senators Campbell, Inouye, Conrad, Cantwell, Dorgan, Johnson, McCain, and Murkowski.

STATEMENT OF HON. BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, U.S. SENATOR FROM COLORADO, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

The CHAIRMAN. We will now move to the second matter on the committee's schedule this morning. The committee today is launching the first in a planned series of hearing into allegations of improprieties by Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon involving lobbying and so-called grassroots political activities on behalf of Indian tribes.

To put these allegations into some context, Mr. Abramoff ran the government affairs department for Greenberg Traurig, a Washington, DC law firm where he lobbied on behalf of several Indian tribes. Mr. Scanlon owned Capital Campaign Strategies, a firm that provided grassroots political support in the form of coalition building, letter writing and telephone campaigns.

The allegations that touched off this committee investigation came to light earlier this year in a series of newspaper articles. The articles alleged that Mr. Abramoff convinced some of his tribal clients to retain Mr. Scanlon's firm. Mr. Scanlon charged the tribes exorbitant fees, while producing very little work, and Mr. Scanlon split the overcharges with Mr. Abramoff.

Among the specific charges in the original and follow-up articles that were included as late as yesterday, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon received more than $45 million in fees from tribal clients. Mr. Scanlon paid Mr. Abramoff $10 million that was not disclosed to the tribes or to Greenberg Traurig. Mr. Abramoff convinced at least one tribe to make donations to the Capital Athletic Foundation, a local charity which the press reported Mr. Abramoff supports, and Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon may have influenced tribal elections.

While our investigation is continuing, we have come to some very disturbing conclusions. That is, the accusations in the newspapers

were not entirely accurate. In fact, the truth is it is much worse than as reported. The articles vastly understated both the amounts the tribes paid to Mr. Scanlon and the amounts he gave to Mr. Abramoff. In fact, all told, six tribes paid more than $66 million to Mr. Scanlon, and Mr. Abramoff received more than $21 million from Mr. Scanlon for his share of the scheme.

These are rather eye-popping sums of money, to be sure. As you might guess, it appears that Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff did not want a lot of people to know how much money they were making. The committee's investigation has revealed that Mr. Abramoff did not inform his partners at the Greenberg firm of this arrangement. Neither did he or Mr. Scanlon disclose this arrangement to their tribal clients.

The allegation that concerns me the most is that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon may have tried to manipulate the outcomes of tribal elections for their own personal profit. Our investigation has found in at least two instances, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon sought to profit by becoming involved in attempting to manipulate tribal elections. They helped elect tribal council members at no charge, but apparently with the understanding that they would be compensated at a later date.

Shortly after successful campaigns by the candidates Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon supported, they solicited and received multimillion dollar contracts aided by the tribal council members that they helped elect. Clearly, these circumstances raise serious, but unanswered, questions about whether there was an explicit or implicit quid pro quo, "we get elected and then you will give us big money contracts."

Today, the committee will hear testimony from individuals on both sides of these allegations. Their testimony will shed considerably more light on the information that I have discussed so far. In recovering the information that I have discussed so far, the committee and its staff has combed through literally thousands of pages of documents. While these documents were available to committee members prior to this hearing, they have not been available to the public.

To assist the members as well as the general public, the committee staff has prepared those documents most pertinent to the matters covered by this hearing. I now offer in the form of a motion these documents for the record, and move that they be entered into the record at this hearing.

Senator INOUYE. Second.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Inouye seconds it. Those in favor say aye.

[A chorus of ayes.]

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any opposed?

[No response.]

The CHAIRMAN. Hearing none, that will be included. All the documents will be part of the record.

[Referenced documents appear in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I will relay in brief the story the documents provide on how Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon successfully manipulated tribal elections for their own profit.

In the case of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, who we will hear from later today, Mr. Scanlon did everything but actually vote for the tribal candidates that he supported. Just before the 2002 Agua Caliente tribal election, Mr. Scanlon asked Mr. Abramoff in an e-mail:

How much do you want me to spend on the AC race, the Agua Caliente race? I have to get a team out there as soon as possible and to rotate a new team in after that, so travel is going to run about $20,000 and materials about $5K to $10K. Should we go for it?

Mr. Abramoff's instructions were, yes, go for it big time, which is just what they did. Mr. Scanlon's own documents now on the record show that he ran the overall strategy, crafted the messages, wrote his candidates' speeches, coordinated a candidates night, ran the get-out-the-vote drive, and even counted the votes, which should really raise some eyebrows.

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Scanlon pitched his business to the Agua Caliente and his own successful candidate made the motion to approve his contract over the objections of long-time Chairman Richard Milanovich.

The same pattern occurred at the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan. We will hear their story later also. For example, just before the Saginaw Chippewa elections of 2001, Mr. Abramoff told Mr. Scanlon:

I had dinner with Chris Petras of the Sag-Chip. He was salivating at the $4 million to $5 million program described to him. Is that enough? Probably not. They have their primary for tribal council on Tuesday which should determine if they are going to take over.

That is, take over the general election in November.

He is going to come in after the primary with the guy who will be the chief if they win, a big fan of ours already, and we are going to help him win. If he wins, they will take over in January and we will make millions.

By the way, we are having some of the e-mails blown up and shown to the public. You may or may not be able to read them, but I have asked staff just to try to keep up with my presentation by rotating those charts.

The day after the election in which seven of the eight candidates running as the slate of eight to one, Mr. Scanlon sent out the following e-mail to his employees and Mr. Abramoff:

Well, team, last night was amazing. The slate of eight kicked ass, and I want to thank all of you for helping out and watching the bottom line. We had less than 3 weeks to take 8 guys we never met before and get them elected. It was a great plan and great execution by a great team. Just to recap, we elected 7 out of our slate of 8. We now control 9 of the 12 seats on the Council.

I was wondering who "we" is as I was reading that e-mail.

Maynard Kahgebab, who is the elected chief of the organizational meeting on December 4 and hopefully we will be doing some future work for the tribe in the near future. That makes us two-to-one in tribal elections this year.

Earlier this year, the slate of eight were voted out of office, due largely to the allegations at the heart of this investigation. Mr. Abramoff financed a recall effort run by the ousted tribal council.

I will close my opening statement by bringing to light one additional matter that I find perhaps most troubling on the personal record. It appears from their own words, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon held their tribal clients in absolute contempt, clients, mind

you, that paid them millions of dollars. E-mails obtained by the committee show that they regularly referred to their clients using contemptuous, even racist language.

Allow me to give you one example I am talking about. In an e-mail discussing a dinner meeting with a client, which is now part of the record, Mr. Abramoff asked Mr. Scanlon to meet with a client. The reason Mr. Abramoff could not attend:

> I have to meet with the monkeys from the Choctaw Tribal Council. You need to close the deal with a client.

Mind you that these "monkeys," as Mr. Abramoff refers to the tribal council of the Mississippi Band of the Choctaw Indians, had enriched him over a 5-year period with over $7 million in lobbying fees. The story the committee will hear today using Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's own e-mails and documents is not a pretty one.

It is a story of greed run amok. It is a story of two already powerful, wealthy men lining their own pockets with the hard-earned money of people whom they held in contempt and low regard.

I will have questions as we move along, but I would like to yield to Vice Chairman, Senator Inouye, for his opening statement, then Senator McCain.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE U.S. SENATOR FROM HAWAII, VICE CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Senator INOUYE. For the past 7 months, as noted by the chairman, newspapers and journals of national renown have been reporting on the findings of their research into allegations that Indian tribal governments have engaged the services of professional lobbyists and so-called grassroots organizations and the costs associated with those contracts.

Some have asserted that the amounts charged to tribes have been excessive or that revenues received by those employed by the tribal governments far exceeded the value of the products and services provided to the tribes. Sadly, excessive fees and large profits are part of everyday life in our Nation's capital. Ordinarily, they may not amount to a violation of Federal law.

With that in mind, however, if the allegations of interference in the election processes of tribal governments and the purposeful manipulation of circumstances to solicit business from the tribes are proven to be accurate, we will have to explore whether any of the actions taken are violations of criminal law.

Today, the committee is delving into just two of a series of dealings with at least six Indian tribal governments. As I understand it, there will be further hearings to follow this one. So I join my colleagues on the committee today to listen and to learn what may have taken place, and whether the activities described constitute a pattern and practice of dealings that are either inappropriate or illegal.

Therefore, I fully support my chairman in his decision to initiate this investigation because if proven true, the allegations are by any measure deeply troubling and profoundly serious.

Mr. Chairman, it saddens me that after the glorious events of last week, when thousands of Native people came to our National Mall to celebrate the opening of the National Museum of the Amer-

ican Indian, and what we all hoped to be the beginning page of a new chapter in our Nation's relations with the first Americans, that we must now turn our attention to something that at the minimum appears to be another most unseemly manifestation of the exploitation of the Native people of this land.

Mr. Chairman, this is not a happy matter. I think I would rather be almost anywhere else today, but as members of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, we take our responsibility seriously. So I, as I suspect all of my colleagues on this committee will do, will reserve judgment until all the facts are brought to light.

I thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank my colleague.

Senator McCain.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN MCCAIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM ARIZONA

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank you and the vice chairman for your tremendous effort on behalf of this investigation and your continued dedication and effort of many years on behalf of Native Americans.

Mr. Chairman, etched in the history of our great Nation is a long and lamentable chapter about the exploitation of Native Americans. It began with the sale of Manhattan and has continued every since. Every kind of charlatan and every type of crook has deceived and exploited America's native sons and daughters.

While the accounts of unscrupulous men are sadly familiar, the tale we hear is not. What sets this tale apart, what makes it truly extraordinary, is the extent and degree of the apparent exploitation and deceit. Earlier this year, the Washington Post reported that Jack Abramoff, and influential lobbyist, together with Michael Scanlon, a self-styled public relations executive and former Capitol Hill staffer, collected over $45 million in 3 years from a handful of Indian tribes around the country.

In the case of one tribe, not the subject of today's hearings, the funds were allegedly paid from accounts reserved for tribal housing, education and health care. That same tribe and another reportedly paid millions of dollars into an outfit called the American International Center, a self-proclaimed think-tank run by two of Mr. Scanlon's buddies at Rehoboth Beach, one a yoga instructor and the other a lifeguard.

Even in this town where huge sums are routinely paid as the price of political access, the figures are astonishing. But what the tribes actually received for such astronomical sums is mystifying. In the 7 months since the article ran, the committee on Indian Affairs has worked with my staff on the Commerce Committee to examine the relationship between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon and their relationship with the Indian tribes they represented. I am pleased to report that we now have the cooperation of all of the tribes mentioned in the Post article, along with others not mentioned.

Even Chief Phillip Martin of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, who defended Mr. Abramoff at the outset of this investigation, wrote last month in a letter to Chairman Campbell and me that, quote:

In the light of information we have recently obtained from various sources, it now appears that our tribe may in fact have been the victims of serious wrongdoing by Abramoff and Scanlon. Thus, despite my prior concerns, I appreciate your committee's work on this matter.

I thank Chief Martin for his sentiments and I extend my gratitude to all the tribes cooperating in this investigation.

I am especially grateful to the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe and the Agua Caliente Band of Indians who are participating in today's hearings. Both tribes have cooperated with us since the beginning. I commend the tribes and their leaders for having the wisdom to understand that this investigation is not an attack on tribal sovereignty, for displaying the courage to cooperate in the face of their critics, and for having the perseverance to see this through until the bitter end.

We have also obtained and are grateful for the cooperation of Mr. Abramoff's former employer, Greenberg Traurig, which like his former clients may have been deceived by this vainglorious and once-powerful rainmaker.

Not surprisingly, we have not received the voluntary cooperation of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. We have had to subpoena documents from Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. Even at this late date, their production of documents remains incomplete. I am told Mr. Scanlon and his attorney have frustrated the committee's attempts to serve Mr. Scanlon with a subpoena for this hearing. Last I had heard, Mr. Scanlon was dodging the U.S. Marshals attempting to serve him.

I want Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to know that their failure to cooperate in the face of compulsory process will not be tolerated, and their attempt to slow-roll this committee will not be brooked. Once the chairman has ruled on their outstanding objections, I will urge the committee to pursue contempt if their compliance with the subpoenas is not immediately forthcoming. The time for games has ended.

Despite Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's obstinence, the committee has begun to unravel the complex and tangled web they wove. In the case of both tribes testifying today, the documents show that Mr. Abramoff and Michael Scanlon systematically sought out impressionable tribal leaders and representatives, seduced them with promises of power and prestige, and helped them obtain positions of power within their tribes. Once in power, their allies on the tribal council steered multimillion dollar contracts to Mr. Abramoff's lobbying firm and Mr. Scanlon's PR company.

Mr. Abramoff also directed the tribes to donate generously to a long list of political action committees and candidates, think-tanks and charities. As the Washington Post reported only yesterday, prominent among the charities was the Capital Athletic Foundation, Mr. Abramoff's personal charitable foundation which he primarily used to fund an all-boys school he established. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon did so all the while privately deriding and maligning their clients.

Chairman Campbell described for us Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's interference in tribal elections and governance, and revealed the utter contempt these men held for their clients. But to truly understand this story and appreciate the depth of their mis-

conduct, we need to consider the interference and contempt against the backdrop of the huge fees these men connived from the tribes.

In addition to the $150,000 to $180,000 per month retainers the tribes paid to Mr. Abramoff for lobbying services, it was widely reported that at Mr. Abramoff's direction, the tribes paid Mr. Scanlon over $45 million for "grassroots activity." It was also widely publicized that unknown to the tribes, Mr. Abramoff received up to $10 million of these funds from Mr. Scanlon.

Financial records and internal e-mails reviewed by this committee establish that those figures, while shocking, are inaccurate. The amounts paid to Mr. Scanlon and the amounts he paid to Mr. Abramoff are much higher. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon's accounting, bank and tax records establish that between 2001 and 2004, six tribes paid more than $66 million to Michael Scanlon's company, Capital Campaign Strategies, which also did business as Scanlon, Gould Public Affairs. The tribes include the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, the Agua Caliente Band, the Tigua Indians of Ecelta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso, and Pueblo Sandia Tribe of New Mexico.

These same accounting, bank and tax records clearly indicate that Capital Campaign Strategies paid Jack Abramoff personally and Kay Gold, a company owned and controlled by Mr. Abramoff, over $21 million. The $21 million appears to be one-half of Capital Campaign Strategies' profit from its Indian client revenue over 3 years.

Let me emphasize what the $66 million figure does not include. The $66 million does not include payments made by the tribes for lobbying services provided by Greenberg Traurig. The $66 million does not include the substantial payments made by these tribes directly to other entities owned or managed by Abramoff, such as the Capital Athletic Foundation. The $66 million does not include the substantial political and dubious charitable contributions that the tribes made at Mr. Abramoff's direction.

It is my hope the committee will address these payments at another time and another hearing. The $66 million only includes the payments by the tribes to Mr. Scanlon's Capital Campaign Strategies. It is those sums that we focus on today.

The first question we need to ask is why? Why did Mr. Scanlon pay Mr. Abramoff half of his profit? After all, in his interview with the Post reporter, Mr. Abramoff denied having any financial interest in Mr. Scanlon's companies. The answer is surprisingly simple. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were partners. Their partnership apparently began over 3 years ago on June 18, 2001. In an e-mail to Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon set forth his vision. Mr. Abramoff would develop the client base and Mr. Scanlon would serve them. In Mr. Scanlon's own words:

> Bottomline, if you help me get CCS a client base of $3 million a year, I will get the clients served and the firm acquired at $9 million, we can split up the profits. What do you think?

Lest there be any doubt on this point, one year later, Mr. Abramoff extolled his partner's virtues in an e-mail. After Mr. Scanlon reported on the receipt of $3 million from the Louisiana Coushatta for undisclosed services, Mr. Abramoff replied:

You are a great partner. What I love about our partnership is that when one of us is down, the other is there. We are going to make dollars for years together.

Scanlon was equal in his enthusiasm, "Amen. You've got it boss. We have many years ahead."

What is wrong with this relationship, some may ask? Possibly nothing, had it been disclosed to the tribes, but it never was. Jack Abramoff, the tribes' trusted lobbyist and adviser, instructed the tribes to hire Michael Scanlon for millions of dollars, but he never disclosed that he would receive about half of the net proceeds from the multimillion dollar contracts. In fact, it appears he hid his relationship with Mr. Scanlon from just about everyone.

In a March 25, 2002 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff writes to a close associate and confidante about his personal financial statement, "No one knows about the CCS stuff." Indeed, they did not. Yet Jack Abramoff owed the tribes he represented a duty, a duty to disclose his financial stake in the multimillion dollar contracts he was steering Michael Scanlon's way. That he and Scanlon did not speak up was immoral. It was unethical and ultimately it may have been illegal.

I know that Mr. Abramoff has attempted in the past to deny that he directed the tribes to hire Mr. Scanlon. His e-mails tell another story. In a December 2, 2004 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Chris Petras, the former legislative director of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe about racing initiatives in Michigan:

Where is Scanlon on this? What is he doing? Have you guys pushed the button? We need to get him firing missiles. How do we move it faster? Please get the council focused on this as soon as you can. Every day we lose now is going to hurt.

Mr. Abramoff apparently copied or forwarded the e-mail to Mr. Scanlon, whose only reply was, "I love you."

What did the tribes receive for the millions of dollars they paid Capital Campaign Strategies? According to some tribes, not much. The Committee continues to investigate this issue. We do know however, that Mr. Scanlon subcontracted out a substantial amount of work to what appeared to be legitimate service providers. He did so at an unbelievably small fraction of what he charged the tribes, thus explaining the unconscionable amounts that he and Mr. Abramoff were able to put into their pockets.

A February 20, 2003 e-mail from Mr. Abramoff to his accountant last year sheds considerable light on how much money Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon pocketed. In that e-mail, Mr. Abramoff wrote:

I think I understand what he [Michael Scanlon] did. We received $5 million into CCS from which I guess I am write, DC requires a gross receipts tax franchise tax. He divided the $5 million into three piles: $1 million for actual expenses and $2 million for each of us.

Two million dollars for each of us. That phrase alone explains why Mr. Abramoff so fervently pushed Mr. Scanlon's services on the tribes. "Two million dollars for each of us" also explains what the tribes got or did not get for their money.

Many of you are probably wondering where those many millions of dollars went after falling into the pockets of Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff. According to the records reviewed by the committee thus far, it appears Mr. Abramoff used his share to sustain his restaurant ventures, Signatures and Stacks, and to finance Eshkol,

the all-boys school he established. Since the tribes stopped paying Mr. Scanlon, however, Mr. Abramoff has had to close Stacks and Eshkol. Meanwhile, Mr. Scanlon invested heavily in real estate and securities.

At the end of the day, wherever the money went, it should be returned to the tribes where it belongs. The story does not end here, and I know that the hearing today will undoubtedly raise as many questions as it answers. To the aggrieved tribes and Native Americans generally, I say rest assured that this committee's investigation is far from over. Together, we will get to the bottom of this and hopefully in the end our efforts will help other tribes avoid their own tragic tale in this shameful chapter of American history.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator McCain.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. We prefer that we do not display a lot of emotion in this committee. It is a U.S. Senate committee. The only people that are allowed to get real angry and show emotion will be Senator McCain and me. [Laughter.]

I would like to add to your voice, though, that Mr. Scanlon has been very adept at avoiding the U.S. Marshals, but he will come up for air. The Senate committee will be here, and sooner or later he will come in under his own volition or be escorted by the U.S. Marshals.

Do other Senators have comments? Senator Conrad or Senator Dorgan? Senator Conrad, go ahead and we will do it in order of appearance.

STATEMENT OF HON. KENT CONRAD, U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

Senator CONRAD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I thank the committee for holding this hearing and conducting these investigations. I must say, this is about as bad as it gets. I believe there is criminal conduct here and it needs to be pursued not only by this committee, but by law enforcement as well.

I was struck by the article in the Washington Post on Sunday. The beginning paragraph says Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff and public relations consultant Michael Scanlon quietly worked with conservative religious activist Ralph Reed to help the State of Texas shut down an Indian tribe casino in 2002. Then the two quickly persuaded the tribe to pay $4.2 million to try to get Congress to reopen it. If this is not cynical behavior, I do not know what is.

On the one hand, it turns out Scanlon and Abramoff paid Ralph Reed $4 million to conduct a campaign to close down a casino, at the very time they are asking the casino to hire them so that it can get reopened. One week later, after Mr. Abramoff met with the Tiguas who were in danger of getting their casino shut down, a Texas consultant employed by the tribe thanked Abramoff for his visit and said he would push his proposal. Abramoff forwarded the e-mail to Scanlon with the message, "This guy needs us to save his ass."

It goes on to say, Ralph Reed, the conservative religious leader, was paid $4.2 million by Abramoff and Scanlon for his work oppos-

ing several tribal casinos. There is an e-mail traffic that is laid out in the paper in which Abramoff writes to Ralph Reed, "Great. Thanks, Ralph. We should continue to pile on until the place is shuttered," referring to the casino.

Perhaps we could get one of our guys in the legislature to introduce a bill which disqualifies from state contracts any vendor who provides goods or services to a casino in the state. This way, Cornyn can sit back and not be scared. Let one of our tigers go get him. Do we have someone like this and can we get it introduced as soon as possible?

This is the response from Ralph Reed:

We have tigers. The Texas legislature is only in session every other year. Let me check. Good idea.

Abramoff back to Reed:

Even if we never get it passed, it will scare the you-know-what out of vendors and make life tough on the tribe. We should do it in [some other place blocked out] too.

In an e-mail to Ralph Reed on February 11, Abramoff did not mention he had been in contact with the Tiguas. He wrote:

I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contributions. I would love us to get our mitts on their moolah. Oh, well, stupid folks get wiped out.

Reed's response:

Wow. These guys are really playing hardball. Do you know who their consultants are?

Abramoff responded:

Some stupid lobbyists up here who do Indian issues. We will find out and make sure all our friends crush them like bugs.

Who were their friends?

Chairman CAMPBELL. If I might interrupt the Senator just for a moment. There are six tribes we are going to be dealing with a succession of hearings. The Tiguas will be one of them.

Senator CONRAD. I appreciate that. We are supposed to be dealing with Mr. Abramoff this morning. These are questions I wanted to ask him. Unfortunately, he has not appeared.

The CHAIRMAN. He will be here.

Senator CONRAD. I would just like to close by pointing out, after Abramoff became their lobbyist, three tribes, the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Band, the Mississippi Band of Choctaws, and the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, contributed more than $2 million to the Capital Athletic Foundation. The Choctaws also gave $1 million to the National Center for Public Policy Research. Saginaw Chippewa officials have told Federal investigators they made the donations because Abramoff told them it would impress DeLay, a fellow golf buff whom Abramoff described in a 1995 letter to Arnold Palmer as a very close personal friend. It goes on to say the ties between Abramoff and DeLay go back a long way. Since 1997, Abramoff and his wife contributed $40,000 to DeLay's political action committees, and last year the Capital Athletic Foundation contributed $25,000 to the DeLay Foundation for Kids.

DeLay has also shown support for causes important to Abramoff's clients. A source close to Abramoff, who asked not to be named because of the continuing grand jury investigation, said Abramoff lobbied DeLay's office to organize a June 2003 letter co-

signed by DeLay, House Speaker Dennis Hastert, Majority Whip Roy Blount, and Deputy Whip Eric Cantor that endorsed a view of gambling law benefitting the Coushatta's desire to block gambling competition by another tribe.

The letter sent to the Interior Secretary said the House leaders opposed a plan by the Jena Band of Choctaws to open a casino at a non-reservation site, expected at the time to be outside Shreveport, Louisiana, not far from a casino owned by the Coushattas. The intent of the letter was to protect the income from the Coushatta's casino, about $300 million a year.

I will close with this. A lobbyist, V. Heather Sibbison, a lobbyist at the time for the Jena Band, said:

> I do this for a living. I have never seen a letter like that before. It was incredibly unusual for that group of people, who do not normally weigh-in on Indian issues to express such a strong opinion about a particular project not in any of their home states.

This is a pattern of abuse that is so extraordinary. Over $50 million of payments to Mr. Scanlon; back payments by him of over $20 million to Mr. Abramoff; political contributions being funneled to not only individual candidates, but political organizations through this foundation which was a front organization, or so Mr. Abramoff indicates in the Sunday paper, that they were using it as a front organization.

If there are not violations of law here, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I think all of us know that this is the most extraordinary pattern of abuse and criminal conduct that has come before this committee in the entire 18 years I have served here.

I have searched for language that would express what has been done here. These people were engaged in behavior that is scuzzy, outrageous. We have got to reach conclusion on this, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, and hold these people to account. I am very glad to hear that the chairman will insist that these people be brought before this committee and be brought before the bar of justice, because they deserve the full punishment that is provided for in the law.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator.

Senator Dorgan, did you have a comment?

STATEMENT OF HON. BYRON L. DORGAN, U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, let me be brief, because I think your statement, the statement by Senator McCain, and others have described what we have in front of us. I, too, was searching for adjectives, and you really cannot find adjectives that describe the passion I feel about what has happened here.

This is a circumstance, in my judgment, where having looked at the material that has been presented here and also much additional material that is available, but has not yet been disclosed—that is a cess pool of greed. It clearly is a disgusting pattern of certainly moral corruption and very likely criminal corruption.

I think that we have an obligation to follow this trail wherever it leads to the very end. How did this money go from the tribes to these consultants? Where did it end up? How did it end up there? What services were performed or not performed?

Let me just also say that my colleague from Arizona, with whom I serve on the Commerce Committee, has very strongly asserted here the need for Congress to be involved in this investigation, as has my colleague from Colorado. For that, I noticed yesterday my colleague from Arizona, Senator McCain, has been attacked for actively pursuing this investigation. Look, we do not have any choice. The Senator from Arizona understands, as do I and others, that there are several questions here. Was there any federal money, any Federal dollars that we send to tribes that found their way back into this stream? If so, what was it? Where did it go? How was it used?

Second, was there an abuse of charities? It appears to me there was, and we have Federal laws dealing with how that money is used. And third, we established the framework for Indian gaming through a commission, and we certainly have an obligation to understand what has happened here just from the standpoint of that area, because that is the area that I think produced a substantial amount of this money.

So let me commend Senator McCain. I think if there is a straight shooter in this Congress, if one person is described as the straight shooter, it is Senator McCain. He is an independent cuss who causes some of us to grit our teeth from time to time, but he calls things like they are. This is not about politics. It is about corruption. It is about a pattern of corruption that is disgusting.

When you see on the board that is put up the way these people described their clients, it is just pathetic. And then you see, as I think Senator McCain, Senator Campbell and my colleague Senator Conrad have described, a couple of people who pay someone else money to try to get a casino shut down so they can go approach them and see if they can bilk them for some money to open them up, not disclosing they helped try to shut them down, it is once again a pathetic, disgusting example of greed run amuck.

My hope is, Mr. Chairman, that we follow this to the very end and find out what happened, how it happened, and make sure that, as my colleague indicated, that those responsible are held responsible before the bar of justice, and also that we understand whether there are any legislative areas that we need to deal with as a result of all of this.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for calling this hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Johnson.

STATEMENT OF HON. TIM JOHNSON, U.S. SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be very brief.

I appreciate your decision to hold this hearing. This hearing will reveal a story about a highly sophisticated and extraordinarily cynical scam driven by a few individuals who appear to have an insatiable desire to line their own pockets and utter contempt for their clients. Some tribes were taken in by a few individuals because, in part, credible law firms were themselves taken in by this scam.

Unfortunately, con artists find ways of taking advantage of major corporations and major players every day. One should be able to assume that if he or she engages a top law firm in the Nation, that

he or she will receive professional service characterized by integrity. I know the Committee is continuing its investigation of this matter, and hopefully this hearing will bring to light a deeper understanding of the outrageous facts and the laws that may have been violated, the pattern of corruption that clearly is involved.

I am pleased to see that Chairman Milanovich and Sub-Chief Bernie Sprague are here today. Hopefully their testimony will expedite this investigation of the Committee and lead to the parties involved being held accountable and justice being done.

Mr. Chairman, I applaud and associate myself with the statements of my colleague from Arizona and the other comments and the statements of the members of this committee this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Any further comments? Senator Conrad?

Senator CONRAD. Mr. Chairman, might I just say that I understand a member of this committee has been attacked publicly for his role in this investigation. Senator McCain has been attacked and that, too, is just outrageous and beyond the pale. Senator McCain has done I think a public service by coming forward. I think you as well, Mr. Chairman, have done a public service by authorizing this investigation to go forward. All of us of both parties need to stand and defend those who are attacked by people who have engaged in I believe criminal conduct.

For them to attack a member of this committee is simply outrageous. If they think for 1 moment that they are going to intimidate Senator McCain, they have another think coming. Some of the people who are masters in intimidation tried to intimidate him. They spent 5 years trying. It did not work then. If they think anything they can do will equal what has been done to him already, they have another think coming. He is going to find a lot of friends standing with him, as these scumbags attack him.

Senator MCCAIN. I thank my friend from North Dakota. I appreciate it. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. One time in a disagreement, I described Senator McCain as like hugging a cactus, but I did not really mean that. [Laughter.]

I am going to pursue this with some further hearings. As my friends know, I will be leaving, but it is highly likely Senator McCain will be the new incoming chairman, as he was before of this committee, and if there is anybody within hearing distance or sight of this hearing today that thinks this is going to go away, you are in for a surprise. It is going to be for a long time.

With that, we will start with our first panel. That would be Jack Abramoff. If he will come and be seated. As we mentioned before, Michael Scanlon is still hiding out somewhere. We have not been able to serve him.

Now, I would also remind our witnesses, for Mr. Abramoff and for those people following that are going to testify, that if you have your counsel with you, they are allowed to respond to you, allowed to talk to you, but they will not speak to the committee unless they are responding to a particular question by one of the Senators.

Mr. Abramoff, I am sure you are aware of this, but by appearing before this committee, you are under oath. I have been advised to swear you in.

[Witness sworn.]

The CHAIRMAN. We will now proceed, if you have an opening statement.

STATEMENT OF JACK ABRAMOFF, WASHINGTON, DC, ACCOMPANIED BY ABBE LOWELL, ATTORNEY AT LAW

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Mr. Chairman, I would ask if you would entertain a procedural question by my counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. LOWELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I was curious, given the statements by the various members, many of whom I know and many of whom know my deep respect for the processes of this legislative body, whether the committee has considered in light of the statements about wrongdoing, criminal conduct, it is Senate Rule Number 26-5(b)(3). That is the rule which talks about when hearings are appropriately held in an open session and in a closed session, and specifically the Senate's own rules asks the chairman and members to consider when they are about to conduct hearings in which the activities will:

> Tend to charge an individual with crime or misconduct, to disgrace or injure the professional standing of an individual, or otherwise to expose an individual to public contempt or obloquy, will be the kinds of hearings which ought not to be done in open session.

I was curious whether or not the committee had considered its rule and what its findings had been on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee did hear your objections. They were duly noted. In a letter that I sent to you on September 20. I overruled those objections and do so now.

Do you have an opening statement, Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Mr. Chairman, I would request and hope that the committee will include in the record the correspondence that I have sent through my counsel, because it does explain my situation better than I am able to do so myself this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, all that correspondence will be included in the record.

[Referenced documents appear in appendix.]

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Otherwise, I am prepared to answer your questions, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me get right to it. I know that other members have a lot of questions. So what we are going to do is I am going to time everyone and give everyone 6 minutes, and we will go back two or three times, if that is acceptable to Senator Inouye.

Let me just get right to it, Mr. Abramoff.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Chairman, I think this is simply a clerical matter, but I ask unanimous consent that your responses to Mr. Lowell and Mr. Abramoff be included in the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, they will be included in the record.

[Referenced documents appear in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. At one time or another, according to your e-mails, you and Mr. Scanlon referred to tribes as morons, stupid idiots, monkeys, f-ing troglodytes, which you defined as a lower form of existence and losers.

I want to associate my comments with Senator Inouye. We just opened the National Museum of the American Indian. It was to celebrate the people who have been here for thousands of years. I have to tell you that I was very personally offended by those comments. I think of all the time they have suffered in America in the last 400 years, they have a right to preserve their dignity.

My question concerning your definition of those clients is this: Why would you want to work for people that you have that much contempt for?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Mr. Chairman, I respect the committee's process. That is why I am here today. But in light of the correspondence that occurred between the committee and my counsel, including the committee's decision not to make any provisions for my testimony through a grant of legislative immunity, I have no choice but to assert my various constitutional privileges against having to testify. I hope that sometime soon I will be able to do so in order to present all the facts.

The CHAIRMAN. We look forward to that.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Chairman, could I ask? I believe that it is required that Mr. Abramoff specifically assert his fifth amendment rights. I would rely on counsel, but from previous hearings, I think that that is a requirement that he specifically state his constitutional right under the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to do that, Mr. Abramoff? Exert your fifth amendment rights if you are going to decline to answer the questions of the committee?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Yes, sir; the privileges that protect my testimony include the first amendment's right to petition Congress and free association; the fifth amendment's due process right to have adequate notice and opportunity to be heard; the separation of powers doctrine; and the fifth amendment's right for a person not to become a witness against himself.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you.

I am going to continue asking some questions, and you can just keep dodging if you want to.

Do you refer to all of your clients with the same kind of terminology you used for Indians, that is, idiots, monkeys, morons, and so on?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. I respectfully invoke the same privileges, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Two of the tribal leaders that were paying you millions of dollars were Chief Phillip Martin of the Mississippi Band of Choctaws and Chairman Richard Milanovich of the Agua Caliente Tribe, who I have known for years, both of them. This full committee has known them for years. They are highly respected by the committee, highly respected in the Indian community, which is not a very big community. Literally every Indian leader in the Nation knows each other on a first-name basis. Why would you refer to them in such despicable terms?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. I respectfully invoke the same privileges, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay, thank you.

I want to ask about some of your e-mails provided to the committee by our investigators, which were shown on the screen and on the tripods, too. On July 9, 2002, you sent an e-mail to Mr. Scanlon

which referred to some of your clients, let me read it to you. I will eliminate the profanities to avoid those, but you can fill in the blanks: "Are you f-ing kidding me? I hate those f-ing boy scouts. What a bunch of a-holes." We can fill in all the blanks. To which Indians were you referring?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. I respectfully invoke the same privileges, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. These do not sound like the comments of an educated man. It sounded like the comments of somebody out of 150 years ago and some form of bigotry. Knowing your background, I happen to have a very, very strong concern for Jewish people in America, because in many cases they suffered in history the same things that Indians did. I would have thought that you would have had much more sensitivity to Indian people.

On the same day, July 9, you sent another e-mail to Mr. Scanlon. It reads:

> Did we get a CCS check from the Kay Gold today? It sounds good to me. As for the $64,000, I want to use it to buy a car, I decided. Can we do it so neither one of us pays taxes on it?

Now, I think the Internal Revenue Service [IRS], as well as the members of this committee, might be interested in knowing your response to that. The Kay Gold Company, as I understand from our staff investigators, has no employees, no clients, and does not do very much business. It is a consulting company that operates out of your home. Would you speak to that?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Sir, I guess I can be asked hundreds or thousands of questions today, but for each one, I must respectfully invoke the privileges that I have stated before.

The CHAIRMAN. I will give you that opportunity.

On an e-mail to Mr. Scanlon dated December 7, 2002, let me read that to refresh your memory. It sounds, by the way, that it seems to me that you really mind the tribes. Let me read that one:

> Let's do it. We really need more money, but you and I must meet to work out a strategy to get things moving. We are missing the boat. There are a ton of potential opportunities out there. There are 27 tribes, which make over $100 million a year, according to the New York Times piece on November 24. Can you have your guys do the research and find out which tribes these may be? We need to get moving on them. Can you come to town this weekend?

Now, were you interested at all in helping poor tribes, or just the rich tribes?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. I respectfully invoke the privileges stated, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. On January 7, concerning the Agua Caliente, your e-mail said:

> We should orchestrate this to happen and then fly out there to war-game with them and rake in the big money. I will even give you a shot to recoup your losses on the golf course if that happens.

Mr. Abramoff, it is obvious that you are not going to answer questions for the committee. I am going to give other members an opportunity to ask some too, however. This is not a court of law. It is a Senate hearing. I should think that you would be concerned about some of the people that you deal with, and not just reduce everything down to a dollar figure. But this certainly is the court of public opinion. I have a hunch that when we are all done, if you intend to get any further Indian contracts, you might think about looking for another line of work.

I yield to Senator Inouye.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you very much.

After listening to all of the statements and after having read articles, am I to assume that you did make a few dollars?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I respectfully invoke the privileges stated.

Senator INOUYE. As a good citizen of the United States, did you file an income tax return?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I must respectfully assert the privileges stated.

Senator INOUYE. And in your income tax return, how did you describe this income?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I must invoke the privileges previously stated.

Senator INOUYE. Mr. Chairman, obviously I will not get any response, so I yield the floor.

The CHAIRMAN. Before I turn to Senator McCain, though, you dealt with a number of Indian tribes, Mr. Abramoff. Indian people traditionally, they even with non-Indians often asked him if they would invite them to smoke a pipe. It sounds maybe strange to people that do not know the culture, but Indian people believe that when you smoke the pipe, your voice is carried to the Creator. Hence, you have to tell the truth and you have to be honest because he is going to know what you said, because it is on the smoke that goes up to him.

When you had any dealings with Indian tribes, did you ever participate in that ceremony with them, to speak the truth?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I respectfully invoke the privileges already stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Conrad.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Abramoff, I do not think you are doing yourself any favor here by invoking repeatedly your fifth amendment rights. It is your constitutional right, but many of these questions have nothing to do with your possible criminal conduct. They are questions that are outlined in e-mails that you wrote in which you disparage the very people that you are working for and engaged in what appears to be just an out-and-out scam. I do not know what else anybody could say. I do not know what in your conscience you must have been thinking.

Did you in fact send an e-mail to Mr. Ralph Reed on January 7, 2002 in which you said:

> Great. Thanks, Ralph. We should continue to pile on until the place is shuttered.

Referring to an Indian casino.

> Perhaps we could get one of our guys in the legislature to introduce a bill which disqualifies from State contracts any vendor who provides goods or services to a casino in the State.

Did you send such an e-mail?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I respectfully invoke the privileges previously stated.

Senator CONRAD. Did you receive an e-mail back from Mr. Reed in which he said,

We have tigers. Texas legislature only in session every other year. Let me check. Good idea.

Did you receive such an e-mail from Mr. Reed?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, respectfully I invoke the privileges previously stated.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Chairman, could I mention something to my colleague?

The CHAIRMAN. If the Senator from North Dakota would yield?

Senator CONRAD. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. We have other witnesses. This witness is not going to respond.

Senator CONRAD. I have some more questions that I would like to put to the witness to give him an opportunity to break from this invocation of the fifth amendment to address what are e-mails that have been attributed to him.

I would like to ask, did you, Mr. Abramoff, you and your partner, your colleague Mr. Scanlon, give $4 million to Ralph Reed?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I respectfully invoke the privileges previously stated.

Senator CONRAD. Did you send an e-mail to Mr. Reed on February 11, 2002 in which you did not indicate you had been in contact with the Tiguas, but you said, and I quote:

I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contributions. I would love us to get our mitts on that moolah. Oh, well, stupid folks get wiped out.

Did you send that e-mail to Mr. Reed?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I respectfully invoke the privileges previously stated.

Senator CONRAD. And when the Tiguas fought back by running ads in the Washington Post, did you receive an e-mail from Mr. Reed that said:

Wow, these guys are really playing hardball. Do you know who their consultants are?"

Did you receive such an e-mail?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I invoke the privileges previously stated.

Senator CONRAD. And when you received that e-mail, did you respond by saying:

Some stupid lobbyists up here who do Indian issues. We will find out and make sure all of our friends crush them like bugs.

Did you send that e-mail, Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. Senator, I respectfully invoke the privileges previously stated.

Senator CONRAD. And who are the friends that you are referring to in that e-mail, Mr. Abramoff? Who are the friends that you will use to crush your adversaries like bugs?

Mr. ABRAMOFF. May my counsel ask a procedural question at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. If the Senator from North Dakota specifically asks the counsel.

Senator CONRAD. I am not asking.

Senator MCCAIN. I would ask my friend from North Dakota again, this is not appropriate because any citizen has the right to invoke their protections and their rights. If we are not careful, we are going to be badgering this witness. We have further hearings and investigations and further panels of witnesses to appear before us. So I ask my colleague from North Dakota, after having been chairman of this committee and served on it for many years, that we move on.

Senator CONRAD. I am prepared to move on. I wanted to ask these questions of Mr. Abramoff. These are the questions I have prepared to ask him. I think it is legitimate to ask Mr. Abramoff these questions. These are e-mails that he is alleged to have written. I think this committee is as outraged as I am by these e-mails. I think Mr. Abramoff should have to confront in public session the e-mails that he himself authored, according to the record of this committee.

I have gone through now those that I had prepared for question, so I am prepared to yield at this point. But I would say to my colleagues, and I would say to you, Mr. Abramoff, shame on you. Shame on you.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank the Senator.

Obviously, we were going to do several rounds, but there will be no answers from this witness apparently, so we will go on to our second panel.

If Richard Milanovich, the chairman of the Agua Calientes and Bernie Sprague would come forward.

Mr. LOWELL. Mr. Chairman, we are excused?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; you are excused. Excused for this hearing, but will probably be called back. I might tell you that, counsel.

Senator INOUYE. Mr. Chairman, for the record, who was the attorney?

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Abbe Lowell.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Abbe Lowell was the attorney.

Chairman Milanovich, Sub-Chief Sprague, would you please stand and raise your right hand and state after me?

[Witnesses sworn.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you for appearing. We will start in that order, with Chairman Milanovich first.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD MILANOVICH, CHAIRMAN, AGUA CALIENTE BAND OF CAHUILLA INDIANS, ACCOMPANIED BY STEVEN ROSS, ATTORNEY AT LAW

Mr. MILANOVICH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

May I digress from my prepared statement, sir, members of the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. That will be fine. Your complete written testimony will be included in the record if you would like to diverge from that.

Mr. MILANOVICH. I would like to have the opportunity to read it, but first I want to say, over the last several months, sir, I have been made aware of the e-mails. When I read them, I was upset. Today, after such a glorious week when we opened the National Museum of the American Indian, knowing full well that the committee members sitting up here today made such a great effort to

make certain that it was done, and as Senator Inouye states, it is a sad day today that we begin the week, this mid-week, to read what a travesty has been done to tribes.

Thank you, sir.

Good morning, Chairman Campbell, Chairman McCain, Vice Chairman Inouye and members of the committee. I am Richard Milanovich, chairman of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. I appreciate the opportunity to testify before you today. I would like to commend the members of this committee and your staff for bringing to light the malicious actions of two unscrupulous individuals and those who acted to enable their enterprise.

While I had opposed the efforts of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to obtain contracts with our tribe, distrusting their claims, methods and quite frankly most of their costs, it was not until I saw the secret e-mails and other information obtained by the efforts of this Committee that I began to truly comprehend the full nature of their conniving actions.

This morning, I would like to address four areas. First, I would like to provide you with a little background on our tribe. Second, I will share with you my thoughts at the time Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon contrived to obtain contracts with our tribe. Third, I will highlight what we have learned over the past 7 months concerning their actions. Finally, I will describe some of the things our tribe is doing in light of what we have learned.

First, I have served on the tribal council since 1977. My service began as a member from 1977 to 1981, as Secretary from 1981 to 1984, when I was elected as chairman, a position I have been honored to hold for the past 20 years. From time immemorial, our people resided in the Palm Springs area. Our people developed complex communities in the Palm, Murray, Andreas, Tahquitz, Chino Canyons and on the desert floor. With abundant water supply, plant and animal life, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians thrived. In 1876, the U.S. Federal Government deeded in trust to the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 32,000 acres of our ancestral land as the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation.

We are industrious and creative, with a reputation for independence, integrity and justice. We are proud of our rich history and our culture. The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians' constitution and bylaws was adopted in 1955. The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians has a government-to-government relationship with the U.S. Government as a federally recognized tribe and sovereign tribal entity. We have governmental authority over our reservation lands and people.

The tribe's constitution and bylaws outlines a two-tiered democratic tribal government structure, the tribal membership and the tribal council. The tribal council consists of five council members, chairman, vice chairman, secretary and two members. The chairman, vice chairman and secretary serve 2 years and members serve 1-year terms. Under our constitution, action is taken by a majority vote of the tribal council.

I would to preface my remarks on the topic of the tribe's business relationship with Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon with a general statement that we are still learning, together with the committee, of the efforts of these individuals to recruit individual tribal mem-

bers to collaborate in their deceitful undertakings. Concurrent with the committee's investigations, we of course have begun our own internal investigations, but at the time the tribe entered into business arrangements with these individuals and their firms, we had no idea of the steps they had already taken in order to manipulate our democratic decisionmaking process.

While I am proud that these selfish efforts were only partially successful, clearly these ill-motivated actions were a critical element of what appears to be a scheme to obtain large and unjustified payments from the tribe. As a result of the majority vote of the council, and in my capacity as chairman, I signed service contracts with Greenberg Traurig and Scanlon Gould Public Affairs in July 2002. Jack Abramoff and Greenberg Traurig were hired to assist the tribe with all political and lobbying activities relating to a wide range of public policy issues. Mike Scanlon and Scanlon Gould were hired to help the tribe with respect to pending gaming compact issues in California.

The first time that I met Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon was in the course of their presentations seeking contracts to represent the tribe. Mr. Abramoff identified himself as a representative of one of the top law and lobbying firms in the United States. The fact that these men and their services were associated with such a prestigious firm was something upon which some of our counsel relied. In large measure, Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's presentations rest on their self-described success on behalf of other tribes.

Personally, I was skeptical with regard to their presentation and was more than skeptical of the fees that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were seeking for their firms. I voiced my objections and sought to defeat the effort to obtain contracts. But Mr. Chairman, as I am sure you will understand and others on the Committee will understand, sometimes being Chairman is not enough if others have managed to collect the votes.

When the contracts and matters relating to the contract came to a vote, the vice chairman and I found ourselves outvoted. Of course, at that point in time, I had no idea that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had already deceptively engaged in a full-scale effort that they themselves valued at tens of thousands of dollars to defeat certain tribal council members, myself included, in order to elect a slate more friendly to their sales pitch.

I was surprised and disappointed at some others on our council who took a different view. But at this point, I was unaware of the length that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had gone into enlisting their support of certain individuals in our tribe. Of course, other members of our council had also been deceived. At the time, I did, however, take some solace in paying such a large retainer for Mr. Abramoff's services in that Greenberg Traurig is a law firm with a responsibility to honorably treat its clients.

As Chairman, I thought it was my duty to try and make the best of the situation. Looking back from where we sit today with the knowledge of press reports and preliminary findings of this committee, it appears that some people at Greenberg Traurig were deceived, just as we were, regarding much of Mr. Abramoff's activities.

It is my sense that we have only seen the tip of the iceberg, but already it appears that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, working in conjunction with those who willingly enlisted to collaborate with them, engaged in numerous instances of improper conduct.

Their own words demonstrate that they improperly sought to manipulate for private gain the electoral processes of our tribe. This occurred both before and after they were hired. It also appears they did not view the tribe or even the tribal council as their clients. Instead, they worked on behalf of themselves and a small faction of tribal members they were seeking to elevate to a position of total control by manipulating tribal elections. In the course of their work for the tribe, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon attempted to hide information from the full council, while working covertly with this collaborating faction.

Their own secret communications indicate a willingness to sacrifice the interests of the tribe in exchange for the opportunity to make more money for themselves, of course. It appears that this approach seeking an outcome that would actually hurt their clients so that they could make more money was not unique in our case. While there are a number of specifics that your investigation is revealing, perhaps the saddest is the utterly callous fashion in which the mocked the interests of their clients they were actually hired to represent, and displayed a willingness to engage in virtually any conduct as long as they could make money.

In April of this year, the tribal council unanimously voted to suspend its relationship with both Greenberg Traurig and Scanlon Gould. Based on information we already learned, we have taken further action concerning the attempts to manipulate our tribal elections. We have suspended certain individuals from appointed roles in our government. We have retained the services of Darryl Wold, a former chairman of the Federal Elections Commission, to conduct an internal tribal inquiry into whether there were any violations of tribal law.

As chairman, I am working with our tribal council to reform our laws regarding contracting, election and other procedural safeguards. Additionally, we have asked our legal counsel to aggressively pursue all avenues of obtaining reimbursement and compensation for injuries caused to our tribe. We will, of course, continue to work with the committee and other authorities.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to close by reiterating my gratitude to you, Chairman McCain, Vice Chairman Inouye and the committee on your investigation. I will be happy at the appropriate time to answer any questions that you may have.

Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Milanovich appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Sprague.

STATEMENT OF BERNIE SPRAGUE, SUB-CHIEF, SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. SPRAGUE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and good morning to the chairman and other members of the committee. I certainly would like to thank you folks for inviting me out here today and conducting this investigation.

This all started back in 2001 for me. I have been battling with these guys ever since, and I am glad to see today that it is going to come to a head. Hopefully, after today we can get down to the bottom of what really happened in the last 2 or 3 years, not only with my tribe, but with other tribes across the country. I would like to read my statement for you this morning.

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. My name is Bernie Sprague. I am the Sub-Chief of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe. We have approximately 3,000 members located throughout Michigan and the United States.

I have served my tribe for over 19 years and I have served as an elected official for almost 7 years. These last 2 years have been a difficult and trying period for the tribe and myself. On behalf of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, I want to thank the committee for allowing me to testify and for conducting this important investigation.

Our tribe has a long and painful history since we first came in contact with settlers hundreds of years ago. Our treaties with the U.S. Government ceded millions of acres of our ancestral land to the Federal Government. Like many tribal nations across this country, our people have endured generations of broken treaties and empty promises. We have struggled for centuries against non-Indians who have used every tactic to steal our land and our precious resources that allowed our tribe to survive.

Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, we fight a similar battle today. They may wear fancy suits and expensive shoes, but their greed, scare tactics, and unscrupulous behavior is the same our people have faced for generations. And their goal to take from Indian people what is not rightfully theirs is once again being painfully repeated.

There is not a word in my native language that is strong enough to describe what these people have done to my tribe. These unsavory characters who lie, deceive, and steal from Indian tribes need to be exposed for who and what they are.

In the fall of 2001, a small group of Washington, DC lobbyists quietly worked to elect 8 tribal members to the 12-member council. As this committee knows, it is unheard of to have non-Indians involved in tribal elections. We do not know where they got the money to run this campaign, but we do know these lobbyists smeared the reputations of other candidates running for tribal council through a series of slick brochures sent to tribal members. This type of campaign has never happened before on our reservation. We now know these lobbyists have engaged in the same practices with other tribes across Indian country.

We were also shocked to learn that members of the former council and the former legislative affairs director who is here today, who is not a tribal member, were deeply involved in this scheme. We also now know that these lobbyists struck a deal with the candidates they supported. The deal was this: If you get elected to a tribal council, the lobbyists would receive multi-million dollar contracts with the tribe.

Two days after the new council took office in December 2001, a divided tribal council approved the contracts to hire these firms against the strident recommendation of our legal counsel. In doing

so, they fulfilled their part of the deal. The Washington, DC lobbyists were hired and the looting of the tribal treasury soon followed.

In 2002, I was elected to tribal council in a special election. I began to ask questions about the outrageous fees our tribe was paying these lobbyists. I learned that there were no reports or documentation for any work they had supposedly performed.

One of the most outrageous examples of unaccounted-for services involved the purchase of a voter database from Mr. Scanlon. Our tribe paid nearly $4.5 million for a database of voters in Michigan. That is right: $4.5 million for a database that we never saw. The current tribal council researched this issue and found that you could purchase a database of every voter in Michigan for less than $75,000. To this day, we do not know where this money went and this type of spending was repeated over and over and over again, costing our tribe over $14 million.

There were other tribal council members who raised similar objections to this outrageous spending. Because we asked these questions and we told the tribal membership what was happening, the council majority removed all of us from the tribal council. We continued to object to their looting of the tribal treasury. In the election of 2003, all but two of the former tribal council members lost their seats.

Once a new council was elected in November 2003, we called in Mr. Abramoff to discuss his contract. During this meeting, Mr. Abramoff was asked if he had a financial or business relationship with Mr. Scanlon. He looked us in the eye and told our counsel he had no relationship with Mr. Scanlon at all. But now we know that this was not true.

Mr. Chairman, I fully share your view that scheming to defraud tribes must stop here and now, and that those responsible should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. You will be pleased to know that the current tribal council has taken steps to ensure this never happens again to our tribe.

We are committed to taking steps within our tribal government to bring openness to our contracting process. We have drafted a tribal ordinance that creates a hiring process that all public relations firms must follow. It ensures no secret deals or contracts for anyone. It mandates all contracts must be approved at open tribal council sessions.

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, I am not here just to tell you what has happened to our tribe. We have worked to put together the pieces of this bizarre puzzle, but because we have limited access to various records, we have not had a full accounting of where our money went. To this day, we do not have a full account of what these lobbyists were doing. I encourage you to continue this investigation as far as it needs to go.

Mr. Chairman, I want you to know that our tribe is prepared to do whatever it takes to get back the money that was wrongfully taken from us. We want to work with the committee to get to the bottom of what these people did, and return to our people money that can be used for educating our children and health care for our elderly. From the beginning of this investigation, our tribe has fully cooperated with the committee and you can be assured that we will continue to do so.

Again, I want to thank the committee for holding these hearings. I especially want to thank Senator McCain who has done so much to improve the quality of life for Indian people and has been a leader in pressing for these hearings.

I am available for any questions you may have.

Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Sprague appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sprague.

Chairman Milanovich, let me ask a few questions, and we will do this in rounds, too. I will try to keep mine down to 5 or 6 minutes.

It is good to see you here today. Thank you also for being at the opening of the National Museum of the American Indian.

Mr. MILANOVICH. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It seems to me you have been pretty much victimized beyond comprehension. Who brought Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to the attention of the tribal council in the first place?

Mr. MILANOVICH. May I make a statement first, sir? I do not think it is necessary that the tribe or the tribes have been victimized. I do not like that term. We were not victimized. We were, I am not sure what the proper term is, but we entered into a business arrangement not fully understanding, or those that approved it, did not fully understand what was taking place. So we were not victimized, sir.

As far as who first introduced us to Mr. Abramoff and Scanlon Gould, that would have been our tribal secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I understand you to say you are contemplating some legal action to try to recover some of the money that you paid them?

Mr. MILANOVICH. There is a consideration on our part that there should be some sort of remuneration from those individuals involved, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they disclose at any time their partnership or deny it if they were asked?

Mr. MILANOVICH. They never disclosed.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you first hired Mr. Scanlon, did he make any representations about how much work product he was going to produce for the tribe?

Mr. MILANOVICH. He was quite, how do I put it properly, grandiose in his scheme as to how he was to put together a grassroots effort concerning people in California, vendors in California and a nationwide grassroots effort as well, to convince the Governor, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The exhibits we showed, I think of exhibit 15 and 16 over there. You might put them up again, staff. Were you aware of those at all before this hearing? They are appearing on the screen. Were you aware of those at all before this hearing?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever aware that these two gentlemen were working for particular tribal candidates?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir; we did not learn this until within the last several months and several weeks that we read copies of the e-mail.

The CHAIRMAN. Sub-Chief Sprague, Mr. Petras is going to be up next, but I understood you to say he is not a member of the tribe?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. How much discretion was he granted to make deals for the tribe? Was it kind of carte blanche or did you oversee each one of his decisions?

Mr. SPRAGUE. During the term under the former tribal chairman, Chairman Kahgebab, Mr. Petras had a lot of authority. He had a lot of lead-way. He was more privy to information than individual council members were.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Petras the person that introduced the so-called slate of eight to Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; I believe he was. Back in the fall of 2001 when our term was winding down, and their campaign had started, myself along with other members in our community knew that someone was running their campaign. It was not them. It was not the individual council members.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Abramoff ever reveal his relationship to Mr. Scanlon to you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; he did not.

The CHAIRMAN. I will come back to some more questions, but I would yield to Vice Chairman Senator Inouye, if you have some questions.

Senator INOUYE. Yes.

Chairman Milanovich, I presume there is a contract involved.

Mr. MILANOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Does the committee have a copy of that contract?

Mr. MILANOVICH. I believe they do. Yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. In the negotiations, who was your counsel? Or did you have a counsel?

Mr. MILANOVICH. We had a counsel, sir, but it hurts me to say that there was such a movement on the council membership that there was no full willingness to accept the review of our counsel on the contract as it stood. It was more or less just ramrodded through.

Senator INOUYE. Are you telling the committee that in negotiating a multi-million dollar contract, you did not have an attorney?

Mr. MILANOVICH. We had an attorney, yes, sir, but the advice that was given was somewhat limited in that some members of the council felt that it was sufficient to move forward with a draft of the contract as proposed.

Senator INOUYE. Who proposed the draft of the contract?

Mr. MILANOVICH. It was presented by Mr. Abramoff initially, and then it was approved, as was stated, by three members of the tribal council.

Senator INOUYE. And the tribal council members, without conferring with your lawyers, said okay?

Mr. MILANOVICH. There was brief interchange between what the contents of the document, the contract was, and tried more clarifying language what it really meant, but that was not sufficient to keep the majority of the council not approving it.

Senator INOUYE. You just told us that in the last few months and the last few days, you learned that some of the members of your

council had received assistance from these two men. Have you discussed this with these council members?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Have they made any public statements?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir.

Senator INOUYE. They have not apologized or anything like that?

Mr. MILANOVICH. I have not seen them.

Senator INOUYE. Are they still on the council?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir; one was serving as a proxy member of the council. The council took immediate action to suspend that person, and then she later resigned.

Senator INOUYE. So all of those who received assistance are no longer on the council?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Not that we are aware of.

Senator INOUYE. In these negotiations, did the two men from Washington suggest that they would provide you with monetary assistance?

Mr. MILANOVICH. At Christmastime of I believe it was 2003, they sent me an expensive video camera, which I sent back. But other than that, they knew how I felt about them. Their willingness to maintain a secret cabal with certain tribal members was sufficient for them to know that they were maintaining the relationship irrespective of what I was attempting to question or how I thought.

Senator INOUYE. Does your internal investigation indicate what sort of payments the other council members received?

Mr. MILANOVICH. The investigation is ongoing as we speak sir, so there has been no final determination.

Senator INOUYE. Chairman Sprague, did you have counsel, a lawyer, in your negotiations for this contract?

Mr. SPRAGUE. The first contract with Greenberg Traurig and Jack Abramoff was reviewed by our legal counsel and he advised the council not to sign the contract. The tribal council did not take his advice and they approved the contract anyway.

Senator INOUYE. How did the council, your tribal council sign it? Was it signed against the advice of legal counsel?

Mr. SPRAGUE. If the legal counsel gives you a recommendation not do to something, the council has that right to accept that recommendation or discard it. In this case, they did not accept any of the legal counsel's recommendation about the contract.

Senator INOUYE. And this tribal council was the one that was elected by these two men?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; it was. Yes, they had the majority vote. Once you have 8 out of 12, even if you do have the chairman elected, you still have 7 votes. You still have the majority vote.

Senator INOUYE. Are these council members still members of your council?

Mr. SPRAGUE. There is just one that is on the council with us now. We have two other council members presently that have been trying to defeat our efforts here.

Senator INOUYE. Have they had any discussions with you as to what they did? About their relationship with the two men?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; they have not.

Senator INOUYE. Have you conducted any investigation and have you found any evidence of an unseemly relationship?

Mr. SPRAGUE. We have not. We started an investigation, but it has not gotten serious. We have not gotten in depth with the investigation. Since we have been here and we have seen these e-mails and we have seen exactly what has been going on, is what we had suspected all along. Now, I think the council is going to be more willing to take a more serious approach on these investigations, because there is obviously wrongdoing.

Senator INOUYE. So as far as you are concerned at this moment, what you know is what you have seen in the papers and what you have seen on the screen here?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; we had suspected that they were helping them in the 2001 election. We suspected they helped them in their effort to recall myself and three other members of our executive board, here just in 2003. The information that we have seen in the past 2 days verifies those suspicions.

Senator INOUYE. Have the two men from Washington given you gifts?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; I could not even get a phone number of either one of them for almost 1 year after I got on council in a special election in 2002.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator McCain, did you have questions?

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I want to thank both Sub-Chief Sprague and Chairman Milanovich for their courage. I know that they have been under very intense pressures of varying kinds throughout this saga and I want to thank you for standing up for the people that you represent. I am very grateful for both of you.

A question for both of you. You both have said that there had been efforts by these individuals to influence the outcome of tribal elections. In that information, do you know whether money was spent or not on behalf of these candidates?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Senator McCain, I am aware that according to the e-mails and copies that we have received from the committee, they spent upwards of $25,000 to $30,000 in 2002.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Senator McCain, the e-mails that I have seen concerning our tribe, Mr. Scanlon indicates that over a 4-month period, he spent over $100,000 on our tribe.

Senator MCCAIN. In order to influence the outcome of the election?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. The reason why I bring that up, Mr. Chairman, I believe that it is illegal to interfere with tribal elections. My next question is, according to tribal law, is that allowed?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Sir, we have ordinances prohibiting, well, conflict of interest and a code of ethics which more or less outline any, so in that case, yes, it would not be allowed, sir. It would be against tribal law, because it was not reported. Had they reported it, perhaps there would have been a difference, but they did not even report that they had used the services of Scanlon Gould.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Our laws are very relaxed. When it comes time for elections, our people through the years have been elected because of who they are in the community and the community knows who

they are and how they feel on issues. They know if they are an honorable person or not. At this time, there is nothing specific in our laws.

Senator MCCAIN. I think there are Federal laws, but I will check on it. I am pretty sure there are.

Do you know of any moneys that were solicited by Mr. Scanlon or Mr. Abramoff for other political purposes, such as for political campaigns or also additional donations to other outside organizations, but particularly to other political campaigns?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Sir, in our process, the budget process, we have a fiscal year beginning October 1. We ask our lobbyists to submit a proposed list of contributions that would be made in the future so they did make recommendations to particular legislators, Senators, Representatives, as well as PACs and other charitable organizations. Yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. And do you know roughly how much money that was?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Somewhere, I do not really remember right now.

Senator MCCAIN. Like hundreds of thousands?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. Would you submit that list for the record for us please?

Mr. MILANOVICH. I believe it has been submitted, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. It has been?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. And that is hundreds of thousands of dollars in political contributions recommended by Mr. Scanlon and/or Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Correct.

Senator MCCAIN. How about you, Sub-Chief Sprague?

Mr. SPRAGUE. The Saginaw Chippewas were taken by Mr. Petras and Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff over a 2-year period of approximately $1 million in contributions.

Senator MCCAIN. In campaign contributions?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Campaign contributions to people we never heard of, people we knew nothing about, organizations, different things of this nature. And we will get that list to the committee of all those individuals that were donated to.

Senator MCCAIN. Were you aware of some moneys being used to rent a skybox at FedEx Field here?

Mr. SPRAGUE. We had heard that, but we could not verify it, but I think the e-mails have done that.

Senator MCCAIN. Had you heard that, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. MILANOVICH. We heard it and we actually participated, again with the majority vote of the council to participate to the tune of $300,000.

Senator MCCAIN. There are always certain ironies, Mr. Chairman. I guess that your tribes being done to purchase a skybox to watch a Redskins game has a certain irony associated with it.

Mr. MILANOVICH. Pardon me, Senator. The skybox, there were multiple boxes. It was not just that one venue. There were several venues that they felt it was necessary I guess ask for the high-dollar value.

Senator MCCAIN. In order to make your tribe's case to various important people in Washington?

Mr. MILANOVICH. That was how it was presented to us, yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. And that was $300,000?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Correct.

Senator MCCAIN. Did you ever see a game?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Chairman, I have a lot of questions, but go ahead.

Mr. MILANOVICH. Senator McCain, I want to say I did not want to go see a game with them.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, sir. I can understand that.

Mr. MILANOVICH. Thank you.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not blame you.

Senator Conrad.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Milanovich, how much money did your tribe pay over to Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. MILANOVICH. The contract that we had with Greenberg Traurig's Jack Abramoff was $150,000 a month retainer plus expenses over a period of 18 or 19 months until the investigation came to light through the Washington Post and we suspended our relationship. With Scanlon Gould, it was a total as I recall of approximately $7.3 million in less than 1 year.

Senator CONRAD. So the total between those two would be over $10 million?

Mr. MILANOVICH. I am certain of that, sir. Yes, sir.

Senator CONRAD. Chief Sprague, you testified previously that your tribe paid over something in the neighborhood of $14 million?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Our tribe paid $10 million to Scanlon, a little over $10 million, and just about $4 million to Jack Abramoff.

Senator CONRAD. So $14 million between the two, over $14 million.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. Mr. Sprague, who did Mr. Abramoff say to you that he and Mr. Scanlon had special influence with, if anyone, here in Washington?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I never met Mr. Abramoff myself. His messages were being delivered to our tribal council by our legislative director, Chris Petras. The few meetings that I was in that Mr. Petras would come in a boast about Mr. Abramoff and his contacts, the Senator's name was, oh yes, Representative Thomas DeLay. He was very powerful, and with Jack having access to this guy, he was going to be able to do a lot of things for our tribe.

Senator CONRAD. So Mr. Abramoff was making representations to the tribe that he had special influence with Representative Tom DeLay. Is that correct?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct.

Senator CONRAD. Did he assert that he had influence? Did he give a reason why he had this influence with Representative DeLay?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I do not recall that specific.

Senator CONRAD. Did he suggest that he had special influence anywhere else in Washington?

Mr. SPRAGUE. The only word we got was that he was very powerful. He knows very powerful people. He does not mess with the little people. He goes straight to the top because he has contacts at the top on both sides.

Senator CONRAD. Did he ever suggest that he had influence with the White House?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Not that I recall. I imagine he did, because he was always making these pitches to the council about how important he was and how in danger we were.

Senator CONRAD. How endangered you were and how powerful he was because of his contacts with Representative DeLay?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Representative DeLay and other powerful people in Washington.

Senator CONRAD. Chairman Milanovich, in the representations that were made to your tribe, did Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon make representations to you as to who they had special influence with here?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Yes, sir; when Mr. Abramoff introduced Mr. Scanlon, his opening remarks were, or close to his opening remarks were, Mr. Scanlon is was Congressman DeLay's former aide. And you know who Congressman DeLay is, inferring, I assume that he was inferring that he had powerful friends.

Senator CONRAD. It is reported in the paper, yesterday's Washington Post, that the Saginaw Chippewa gave money to the Capital Athletic Foundation. Is that correct, Mr. Sprague?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct.

Senator CONRAD. And do you know how much money was given?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I believe it was $25,000.

Senator CONRAD. $25,000. There is an assertion here that there was some $2 million given by the Chippewa Indian Tribe, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw, and the Coushattas of Louisiana. So you apparently were a small part of that.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; and they were lucky to get that.

Senator CONRAD. They were lucky to get that. Can you tell me why the decision was made to give to that particular charity?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Again, it was Mr. Petras comes in and says we need to make this donation. So we asked what this foundation had done, what it was for. His reply was that it benefits poor and needy kids throughout the Washington, DC area and other members of the Congress and the Senate, and people that support us support this group, and it would be good for us to support the same foundation that others are supporting.

Senator CONRAD. And was it at the request of Mr. Abramoff that this contribution was made?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; through Mr. Petras. The vote came down four to four. The chairman had to break the tie, and the chairman voted to make the donation.

Senator CONRAD. It says in the paper of yesterday that Saginaw Chippewa officials have told Federal investigators they made the donations because Abramoff told them it would impress Congressman DeLay. Is that correct?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Senator CONRAD. So Abramoff represented to you that if you made these contributions to this foundation that he controlled, that that would impress Congressman DeLay.

Mr. SPRAGUE. He did not tell us who controlled it. We did not know who controlled it.

Senator CONRAD. He did not say that he controlled this foundation.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Right.

Senator CONRAD. But that the contributions to this foundation would impress Congressman DeLay.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes, and others.

Senator CONRAD. Were you aware that in August, this foundation flew a chartered jet with six people, including Abramoff, House Administration Chairman Robert Ney of Ohio, lobbyist and former Christian Coalition leader Ralph Reed, and then-General Services Administration Chief of Staff David Safavian to St. Andrews, Scotland for a golf outing? Were you aware of that?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; I was not.

Senator CONRAD. Over $100,000 spent on that trip does not sound like anything that would benefit the children of Washington, DC, does it.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I could see through the smokescreen when they presented it. It was not.

Senator CONRAD. And you voted against it?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; I did.

Senator CONRAD. Well, there is much more to ask, but I think my time has run out. I thank the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

I have no further questions of this panel. Senator Inouye, did you?

Senator INOUYE. Yes; I do.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me. Senator Dorgan, I apologize. I did not see you down there. Go ahead.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, just briefly, I think my colleagues have asked the requisite questions. I think our next witness will probably give us some additional information about some of this.

If I might just ask, on document number 25 is I believe the contract with the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council, or at least the public relations plan, document 25. Under "goal," it says the goal is to make this tribal council the most powerful and effective administration in the history of the Saginaw Chippewa Indians of Michigan and secure their re-election.

What is your impression of what they meant by that, "secure their re-election." Whose re-election?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That statement, that section of that contract, plus the excessive fees, is what encouraged me to start my investigation back in early 2002. The tribal council knows that they have no right, and it is a violation of our laws, to use tribal funds for their campaigns or for their reelections. They know that and they were told that, and I pointed that out to them. I was brushed off, brushed aside.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask Chairman Milanovich, has your tribe yet determined whether the conduct of Virginia Siva and Candace Patencio violated any tribal election ordinance?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Our investigation is ongoing, sir, so it has not made a determination.

Senator DORGAN. Is it your impression that they acted in the best interests of the tribe?

Mr. MILANOVICH. On a personal sense, it is that they acted for their personal gain, sir.

Senator DORGAN. Document number 44 seems to appear that, Chairman Milanovich, they were using your tribe's money for activities to promote another tribe. Are you aware of that?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir.

Senator DORGAN. Let me just follow-up a question my colleague started regarding the Capital Athletic Foundation. The reason that this is important is that it is classified asa charity. Apparently, the Capital Athletic Foundation was described as a charity to you, perhaps to both of you, but it was not disclosed that Mr. Abramoff was the person in control of that charity.

Exhibit 35 is a letter that I think is probably intended, November 1, 2002, that was sent to your tribe, or perhaps an internal letter, and it is not signed. Do you have exhibit 35 up there? You do, I think. Exhibit 35 describes the request for three $25,000 donations. Mr. Sprague, do you know who signed this letter to the tribe?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I do not recall who signed it, but I recognize it. These are donations that Mr. Petras came in with and requested motions on.

Senator DORGAN. Would this likely have been a letter from Mr. Petras to the tribal council?

Mr. SPRAGUE. It usually was, but the majority of the time they would come straight from Mr. Abramoff and cc'd to Mr. Petras, and then he would bring them to the council for action.

Senator DORGAN. Is it possible this was written by Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; it is.

Senator DORGAN. Okay. We will ask Mr. Petras about that.

This particular memo requested three donations. Were all three of those donations made? Do you recall?

Mr. SPRAGUE. The American Tax Reform donation was made.

Senator DORGAN. And what is the basis for your tribe making a donation to Americans for Tax Reform?

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have no idea, Senator. I did not understand it then. I opposed it and I do not understand it today.

Senator DORGAN. How was it represented to your tribe? $25,000 is a significant amount of money. How was it described to your tribe? Why would a tribe be making a donation to Americans for Tax Reform?

Mr. SPRAGUE. It was because Mr. Abramoff suggested that we make these donations to these various groups and organizations.

Senator DORGAN. Because it would be helpful to you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Because they help us.

Senator DORGAN. They would help you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes.

Senator DORGAN. Did he describe how a donation like this would help you?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; he never described how.

Senator DORGAN. And so the tribal council decides to do this without having any notion of how this could be helpful to the tribe?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct.

Senator DORGAN. Just based on Mr. Abramoff's representation?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct. Well, based on the slate of eight which has the majority. What Mr. Abramoff wants, he gets. What Mr. Abramoff did not want me and other council members to have, we did not have. That is way it worked. I think Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were more involved in running our tribal council for 2 years than we realized. Hopefully, this investigation will uncover that.

Senator DORGAN. My guess is that it is probably not very easy for you to come forward, for either of you to come forward at this point. Based on what I know, and I have certainly had several opportunities to review the information that we have developed so far in this investigation, it appears to me that there are a couple of people here who set out to bilk tribes out of tens of millions of dollars.

While that is, in my judgment, likely criminal behavior in some respects, certainly moral bankruptcy in others, it is also I assume profoundly embarrassing to be part of a tribal council that found itself bilked out of this money. When I asked the question, for example, why would you pay $25,000 to Americans for Tax Reform, what would you get in return for that, what would be the motivation for making the donation, your response is that the tribal council voted to require us to do it, but apparently did not have any notion of why they were donating, except someone from Washington, Mr. Abramoff, said we should.

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct.

Senator DORGAN. Do the other members of the tribal council understand how preposterous that sounds now? I assume they do.

Mr. SPRAGUE. They have not since 2002. I have been trying to talk to members of the slate of eight, when I found out what the agreement had said, the money that was being spent. But they had their leader, they had their roles to play, they had their orders, and they followed them.

Senator DORGAN. I am going to ask the next witness about this memo. Let me just say also, you know, we have a full-scale crisis in housing, health care, education on reservations across this country. It is unbelievable to me to see the way money was spent and the way money was bilked out of tribes by these charlatans.

So let me, if I have some additional questions, submit them in writing. Let me just say this, though. We have had some better and some worse cooperation, I think, from various tribes and interests. I think all of this panel appreciates very much your willingness to step forward, talk about it from your perspective, and respond to the requests of this committee, to help us understand what is going on here. We appreciate your attendance here today and appreciate your testimony.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Mr. Chairman, may I?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I would just like to say that the members of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe, myself included, because of these two individuals, our tribe has lost a lot of money, lost a lot of respect here in Washington and back home in our own State. Individuals were humiliated by these individuals, fired from their jobs, removed from our own tribal government, because we tried to get the truth out to our members. These individuals came in, and they destroyed reputations and took honor from many of our people. They need to learn that they do not have that right.

There are laws that protect Native American people and people from all races in this country from these type of individuals. I think a good word to describe them would be they are like vultures, just circling and circling. Like the one paper said, they wanted the top 100 tribes. They were lining up their next targets, as vultures flying, and I am glad that we are conducting this investigation.

I would like to read a short statement before we go. I am glad to see that the committee has convinced Mr. Petras to attend this hearing. As his statement suggests, he still supports the actions of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. My council is here with me today. I, as well as them, look forward to hearing how Mr. Petras can explain his way out of this negligence and disgraceful conduct.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be included in the record.

Senator Inouye, did you have further questions?

Senator INOUYE. Yes, I do.

I think for the record, because of their courage and good wisdom, can we secure the names of the two in-house lawyers who recommended that your tribes not enter into a contract with these two fellows?

Mr. SPRAGUE. Yes; we can provide those to you.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have them in the record now, if you know their names.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Okay. For the Saginaw Chippewas, it was Michael Phelan.

Mr. MILANOVICH. For ourselves, Art Bunce is the tribal attorney who had some strong recommendations.

Senator INOUYE. Chairman Milanovich, you indicated that you were provided with a list of candidates to support.

Mr. MILANOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. And you supported these candidates with money?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Some of the candidates were, it was agreed to support, make contributions to the recommendations list, yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Were these contributions made in cash or by check?

Mr. MILANOVICH. By check, sir.

Senator INOUYE. And how were the checks made out, to the individuals or to the campaign committees?

Mr. MILANOVICH. I do not recall. I do not really remember how the checks were made out, undoubtedly to the committee, though, or to the PAC, whatever it may have been.

Senator INOUYE. Were the candidates Federal candidates?

Mr. MILANOVICH. There were some Federal candidates, yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Were they from the State of California?

Mr. MILANOVICH. I do not remember. The list was long, and I questioned and the vice chairman also questioned certain names on the list because we did not know who they were. As SubChief Sprague states, there were PACs, there were charitable organizations, and we did not know who they were. We questioned, but again there was a forward movement of some tribal council members who said just approve it.

Senator INOUYE. Were you told that by supporting these candidates that your tribe would benefit?

Mr. MILANOVICH. In so many ways, yes, sir. Sometimes they did say that we need to make these contributions in order to convince. Other times, it was a just a good organization and it will make somebody else happy.

Senator INOUYE. Were you receiving any benefits from these candidates?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Not that I am aware of.

Senator INOUYE. Have you received any since then?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Not that I am aware of.

Senator INOUYE. Were any of the contributions made to political party organizations, like the presidential committees?

Mr. MILANOVICH. I do not recall a presidential committee, but perhaps the two party committees.

Senator INOUYE. Democrat and Republican?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. To the campaign committees? Were they congressional or senate campaign committees?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Both, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Both?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Both.

Senator INOUYE. And they were made out by check?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. And you have the list and you can provide it to the committee?

Mr. MILANOVICH. It has been submitted, yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. You have a copy of it now?

Mr. ROSS. If the chairman would allow?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go ahead and proceed. Identify yourself for the record.

Mr. ROSS. Steven Ross of Aiken Gump, Counsel for Agua Caliente.

The committee has already received from documents previously produced, documents that included the recommendations that Mr. Abramoff's firm had made to the tribe. The production was not made by us, but by counsel for Greenberg Traurig.

Senator INOUYE. Did you make out the checks? Or did Mr. Abramoff make out the checks?

Mr. ROSS. I think copies of the checks, which were made out by the tribal administration, have been produced to the committee already.

Senator INOUYE. Can I ask counsel this question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; please do.

Senator INOUYE. When these contributions were made, were you told what sort of benefits you may anticipate?

The CHAIRMAN. My relationship with the tribe post-dates those events. I am recently retained as counsel.

Senator INOUYE. Can the chairman advise us?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Would you restate the question please?

Senator INOUYE. When you made these contributions, were you advised as to what the nature of benefits you might be able to receive from the recipients of your contributions?

Mr. MILANOVICH. Not directly, no, sir. It as mailed to us. If we had questions, we questioned Mr. Abramoff or one of his staffers with Greenberg Traurig. Why are we doing this? Why this contribution being made to this person or this candidate or this organization? Many times, it was just because it is for the best interests of the tribe.

Senator INOUYE. Do you recall if any of the recipients are on this committee?

Mr. MILANOVICH. No, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Very briefly, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Sprague, when Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon of whoever it is that made their presentations to you, I would like to make it very clear, it is my understanding of your response is that they would give you enormous influence on both sides of the aisle with both parties on both sides of the Capitol. Is that correct?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you. It was not just one certain individual or one party. This was going to give you great influence everywhere. Is that correct?

Mr. SPRAGUE. That is correct.

Senator MCCAIN. Did Mr. Abramoff ever disclose that the Capital Athletic Foundation was his private foundation?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; he did not.

Senator MCCAIN. Did he ever disclose that the vast majority of money donated to the Capital Athletic Foundation would be used to finance a private school that he established?

Mr. SPRAGUE. No; he did not.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SPRAGUE. I have one thing I would like to add to the attorney list, a comment about Michael Phelan, when he suggested to the council that they do not accept a first contract with Mr. Abramoff, he was terminated about 3 weeks after that. Since then, Sean Reed has been working for us, and he did review one of the contracts with Capital Campaign Strategies, and he suggested changes, and those changes were not made. After that, Mr. Reed was never given the opportunity to review another contract.

The CHAIRMAN. We appreciate your appearance today. We may have further questions that we will submit in writing, or in fact may call you back, and Mr. Milanovich, for further testimony.

Yes, Mr. Chairman Milanovich.

Mr. MILANOVICH. Mr. Chairman, I would like to add that I also have present in the room members of the tribal council and members of the tribe who are here to try to begin the healing process. We have been hurt dramatically by individuals of the tribe who worked for their personal gain and by outsiders who have taken

advantage of those individuals. Thank goodness, Senator McCain, yourself, Senator Inouye, committee members are willing to stand up and correct the wrongs that have been done against us, and to stop any further actions like this from happening again.

We are but one tribe, Saginaw Chippewa are another, there are four others involved, but we have to remember this happens across the country. It happened to one of the largest law firms here in Washington, DC, too. But the hurt is there. My heart is crying, but by the same token they are turning to tears of joy, too, knowing something is going to be done with those individuals.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Chairman, we are going to do everything we can as a committee. As you probably know, there is an investigation going on at one of the federal agencies related to these hearings. In addition to that, certainly you have the right to pursue it in the courts, too. I hope you do. If you have not already initiated some action to get back some of that money, I hope you do that.

Mr. MILANOVICH. We will do what is necessary to make ourselves whole, sir. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be a partner to that action.

Thank you. I appreciate your appearing today.

Mr. SPRAGUE. Thank you again.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we will proceed to our last panel which will be Dr. Christopher Petras, who is the former legislative director for the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan.

Mr. Petras, would you please rise and raise your right hand?

[Witness sworn.]

The CHAIRMAN. Please be seated and continue with your testimony. We will have some questions for you at the conclusion.

STATEMENT OF CHRISTOPHER PETRAS, FORMER LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. PETRAS. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I ask that a written statement that I prepared be submitted for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be included in the record.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Petras appears in appendix.]

Mr. PETRAS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. So do you want to adlib anything at all?

Mr. PETRAS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You just want to go for questions? All right.

Let me start then. It appears from information the committee has obtained that you worked for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe for a number of years. How many years did you work for the tribe?

Mr. PETRAS. A little over 5 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Over 5 years. What jobs did you do for the tribe in that 5 years? Was it always the same job?

Mr. PETRAS. Policy research analyst, interim director of legislative affairs, and then director of legislative affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand from the former witness that you are not a member of the tribe.

Mr. PETRAS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you happen to get a job with the tribe in the first place?

Mr. PETRAS. I was at a concert at the Scaring Eagle Resort and an individual who I knew that worked in human resources, this was back in 1998, approached me and said that there was a position open, a new department called the Legislative Affairs Department at the tribe. She said that you would be a good candidate for that.

I had been teaching political science and was familiar with Government processes to some extent. She said it would be good if you put in an application. So I followed up on it. I turned in an application. A few weeks later I received a call from Kim Sawmick, who was working in the department at the time, asking if I was interested in coming in to interview with then-Director William Cross. I said sure. I came in and interviewed and accepted the job.

The CHAIRMAN. In dealing with your relationship to Mr. Abramoff, we have exhibit three we can put up on the screen, please. He states that you were going to come in after the primary with a guy who will be the chief if they win, I mentioned this once before, and we are going to help him win. If he wins, we will take over in January and we will make millions.

Are you familiar with that statement?

Mr. PETRAS. No; I do not recall that statement at all.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first meet Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. PETRAS. I met Mr. Abramoff basically in 2000. There was a tribal council then that was headed by then-Chief Phillip Peters. Ms. Sawmick had indicated to me that the council was interested in looking for representation out here in Washington, DC to work with Larry Rosenthal who was the lobbyist at the time for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe.

What I did is I went on the Internet and typed in cue words, basically "tribes" and "lobbyist" and several came up. There were three companies that I contacted in Washington here. I came out and did a preliminary discussion with the companies. I came back. I asked Ms. Sammick if she would come out and review the companies with me, since she was a tribal member and was close, basically, with the tribal council at the time. She was the sister of council member at the time David Otto. She agreed. We came out. We interviewed with three companies. One was Preston Gates, in which she met Mr. Abramoff.

The CHAIRMAN. So after that meeting, did you recommend the tribe hire him?

Mr. PETRAS. She recommended that the tribe bring him in for an interview.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you encourage or assist Mr. Abramoff in encouraging the tribes to donate to these so-called charities that he promoted?

Mr. PETRAS. What my role was is the council, I would get a directive. So you understand how it worked in legislative affairs, we answered directly to the council so we had 12 different bosses to answer to. There were no efforts on my behalf to try to push either way any type of political contribution. It would come in. The tribe receives them regularly, and then they would be submitted to the council to consider.

The CHAIRMAN. In this same e-mail, Mr. Abramoff said that you were very excited about the prospect of hiring Mr. Scanlon. Whose

idea was it first to bring Mr. Scanlon in to run the tribal candidate campaigns? Did Mr. Abramoff suggest that you bring Scanlon in?

Mr. PETRAS. Excuse me? Can you repeat that?

The CHAIRMAN. Whose idea was it to bring Mr. Scanlon in to run the tribal candidate campaigns? Did Mr. Abramoff suggest that?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall any discussion related to bringing Mr. Scanlon to run campaigns.

The CHAIRMAN. In his e-mails, Mr. Abramoff gives the impression that you knew fully how much he and Mr. Scanlon planned on charging the tribe. Is that accurate or not?

Mr. PETRAS. No; the only discussion I ever had regarding that with Mr. Abramoff was that, see, it began with Mr. Otto, after Mr. Abramoff or Preston Gates had been hired back in 2000, they had worked for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe for about a month, and Mr. Otto was very interested in Mr. Abramoff, and wanted to keep in touch with him after they had been terminated, because Mr. Abramoff had left for Greenberg Traurig. The tribal council at the time decided not to hire the services of Greenberg Traurig and instead hired someone else.

I do not recall any discussion regarding bringing in Mr. Scanlon to run any type of campaign.

The CHAIRMAN. After the tribal council members were taken out of office, in your e-mails you asked Mr. Abramoff to provide $2,500 to help out former council members who were less than 50 signatures short of the recall, but were running out of money. Do we have a poster of that e-mail? It is up there.

My question is, how much did Mr. Abramoff give in total for that effort? That is an e-mail from you. I may be corrected by staff here. That may be an e-mail from Abramoff to you, excuse me, but concerning the same thing.

Mr. PETRAS. That does not look like it is an e-mail from me. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Do we have the right one up there? I cannot see them from here. In any event, do you know how much Mr. Abramoff gave in total to that recall effort?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he do anything else to assist the recall effort that you know?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had it to do all over again, would you recommend him again to your employer?

Mr. PETRAS. I would let the council decide that.

The CHAIRMAN. But would you have recommended him again?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not know if the allegations are true on Mr. Abramoff or not, so it would be difficult to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay.

Senator Inouye.

Senator INOUYE. Now, you were provided with a list of candidates to assist? Did the two men from Washington provide you with a list of candidates that your tribe should assist?

Mr. PETRAS. When?

Senator INOUYE. Political candidates.

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall any list of candidates being provided to me.

Senator INOUYE. Were you called upon to provide counsel on who your tribe should support in the political elections?

Mr. PETRAS. No; the elections were left up to the individual tribal members.

Senator INOUYE. And you had no role to play in that?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator INOUYE. Did you receive any gift or remuneration or compensation from these two men from Washington?

Mr. PETRAS. All I recall receiving was a video camera-digital camera, a leather travel document holder and some type of slide projection desktop screen.

Senator INOUYE. Did you feel that it was proper or improper?

Mr. PETRAS. It was at Christmas. [Laughter.]

Senator INOUYE. Do you know whether the members of the council received Christmas gifts?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not know.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Dr. Petras, in late 2001, didn't you and David Otto meet with Michael Scanlon at a Bob Evans Restaurant and discuss campaign strategy for the slate of eight?

Mr. PETRAS. The meeting, if it was at Bob Evans, I do not recollect where the meeting was, had to do with Mr. Otto was interested in understanding what the Mississippi Choctaws do for their work. Mr. Otto had been to Washington before and had attended a sporting event at the MCI Center. In the sports box, there was a magazine store, I cannot remember which magazine store, that praised Chief Martin and the work he had done for the Mississippi Choctaws. Mr. Otto was interested in knowing how could they do that for the Saginaw Chippewa.

The CHAIRMAN. You never discussed a strategy for the slate of eight?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall discussing any strategy for a slate of eight.

Senator MCCAIN. Do not recall or you did not?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall.

Senator MCCAIN. I see.

Now, obviously you are defending the tribe, what happened, which is pretty bizarre. But let me read you a couple of e-mails of what Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon thought about you. Do you remember e-mailing Todd Bollinger in 2003 about Kenny Loggins concert tickets for State Representative Ehart? Do you remember that? Let me refresh your recollection.

On February 18, 2003, you e-mailed Mr. Bollinger, and this was your e-mail:

> I just received a message from a state representative who is running for Congressman Nick Smith's seat in 2004. His last name is Ehart. He wants tickets to the Kenny Loggins concert.

When Mr. Bollinger passed on your request to Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Abramoff replied, and I quote from Mr. Abramoff's e-mail, "Neither rain nor snow nor the heat of day will keep him from his appointed idiocy."

In June 2002, while contemplating a trip out to the tribe, Ms. Scanlon wrote Mr. Abramoff in an e-mail. Mr. Scanlon to Mr. Abramoff in an e-mail:

> I really think a trip out to those fools solo is not worth it regardless, because we will not come back with cash or a firm commitment. But you throw in the pain in the ass factor and the Petras bullshit factor, it is really a bad idea.

This is what these people thought of you, that you recommended to the tribal council. Does that arouse any emotion in you, Dr. Petras?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not know what the context is of it, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. This is the outfit that you recommended, Dr. Petras. An e-mail, Mr. Abramoff, "How much is the Kay Gold amount?" Mr. Scanlon responds: "800K." To this, Mr. Abramoff asked, "800K? I thought we got $1.9 million." Mr. Scanlon replies, "We did. 800K for you, 800K for me, 250K for the effort, and 50K went to the plane and miscellaneous expenses."

Do you think that is appropriate, Dr. Petras?

Mr. PETRAS. Again, I do not know what the context was of that e-mail.

Senator MCCAIN. Remember, you are under oath here, Dr. Petras.

Mr. PETRAS. I understand.

Senator MCCAIN. You never had anything to do with any of the campaigns for tribal council. Is that correct or incorrect?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall at any time having anything to do with the elections.

Senator MCCAIN. Wouldn't you recall or not recall if you had anything to do with a tribal election?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall, Senator.

Senator MCCAIN. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Conrad.

Senator CONRAD. Dr. Petras, did you recommend Mr. Abramoff to the tribal council as somebody they should hire?

Mr. PETRAS. That was Mr. Otto who did that. I was not present at Mr. Abramoff's presentation to the council.

Senator CONRAD. Did you recommend to Mr. Otto that he recommend Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. PETRAS. No; Mr. Otto was already pretty much determined he wanted to have Jack Abramoff.

Senator CONRAD. Did you play any role in the hiring of Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. You played no role. You played no role in the hiring of Mr. Abramoff. That is your testimony here today?

Mr. PETRAS. My testimony regarding that question is that the role in terms of what? I could not advise the council either way. It was their vote. It was their decision. Mr. Otto had asked me to keep in touch with Mr. Abramoff.

Senator CONRAD. Didn't you come to Washington, Mr. Petras, for the purpose of interviewing firms to hire?

Mr. PETRAS. That was Ms. Sawmick that recommended him.

Senator CONRAD. That is not my question to you, sir. Didn't you come on the trip to Washington to interview firms to hire to represent the tribe?

Mr. PETRAS. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. And didn't you identify firms to hire through your Internet search?

Mr. PETRAS. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. So how could you assert that you played no role in the hiring or the recommendation of a hiring of a firm to hire?

Mr. PETRAS. I looked at my role was that I was bringing Ms. Sawmick out as a tribal member to let her select who she was interested in having to bring back to the council to recommend, as a tribal member.

Senator CONRAD. But sir, by your own testimony, you were involved in identifying the firms for her to select from. Is that not correct?

Mr. PETRAS. Well, she could have gone with other firms. These were just three firms that ended up being the three firms that we were going to take a look at, for her to interview, to look at.

Senator CONRAD. And did you not recommend that those were the three firms that she should look at?

Mr. PETRAS. I just said I just spoke with three firms, and would you like to come out and talk to them.

Senator CONRAD. On what basis did you decide that those were the three firms to talk to?

Mr. PETRAS. On the basis of their work with Native American issues.

Senator CONRAD. Okay, so in fact you did play a role in helping select the firms that were presented to her, for her recommendation back to the tribal council.

Mr. PETRAS. My role was not in terms of whether or not I said you should hire somebody. She was the one who came out and interviewed with them.

Senator CONRAD. Did she decide what firms she would interview? Or did you make a recommendation to her what firms to interview?

Mr. PETRAS. I just said that I had spoken with three firms out here.

Senator CONRAD. Those are the three firms that she interviewed with.

Mr. PETRAS. That she came out to see, right. And then wanted to know if there would be any others, and I said that would be up to her to decide.

Senator CONRAD. Did Mr. Abramoff make claims to you about influence that he had here in Washington?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not think it was in terms of influence as it was how many staff he had and their specializations where they came from, so you could cover more offices on the Hill.

Senator CONRAD. Did he make assertions to you that he had special influence with certain members of Congress?

Mr. PETRAS. No; not special influence.

Senator CONRAD. Did he make suggestions to you that he had special contacts, special relationships with certain members of Congress?

Mr. PETRAS. I only recall that it was in the context of his staff had worked for members on the Hill.

Senator CONRAD. Do you recall who he said his staff had worked for on the Hill?

Mr. PETRAS. Some.

Senator CONRAD. I am asking you specifically who the members were. Certainly, you recall that.

Mr. PETRAS. Well, his staff consisted of individuals that worked for Senators from Louisiana and House members; had worked for some of the leadership. Just basically they had significant work experience out here in working with different legislators and with committees.

Senator CONRAD. Chief Sprague indicated that there was an indication, a series of indications, that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had special contacts with Representative Tom DeLay. Do you recall that?

Mr. PETRAS. That they had mentioned that?

Senator CONRAD. Yes.

Mr. PETRAS. Only in the statement that was made that one of his staff had worked for him previously.

Senator CONRAD. One of?

Mr. PETRAS. Mr. Abramoff's staff.

Senator CONRAD. One of Mr. Abramoff's staff had worked for who?

Mr. PETRAS. For Mr. DeLay.

Senator CONRAD. For Congressman DeLay.

Mr. PETRAS. Right.

Senator CONRAD. And how about Mr. Scanlon? Were you under the impression, did you have knowledge that Mr. Scanlon had worked for Congressman DeLay?

Mr. PETRAS. Not until later.

Senator CONRAD. Not until later. And when the decision was made to hire Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, you say you did not make the recommendation, but you narrowed down the number of firms to interview and then a recommendation was made to the council. Did you speak to the council at all?

Mr. PETRAS. Ms. Sammick and I did go into the council in 2000 and she had made the recommendation.

Senator CONRAD. Did you speak to the council at that time?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall what I would have said to the council.

Senator CONRAD. I am not asking you what you said. I am asking you, first, whether you spoke to the council when you went in with the other representative. Did you speak to the council?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall.

Senator CONRAD. You do not recall whether you spoke or not?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. Have you at any time made representations to the tribe that Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon or you had a relationship with the White House that would be useful to the tribe?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall doing that, and I definitely did not have a relationship with the White House.

Senator CONRAD. Have you ever had your picture taken with key staff at the White House?

Mr. PETRAS. With key staff such as?

Senator CONRAD. Well, have you ever had your picture taken with key staff of the White House of the United States?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not know about key staff. We had our photo taken with the President. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I think that qualifies. [Laughter.]

Mr. PETRAS. Staff, I am assuming the staff that works, you know, key staff under the President.

Senator CONRAD. Did you have your picture taken with Mr. Karl Rove?

Mr. PETRAS. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. And did you make representations that this indicated you had special influence at the White House?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall that.

Senator CONRAD. You do not recall that.

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. Would it surprise you to know that people are saying that in fact you did make such representations? That photos with Mr. Rove indicated that you had special pull at the White House?

Mr. PETRAS. I have no idea what others are saying. I have not seen anything to that effect.

Senator CONRAD. If I can just conclude, Mr. Chairman.

How did the photo with the President come about?

Mr. PETRAS. That was through an organization that the tribe contributed to through the RNC, the Republican Eagles.

Senator CONRAD. Republican Eagles. Do you recall how much the contribution was?

Mr. PETRAS. It may have been $10,000.

Senator CONRAD. But it might have been more than $10,000?

Mr. PETRAS. My recollection is the tribe contributed twice, and maybe the second time the donation amount went up.

Senator CONRAD. And how much would that have been?

Mr. PETRAS. I do not recall.

Senator CONRAD. I thank the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dorgan.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Dr. Petras, how long have you had this problem with recall? [Laughter.]

Senator DORGAN. Is this a new phenomenon related to this particular set of hearings or is this an ongoing serious issue?

Dr. Petras, I listened to your testimony. You say you do not know what the truth is here and we are searching for the truth. We hope that you could help us find the truth. When Senator McCain asked you how it feels when the people that were your clients called you an idiot, and you said it depends on the context. I do not understand that. You do not know the context. When somebody calls you an idiot, why you need context to understand how you feel about that?

Mr. PETRAS. Because I do.

Senator DORGAN. All right. Exhibit 35 was put up on the screen a while ago. I would like to go back to exhibit 35. This was a request for contributions. It is unsigned, dated November 1, 2002. Are you familiar with this document? Previous testimony suggested at least it might have been a memorandum from you or it might have been a memorandum from Mr. Abramoff passed through to you to the tribe.

Mr. PETRAS. I am not sure.

Senator DORGAN. You cannot recall or you are just not sure? Or is that the same thing?

Mr. PETRAS. I have not had a chance to read the document, so I would not be able to——

Senator DORGAN. I would be happy to read part of it, if you wish. I am not trying to be badgering here. Look, we need to understand where all this leads, where it comes from, what the origin is. You need to help us do that. You are not, frankly, being very helpful.

This is a memorandum that asks the tribe to make certain contributions. It asks the tribe to make a contribution to the Capital Athletic Foundation, to Americans for Tax Reform, to the National Republican Campaign Committee and so on. It seems to me that, from previous testimony, it was either written by you or by Mr. Abramoff.

The reason I am asking what the origin was is because I would like to understand what was the representation to the tribe of what their benefit would be from a contribution to the Capital Athletic Foundation or to the Americans for Tax Reform, for that matter. I am trying to understand what the origin was so I can ask who made what representations about this.

Mr. PETRAS. With the Americans for Tax Reform, that focused on the issue of taxation on tribal nations. That organization fought tax issues and had worked doing the same thing for tribal nations. Mr. Norquist had presented, I do not remember the year, but he had presented to the National Indian Gaming Association Conference, and did a presentation on taxation and tribes. He did not think that that was good.

So my recollection is that struck a chord with Mr. Otto at the time and some of the other council where they were presented with a contribution request for the Americans for Tax Reform and they voted and approved of it.

Senator DORGAN. Was that request from Mr. Norquist?

Mr. PETRAS. I am not sure.

Senator DORGAN. Was it a request from Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. PETRAS. I am not sure if it came from him either.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, my hope was that we would get more assistance from Dr. Petras. I indicated to the other panel, I am sure there is some substantial embarrassment. There always is. I think the tribes are victims here. The tribes have been victimized by people that have bilked them out of a great amount of money under false pretenses, it appears to me. The question of whether it is criminal or not is left to officials in the criminal justice system. The question of whether there are issues for us is something that we are trying to explore.

We know there are issues here. The question is what and how. My hope was that Dr. Petras would be able to clear up a few of these issues. It appears that will not be the case. But I must say, from the briefings that I have had on these issues, that what we are talking about today merely scratches the surface on the range of issues that surround this some $66 million in public relations fees that tribes paid plus additional payments that we do not yet have a complete handle on.

I think we are this morning simply scratching the surface on this money, where it went, who requested it, who had benefitted, why,

how. We do know, I think now in many cases, especially this morning's case, who the victims are. The one thing that disappoints me, Dr. Petras, is that you do not see what we see from evidence that is put on the screen.

What we have at the moment is a substantial trail of documents and they are quite clear. The documents indicate a great disrespect for the clients that these two people were serving. They document that they did not disclose to you, for example, who controlled the Capital Athletic Foundation. You were largely in the dark for all of this. I am frankly surprised that you at this point reserve judgment.

The question is not about whether this was done to the tribes. It clearly was. The questions are not who did it to the tribes. We know who did it. The question is, how deep does this cesspool go and what are the layers and what does it tell us?

So I am a little surprised that you come to us today suggesting that, this might all be just fine. These contracts might be just all right, and this might just be one large misunderstanding. It seems to me that is what you are suggesting because you are reserving judgment on everything, or not recalling anything.

Respond to that, if you would.

Mr. PETRAS. I have no comment on that.

Senator DORGAN. All right.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for the time.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first hearing. We will be doing several more. As you said, we are probably just scratching the surface. I think that Mr. Petras may be back and hopefully his recall will be better then, but at least he did not try to hide behind the fifth amendment.

Senator DORGAN. No; but the fifth amendment is available to people and coming and saying nothing and not recalling anything is not much more helpful to us.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not sure what amendment covers that. [Laughter.]

Senator Inouye, did you have a question?

Senator INOUYE. Yes; I have one question.

You were the legislative director of the Saginaw Tribe?

Mr. PETRAS. Yes.

Senator INOUYE. From what period to what period?

Mr. PETRAS. I was interim director for a few months, and then was full director, and that was not even for a year. And then my position was eliminated in January 2004.

Senator INOUYE. What were your responsibilities or duties as legislative director?

Mr. PETRAS. To basically work with the tribal council on policy issues, conduct research.

Senator INOUYE. And in that capacity, did you participate in council meetings?

Mr. PETRAS. Yes.

Senator INOUYE. Did you discuss with them, or did you have someone speaking for you?

Mr. PETRAS. In terms of what?

Senator INOUYE. So far, you have testified that you did not have any occasion to talk to the members of the council and that some woman did all the talking.

Mr. PETRAS. That was with regard to Mr. Abramoff when he was hired.

Senator INOUYE. In other matters did you talk to the members of the council?

Mr. PETRAS. Yes.

Senator INOUYE. What were the subject matter of your dicussions with tribal councils members?

Mr. PETRAS. Legislation, Federal, and State.

Senator INOUYE. And in those discussions, did you talk about Washington representation? You were called upon to make recommendations on legislation, I presume. You were the legislative director.

Mr. PETRAS. Well, it did not necessarily work like that. The council, it would depend on which council it is. Some councils would hire their own lobbyist and not even tell us about it.

Senator INOUYE. I am talking about the Saginaw Council.

Mr. PETRAS. Right. That is who I am talking about. I served on four councils, four completely different councils.

Senator INOUYE. You just testified that you were called upon to make recommendations on legislation in Washington.

Mr. PETRAS. And? I am sorry, Senator. Can you re-phrase?

Senator INOUYE. In this discussion, did you tell them who they should retain as counsel here in Washington? Or who they should retain as a lobbyist?

Mr. PETRAS. Tell them who they should retain? No, I would just bring in, tell whoever you would call, you have to send your materials to the council, and then they would schedule a meeting with counsel and do their presentation.

Senator INOUYE. So you were just a conduit?

Mr. PETRAS. Basically.

Senator INOUYE. How much did they pay you, if I may ask, to serve as conduit?

Mr. PETRAS. My salary was different. I had several. When I first started, it was $40,000. Then it went up. I do not recall, maybe in the $50's, then $75,000 as interim and then $100,000 as director.

Senator INOUYE. $100,000

But you made no recommendations as to who they should retain as your agents here in Washington?

Mr. PETRAS. By the time I was director or interim director, the lobbyists were already hired, the consultants for the tribe.

Senator INOUYE. And what was your relationship with these lobbyists?

Mr. PETRAS. To basically pass on what the policy objectives were of the council.

Senator INOUYE. Well, apparently we are not going to get too far. Do you have any questions?

Senator CONRAD. Yes; Mr. Petras, the lobbyists were already hired when you were the legislative director. Is that correct?

Mr. PETRAS. Right.

Senator CONRAD. And did you do a review of the performance of the people who were working for you here in Washington?

Mr. PETRAS. No; that was distributed to council in mid-year and year-end reports from Greenberg Traurig.

Senator CONRAD. So you played no role in making ongoing recommendations to the council as to the performance of their lobbying firm in Washington?

Mr. PETRAS. My recollection was they understood, they were coming out here and participating in the policy process themselves, going to meetings, talking about the issues.

Senator CONRAD. Would you comment, would you make observations to the members of the council on how well or poorly the lobbying firm was performing?

Mr. PETRAS. No; I do not recall doing that.

Senator CONRAD. You never made an assessment to the members of the council on the performance of the lobbying firms that had been hired?

Mr. PETRAS. No; they would see, for example, if they were working on let's say with a local government county to help fund a road project, that would come into the council. They would see the legislation with the dollar amount in it, so they would know.

Senator CONRAD. You know, it sounds almost like an immaculate conception here. You were in this position, but it is very unclear to me listening to you what you did. It sounds like you did nothing but take a batch of papers from this group and hand them to this group. Was that your role?

Mr. PETRAS. I am not sure I would describe it like that.

Senator CONRAD. How would you describe it?

Mr. PETRAS. I was more taking the policy requests of the council, different departments internally would go to the tribal council and say, we could really use this type of program, like a residential treatment center or a new school. And then that would be passed on to Greenberg Traurig, and then they would say, well, you need to have a proposal lined up, and then the different departments would put their proposal together.

Senator CONRAD. Did you feel that you had some responsibility for getting results on these various proposals?

Mr. PETRAS. Some.

Senator CONRAD. Let me ask you a final question, if I could. Aside from the gifts that were given, that you have described previously, did Mr. Scanlon ever pay you money?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. Did Mr. Abramoff ever pay you money?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. Did any of their agents ever pay you money?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. Did you ever have an understanding that you would be hired in the future by either Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. Did you ever have an understanding that you would receive compensation at any time in the future from Mr. Scanlon or Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. PETRAS. No.

Senator CONRAD. So did you ever say to the council that you believed Mr. Abramoff was doing a good job?

Mr. PETRAS. I may have. The council, when he was hired with Greenberg Traurig, was very involved. They came out here and worked and came to meetings at their offices.

Senator CONRAD. You may have said to the council that you believed Mr. Abramoff was doing a good job?

Mr. PETRAS. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. Did you ever say to the council that you believed Mr. Scanlon was doing a good job?

Mr. PETRAS. I may have from time to time.

Senator CONRAD. You may have from time to time. How frequently would you have told the council that he was doing a good job?

Mr. PETRAS. It would depend on what the project is. He was hired for three separate projects, Capital Campaign Strategies were.

Senator CONRAD. All right.

I thank the Acting Chairman.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you, Dr. Petras.

Mr. PETRAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator INOUYE. The committee will stand in recess until our next hearing. For the next 2 weeks, the record will remain open. So if any of you wish to supplement your testimony or submit additional documents, please feel free to do so.

[Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., the committee was adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the chair.]

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. MILANOVICH, CHAIRMAN, AGUA CALIENTE BAND OF CAHUILLA INDIANS

Good morning Chairman Campbell, Vice Chairman Inouye, Senator McCain, and members of the committee. I am Richard M. Milanovich, chairman of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians. I appreciate the opportunity to testify before you today. I would like to commend the members of this committee and your staff for bringing to light the malicious actions of two unscrupulous individuals, and those who acted to enable their enterprise. While I had opposed the efforts of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to obtain contracts with our tribe, distrusting their claims, methods and, quite frankly, mostly their cost, it was not until I saw the secret e-mails and other information obtained by the efforts of this committee that I began to truly comprehend the full nature of their conniving actions. This morning, I would like to address four areas: First, I would like to provide you with a little background on our tribe; second, I will share with you my thoughts at the time Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon contrived to obtain contracts for their firms with our tribe; third, I will highlight what we have learned over the last 7 months concerning their actions; and, finally, I will describe some of the things our tribe is doing in light of what we have learned.

I have served on the tribal council since 1977. My service began as a member from 1977 to 1981, as secretary from 1981 until 1984, when I was elected as chairman, a position I have been honored to hold for the past 20 years.

From time immemorial our people resided in the Palm Springs area. Our people developed complex communities in the Palm, Murray, Andreas, Tahquitz, Chino Canyons and on the desert floor. With abundant water supply, plant and animal life, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians thrived. In 1876, the Federal Government deeded in trust to the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians 32,000 acres of our ancestral homeland as the Agua Caliente Indian Reservation. We are industrious and creative with a reputation for independence, integrity, and justice. We are proud of our rich history and our culture.

The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians constitution and by-laws were adopted in 1955. The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians has a government-to-government relationship with the U.S. Government. As a federally recognized tribe and sovereign tribal entity, we have governmental authority over our reservation lands and people.

The tribe's constitution and by-laws outline the two-tiered democratic tribal government structure: The tribal membership and the elected tribal council. The tribal council consists of five council members: Chairman, vice chairman, secretary and two members. The chairman, vice chairman and secretary serve 2-year terms and members serve a 1-year term. Under our constitution, action is taken by a majority vote of the tribal council.

I would like to preface my remarks on the topic of the tribe's business relationship with Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon with the general statement that we are still learning, together with the committee, of the efforts of these individuals to re-

cruit individual tribal members to collaborate in their deceitful undertakings. Concurrent with the committee's investigations, we, of course, have begun our own internal investigation, but at the time the tribe entered into business arrangements with these individuals and their firms, we had no idea of the steps they had already taken in order to manipulate our democratic decisionmaking process.

While I am proud that these selfish efforts were only partially successful, clearly these ill-motivated actions were a critical element of what appears to be a scheme to obtain large and unjustified payments from the tribe.

As a result of the majority vote of the council, and in my capacity as chairman, I signed service contracts with Greenberg Traurig, LLP, and Scanlon Gould Public Affairs on July 9 and July 24, 2002. Jack Abramoff and Greenberg Traurig were hired to assist the tribe with all political and lobbying activities relating to a wide range of public policy issues. Michael Scanlon and Scanlon Gould were hired to help the tribe with respect to pending gaming compact issues in California.

The first time that I met Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon was in the course of their presentations seeking contracts to represent the tribe. Mr. Abramoff identified himself as a representative of one of the top law and lobbying firms in the United States. The fact that these men and their services were associated with such a prestigious firm was something upon which some on our council relied. In large measure, Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's presentations rested on their self-described success on behalf of other tribes. Personally, I was skeptical with regard to the presentation and was more than skeptical of the fees that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were seeking for their firms.

I voiced my objections and sought to defeat the effort to obtain contracts. But Mr. Chairman, as I am sure you will understand, sometimes being chairman is not enough if others have managed to collect the votes. When the contracts and matters relating to the contracts came to a vote, the vice chairman and I found ourselves outvoted. Of course, at that point in time I had no idea that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had already deceptively engaged in a full-scale effort that they themselves valued at tens of thousands of dollars, to defeat certain tribal council members, myself included, in order to elect a slate more friendly to their sales pitch.

I was surprised and disappointed that some others on our council took a different view, but at this point I was unaware of the lengths that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had gone to in enlisting the support of certain individuals in our tribe. Of course, other members of our council had also been deceived. At the time I did, however, take some solace in paying such a large retainer for Mr. Abramoff's services in that Greenberg Traurig is a law firm with a responsibility to honorably treat its clients. As chairman, I thought it was my duty to try and make the best of the situation. Looking back from where we sit today with the knowledge of press reports and the preliminary findings of this committee, it appears that some people at Greenberg Traurig were deceived, just as we were, regarding much of Mr. Abramoff's activities.

It is my sense that we have only seen the tip of the iceberg-but already it appears that Mr. Abrarnoff and Mr. Scanlon, working in conjunction with those who willingly enlisted to collaborate with them, engaged in numerous instances of improper conduct. Their own words demonstrate that they improperly sought to manipulate for private gain the electoral process of our tribe. This occurred both before and after they were hired. It also appears they did not view the tribe or even the tribal council as their clients. Instead, they worked on behalf of themselves and a small faction of tribal members they were seeking to elevate to a position of total control by manipulating tribal elections. In the course of their work for the tribe, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon attempted to hide information from the full council while working covertly with this collaborating faction. Their own secret communications indicate a willingness to sacrifice the interest of the tribe in exchange for the opportunity to make more money for themselves. It appears that this approach, seeking an outcome that would actually hurt their client so that they could make more money, was not unique in our case. While there are a number of specifics that your investigation is revealing, perhaps the saddest is the utterly callous fashion in which they mocked the interests of the clients they were actually hired to represent and displayed a willingness to engage in virtually any conduct as long as they could make money.

In April of this year, the tribal council unanimously voted to suspend its relationship with both Greenberg Traurig and Scanlon Gould.

Based on information we have already learned, we have taken further action concerning the attempts to manipulate our tribal elections. We have suspended certain individuals from any appointed role in our government. We have retained the services of Darryl Wold, a former chairman of the Federal Election Commission, to conduct an internal tribal inquiry into whether there were any violations of tribal law.

As chairman, I am working with our tribal council to reform our laws regarding contracting, election and other procedural safeguards. Additionally, we have asked our legal counsel to aggressively pursue all avenues of obtaining reimbursement and compensation for injuries caused to our tribe. We will, of course, continue to work with the committee and other authorities.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to close by reiterating my gratitude to you, Chairman McCain, Vice Chairman Inouye and the committee on your investigation. I will be happy, at the appropriate time, to answer any questions that you may have. Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF BERNIE SPRAGUE, SUB-CHIEF, SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE

Mr. Chairman, I am Bernie Sprague, Sub-chief of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe. We have approximately 3,000 tribal members located in Arenac and Isabella counties in the State of Michigan. I have served my tribe for over 19 years and I have served as an elected official of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe for almost 7 years. These last 2 years have been a difficult and trying period for my tribe and myself. On behalf of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, I want to thank the committee for allowing me to testify and for conducting this important investigation.

Our tribe has a long and painful history since we first came in contact with settlers hundreds of years ago. Our treaties with the U.S. Government ceded millions of acres of our ancestral lands to the Federal Government. And like many tribal nations across this country, our people have endured generations of broken treaties and empty promises. We have struggled for centuries against non-Indians who have used every tactic to steal our land and our precious resources that allowed our tribe to survive. Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, we fight a similar battle today. They may wear expensive suits and fancy shoes, but their greed, scare tactics and unscrupulous behavior is the same our people have faced for generations. And their goal to take from Indian people what is not rightfully theirs is once again being painfully repeated.

There is not a word in my language that is strong enough to describe what these people have done to my tribe. These unsavory characters who lie, deceive, and steal from Indian tribes need to be exposed for who and what they are.

In the fall of 2001, a small group of Washington, DC lobbyists quietly worked to elect eight tribal members to the 12 member council. As this committee knows, it is unheard of to have non-Indians involved in tribal elections. We do not know where they got the money to run this campaign, but we do know these lobbyists smeared the reputations of other candidates running for tribal council through a series of slick brochures sent to tribal members. This type of campaign has never happened before on our reservation. We now know these lobbyists have engaged in the same practices with other tribes across Indian country.

We were shocked to learn that members of the former tribal council and the former legislative affairs director, who is not a tribal member, were deeply involved in this scheme. We also now know that these lobbyists struck a deal with the candidates they supported at Saginaw Chippewa. The deal was that if they got elected to tribal council, these lobbyists would receive multi-million dollar contracts with the tribe.

Two days after the new council took office in December 2001, a divided tribal council approved the contracts to hire these firms against the strident recommendation of our Office of Legal Counsel. In doing so, they fulfilled their part of the deal, these Washington, DC lobbyists were hired, and the looting of the tribal treasury soon followed.

In 2002, I was elected to tribal council in a special election. When I began to ask questions about the outrageous fees our tribe was paying these lobbyists, I learned that there were no reports or documentation for any work they may have performed.

One of the most outrageous examples of unaccounted for services involves the purchase of a voter data base from Mr. Scanlon. Our tribe paid nearly $4.5 million for a data base of voters in Michigan. That's right, $4.5 million for a data base that we never saw. The current tribal council researched this issue and found that you could purchase a data base of every voter in the State of Michigan for less than $75,000. To this day, we do not know where this money went. And this type of spending was repeated over and over again, costing our tribe over $14 million.

There were other tribal council members who raised similar objections to this outrageous spending. Because we asked these questions, and we told tribal membership what was happening, the Council majority removed all of us from tribal council. We

continued to object to their looting of the tribal treasury and in the election of 2003, almost all of the former tribal council members lost their seats in that election.

Once the new tribal council was elected in November 2003, we called in Mr. Abramoff to discuss his contract. During this meeting, Mr. Abramoff was asked if he had a financial or business relationship with Mr. Scanlon. He told our council he had no relationship with Mr. Scanlon. We now know that was not true.

Mr. Chairman, I fully share your view that scheming to defraud tribes must stop here and now and that those responsible should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. You will be pleased to know that the current tribal council has taken steps to ensure this never happens again to our tribe. We are committed to taking steps within our tribal government to bring openness to our contracting process. We have drafted a tribal ordinance that creates a hiring process that all lobbyists must follow. It ensures no secret deals or contracts for anyone. It mandates all contracts must be approved at open tribal council sessions.

But, Mr. Chairman, and members of this committee, I am not here just to tell you what has happened to our tribe. We have worked to put together the pieces of this bizarre puzzle, but because we have limited access to various records, we have not had a full accounting of where our money went. And we do not have a full account of what these lobbyists were doing. I encourage you to continue this investigation as far as it needs to go.

Mr. Chairman, I want you to know that our tribe is prepared to do whatever it takes to get back the money that was wrongfully taken from us. We want to work with the committee to get to the bottom of what these people did and to return to our people money that can be used for educating our children and health care for our elderly. From the beginning of this investigation, our Tribe has fully cooperated with the committee and you can be assured that we will continue do so.

Again, I want to thank the committee for holding these hearings. I especially want to thank Senator McCain who has done so much to improve the quality of life for Indian people and has been a leader in pressing for these hearings. I am available for any questions you may have.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHRISTOPHER PETRAS, FORMER LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee:

I am pleased to be here this morning to participate in this hearing regarding the lobbying practices involving Indian tribes. I was employed by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan in their Legislative Affairs Department for a little more than 5 years beginning in December 1998 as policy research analyst and ending in January 2004 as director of legislative affairs. During my employment with the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan I served under the direction of four tribal councils, including an interim tribal council appointed by former Bureau of Indian Affairs Assistant Secretary, Kevin Gover in 1999. My employment ended with the tribe when the current tribal council headed by Chief Audrey Falcon and Sub-chief Bernard Sprague voted to completely eliminate the tribe's legislative affairs director position. A few newspaper stories however reported that I was fired. This is not true and is reflected in the January 23, 2004 minutes of the tribal council, special session, minutes, where the minutes clearly indicate that the current tribal council voted to eliminate the director of legislative affairs position as a departmental restructuring move and not for inadequate performance or any other reason as reported in other news publications.

One newspaper printed a correction after incorrectly reporting in a story that I was fired by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe's current tribal council and only was the correction printed until after the reporter re-checked the facts by reading the January 23, 2004 minutes of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council special session.

I have read over the past several months in news publications the attacks on former tribal council members of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan who voted through democratic tribal council procedures and with contract review by in-house tribal legal counsel to hire consultants Capital Campaign Strategies and Greenberg Traurig to assist the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan in advocating policy positions of the tribe at the Federal and State levels of government. What is disconcerting about the news stories is the claim, by unidentified congressional staff, that no significant issues were present during the employment period of Capital Campaign Strategies and Greenberg Traurig with the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan. This is not the case.

Indian country has experienced challenges to tribal self-sufficiency and determination over many decades. Policy proposals that attempt to undermine important tribal government service areas such as Indian health care, Indian education, and even Indian free enterprise efforts have all surfaced. These threats have from time-to-time specifically affected tribal nations, including the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan. A tribal nation's ability to express the will of its members to Federal, State, and local governments and participate in our American democracy requires both public officials and the general public to respect and have trust in the capabilities of tribal leaders. Calling into question the intellectual capabilities of tribal leaders to make policy and hiring decisions only insults Indian country and assumes Native Americans are incapable of running their own governments. This surely is not what tribal nations want or expect from public officials and the general public.

Unfortunately, democratically elected Tribal-legislators and the tribal member voters who elect them are facing a more personal threat to their self-sufficiency and determination throughout Indian country. And that is an attack on their intellectual capabilities to make informed decisions about what their tribal government needs are and who they may hire to advocate their tribe's policy positions at the Federal and state levels of government. Tribal members who are elected democratically to their tribal legislatures understand the needs of their governments much better than non-Native Americans who typically are unfamiliar with the culture, Federal, State, and local policy issues directly affecting a particular tribe, and especially when it comes to understanding the intra-tribal family dynamics that often serve as the compass for finding a tribal nation's direction. Determining what is in the best interest of a tribal nation should be left to a tribal nation to decide. The United States, for example, does not establish policy for its citizens based on the desires of what other countries feel the United States should offer its citizens. While outside factors can clearly change the course of direction for a government, its path is chosen by the people through their elected representatives.

Tribal government leaders like their counterparts in Federal and State government are fully capable of making informed decisions and calculating the cost/benefits of those decisions. The decision of a tribal government to hire a company to advocate its policy positions and protect its economic well-being is the choice of that tribal government and not that of tribal employee staff or outside observers. To subjectively challenge the decision of a tribal government to spend an amount agreed to by the tribe and its vendor on services to be provided really challenges two things: First, it challenges the intelligence of the elected tribal legislators and thus their voters and second, it challenges the notion of a free-market system where individuals can enter into the market with a good or service and sell the goods or services at a price that they and the consumer agree to.

The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan made a decision to hire Capital Campaign Strategies and Greenberg Traurig at an amount agreed to by both companies and the tribe. The decision to hire both firms was conducted by a democratic vote of the tribal council. The tribe's in-house legal counsel negotiated the contracts. Opinions over whether or not the amount paid by the tribe to Capital Campaign Strategies and Greenberg Traurig was too high is subjective and appears over the last few months to be used in politicizing Native Americans and their intellectual capabilities. While some unidentified congressional staff, as reported in newspapers, may have felt that no significant Federal issues existed that affected Indian country during the time Capital Campaign Strategies and Greenberg Traurig were hired by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, this clearly was not the position held by the tribal council at that time.

In addition, the recently rendered Federal labor decisions affecting tribal government labor practices for example show that there actually were significant Federal issues pending that affected Indian country. Not to mention for example that Indian health care funding and education funding were and have been for some time significant policy issues for Indian country.

Tribal governments have come a long way in establishing strong and positive government-to-government relations with the United States. Now more than ever, many tribal nations are hiring the best firms, protecting their self-sufficiency and determination, and expressing the will of their Members to Congress and State legislatures. The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe is one of those tribal governments. Challenging a tribal government's capability while at the same time politicizing the cost of a mutually agreed upon contract for services between a tribe and a vendor, sends a dangerous message to Indian country. Does the committee intend to review all contracts with sovereign nations, or at least the current contracts with the current tribal governments? If Native Americans are treated as unintelligent decision-

makers and their democratic tribal council procedures for approving contracts are considered non-legitimate, Indian country progress will be set back 150 years.

In closing, I would like to thank the committee for granting me this opportunity to share these thoughts on lobbying practices in Indian country.

SCANLON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
CAPTIOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

June 5, 2001

Jeremy,

I received e-mail from David regarding your call tomorrow – thank you. In the interim I was hoping you could look at a few things for me, (by the way I sending this to you in writing only because my handwriting is awful).

a) Can you please outline the benefits and draw backs of leasing a car in the firm's name. I currently lease one car, and own another outright I would like to lease an additional vehicle for my business travel in DC and surrounding areas.
b) Attached is my operating agreement. Can you please review the agreement and make a judgment as to whether I should be operating under a different corporate structure.
c) Attached are bank statement summaries for your review. I thought they may give you some insight into how the firm operates, and where it stands financially.
d) I am interested in rewarding some of my employees, and contractors with a trip at years end. Can you please determine if there is a way to do this without creating a taxable event?
e) My main source of referral business is practically forcing me to financially participate in his sky boxes at Redskins Stadium and the MCI center. This is a considerable amount of money and I want to make sure I do not have to pay taxes on the amount I am giving him as well. Can you confirm for me that this is a business expense?
f) I am officially a resident of the state of Delaware as of May 25, 2001. Can you please determine if it makes sense to establish my business in DE as well?

Thanks for all your help. Please call me anytime.

[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 12:00 PM
To: 'mscanlon1[redacted]
Subject: RE: rb today?

Should work. around 11. just confirm on the phone. I'm a fat pig, so you should whoop me.

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1[redacted] [mailto:mscanlon1[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 12:36 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: rb today?

got it. We do need to get on the court by the way. Hows tommorow am?

----Original Message----

From: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: rb today?
Sounds like a plan, but let's discuss when we are together.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 11:14 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: rb today?

A few weeks ago you mentioned something to me - I took the concept and have put together a plan that will make serious money. We also talked briefly about it in the beginning of the year but I think we can really move it now. Here are the broad strokes; I have been making contacts with some larger Public Affairs companies in town for a few months. I have two solid relationships that will seriously consider acquiring Capitol Campaign Strategies. The problem is that there is not much in CCS right now. However, if we build up Capitol Campaign Strategies enough I can get it acquired by a large firm by the end of next year at 3x the firm revenue. Bottom line: If you help me get CCS a client base of $3 million a year, I will get the clients served, and the firm acquired at $9 million. We can then split the up the profits. What do you think?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 10:26 AM
To: mike[redacted]
Cc: rosemanc[redacted]
Subject: RE: rb today?

Sounds good.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 10:17 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: rb today?

I cant - Im going up to see Balabon in NY today. Tommorow?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 18, 2001 10:16 AM

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 10:07 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE:

Great.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 10:46 AM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: RE:

THE PRICE HAS JUST GONE UP TO 10 MIL!! Sounds good on the strategy. We should be wrapped up with the other camapigns soon, so I could run his general election to make sure we get or give me five!!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 04, 2001 11:38 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject:

I had dinner tonight with Chris Petras of Sag Chip. He was salivating at the $4-5 million program I described to him (Is that enough? Probably not). They have their primary for tribal council on Tuesday, which should determine if they are going to take over (general elections in November). I told him that you are the greatest campaign expert since .... (actually, I
told him that there was no one like you in history!). He is going to
come
in after the primary with the guy who will be chief if they win (a big fan of ours already) and we are going to help him win. If he wins, they take over in January, and we have millions. I told him that you are already in national demand and we need to secure you for them. He is very excited. GIMME FIVE lives.

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 7:31 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: saginaw

Looks like you have it well in hand. I smell victory! I smell gimme five!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 8:22 AM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Subject: RE: saginaw

<< File: Slate of eight Political Calendar.doc >> Election is next Tuesday - I have a guy on the ground, 2 more heading up for the final push on Friday, and 4 mail pieces including personalized letters from the candidates hitting between tomorrow and election day. Attached is our campaign calendar. If we don't win after all this - we never had a chance!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 30, 2001 7:51 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: saginaw

When exactly is their election? Do you have a guy up there?

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From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 8:43 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Saginaw Election

I love it!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 9:39 AM
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]; [redacted]; abramoff[redacted] [redacted]
Subject: Saginaw Election

Well team... Last night was amazing - The slate of 8 kicked ass; and I want to thank all of you for helping out - and watching the bottom line.

We had less than three weeks to take 8 guys we never met before and get theme elected. It was a great plan, and great execution by a great team. Just to recap, we elected 7 out of our slate of 8 - and the last guy - Ray Davis missed it by ONE vote. We did get another one of our allies elected in District 2, and we now control 9 out of the 12 seats on the council. Maynard will be elected Chief at the organizational meeting on December 4th, and hopefully we will be doing some more work for the tribe in the near future.

THIS MAKES US 2-0 in tribal elections this year!

Great work again - and by the way the last time I saw [redacted] he was doing Tequila shots with [redacted] at the Bennigans in Mt. Pleasant Michigan - If anyone hears from him - tell him to get back to the office - we have a referendum to win in Louisiana!

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2001 7:12 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Saginaw

What am I a dictionary? :) It's a lower form of existence basically.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 17, 2001 7:16 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: Saginaw

What's a troglodyte?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 16:56:26 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

The f'ing troglodytes didn't vote on you today. Dammit.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 17, 2001 4:11 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: Re: Saginaw

Did we win it?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 15:51:54 2001
Subject: Saginaw

Just spoke with Chris. Did you get Maynard? Chris said they are voting on the project today!! Can you smell money?!?!?!

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 18, 2001 7:13 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Saginaw

They spent the whole time discussing the firings of late. I like these guys, and truly believe they are going to do the program, but they are plain stupid. They should have had you on board first and then done the firings. Morons.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 17, 2001 7:15 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Saginaw

Did chris say what the hold up was?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 18:09:34 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

Yes they will
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 17:52:38 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

These knuckleheads are never going to do it!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 16:56:26 2001
Subject: RE: Saginaw

The f'ing troglodytes didn't vote on you today. Dammit.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 17, 2001 4:11 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: Saginaw

Did we win it?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Mon Dec 17 15:51:54 2001
Subject: Saginaw

Just spoke with Chris. Did you get Maynard? Chris said they are voting on the project today!! Can you smell money?!?!?!

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 9:59 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: status at sagchip

We'll get it!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 10:25 AM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Subject: RE: status at sagchip

I cant believe that I spilled blood getting those guys elected, and I got stiffed. How incredibly ungrateful. Can they at the very least sign me to some kind of deal? I cant believe they laid a goose - egg.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 9:53 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: status at sagchip

Just spoke with Petras. He spoke with Otto (can't believe this guy is getting off the rails). Otto is coming to DC on the 29th for two days with us (Petras will come too, but wants to stay in the background). Otto is bringing his father in law who is from the Cheyenne Arapaho Tribe in Oklahoma. Otto is concerned about them being so far out on the line financially without anything to show first. He said that Otto wants to see some approps come through first. I told him - and he, Petras, agrees - that waiting is ridiculous because it will be 9 months before we know about approps, and in the meantime they would have blown an incredible opportunity. Anyway, we have to get Otto back on board when he is here. Can you do the Wizards game with us on the night of the 29th?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 16, 2002 6:26 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: sagchips

Don't forget to get to Otto and set up a meeting asap. We need that moolah. We have to hit $50M this year (our cut!).

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on beh
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 29, 2002 8:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: [redacted]

Might be better to meet after we see [redacted]. I think it's essential that you take Ott
to dinner tomorrow night. Can you do it? I have to meet with the monkeys from the Choctaw
tribal council. You need to close the deal with him. I set it up tonight.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted].
Sent: Tuesday, January 29, 2002 6:59 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Mizzou

[redacted]

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 8:55 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: FW: LA

You iz da man.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 3:54 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: LA

Ok on this, I'll take care of it and get all the payouts rolling.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 12:32 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: FW: LA

Choctaw did not yet pay us for[redacted]? Shoot!. Should I call [redacted] on this? we need to get some $ from those monkeys!!!! As to Ralph, go ahead and pay him so I can get him off my back. we'll get the Choctaw money soon enough.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 9:29 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: LA

We still haven't been paid for ms- I can cover bothour of lousiana money if you want- the ms money won't be here till next week probably.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wed Feb 06 22:16:49 2002
Subject: FW: LA

Can you get him the $50K for MS now?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 12:35 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: LA

wanted to just let you know we've not received the payment for[redacted] yet. We've burned through more than half of that already in out-sourced vending with phones, mail, radio, so we appreciate it if you could expedite.

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 7:09 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

We are meeting them tomorrow and will get it sorted out.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 3:06 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

What a cluster that tribe is. We are so close to nailing down projects for them. I have a feeling they are going to blow it. All the letters and paperwork is almost done and/or ready to go.

Even if we had to take some money out of our retainer to pay Scanlon to work the ground for them for crying out loud...

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 3:01 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

I am going there tomorrow by the way, on the way back from Nevada. Meeting with our slate on the council, chief, subchief, et al, to make sure they start doing the local political work they need to do to stay in power.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:38 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: RE: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

He said he would go back to the council with it shortly. He wanted to hold off until we got the $270K or so in hand to give out...then go back for another line item. I think if we tell them about the next meeting (who is going to be there, yadda yadda)...plus the Choctaw are there, they'll give the money.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 11:35 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Contribution Request Matrix -- with Member/Committee Names/Addresses/Amount

Did he respond to the crea request?
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
To: 'cpetras[redacted] <cpetras[redacted]
CC: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 12 11:34:16 2002

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 7:42 AM
To: Chris
Subject: RE: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

Can you hand out the invoice (but only to the slate of 8) and just read them the memo? The opposition should just hear this at the table orally and get nothing in writing. Will that work?

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:55 AM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Subject: Re: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

When I brought up the issue previously, the response was it was too soon to ask. However, I just talked to the Chief and he said bring the materials over. I have the materials but need to know if all can see the documents or if there is another document that needs to be typed outlining the program and payment costs? Something that says basically here is the program, here is what the Tribes use the program for, here is what it will cost total and with quarterly payments. I need a document that everyone who would be utilized throughout the process can see. Thanks. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoff[redacted]
To: [redacted]
Date: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:03 AM
Subject: can you get Maynard and David (and the others)

>Up to date on the sports suites proposal and get that approved asap? I have
>to get closure here. The other participants are getting antsy about
>this and want to get moving, and bills are coming due. Let me know if
>I need to make any calls on it. Thanks Chris.
>
>
>
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>postmaster@gtlaw.com.
>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 27, 2002 9:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Agua Caliente

I saw them tonight. They really can't wait for you to lead them to the promised land! Tomorrow night, after the reception at Sigs, let's take them to dinner and lock up the deal.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 8:45 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: call me at home

Yes, go for it big time.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:20 AM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: RE: call me at home

Agua Calliente

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:25 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: call me at home

The AC race?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:17 AM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: RE: call me at home

Hey - How much do you want me to spend on the AC race - I gotta get a team out there ASAP - Like 3 people - Then rotate a new team in after that - So travel is goanna run about 20k and materials like 5 - 10k.
Should we go for it?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:09 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: call me at home

[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 9:01 AM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: RE: call me at home

[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff [redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, March 05, 2002 7:12 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: call me at home

Tribal Election 2002
Aqua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians

Message

We will communicate that this election is about direct leadership with leaders who are in touch with the tribe. You are the new leaders, the leaders who will take the tribe into the future. Not the old leaders who are only looking out for number 1.

Tactics

This campaign is built on direct interaction with the tribal members. That is why we have developed a plan that will put you in contact with very voter at last five times over the next 7 days. More importantly, by segmenting the voter population into three tiers, you will have a tailored message for each member you meet. There are a number of ways to interact with the voters, and we have developed 4 highly effective systems to deliver your message. They are listed below.

I. Mail

We have developed three separate mail pieces that will articulate your messages. The first will hit on Friday, March 8. It will be a personalized letter from you, explaining why you are a superior candidate for your position.

The second will be a comparison piece that draws distinctions between you and your opponents. This letter will reach the voters on Monday, March 11.

The third piece will be a traditional Get Out The Vote Piece (GOTV) that asks for their support and reminds them to mail in their ballot. This piece will be delivered Thursday, March 14.

II. Door to Door

You are the candidates who are in touch. Let's prove it. During the weekend of March 8-10, you will make personal contact with 50 voters (each). This personal interaction will go miles by making yourselves visible to the voters. This is your chance to prove that you are the candidates who truly are working for the tribal members.

III. Phones

We have developed a phone script that will reiterate your message to the voters and ask for their support. It will be coordinated from Palm Springs, and will take place throughout the weekend of March 8, 9, and 10. Phone messaging is especially effective in reaching those voters that cannot be contacted in person.

IV. Candidates Meeting

On Sunday, March 10, we will organize a candidates' night for both of you. Obviously, it will afford you an opportunity to remind your supporters to send in their ballots, and give you an opportunity to articulate your views to those "undecideds" who attend. More importantly, it will create a buzz around the membership that will ultimately sweep you into office.

FROM : FAX NO. : Dec. 11 2001 02:12PM P7

vision integrity courage

My name is Virginia Siva and I am announcing my candidacy for the position of Tribal Chairman. This is an exciting time in the history of the tribe and I believe I can provide the vision and determination to take us to the next best place. In the past you have entrusted me with your support each year as I ran for an at large seat on the Tribal Council, now I ask that you extend that faith in me as I seek the position of Tribal Chairman. Together we can make a difference.

Past generation provided this Tribe with extraordinary leadership - and in many regards we enjoy the fruits of their labor. Their inspiration and determination allow us to prosper today. Now it is time for a new generation to assume that responsibility of leadership. I have come to this challenge with the support and love of my family. I believe I bridge two great generations - and can lead us into the future fortified by the lessons of the past.

I want to share with you why I have decided to run for this position. First, for leadership to be accountable there should be some periodic checks and balances and change affords us that opportunity. We should never take our leaders for granted, for some day they may take the membership for granted and lead without inspiration or accountability.

Second, it is essential that we prepare the Tribe for both short and long-range challenges. Thus we need to assess how we can diversify our economy to ensure that future generations share in the same economic prosperity that we are witnessing today. In addition, we need to assess what our long-range human resource needs will be and make strategic investments in our youth who are seeking higher education. It is important that we equip tribal members with the knowledge and experience to lead a diversified tribal economy in the future. For example, we need members to pursue business management, natural resource protection, recreational science and tourism, to meet existing and emerging needs. Diversified economic development complemented by educational investments will only make us stronger and better equipped to meet the needs of future generations.

I thank you for your past support and hope I can count on your vote to help me fulfill our vision for the future of the Tribe.

Sincerely,

Virginia Siva

Virginia Siva

Agua Caliente
Tribal Chairman and Council Election
GOTV Timeline

Wednesday, March 6, 2002

- ☒ Draft Talking Points for Virginia
- ☒ Final Drafts of Candidate Letters
- ☒ Final Drafts of Candidate Fliers
- ☒ Create Invitation for Community Meeting
- ☒ Send Letters, Fliers and Invitation for Candidates' Approval
- ☒ Confirm Staff Flights
- ☒ Confirm Staff Hotel Reservations
- ☒ Confirm Van Rentals (2)
- ☒ Driving directions from LAX to Palm Springs
- ☒ Secure site for Community Meeting
  - ☒ Book caterer
- ☒ Print envelopes, letters
- ☒ Buy Stamps
- ☒ FedEx mailing to Palm Springs
- ☐ Contact candidates and review timeline
- ☐ Complete 3-tier list

Thursday, March 7, 2002

9:15 AM	WHEELS UP	Dulles (United Airlines, Flight 183)
11:56 AM	WHEELS DOWN	LAX

TO DO

- ☐ Staff prepares for door-to-door campaigning
- ☐ Staff prepares for Community Meeting
- ☐ Candidate letters arrive via FedEx and dropped in mail
- ☐ Buy cell phone
- ☐ Secure Post Office Box address

Friday, March 8, 2002
Noon Lunch with Candidates
4:00 PM - 9:00PM Door-to-door campaigning

TO DO
- Provide candidates with talking points for Community Meeting

Saturday, March 9, 2002
9:00 AM - 9:00PM Door-to-door campaigning

TO DO
- Prep candidates for Community Meeting

Sunday, March 10, 2002
10:00 AM - 4:00 PM Door-to-door campaigning
7:30 PM - 9:00 PM Community Meeting

Monday, March 11, 2001

1:10 PM	WHEELS UP	LAX (United Airlines, Flight 194)
8:51 PM	WHEELS DOWN	Dulles

VIRGINIA SIVA
TALKING POINTS
COMMUNITY MEETING
MARCH 10, 2002

I would like to thank everyone for coming out tonight for this community meeting.

I am Virginia Siva and I am running for Tribal Chairman.

I have visited many of you over the past few days. And, I believe that meeting face-to-face is very important between council leadership and tribal members.

To be effective, a good leader must have a strong and open relationship with all tribal members.

I want to bring a new energy into the council. My main goal is to take the lessons and successes of the past and use them to guide us into an even greater future.

Our tribe needs a leader that understands your concerns and is in tune with our needs. I am an experienced member of the tribal council and I know this community well.

As tribal chairman I will always have an open door policy. I want to represent you and your needs in a positive way.

A vote for me is a vote for a new beginning and a brighter future.

New ideas and a fresh outlook are important to the continued prosperity of our tribe.

I will use every resource to ensure that the tribe's success is the people's success, **OUR SUCCESS!**

Again, thank you for coming out this evening. I ask you for your support and your vote. Please make sure to send in your ballots!

Your vote will send a message: that our tribe chooses to elect leaders that are ***in touch*** and that will give back to our community.

THANK YOU.

CANDACE PATENCIO
TALKING POINTS
COMMUNITY MEETING
MARCH 10, 2002

Thank you all for attending our meeting tonight. It is wonderful to see so many tribal members gathered together.

For those of you who don't know me, I am Candace Patencio and I am running for the Tribal Council.

As a tribal council member, I will use my education and gaming business experience to help further our successes as a tribe while at the same time continuing to honor our rich legacy of strength and community.

I will work hand-in-hand with you to make smart decisions that produce positive changes for the tribe.

Casting your vote for me means that you support an ***honest, effective and experienced*** tribal council.

A vote for me is a vote for smart business decisions and a prosperous future.

Your support is important. All of us can choose to bring a positive change by working together. But to do it, I need your vote.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 6:03 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: those f'ing SagChips

Let's chat about these guys. I agree about the [redacted], but we need to energize this. we spent the time and won the election, and now have a great contract with them. they are not happy with the service they are getting. We need to step up and save this (a lot less work to turn this into a winner than to find another rich tribe and bring them to this point). they are apparently unhappy that you are not there. I am seeing Chris Petras tomorrow and will get a temperature and we'll find a way to fix it. we need a beautiful girl to send up there to do our work. I am really not kidding. This deal is a big part of our financial life and we cannot let it slip away.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 6:29 PM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: those f'ing SagChips

Jack - the fact that they are not doing [redacted] has nothing to do with them not seing results on my end - the are just friggin cheap - and losers - I very seriously doubt we will ever see another penny from them
- and there was no chance that they were ever going to do the [redacted]. We really have to watch these guys.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 3:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: those f'ing SagChips

[redacted] just told me that they are not going to do the [redacted]. He said they are under fire and are worried that they are spending too much money. I really am worried that they are not seeing results from us up there, so they are starting to rethink doing stuff with us. can you PLEASE get someone up there asap?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 15, 2002 2:56 PM
To: 'Rodney Lane'
Subject: FW: Personal financial statement

Personal Financial Statement -...

Here is the latest one I have. We should remove the Suncruz item from it, and add in the restaurant (value at $2M I think). Also, put in $5M revenue/yr from CCS, valued as $30M (multiple of 6). Check with Gail before we send over to anyone, since I want to make sure it's consistent with the rest of the stuff I am sending them. we should not reveal this to anyone but Gail, though, since no one knows the CCS stuff. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 11, 2001 6:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Personal financial statement

I made a couple of slight changes and made sure the numbers add up. I gave no additional information beyond listing First Gate so you may wish to elaborate.

If you can look this over, make revisions and get it back to me tonight, I'll fax it over to Bill in the morning.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 2:11 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Curve

Da man! You iz da man! Do you hear me?! You da man!! How much $$ coming tomorrow? Did we get some more $$ in?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 18, 2002 3:06 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Curve

hey I got a fax from you regarding the Altoona curve - I cant pay this out of my account - that's the bad news - the good news is that you have a hell of alot coming your way tommorow so this won tbe a problem.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
mike[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack[redacted])
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 5:21 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Caliente

Thanks. Yes, I got a call from Candace. Virginia did not listen to Mike Scanlon's campaign guideance and did not work hard enough. Very sad.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 4:05 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Subject: Caliente

I had a message from[redacted] Virginia did not win the tribal chairman's race. But, Candance did win the at large race. [redacted]
Greenberg Traurig
[redacted]

SAGINAW CHIPPEWA INDIAN TRIBE OF MICHIGAN
PUBLIC RELATIONS PLAN
April 5, 2002

The Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribal Council is charged with leading one of the most successful Indian tribes in the United States. This powerful position places the Tribal Council on the frontlines before Congress, the media and its members. The Tribal Council must passionately accept its role as leader, especially during times of controversy both internally and externally. In times of crisis everyone is a critic – locals gossip, the media spins and Congress watches. Looking at the larger picture and actively pursuing a positive image will help polish the Tribe's image, stave off potential crises and provide ammunition to quash future negative attacks.

I. GOAL

Capitol Campaign Strategies' objective is to provide the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council with the tools and resources necessary to successfully and *proactively* promote their agenda and improve their image among tribal members, the media and legislators. The goal is to make this Tribal Council the most powerful and effective Administration in the history of the Saginaw Chippewa Indians of Michigan and secure their reelection.

KEY MESSAGE POINTS

- The priority of this Tribal Council is to unite our Nation. We work for the interests of ALL tribal members.
- This Tribal Council has integrity. We act responsibly, thoughtfully and are true to our word. Tribal Members can trust us.
- We are going to take this tribe into the 21st Century with original ideas that will benefit future generations to come.
- Our success is your success; no one will be left behind.

II. STRATEGY

CCS' strategy is to arm the Tribal Council with an effective message and the resources needed to communicate that message in a clear, accurate and concise fashion. *Preparedness* and *forward thinking* are the keys to responding quickly, thoughtfully and effectively. Each action and activity is conceived to maximize the Tribal Council's visibility and bolster its political capital.

External Communications Strategy

CCS will identify opportunities to promote the Tribal Council's agenda through targeted media and Saginaw Chippewa-sponsored events and activities.

In addition, CCS will conduct a full-scale "public relations audit" of the tribe's communications capabilities. This audit will determine how well or poorly the tribe's external communications systems have worked in the past, and how they can be streamlined and updated if necessary.

Media Relations
CCS will focus media relations around the Tribal Council's agenda and actions. Using a combination of communications tools, techniques and relationships, we will work to generate ongoing print, broadcast and radio coverage of Tribal Council activities that have an impact on the local community. Initially, CCS plans to target local and regional media. Trade publications and national media will be a long-term goal.

- Identify opportunities for editorials and letters-to-the-editor. CCS will prepare responses to political news articles and editorials for the Chief and other specified individuals.

- Determine activities and announcements that warrant a press conference. *(For example, coordinate a press conference to announce Spring 2002 disbursements.)*

- Target key journalists who consistently cover the Tribal Council, inviting them to the reservation for a private tour and exclusive interviews. This can have a specific pitch in mind such as education or healthcare.

Community Relations
CCS will identify worthy charity and event sponsorships and ensure that the tribe participates. The objective is to earn a respected position in the community and earned media from the press.

- CCS will work with the Tribal Council to promote and raise the profile of Saginaw Chippewa participation in philanthropic activities and events.

- CCS will recommend new ideas for Saginaw Chippewa-sponsored events and/or charities to develop.

  For Example:
  - *Host a "casino night" inviting tribal and local community members to participate, designating proceeds to a charity, school, or hospital of the tribe's choice.*

  - *Invite local school children to the Traditional Village for tours and to learn more about tribal culture. Organize press photo-op.*

  - *Invite press to ribbon-cuttings and provide pre-opening private tours of new facilities and/or new programs.*

- CCS will develop a Public Service Announcement Strategy for the tribe. This will help the Tribal Council improve its public standing by utilizing a free form of communication.

Internal Communications Strategy

***"Only through education can we hope to build strong individuals and nations which can meet the needs of our future generations,"* – from the official Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan website.**

Taking a cue from the tribe's own education mission statement, intra-tribe relations will focus on establishing dialogue between the Tribal Council and tribal members, ultimately building a trust that leads to voter capital. Tribal trust is an evolving process that requires careful cultivation and education. CCS recommends planning regularly scheduled tribal community meetings and annual events.

- CCS will propose, stage and help execute all intra-tribe communications as directed by the council. This will include communicating important tribal government issues to the tribal membership at large. *For example, CCS will continue sending letters of update from the Chief and Tribal Council to tribal members on a monthly basis.*
- CCS will assist the Tribal Council in the scheduling, staging and staffing of all "community meetings."
- CCS will handle all announcement communications for the Council, such as community meeting pre-publicity and invitations.
- Identify key group of influential tribal members from each district to form a "kitchen cabinet" that will informally meet with the Tribal Council for information/idea sharing breakfast or luncheons. This is a great way to form strong relationships with prominent figures of the tribe and may lead to positive "word of mouth" promotion.

III. CRISIS COMMUNICATIONS

CCS will collaborate with the Tribal Council to develop a response system for the notification of an incident/emergency, as it relates politically. This system will streamline reporting time and control information and messaging.

IV. RESOURCES

CCS will provide the following tools to help the Tribal Council effectively communicate their agenda.

Media Training
The CCS team will provide media training for identified spokespeople from the Tribal Council who will be speaking with the media or before the public. Training topics include:

- Understanding the role of the media versus the role of the spokesperson
- Message development
- Communication techniques
- How to stay on message
- Facts and figures
- Anecdotes
- Transitional words
- Push-button responses
- Controlling the interview

Written Communication
CCS will draft written materials for the Tribal Council when needed to include:

- Media advisories
- Press releases
- Opinions/letters-to-the-editor
- Talking points and/or statements

Press Conferences, Community Meetings and other Events
CCS will assist the Tribal Council in the scheduling, staging and staffing of all political press events.

- Prep spokespeople
- Coordinate media in attendance

V. CONCLUSION

The internal and external strategies outlined above will enable the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council to effectively communicate their agenda, resulting in a successful and highly regarded Administration.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, April 07, 2002 5:20 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Candace call

Call to see re trip

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2002 5:14 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Candace call

Candace Patencio [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2002 2:15 PM
To: 'Candace Patencio'
Subject: RE: Hi there

Thanks. I just tried your cell, but you must still be in the meeting. In a few hours, our religious holiday starts again, so I won't be able to call until Friday, but I will do so then. I think the way we should proceed is for you to tell the others that everyone has to work together to secure the tribe's political position and that the next few months are key, as there is an opportunity to work on the slots cap, which will almost certainly not be there after the new Governor is sworn in in January. Tell them that you have heard from the Choctaws and Coushattas that their political folks are the best and that you think it is a prudent thing for the tribe to invite us in to have a discussion as to what they can do for the tribe. Then, we'll come in and show them what we can do, and get a plan in place. Does this sounds like a good approach? On the one hand, to just come in cold won't have much of an impact and probably will take too long. on the other hand, if the others on the tribal council perceive that we are your guys (which we are!) it might make it difficult. If you recommend that we are brought in for a chat, that is probably the most neutral way to do it, and then we can figure out timing and the rest of the details while there. sound possible?
-----Original Message-----
From: Candace Patencio [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2002 11:51 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: Hi there

Yes, that should work. I'm not sure if an introductory letter from you firm searching for work is the best way or if the Tribe seeks you out through Moraino and I. What are your thoughts??? If the opportunity occurs I will push to seek for a qualified firm (YOU). I will see if in today's meeting I can lay the foundation. To approve any contracts they must be in a meeting on Tuesday and placed on the agenda on Friday by 10am. What target date should we set to get you on board???? I know now, but I need a little time (HAAAHAAA). Call me and let me know your thoughts. Hopefully, today's meeting is not too long.
----- Original Message -----
From: <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: <cpate[redacted]>
Cc: <mike[redacted]>
Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 3:29 PM
Subject: RE: Hi there

> Hi there. I'll give you a call on your cell, but we should be able to
> get out there on the 15th to spend some time with you and then with
> whomever
you
> think we should meet. We could then be there if needed on the 16th
> and leave that night. I think what we have in mind is helping the
> tribe set
up
> the kind of political strength we have done for others, but doing it
> very carefully so that you are the ultimate controller of the
> political power. To do this, unfortunately, we'll have to get the
> approval of the current regime, I guess. I leave it to you to guide
> us on how to get in there. Again, Mike and I see the mission here as
> getting in, getting you guys organized so we can get the slot cap off
> and other things the tribe needs, and getting you into a position
> where the next time an election comes, we will win all the offices
> (and install you as Chairperson!!!). Let me know if meeting on the
> 15th works for you guys. Regards.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Patencio, Candace [redacted]
> Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 12:34 PM
> To: abramof[redacted]
> Subject: RE: Hi there
>
> Today is my last day. You can e-mail me at home at [redacted] I
> am seated tomorrow. How do you want to do this???? Call me and let
> me know. Virginia and I are leaving for a 15 day cruise to Hawaii on
> 4/17. I have a Tribal Council meeting on Tuesday 4/16 that goes until
> about 5pm. Yes, I would like to talk to you and Mike to see how we
> could do the introduction and what level of help you could provide us.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: abramoff[redacted]
> Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 6:45 AM
> To: Patencio, Candace [redacted]
> Subject: Hi there
>
> Hope you are doing well. Wanted to see if you think it a good idea
> for Mike and me to come out there the week of the 15th, possibly on
> the 16th or 17th
> to see if we can do something for the tribe?
>
>
>
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and destroy all copies of the original message.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 7:33 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: SagChip idiots

done

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 15, 2002 8:30 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: SagChip idiots

Don't forget to send me the doc [redacted].

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Friday, April 12, 2002 9:01 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: SagChip idiots

You have got to be kidding me! I'll call in a bit and will email it over. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 11, 2002 11:43 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: SagChip idiots

Someone leaked out the [redacted] memo to the enemy up there. Petras told me this tonight. The PR guy, [redacted], is the enemy and - I did not know this - is a Sagchip, and is now going to run for council!! These mofos are the stupidest idiots in the land for sure. in any event, we better read [redacted] and get ready for some bad press at some point. can you email it to me so I can review it too?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:43 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

totally

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:35 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Amen! You got it boss - we have many years ahead! I will call Candice in the am on the issues - It will be tight

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 8:45 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Thanks so much! You are a great partner. What I love about our partnership is that, when one of us is down, the other is there. we're gonna make $ for years together! On AC, can you call Candace and get her take on the issues they want to hear about from us during our presentation? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 8:39 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Hey - good day all around - we wrapped up the Sag chip crap - We hit Coush - I think for 3 mil - and we are working gon Acaliente presentation - should be tight.

Rest up - Ill talk to you in the am.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 1:19 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: i'm not coming in today

Talk to me baby. Good stuff? Can you call me at home?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 1:14 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: i'm not coming in today

Do you smell that?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:02 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Are you fucking kidding me?! I hate those fucking boy scouts. What a bunch of assholes.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:32 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Hey guess what- the plane won't start! Oh yeah - waiting for a jump right now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:18a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

You IZ da man.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:09 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

I can think something up- let's chat.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:06a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

Sounds good to me. as for the $64K, I want to use it to buy a car I decided. Can we do it so neither of us pays taxes on it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 11:00 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

We did 800 for you 800 for me 250 for the effort the other 50 went to the plane and misc expenses. We both have an additional 500 coming when they pay the next phasesm

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 11:00a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

$800k? I thought we got $1.9M?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 09, 2002 10:54 AM

To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

800 k.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jul 9, 2002 10:45a
Subject: RE: FW: did we get a CCS check for Kaygold today?

How much is

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 4:56 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: CCS income for KayGold

Thanks. I figured it was a 1099'er.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 4:33 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: CCS income for KayGold

This was your cut of one of our programs - I forget which but will find out. And yes - It will show up on your 1099. Ill find out what program and get back to you.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 2:04 PM
To: [redacted] Mike Scanlon
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: RE: CCS income for KayGold

I have no idea. Mike, what does this mean?

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 12:08 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: CCS income for KayGold

In June your received a check for $150K. Chris at Mike S.'s office told Allison is was a "referral expense".

does this mean :
1. this is income to you -for referring a client. or
2. this is a reimbursement to you for some sort of expense.

If it is #1 then we need to set aside for taxes as it will show up in your 1099 at year end.

pls. advise. thanks.

[redacted]

Email: [redacted]

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Memorandum from Legislative Affairs

RECEIVED
AUG 1 8 2002
BY: Council file

To: Chief Maynard Kahgegab, Jr. and Councilman Robert Pego, Sr.

From: Chris Petras, Legislative Affairs

Date: 08/05/02

Re: Support for Capital Athletic Foundation in DC

Greetings

This is the reminder you requested regarding the request for support of the Capital Athletic Foundation in Washington, D.C by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan. The Foundation creates programs that teach leadership skills to disadvantaged youth in the DC-area in an effort to keep them off the streets and enhance their educational opportunities.

The Foundation request is for $25,000.00. If the Tribal Council votes to support the Foundation and assist in bringing youth development programs to disadvantaged youth, the check may be written as follows:

Capital Athletic Foundation

1101 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Suite 600

Washington, D.C.

Respectfully

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]j] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2002 9:38 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: transfers to Eshkol

Thanks for putting this together Gila.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 11, 2002 2:24 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Cc: [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: transfers to Eshkol

the 2002 Quick Books bookkeeping DRAFT shows the following as of 7/31/02: (rounded to the nearest $1,000):

Tax Reserve Account at Legg Mason $5,530,000
Long Term savings a/c at Legg Mason $600,000
Transfers/checks to Archives find Dinging $600,000 Transfers/checks to Livsar $751,000
Transfers to Personal account and cash withdrawals $590,000 (included in the $590K is 7K of cash withdrawals). Lexington Group investment $30,000 BMW purchase and design $99,000
Mark Maroglio/computer(I believe for your home) [redacted]
Political contributions $17,000 Amex Bills, Visa bills $275,000 [redacted]
Steven Abramoff (legal) $8,000 Accounting (mostly me and [redacted] $25,000
Joseph $42,000 Charter Airplane $72,000

All of the above totals $8,787,000.
The July 31 bank statement has an ending balance of $1,110,000.

That brings the total of cash in bank and expenses to $9,897,000

The difference between the total and the revenue that Kaygold had ($10,012,000). is $115,000. (acutally it is $117,223, but due to rounding that I did for this email the difference came to 115K).

I won't be able to tell you what those expenses are until the July bookkeeping is completed. It is not yet reconciled to the Jul bank statement.

After the July and Aug bookkeeping is done, I will email you a similar summary but it will be complete.

Laura, can you give Jack an idea what the $590K went for, on the transfers to JA personal?

Also, in the future, no personal checks will be written off of this account. they first will be transferred to JA personal. for example, Livsar and Arhives --first the money gets transferred to your personal a/c, then it will go to the restuarants.

[redacted]

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>>> [redacted] 09/09/02 09:12PM >>>
actually, we can now track it to the penny. the May and Barnhard bookkeeper has put KayGold on Quickbooks as of Jan 2002 and we are up to date as of 6/30/02. she will be working on July and Aug. over the next week or so.

the bookkeeping file is at May and Barnhard. I will be there Wednesday and can send you an email with the breakdown. can you wait until Wednesday?

To date (not counting the 2M that is forthcoming) I show CCS income of

$10,012,947.60.

In a message dated 9/9/2002 3:49:05 PM Eastern Daylight Time,
abramoffj[redacted] writes:

> I am about to get another $2.2M from CCS. Mike claims they have sent me
> over $10M this year. Can you track where all that money has gone?
>

[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:44 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Chris thinks this is not going anywhere. Can you call him and scare him?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:46 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: FW: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

Here we go! This could kill Saginaw!

-----Original Message-----
From: Brian J. Mann [mailto:brianjmann[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 11:43 AM
To: Chris Cathcart; Mike Scanlon; Patrick Gould; Amy Biederman; Erin Yeatman; David Flaherty; Aaron Stetter
Subject: MICHIGAN-Bills could revive state's horse tracks

LANSING STATE JOURNAL
THURSDAY OCTOBER 10, 2002
Bills could revive state's horse tracks
Racetracks seek new options to better compete with casinos
By Tim Martin and Sally Trout
Lansing State Journal
Michigan's struggling horse racing industry could get a boost from the Legislature this fall.

Money matters
The amount of money waged at Michigan horse tracks climbed soon after the state allowed simulcasting in 1996, but it has dropped steadily since.

Lawmakers may consider a package of bills that would allow horse tracks to better compete with the casinos that have cut into their business the past several years. Tracks could be allowed to have video lottery terminals, card rooms, satellite betting sites and possibly other gambling to renew interest in attending horse races. But the proposal likely will stop short of allowing slot machines at the state's seven horse tracks. Already, two companies have expressed interest in opening new horse tracks in Michigan - including a thoroughbred racing group that has pitched plans for the Williamston or Mason areas. Developers for the proposed Ingham County track, however, say the legislation is not a factor in their attempt to locate in Michigan. The state's incentive: more than $300 million in estimated tax revenues from the expanded gambling operations, which would help Michigan government cope with its budget woes. "It could be a lifeline to the industry," Annette Bacola, Michigan's racing commissioner, said of the bills that could be debated after the Nov. 5 election. The horse racing business has been battered for years. Attendance at Michigan horse tracks - about 1.4 million in 2001 - has fallen more than 40 percent in the past decade, continuing a slide that began in the 1970s. Each time a wave of casinos has opened in Michigan, horse tracks have lost business - particularly since three Detroit casinos debuted in the late 1990s. Betting at Michigan's seven horse tracks - $375 million in 2001 - is down more than 10 percent in the past decade. Wagering increased after the state allowed simulcast betting in 1996, but it dropped again in recent years. Ladbroke DRC, which opened in Livonia in 1950, closed in 1998 and is now home to a shopping center. A new track hasn't opened in Michigan since 1989. Horse owners often bypass Michigan tracks and opt to race out of state, hurting the quality of animals racing at state tracks. But Michigan racing officials say there are signs the industry is

beginning a turnaround. Waging at state tracks rose 5 percent in September compared with a year ago, although last year's take might have been hurt by the Sept. 11 terrorist strikes. Simulcast betting on the Belmont Stakes and the Kentucky Derby were higher this year than last, state officials say. There is more interest in renovating old tracks and improving marketing to draw more customers, Bacola said. And for the first time in 13 years, new tracks could open in Michigan. EQTAH Group, a Toronto-based company, has contacted Wheatfield Township and Mason officials about opening a thoroughbred and mixed breed track as early as next year. Magna Entertainment Corp. of Ontario - which already owns Great Lakes Downs in Muskegon - has plans for a track near Romulus for 2004. The proposed legislation has "no impact whatsoever" on EQTAH's plans for a track in Michigan, spokesman Ken Schneider said Wednesday. Magna officials could not be reached to comment on the legislation. But race officials say the package of bills - which have undergone major revisions since being introduced last year - could revive the industry. At least six U.S. racing jurisdictions allow some form of "racinos" - race tracks with casino gambling. And several others offer off-site betting or card rooms. In Delaware, video lottery machines alone bring in more than $175 million in additional revenue for the state each year. The developing Michigan legislation would allow tracks to host card rooms, run keno games and establish video lottery terminals. Other bills would allow tracks to set up satellite locations to accept bets, and establish telephone wagering so patrons could wager over the Internet. "They are critical - absolutely critical - to the industry,'' Rep. Judith Scranton, R-Brighton, said of the bills she sponsors in the House. Sen. George McManus, R-Traverse City, has a similar package pending in the Senate. Scranton said the package will not include slot machines - although many in the racing industry are lobbying for them and say they are vital to recovery. The bills have gained momentum as the state seeks new revenue sources. Michigan's state government has a projected $500 million shortfall for this fiscal year. Scranton said the various groups with interests in Michigan horse racing are close to agreement on what the package should contain, and it could be taken up in the lame-duck Legislature after the Nov. 5 election. Gov. John Engler opposes slots at Michigan horse tracks, but will take a wait-and-see approach on the other components, spokeswoman Susan Shafer said. Engler's main concern is how the proposal might affect state income already received from Indian casinos, used to promote economic development. Michigan received about $12 million last year from taxes on simulcast betting at state racetracks. Slot machine revenue would likely far exceed that, industry observers say. "If they get slots at these racetracks, it would turn everything around,'' said Larry Mallar, general manager of the Michigan Harness Horsemen's Association. But the potential casino aspect of the tracks could make it harder for them to find a home. Walter Sorg of Wheatfield Township said he originally thought a racetrack there might be a good idea. But after track officials pulled out of a township meeting where they had planned to outline their proposal, Sorg says he isn't sure. "The developers aren't talking to us and it makes me suspicious,'' Sorg said. "Maybe this, as some claim, is just a front for a casino.'' Mason's Terry Fobbs said he is ready to launch a grass-roots campaign against locating a track. "A race track doesn't fit here," he said. Mason Mayor Russell Whipple maintains Mason should at least listen to track developers' plans, which call for a $10 million investment and 100 new jobs wherever they locate. And Wheatfield officials have not taken a formal position on the track. Michigan cities and townships with horse tracks reaped simulcast revenue ranging from $804,000 in Hazel Park to about $16,000 in Isabella Township near Mount Pleasant last year. Contact Tim Martin at 377-1061 or tmartin@lsj.com. Contact Sally Trout at 377-1040 or strout @lsj.com. Published

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2002 7:50 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Aqua C

That's great news.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 24, 2002 6:58 PM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: Aqua C

Hey - Just wanted updated you on AC - on the phone with Candice now - we have all of our materials and work up to speed and the council and Cahirman are very happy.

I am working on setting them up right now for their elections next year. We are looking at Candice for Vice Chairman - which we are looking good on. We are also looking good at getting Virgina Elected under one scenario and Moreno is a lock.

The most Likely scenario right now is Barbara become chairman, with Candice as Vice Chair, Moreno, Janette and Virginia on the council - which would give us 4 out of 5 all the time - and possibly 5 out of 5 if we play it the right way.

This will be very/very good for us.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]

11-5+6-08
RS 798

November 1, 2002

The National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC) works with U.S. House Republicans to advocate policy positions of the party and elect their members to Congress. The NRCC has been very instrumental in advocating the Tribe's program goals and forming coalitions of support within the party for your program requests.

The three entities listed above have asked for support by the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan to assist them in funding efforts to protect Tribal sovereignty and advocate a higher social and economic quality-of-life for Tribal members.

Mr. Delay assists in raising money for a youth activity organization called Capital Athletic Foundation. All monies raised go directly to the Foundation and fund youth programs. They are respectfully requesting a contribution of $25,000.00.

Americans for Tax Reform is respectfully requesting a contribution of $25,000.00 to fund organization activities that advocate Tribal sovereignty and prevention of unwarranted federal taxation of Tribal revenues.

The National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC) is respectfully requesting a contribution of $25,000.00 to support candidates in this election who are close in their elections and support Tribal sovereignty and programs for the Tribe.

As you know, there are several individuals and groups working to weaken your sovereign rights. Supporting these three requests would greatly assist in opposing anti-sovereignty efforts. Should you agree to support these requests, the checks and amounts should be written as follows:

Capital Athletic Foundation ($25,000.00)

Americans for Tax reform ($25,000.00)

National Republican Campaign Committee ($25,000.00)

Respectfully

13

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 11:54 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Racinos

I'll follow up with him in a day.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 10:08 AM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: Racinos

I love you.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [redacted] [mailto:abramoffj [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 9:59 AM
To: cpetras [redacted]
Subject: Racinos

Chris, I am getting worried about this. Last night we opened Stacks and there were some WH guys there (who are Michigan guys - worked for Spence). They told me that there is a hearing coming up on this immediately, and that they have heard that this is going to happen!!! The enemy is moving fast and we are not on the field. where is Scanlon on this? what is he doing? Have you guys pushed the button? We need to get him firing missiles. How do we move it faster? Please get the council focused on this as soon as you can. every day we lose now is going to hurt.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, December 07, 2002 11:47 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT

Let's do it. we really need mo money. but you and I must meet and work out a strategy to get things moving. We are missing the boat. There are a ton of potential opportunities out there. there are 27 tribes which make over $100M a year (according to a NY Times piece on Nov 24 - can you have your guys do the research and find out which tribes these may be?). We need to get moving on them. can you come to town this week?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, December 07, 2002 8:21 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT
Importance: High

I talked with candice last night - she loves Duane! She was singing his praised- I don't know anout steph - I think we all need to pick it up on coushatta. Let's chat about that in the am.
I think u and I need to go there this month.

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

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]
Sent: Sat Dec 07 20:19:53 2002
Subject: FW: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT

Duane is doing an awesome job for Agua, but I don't get the sense that Stephanie is doing shit for Coushatta. Am I wrong?

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, December 05, 2002 2:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Agua Master Plan--in DRAFT
Importance: High

This is the DRAFT master plan for Agua. I will discuss it with them tomorrow informally. Want to finalize and present to them a week from next Tuesday. They have no board meetings the week of Christmas and New Years.

Forgive any errors--this is only DRAFT. Team will review the next draft. They put some of this together. <<Agua Caliente Master Plan.doc>>
Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
800 Connecticut Ave. N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
[redacted]
gibsond[redacted]mailto:gibsond[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, December 10, 2002 9:40 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Absolutely!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, December 10, 2002 10:37 AM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Well we got paid 5 - and had in our contract that we may need an additional 2 - but that we would have to come before the council to get it.

So I did up a presentation - and we are asking for 1.785 on Thursday - The reason we are doing git Thursday is that Richard and Barbara are out of town. I could ask for the whole 2 - but I though that would look strange - I could bump it up to 1.875?

Whatta think?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 11:52 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Is the $1.7M what we were expecting from them, or less?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 4:29 PM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Hey there - I spoke with Candice today - we have 1.7 coming our way and I also spoke with [redacted] looks like we in Biz there too. Ill call in a little while. I've gotta go out to CA to present to the council this week - you want to come? I was thinking of stopping in Louisiana to see William and Lovelin.

I only want to make this an overnight trip though. Can you do Thursday CA - Louisiana on the way back Friday - home before sundown Friday eve?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 11:58 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 9:50 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: California

Ha ha ha. I'm a fat pig, so resumption of the death matches will have to wait a while still.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 10:39 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: California

You Bitch! I have been playing a little as well - This guy I play with uses that same pussy ceiling shot you always use!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 9:51 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: California
I have an idea, but don't want to put it on email. just tried your cell. I'm in a 10 am meeting in 10mins. Can you call my cell before, or around 10:45am? I'm playing 11 am rb bitch!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 9:33 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: California

Well - We just ge the more slots - and the best compact we can. I figure it this way, If we get them more slots (whether or not they thick they could have done it without us) the program paid for itself.

All we need to do is secure more slots and the amount paid put for the program cannot be used against our allies on the council - and could actually be used against Richard and Barbara.

The way I figure it if we get them 500 new slots (i think we will get between 1000 and 2500) - each kicks off 50k per year - that's 25 million bucks. Less the 6.7 they paid us:

In year one - BECAUSE OF OUR PROGRAM the tribe will NET 18.3 million.

So o matter what happens - as long as we do the very worst case scenario - we have a stong political argument for our guys.

—Original Message—
From: abramoffj[redacted][mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, January 04, 2003 11:09 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: California
Shit. Now what?

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 4:46 PM
To: abramof[redacted]
Subject: RE: California

Candice is 100% behind it.
—Original Message—
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 3:59 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: California
This lawsuit may be our savior. You should spin this one hard asap. first see if we can find out if the suit is a Richard thing or a Moraino/Candace thing. That's important to know.

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 12:03 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: California

Hey here is where we stand as of now - both good and bad:

Bad:
The campaign finance issue is pissing off people big time in Sacramento. Essentially the tribe is refusing to release their contribution data (to whom they gave and how much). This issue is now in court. The AC says they are sovereign, and therefore do not have to disclose.

If the tribe wins - guess what - Every penny they contributed will have to be returned - as under California law candidates can not take contributions from foreign countries.

We are running into his everywhere we turn. The funny thing is - the only thing the pols really care about is giving the money back - not so much the issue itself. At some point we may have to recommend dropping the suit if they want to be successful.

Good:
There WILL be an expansion of gaming - and the tribe will get more slots as long as we play our cards right. Current estimations have the expansion going from 60k machine currently statewide to 113k - a doubling. We just need to position ourselves to gobble up as much as those as we can

On stand alone - I think we will get them a compact that is different than others - but the contributions will be the

same as some others as well as the number of slots. So another words - I think another tribe will get a many additional positions as our guys - but we will get our share.

I think if we get them a separate compact and an additional 2000 slots we did a great job considering what's going on with the campaign finance issues. Ill keep you up to speed.

—Original Message—
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 10:14 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: California
The key is managing them to think they got a victory and the money was worth it. please implement the plan we discussed, giving them other advantages from your efforts, such as marketing.

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 03, 2003 10:03 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: California

I am briefing them this week or next. The bottom line is I am pretty dmn sure we are going to get them more slots, another provision in their compact separate from others - but as its stand right now not a completely different compact. I will work with them on setting pritotites.

—Original Message—
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 12:18 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: California
So we need to get them to prioritize and fast, and we have to make them think that this is all happening because of the money they spent with us. can we do it?

—Original Message—
From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 11:58 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: California

I think California is definitely going to get more slots - Gray needs the money. But it also means we will not be alone at the trough. It's about what we expected.

—Original Message—
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 11:10 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: California
What does this mean for us?

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 02, 2003 9:26 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: California

FYI.
Tribes, state ready to renegotiate pact
EDWARD SIFUENTES
Staff Writer
North County Times
12/30/02

Nearly three tumultuous years into the new era of legalized gambling on Indian reservations in California, state and tribal officials head back to the drawing board in early 2003 to renegotiate the rules for casinos on Indian lands.

Late in 1999, the two sides negotiated the first gambling compacts, agreements that outlined how casinos would be regulated. California voters ratified legalized gambling on Indian reservations with the passage of Proposition 1A in 2000.

Though Gov. Gray Davis promised only a "moderate" increase in Indian gambling, 61 compacts were signed, 50 tribes now operate casinos and there are about 48,000 slot machines fueling the estimated $5 billion a year industry.

There were 28 Indian casinos statewide before the compacts were signed.

In San Diego County, the number of casinos went from three to nine, five of which are at North County Indian reservations, including Pauma, Pala, Rincon, San Pasqual and La Jolla.

With the explosion of Indian gambling, the county was among the first to feel the growing pains, in large part due to friction between tribes and the county. Almost immediately, tribes, state regulators and local governments began to see gaps, inconsistencies and vague language in the agreements.

Written into the document were two windows of opportunity to revisit and renegotiate parts of the compacts.

On Jan. 1, the first of those windows opens to talk about the environmental effects tribal casinos have on neighboring communities.

A second window opens March 7 to talk about rules surrounding a revenue-sharing program with nongambling tribes and the much debated number of slot machines the state will allow.

Though informal talks have already begun, few are saying much about what specific issues will be on the table.

Some tribal representatives say they want more moderate changes, while local governments and some gambling watchdog groups want more radical changes to the compacts.

The governor's office is not saying what Davis will ask of tribes.

"We're not going to renegotiate through the press," said Hilary McLean, a spokeswoman for Davis. "We're not going to tip our hand before we go into the negotiations."

The basic issues most agree need to be revisited are the number of slot machines, environmental regulations and revenue sharing.

Lots of slots

With slot machines providing an estimated 80 percent of Indian casino revenues, it is little wonder that the number of slot machines allowed statewide is a point of contention.

Davis interpreted the compact to allow a maximum of 2,000 machines per tribe, but no more than 43,000 statewide. An analysis by the nonpartisan Legislative Analyst's Office said the compact allows for a total of 113,000 slots.

"I would say most, if not all of the tribes, will want the 2,000 limit raised," said Howard Dickstein, an attorney for five gambling tribes, including North County's Pala Band of Mission Indians, which operates one of the most successful of the new casinos in the county.

Some tribes believe there should be no limits on the number of slot machines; others believe market forces should dictate how many slots a tribe operates.

One North County tribal chairman said more slot machines are good for both tribes and the state.

The more slot machines a tribe has, the more fees the state receives and the more money gambling tribes can contribute to help poor nongambling tribes, said John Currier, chairman of the Rincon Band of Mission Indians, which owns the $125 million Harrah's Rincon Casino and Resort at its reservation near Valley Center.

Gambling watchdog groups, such as Stand Up for California, said they hope the state will use the tribes' desire for more slots as leverage to get tribes to accept greater regulation on environmental issues.

"We would like to see more environmental regulations, more protection for employees and more cooperation with local governments," said Cheryl Schmit, director of Stand Up for California.

Under terms of the compact, tribes are required to follow state environmental laws only if they are "consistent with the tribe's governmental interests."

Environmental standards

In a draft petition to the governor, one group representing local government interests says it wants tribal casinos

to abide by the California Environmental Quality Act, generally considered to have tougher environmental standards for building than the federal laws that tribes follow.

"The compact should require that tribes promulgate and publish environmental protection laws that are at least as stringent as those of the surrounding local community and that tribes comply with the California Environmental Quality Act," according to a draft policy document by the California State Association of Counties dated Nov. 21 .

Those conditions are something tribes are unlikely to accept, Dickstein said.

"That will never happen," Dickstein said. "I doubt that the tribes I represent will even consider that modification."

In San Diego County, the advent of 12 tribes with signed compacts raised the specter of massive traffic problems, noise and pollution in rural areas of East County and North County. The gloomy mood was fueled by an in-house report by the county that said the state and the county would need to spend $500 million to widen and prepare roads for the anticipated casino traffic.

County officials threatened to withhold building permits and support for state alcohol licenses unless there were assurances of monetary contributions to offset the cost of road improvement projects near the casinos.

In North County, three tribes signed agreements with the county totaling $14.5 million for road improvements.

The county's tribal liaison said the Board of Supervisors is unlikely to take a position on the compact negotiations until February, when the staff offers a recommendation.

The gambling divide

Most people on both sides of the Indian gambling negotiations table also agree that this is a vastly different time than it was when the first compact talks were held in 1999.

Tribes were much more united in their nearly 20-year quest to legalize gambling in the state. California was not in the budget crunch it is in now, and so it did not ask tribes to do more than cover the cost of gambling regulation and share the revenue with nongambling tribes.

A much publicized split in the California Nations Indian Gambling Association, which represents member tribes in gambling issues, illustrates the varying interests tribes have leading up to the negotiations, some tribal leaders said.

Recently, six of its 75 members withdrew from the group, including East County's Viejas Band of Mission Indians and North County's Pala, which said they disagreed with its tough criticism of state regulators.

Some of the more successful gambling tribes want less state regulation on their operations, while less established tribes are willing to make more concessions in order to move ahead with their businesses.

A spokeswoman for the association said the group will play a supportive role in the negotiations rather than take

positions on specific discussions.

Dickstein and Currier said that because of the various tribal interests, negotiations are likely to be on a one-on-one basis with the state or in small groups of tribes.

"Tribes are going to go alone or with groups that share similar interests," Dickstein said. "Negotiations will go differently with different groups. Depending on their philosophy, some will be more confrontational than others, but I consider this to be normal, much like when nations are negotiating treaties."

Revenue sharing

The split may also color the debate over the revenue-sharing trust fund that is the basis for some of the criticism leveled against the state's Gambling Control Commission, the state panel that regulates gambling on Indian lands.

The Pechanga and San Manuel bands, two of the state's most successful gambling tribes, filed a joint lawsuit in October against the state alleging the commission had failed to properly administer and distribute the money to small and nongambling tribes.

Some tribes argue the licensing fees that tribes pay to operate slot machines and which fuel the revenue-sharing fund make it difficult for tribes to get into gambling.

"Fees should be reasonable," Currier said. "The more licenses there are, the more opportunity to go into gambling and the more issues that you can solve."

Contact staff writer [redacted] at [redacted] or [redacted].

12/30/02

Aaron W. Stetter
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 3:43 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: AC Update

I passed on him, but was I wrong? He wants $250K!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 4:42 PM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Subject: RE: AC Update

Hey im on the phone with Dan Gans - he wants my advice on if to go with you or Buckham - What do you want me to do - or steer him towards.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff[redacted] [mailto:abramoff[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 3:26 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: AC Update

We should orchestrate this to happen and then fly out there to war game it with them and rake in the big $$$$. I'll even give you a shot to recoup some of your losses on the golf course if that happens!!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 2:31 PM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Subject: RE: AC Update

Well - it will all depends on what the tribe does. If the State come to them and says - "we will not negotiate your compact until you resolve the suit" and the tribe say's screw you - which it seems they will from my discussions
---

Then my friend we are in an all out - statewide war - In a very big state!

But at the very least - if they are not willing to ease back on the suit - then we certainly can tell them that we have done what we can for them and their position on the suit makes it impossible for us to do anything more - except open up a new line of attack.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoff[redacted] [mailto:abramoff[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 11:58 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: AC Update

Am I reading this wrong, or do I smell a hell of a lot more money if we spin this right?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 11:42 AM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Cc: Chris Cathcart
Subject: AC Update

Hey, Here is some new information on the AC compact.

I called Candice with this info a short while ago:

In the next few days the Gov is going to appoint a lead negotiator for the compacts. This person will not be Rosenberg who is generally responsible for these issues inside the gov's office - although he will have a large say in it.

Our guy in Sacramento is telling me that the Law suit is still major issue and has said that we my not even have a seat at the table until the issue is resolved.

I have instructed our team member to force this issue with the Governors office. I want to now at the onset whether this is this case or if they are bluffing. At the very least we need to know for sure - sooner or later if the Lawsuit is going to be hang up so we can report back to the client.

If the Governors office is not bluffing then we will find ourselves in an interesting position.

The FULL council supports going forward with the lawsuit as a matter of sovereignty, and they refuse to waiver.

We will need to regroup and fight this battle on a different level if the compact comes to an impasse over the lawsuit. I will keep you informed.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 10:54 PM
To: 'Candace Patencio'
Subject: RE: election

Afternoon?

---Original Message---
From: Candace Patencio [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 8:54 PM
To: abramoff [redacted]
Subject: Re: election

Was really busy today. What time tomorrow???
--- Original Message ---
From: abramoff [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 15, 2003 5:35 AM
Subject: RE: election

Any time that's good for you. after 2 PM your time is good for me.

---Original Message---
From: Candace Patencio [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 14, 2003 9:17 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: election

When you have time let me know and we talk strategy for the up and coming election.

Candace

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From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 3:07 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

No, and I'm dying. Dying.

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 3:54 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

Hey have you heard anything?
—Original Message—
From: abramof[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 12:40 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!
We need to find other clients. I don't think they are going to spring for another program unless they start to encounter trouble.

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 10, 2003 10:00 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Subject: RE: Agua Elections!

We have been all over this for weeks - we have a pretty good plan in place - but its still coming together. Lets chat around noon today.

—Original Message—
From: abramoff[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 09, 2003 10:46 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Agua Elections!
Let's discuss

—Original Message—
From: [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 09, 2003 6:32 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Agua Elections!

Jack and Mike:

I just talked to Candace - great news for the most part at Agua. She said Moraino, Virginia and Jeanette are all running un-opposed! And, she and Barbara are running against one another for Vice-Chair. The elections are on March 18th.

Barbara is doing a party for all tribal members - stressing family and encouraging members to bring their spouses and children.

We definitely need to devise a strategy to help Candace - It is now or never! Since there are so few tribal members we should be able to do a breakdown of each potential vote to be cast.

Let me know what I can do to help.

[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 8:43 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: please call [redacted] in Scanlon's office

It's just not going to happen.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 9:36 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: please call [redacted] in Scanlon's office

my guess is that he has been doing this all along, but maybe didn't mention it. do you have the spreadsheets on this stuff from 2002? if you can send them to me I can see what he did.

If you agree that you operate your LLC from MD, I would take the approach that the DC taxes should be his problem, at least going forward. do you have that kind of leverage with these business deals and Mike, where you can tell him that you basically are getting more than 50% b/c of these DC expenses? getting your own check from the client would resolve that and over the long run would save big bucks. If you actually "conduct" that business in DC, however, that would put a wrinkle in this plan.

In a message dated 2/20/2003 8:17:07 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj[redacted]

I think I understand what he did. We received $5M into CCS, from which (I guess – am I right?) DC requires a gross receipts tax/franchise tax. He divided the $5M into three piles: $1M for actual expense, and $2M for each of us. then he deducted from each of these the taxes due to DC. under that approach, did he err? I don't recall our having paid this amount in the past, though he may have in the past deducted it from the actual expenses side. As for having the client pay CCS and Kaygold separately, that is very hard to do, but I'll try.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 10:34 PM
To: abramof[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: please call [redacted] in Scanlon's office

I would be interested in seeing his excel spreadsheet when he sends it over.

you need to tell me what the arrangement is with him. you are not a member of CCS, LLC. (if you were a 50% member, then you would get 1/2 of the net, after expenses). you are paid like a contractor. if your deal with him is you get 1/2 the take, before expense, then he shouldn't deduct this.

do you have any old email from when you two made the CCS deal?

the DC tax issue is the reason why KayGold is not a DC LLC, but rather a MD LLC. I don't have you paying these extra taxes. his LLC is a DC entity. My rationale is that you work KayGold out of your house each day. He has got the CCS office in DC, so he is stuck.

and why is he taking out only 1/2 of the tax on 2M. if your take was 2M, and your chunk is supposed to be net of the DC franchise tax, then you should be responsible for the entire tax on 2M. (not that I'm complaining, I just don't understand your arrangement).

Maybe you should work thinks so that the folks you are cutting these business deals with pay Mike's LLC called CCS $x dollars, and pay your LLC called KayGold $y dollars. then DC doesn't get a chunk of your take. so long as you don't operate in DC. then it is just mike's problem and he is stuck with the DC taxes.

In a message dated 2/19/2003 3:47:57 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

Should he be making those deductions?

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 3:42 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: please call [redacted] in Scanlon's office

[redacted] is sending a check over. Her is the quick math and as usual I'll get it to you in excel shortly

Check is for 1,965,000.00 to KayGold. The reason the deductions are so small in this pay out is because we had no travel expenses etc, and campaign costs are coming out of the 1 mil held back.

So the overall Payout is 2 million less 1/2 of the gross receipts tax of .009 and less 1/2 of the DC franchise tax of .005.

The math works like this

2 mil
Less 22,500 - 1/2 share of 45,000 which is .009 of 5 mil
Less 12,500 - 1/2 share of 22,500 which is .005 of 5 mil.

Talk to you soon my friend!
—Original Message—
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 1:07 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Fw: please call [redacted] in Scanlon's office

Mike!!! I need the money TODAY! I AM BOUNCING CHECKS!!!
Jack Abramoff

----Original Message----
From: Laura Lippy <lauralippy[redacted]
To: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
CC: Rodneylane[redacted] <Rodneylane[redacted]
Sent: Wed Feb 19 13:01:36 2003
Subject: RE: please call [redacted] in Scanlon's office

Chris said they are working out some details down South &we should have it by the end of the week.

----Original Message----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 12:30 PM
To: lauralippy[redacted]
Cc: Rodneylane[redacted]
Subject: please call [redacted] in Scanlon's office

And track when we are supposed to get our check today from CCS for Kaygold.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]
Email: grhalpern[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 4:33 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting $10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag Chip

Hey Man - you will probably get a call from Petris - But here is the long and short - Our shop is not under contract with them for PR - we have done it for them as part of programs in the past - but we aren't doing any work for them - and we will not until they hire us as their PR firm of Record.

For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR - or used agua or Coushatta money to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike,

We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December. We want a 100k a month - but will work for 85 - and we wil not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press reeleases and events until we get it.

To tell you the truth - we would rather not work for them any more - but if we get the retainer gig - that wil do.
NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
[redacted](fax)
[redacted]cell)
mike[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 11:56 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Gone??

Good. I think the key thing to remember with all these clients is that they are annoying, but that the annoying losers are the only ones which have this kind of money and part with it so quickly. So, we have to put up with this stuff.

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 12:16 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Gone??

Thanks - She's a little spastic - im getting used to her a little more - but it does drive me nuts. We are totally kicking ass out there - but my synopsis is correct. No matter what happens in the end - Richard will try to take credit - so we just have to do the best we can and make sure the gov says it was our team - which he will.

---Original Message---
From: abramoff[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 10:28 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Gone??
You are the total man. great response.

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 9:07 AM
To: Candace Patencio; Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted]
Subject: RE: Gone??

Candice - I am no longer out of the country. As for the other items - I have been on top of this the whole way and I will continue to do so.

[redacted]

—Original Message—
From: Candace Patencio [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 12:15 AM
To: Mike Scanlon; Jack Abramoff; [redacted]
Subject: Gone??
Okay, you are out of the country Where???? I thought you were handling our negotiations??? [redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 11:21 AM
To: [redacted] Tesler, Shana[redacted]
Subject: RE: More on Saginaw - confidential

Call me

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 12:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jac[redacted] Tesler, Shana[redacted]
Subject: RE: More on Saginaw - confidential

cash

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 12:20 PM
To: Tesler, Shana[redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: RE: More on Saginaw - confidential

Shana, get him money for this from one of my accounts.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 09, 2004 12:13 PM
To: [redacted]; Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Subject: More on Saginaw - confidential

They are less than 50 signatures short of the recall. Maynard has been pounding them with mailings...which to be honest with you, aren't that bad.

They are running out of money for copying, stamps, etc. Petras asked if we could come up with $2500 to help them out.

[redacted]
Director of Government Affairs
Greenberg Traurig LLP
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 8:29 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: FW: Post Article

Hi [redacted] I hope you are well. I wanted you to see this piece which was in yesterday's Washington Post. As you can tell, the reporter was quite biased, and frankly fairly bigoted. Anyway, I am sure this will come up and I am happy to discuss it with you, though it is pretty obviously a slanted piece. Regards.

---Original Message---
Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes
Lobbying, PR Firms Paid $45 Million Over 3 Years
By Susan Schmidt
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, February 22, 2004; Page A01

A powerful Washington lobbyist and a former aide to House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) persuaded four newly wealthy Indian gaming tribes to pay their firms more than $45 million over the past three years for lobbying and public affairs work, a sum that rivals spending to influence public policy by some of the nation's biggest corporate interests.

Touting his ties to conservatives in Congress and the White House, lobbyist Jack Abramoff persuaded the tribes to hire him and public relations executive Michael Scanlon to block powerful forces both at home and in Washington who have designs on their money, according to tribe members.

Under Abramoff's guidance, the four tribes -- Michigan's Saginaw Chippewas, the Agua Caliente of California, the Mississippi Choctaws and the Louisiana Coushattas -- have also become major political donors. They have loosened their traditional ties to the Democratic Party, giving Republicans two-thirds of the $2.9 million they have donated to federal candidates since 2001, records show.

The payday for the GOP is small though, compared with the $15.1 million the tribes have paid Abramoff and his law firm, Greenberg Traurig, which has rocketed to the ranks of top lobbyists on the fees it has charged gaming tribes, lobbying records show.

And those fees -- 10 or 20 times what the tribes paid their former lobbyists -- are about half of what Scanlon has taken in. Scanlon, 33, himself a former Greenberg lobbyist who was recommended by Abramoff, has been paid $31.1 million, according to documents and interviews with tribal members.

The fees are all the more remarkable because there are no major new issues for gaming tribes on the horizon, according to lobbyists and congressional staff. The tribes' payments for lobbying and public affairs work are comparable to what large corporations spend on lobbying in Washington: General Electric Co. paid more than two dozen lobbying firms $30.4 million over the same three-year period, according to federal records. The nation's top four pharmaceutical companies paid dozens of lobbying and law firms $34.8 million between mid-2002 and mid-2003, according to the records.

"Those fees would certainly stand out as greater in magnitude than what rank-and-file tribes pay," said Phil Hogen, chairman of the National Indian Gaming Commission, which regulates Indian gaming. "I guess they have been persuaded there is some value or return for that, but what that is, I'm not aware," Hogen said.

Abramoff has also advised tribes to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to obscure groups whose connections to Indian concerns are unclear, according to documents and numerous tribe members. One of those organizations, located at a Scanlon property in Rehoboth Beach, Del., paid $1.5 million in lobbying fees to

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 8:29 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: FW: Post Article

Not sure if [redacted] had sent this to you yet, but this hit piece was in yesterday's Post. Let me know if you want to chat about it. the reporter was a real racist and bigot, but that seems pretty obvious with the implication that Native peoples don't have the same rights that companies do to defend themselves. Oh well.

---Original Message---

A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes
Lobbying, PR Firms Paid $45 Million Over 3 Years
By Susan Schmidt
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, February 22, 2004; Page A01

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Abramoff has also advised tribes to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to obscure groups whose connections

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 25, 2004 8:57 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: letter from Maynard

I just chatted with Chris and he agrees that we must have a letter from Maynard as the chairman of the tribe while we represented them outlining what a great job we did for them and attacking the racism. Can you get a draft moving from someone? The ones [redacted] did were all the same, basically. This needs to be different. Can you get this going?

OFFICE OF THE TRIBAL CHIEF
PHILLIP MARTIN
[redacted]
MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS
[redacted]

August 9, 2004

BY FACSIMILE (202) 224-5429
Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell
Chairman, Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
SH-838 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6450

BY FACSIMILE (202) 228-2862
Senator John McCain
Ranking Majority Member
United States Senate
Committee on Indian Affairs
SR-241 Russell Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-0303

RE: Senate Indian Affairs Committee Lobbying Investigation

Dear Senators Campbell and McCain:

Thank you for your letter of July 14, 2004 concerning the Committee's investigation of Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. In light of information we have recently obtained from various sources, it now appears that our Tribe may in fact have been the victim of serious wrongdoing by Abramoff and Scanlon. Without your efforts it is unlikely that this misconduct would ever have come to light. Thus, despite my prior concerns, I appreciate your Committee's work on this matter.

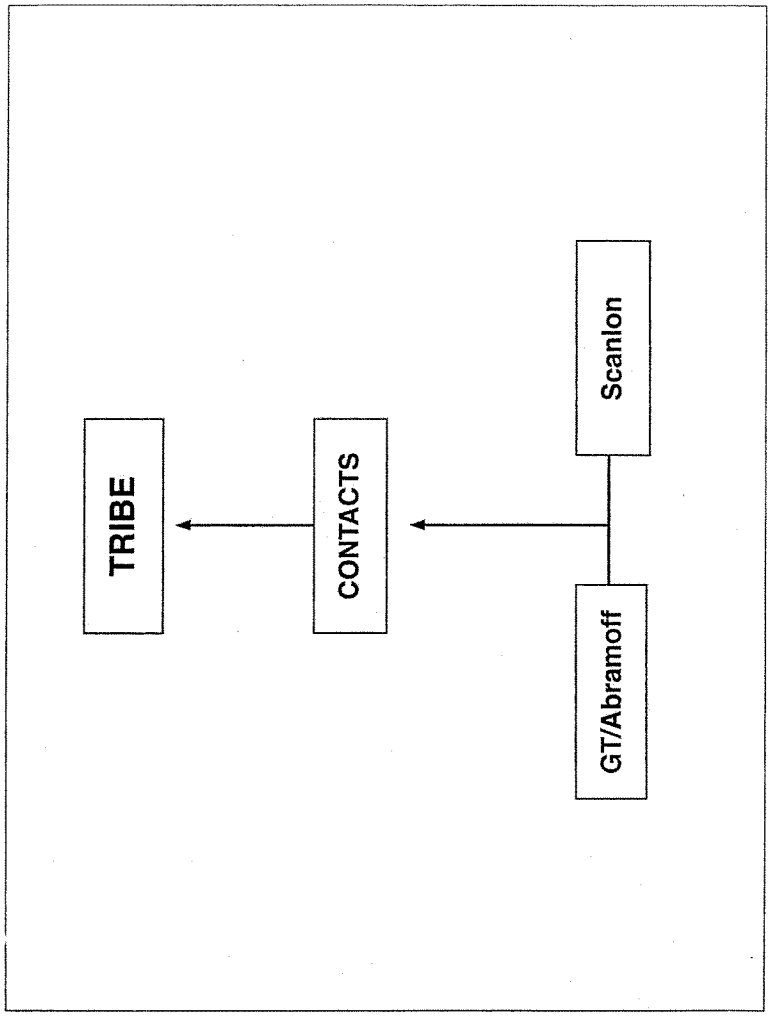
Since we last met on this matter in Washington, our attorney C. Bryant Rogers and your Staff Investigator Matt Tallmer have worked together to find a way to facilitate your investigation without jeopardizing our First Amendment rights or otherwise compromising the confidentiality of this Tribe's lawful participation in the political process. This includes formalizing our cooperation with the Committee's investigation pursuant to email exchanges between Mr. Rogers and Mr. Tallmer of July 16 and 24, 2004 (copies enclosed). As you know, this matter is also subject to a federal grand jury process. We have also fully cooperated with the U.S. Attorney and will continue to do so.

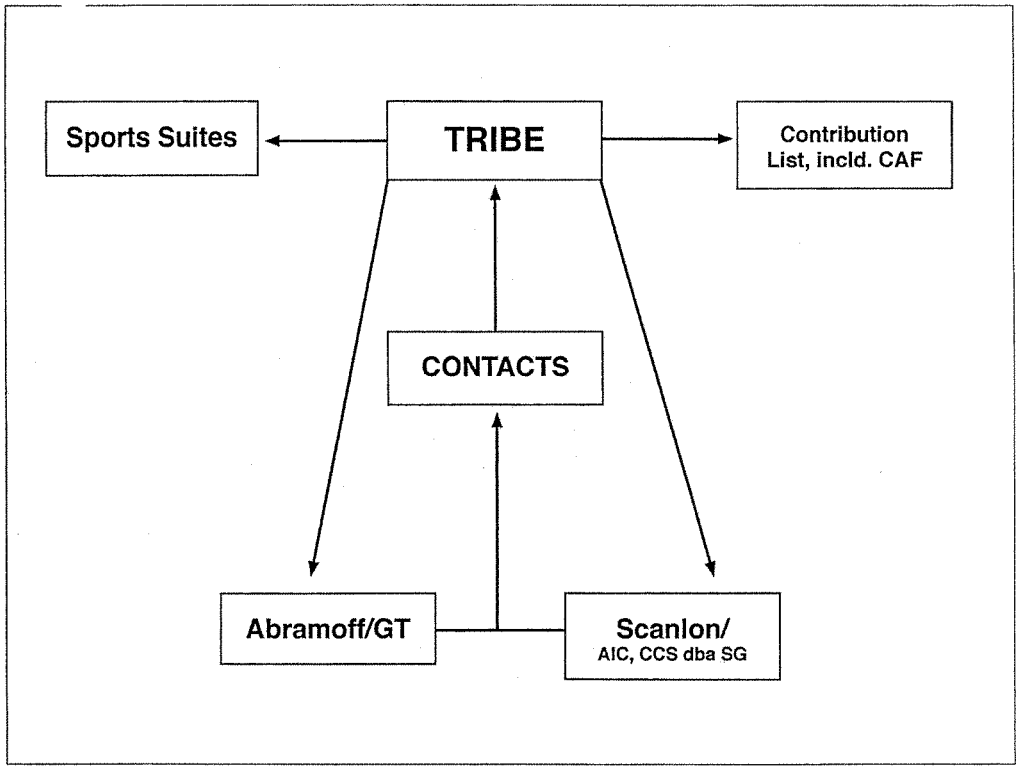
I appreciate your leadership in this matter and trust that our mutual concerns are accommodated by the arrangements reflected in the previously referenced emails of July 16 and 24, 2004. Thank you for your long history of working to improve the lives of Indian people throughout the country.

Sincerely,

Phillip Martin
Tribal Chief

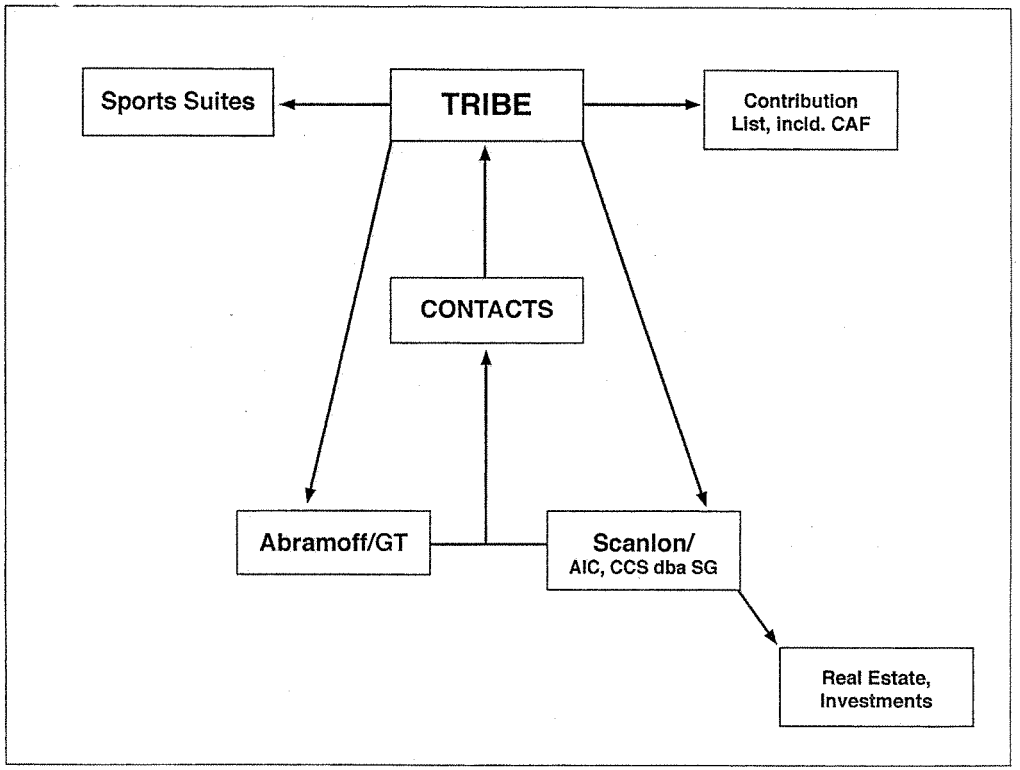
Attachments


GT/Abramoff
Scanlon
CONTACTS
TRIBE


Sports Suites
TRIBE
Contribution
List, incld. CAF
CONTACTS
Abramoff/GT
Scanlon/
AIC, CCS dba SG

Payments by Tribes to Capitol Campaign Strategies (dba Scanlon Gould) from 2001-04

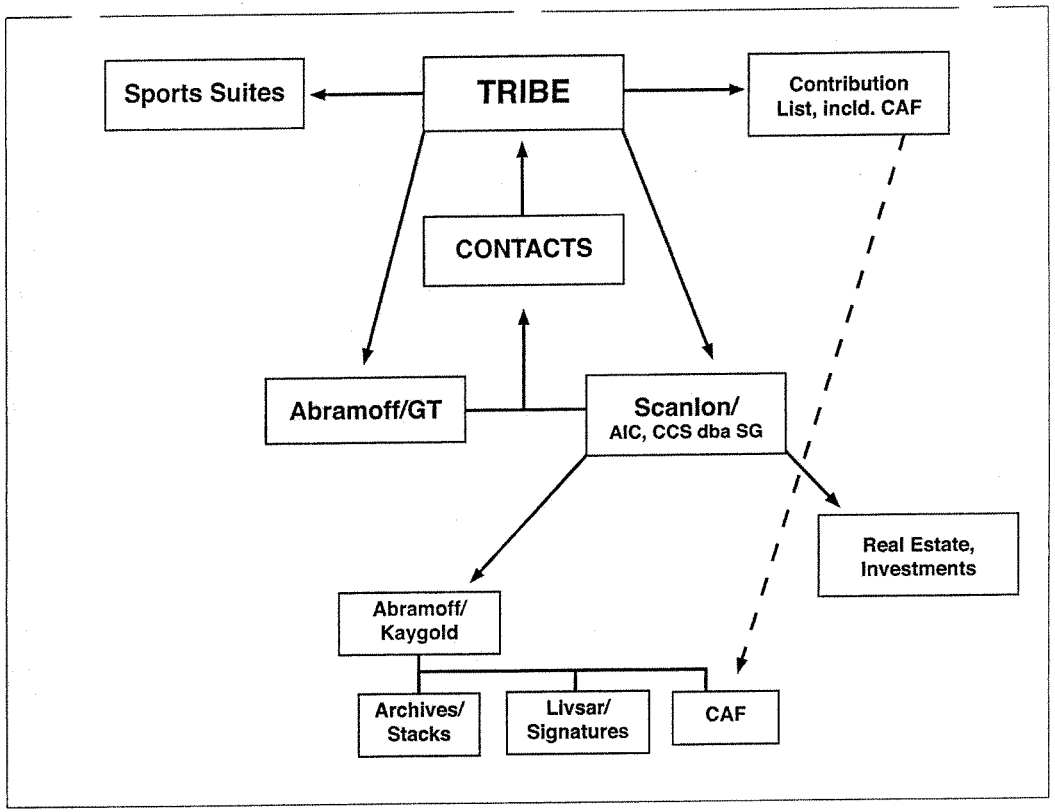
- Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana $26,363,500
- Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians $15,855,000
- Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan $10,007,000
- Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians $7,195,000
- Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso $4,200,000
- Pueblo Sandia Tribe of New Mexico $2,750,000
- Total **$66,369,500**


Sports Suites
TRIBE
Contribution List, incld. CAF
CONTACTS
Abramoff/GT
Scanlon/
AIC, CCS dba SG
Real Estate, Investments

***Sub Rosa* Payments by CCS to Abramoff/Kaygold, et al. from 2001-2004**

•	4/30/01	Abramoff	$75,000	CCS Check 1041
•	5/20/01	†CAF	$182,000	
•	6/10/01	Abramoff	$50,000	CCS Check 1094
•	10/4/01	Abramoff	$100,000	
•	10/25/01	Abramoff	$428,000	CCS Check 1247
•	12/19/01	Abramoff	$300,000	
•	12/31/01	Abramoff	$1,718,125	
•	2/22//02	Kay Gold	$2,779,925	
•	3/21/02	Abramoff	$4,080,997	
•	4/8/02	Kay Gold	$2,138,025	
•	6/12/02	Kay Gold	$150,000	
•	7/12/02	Kay Gold	$800,000	
•	7/12/02	Kay Gold	$20,000	
•	7/12/02	Kay Gold	$44,000	
•	9/16/02	Kay Gold	$2,266,250	
•	11/11/02	Kay Gold	$1,078,649	
•	12/03/02	Kay Gold	$87,907	CCS Check 2075
•	12/31/02	Kay Gold	$1,000,146	
•	12/31/02	Kay Gold	$53,000	CCS Check 2109
•	2/19/03	Kay Gold	$1,965,000	
•	4/01/03	Kay Gold	$991,000	(from AIC)
•	10/27/03	Kay Gold	$750,000	
•	**Total**		**$21,058,024**	

Unless otherwise indicated, all transactions are support by copies of checks, etc. Transactions appearing only in CCS' accounting records, but unsupported by a copy of a cancelled check, are itemized with a check number. The $100,000 payment by CCS/SG to Abramoff on 10/4/01 is itemized in only CCS/SG's accounting record only and has no corresponding check number.


Sports Suites
TRIBE
Contribution List, incld. CAF
CONTACTS
Abramoff/GT
Scanlon/
AIC, CCS dba SG
Real Estate, Investments
Abramoff/ Kaygold
Archives/ Stacks
Livsar/ Signatures
CAF

Payments by Tribes to AIC from 2001 through 2003

• Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana	$3,653,200	
• Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians	$1,130,654	
Total		**$4,783,854**

Payments by AIC to CCS/SG from 2001 through 2003

• 3/19/01	$25,000	
• 3/30/01	$125,000	
• 5/20/01	$185,800	
• 6/25/01	$120,000	
• 8/1/01	$40,000	
• 8/24/01	$30,000	
• 12/18/01	$80,000	
• 1/30/02	$10,000	
• 3/15/02	$1,000,000 (memo: "MS")	
• 10/31/02	$207,859.72 (according to AIC ledger)	
• 4/1/03	$1,300,000 (according to AIC ledger)	
• 4/18/03	$15,000 (Michael Scanlon)	
• **Total**		**$3,138,659.72**

Payments by AIC to Kay Gold (Abramoff) from 2001 through 2003

• 4/1/03	$991,000 Kay Gold	
• **Total**		**$991,000**

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 8:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

I'm here.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 11:09 AM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

I will call this evening!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 14, 2002 8:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: can you smell money?

I just spoke with Candace. The tribe is calling us Monday to schedule our coming out for a pitch on the whole shooting match. They want Choctaw/Coushatta power. They think that if they don't hire us Barona is going to do so. They are scared about that one! call me Saturday night or Sunday so we can plan out our pitch. We need to go out there with a full blown plan.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:49 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

:)

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Haahahhhaah. I love how we all act: You team...and the rest of greenberg. It's gotta piss them off.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 15:01:50 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sock it to them.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

I'm gonna sink some of the costs to the firm..screw them. I used $500 in Bus Dev money last year!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:59:17 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Or here!

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:59 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

They are going to be rescheduling it, but I sucked up some losses on Jess's ticket. Oh well. There are worse things than being stuck in Vegas until thursday.. I could be stuck at Saginaw.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <[redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:57:04 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sorry to hear it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:36 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Staff trip got canceled because of weather. I'm heading home wed night/thirday morning...this sucks.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 12:48:39 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Neither rain, nor slow, nor the heat of day will keep him from his appointed idiocy.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 11:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

This is one of his best one's!!!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris <cpetras[redacted]
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [redacted]
CC: boulangert@gtlaw.com [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 11:42:59 2003
Subject: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

I just received a message from a state representative who is running for Congressman Nick Smith's seat in 2004. His last name is Ehardt. He wants tickets to the Kenny Loggins concert.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 5:37 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

I think the iron is hot in Michigan, and the legislature going out of session (3 weeks) is impelling them to action. Waiting another week will cool their jets, and we won't be able to play this pressure point, which is what has made Otto and Maynard focus. I really think we need to go. You can't travel 2 weeks in a row?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 6:25 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

730 is good. See you then. Also, we need to figure something out on the trip to sag- I can travel two weekd in row and you know that petras is always dramtic.
It would really be better for me - and us I believe to just do the whole swing. I really think a trip out to those fools solo is not worth it regardless, because we will not come back with cash or a firn commitiment, but when you throw in the pain in the ass factor and the petras bullshit factor, its a really bad idea. O

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 5, 2002 5:32p
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

Would 7:30 work? I have a reception at Sigs for Duane Gibson at 6 PM.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 4:35 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

630 tommorow night? Dinner?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 9:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Let's discuss. You in town next week?

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 8:54 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Cool - well talk it over. He tried that - well give you a bid project bullshit on us last year - and we wound up spending 100k of AC money to beat back the tracks - and he never even presented our proposal to the council.

He pretty much full of shit. I would rather squeeze him for retainer work - as I don't believe we will get a project from them. Hes a loser.

—Original Message—
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 5:42 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Sag Chip
I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting $10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

—Original Message—
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag Chip

Hey Man - you will probably get a call from Petris - But here is the long and short - Our shop is not under contract with them for PR - we have done it for them as part of programs in the past - but we aren't doing any work for them - and we will not until they hire us as their PR firm of Record.

For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR - or used agua or Coushatta money to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike,

We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December. We want a 100k a month - but will work for 85 - and we wil not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press reeleases and events until we get it.

To tell you the truth - we would rather not work for them any more - but if we get the retainer gig - that wil do.
NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
mike[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 8:23 AM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

Is Scanlon involved? We should be pounding these guys.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 8:17 AM
To: volzn[redacted]
Cc: abramoffj[redacted]; boulangert[redacted]
Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

The Gun Lake state House resolution (HR 606), allowing the Governor to negotiate a compact with the Tribe, is scheduled this week for a vote. Timing is everything this week. If the Michigan delegation on the West side of the state want to impact, they must do so now.

----- Original Message -----
From: <volzn[redacted]>
To: <cpetras[redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 7:57 AM
Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

> Thanks Chris
> ----------
> Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)
>
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Chris <cpetras[redacted]
> To: volzn[redacted]
> CC: abramoffj[redacted]>; boulangert[redacted]
> [redacted]
> Sent: Mon Dec 09 07:13:03 2002
> Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?
>
> Calls from the Michigan congressional delegation to state legislators
> is very important. Several state legislators have indicated that the
> congressional delegation holds weight on this issue. The Members can
> emphasize the legal implications for the state should the state
> Supreme Court rule that the last compacts were illegal when approved
> by resolution and not statute. Also, the horse tracks in Michigan are
> attempting a back-door strategy to create casinos at their facilities.
> Their goal is to amend the Michigan Lottery Act to allow video lottery
> machines that give
the
> winner slips of paper (vouchers) good for cash or prizes. They are
> doing this so that they do not have to amend the Michigan Gaming
> Control Act
(gave
> Detroit their casinos), which allows for Class III gaming (slots) and
would
> allow the machines to dispense coins to winners. We have the polling
> data
to
> show Michigan voters do not want Class II or III gaming at horse
> tracks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 4:33 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting $10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag Chip

Hey Man - you will probably get a call from Petris - But here is the long and short - Our shop is not under contract with them for PR - we have done it for them as part of programs in the past - but we aren't doing any work for them - and we will not until they hire us as their PR firm of Record.

For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR - or used agua or Coushatta money to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike,

We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December. We want a 100k a month - but will work for 85 - and we wil not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press reeleases and events until we get it.

To tell you the truth - we would rather not work for them any more - but if we get the retainer gig - that wil do.
NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
[redacted](fax)
[redacted]cell)
mike[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 11:54 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Racinos

I'll follow up with him in a day.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 10:08 AM
To: abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: RE: Racinos

I love you.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj [redacted] [mailto:abramoffj [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 02, 2002 9:59 AM
To: cpetras [redacted]
Subject: Racinos

Chris, I am getting worried about this. Last night we opened Stacks and there were some WH guys there (who are Michigan guys - worked for Spence). They told me that there is a hearing coming up on this immediately, and that they have heard that this is going to happen!!! The enemy is moving fast and we are not on the field. where is Scanlon on this? what is he doing? Have you guys pushed the button? We need to get him firing missiles. How do we move it faster? Please get the council focused on this as soon as you can. every day we lose now is going to hurt.

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BB/AIC 000629

CAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 [redacted]

1103

[redacted]

4/23/03 DATE

Kagi Gold LLC $ 79,000.00

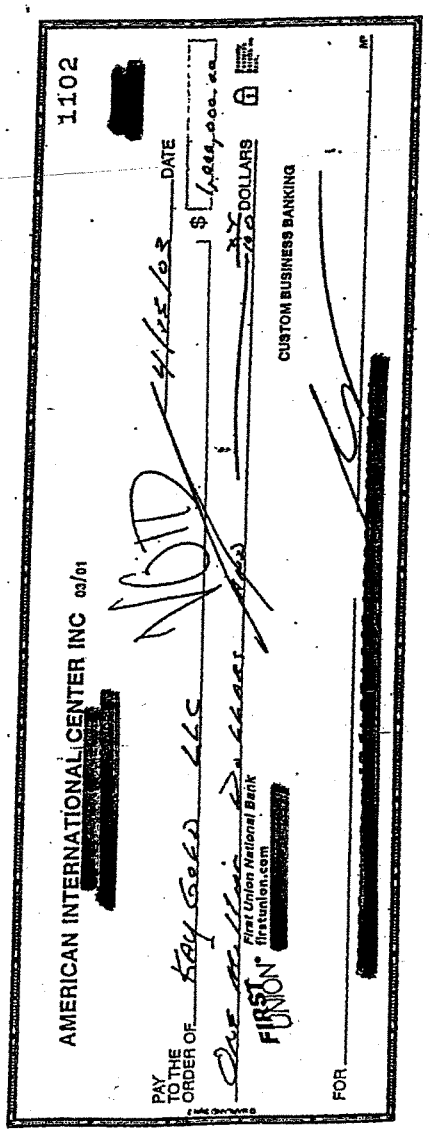
Seventy nine thousand dollars and 00/100 DOLLARS

First Union National Bank
firstunion.com [redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

96 122

[redacted]


1102
[redacted]
AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01
[redacted]
PAY TO THE ORDER OF
DATE
$
DOLLARS
CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING
FIRST UNION
First Union National Bank
firstunion.com
[redacted]
FOR
[redacted]

BB/AIC 000318

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 1007

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies 5/2/01 DATE

$ 100,000.00

One Hundred Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com [redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Professional Serv./ Ala

⑈00001007⑈ ⑆054001220⑆ 20000104554 94⑈ ⑈0010000000⑈

[redacted]

FedEx | Ship Manager | Label 7924 1219 1675

From: [redacted]

SHIPPER'S FEDEX ACCOUNT #

FedEx.

To: Sandra [redacted]
Century Strategies
[redacted]

SHIP DATE: 30APR01
WEIGHT: 1 LBS

Ref: AIC [redacted]

DELIVER ADDRESS
TRK # 7924 1219 1675 FORM 0201

PRIORITY OVERNIGHT

TUE
AA
Deliver by:
01MAY01

30096-GA-US

ATL
NB MGEA

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 02/01
53 BALTIMORE AVENUE
REHOBOTH BEACH, DE 19971

1006

April 30, 2001 [redacted]
DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 398,000.00

**Three hundred ninety-eight thousand and no/100 DOLLARS

FIRST UNION
First Union National Bank
firstunion.com
[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

OR [redacted]

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 [redacted]

1001

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies 4/17/01 DATE $ 100,000 —

One Hundred Thousand Dollars and 00/100 DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com Org. 052 R/T 084001220

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Professional Services / ADS/AL [redacted]

BB/AIC 000158

American International Center

David Drish

100

[redacted]

DC 601

DATE 4/3/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 198,000

One Hundred Ninety Eight Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com [redacted]

FOR Professional Services

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000160

American International Center

96

[redacted]

DATE 3/22/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 200,000

Two Hundred Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com

[redacted]

FOR [redacted]

BB/AIC 000141

American International Center

DC01

98

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Srategies DATE 3/16/01

One hundred thousand dollars $ 100,000

DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com [redacted]

FOR Professional Consulting

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000128

American International Center

95 [redacted]

DATE 3/16/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 50,000

Fifty thousand dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION

First Union National Bank
firstunion.com [redacted]

FOR Research [redacted]

BB/AIC 000147

American International Center

97 [redacted]

DATE 3/16/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 45,000

Fourty Five thousand dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION

First Union National Bank firstunion.com

[redacted]

FOR Consulting [redacted]

BB/AIC 000143

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 [redacted] 1010

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies May 10, 2000 DATE

$ 750,000.00

Seven Hundred Fifty Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com [redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Prof.Serv / Ala

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000171

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 [redacted]

1103

[redacted]

4/13/03 DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold LLC $ 77,000.00

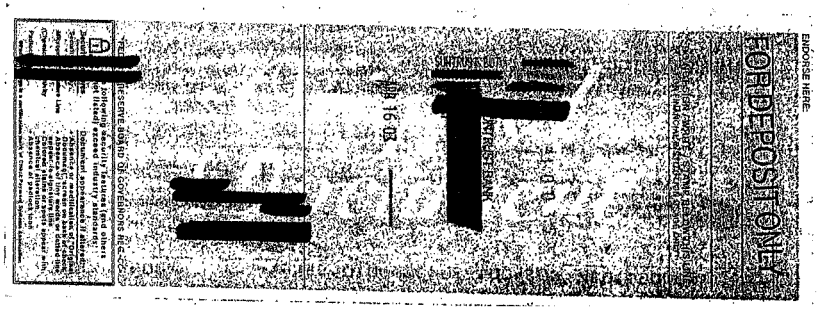
Nine hundred ninety one thousand dollars and zero cents DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com [redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR [redacted]

BB/CCS 000318



23143

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM

[redacted]

PAGE 28
P-1

2214

3/10/2003

One Million Nine Hundred Sixty-Five Thousand and 00/100********** $ **1,965,000.00

DOLLAR

Kay Gold, LLC

MEMO

[redacted]

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Kay Gold, LLC

2/19/2003

2214

1,965,000.00

Checking

1,965,000.00

GTG-E000011339

23:49

OCT 27 03 05:22P [redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Key Gold, LLC

Seven Hundred Fifty Thousand and 00/100

Key Gold, LLC

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM

[redacted]

PAGE 21
P - 1

2616

10/27/2003

$ **750,000.00

DOLLARS

MEMO

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Key Gold, LLC

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

10/27/2003

2616

750,000.00

Checklist

750,000.00

GTG-E00001340

GTG-E00001339

—/2004 23:42 [redacted]

CCS Income for 2003

10/27/2003	CCS	750,000.00
2/19/2003	CCS	1,966,000.00

AIG Income for 2003

4/13/2003	American Intnat'l Cant	991,000.00

[redacted]

PAGE 84

☐ CORRECTED (if checked)

PAYER'S name, street address, city, state, ZIP code, and telephone no.

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES
SCANLON GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS
[redacted]

PAYER'S Federal identification number: [redacted]

RECIPIENT'S identification number: [redacted]

RECIPIENT'S name

JACK ABRAMOFF

Account number (optional)

1 Rents	2 Royalties
3 Other income	4 Federal income tax withheld
5 Fishing boat proceeds	6 Medical & health care payments
7 Nonemployee compensation: 2833125.00	8 Substitute payments in lieu of dividends or interest
9 Payer made direct sales of $5,000 or more of consumer products to a buyer (recipient) for resale ▶ ☐	10 Crop insurance proceeds
11 Excess golden parachute payments	12 Gross proceeds paid to an attorney
13 State tax withheld	14 State/Payer's state no.
15 State income	

OMB No. 1545-0115

2001 Miscellaneous Income

Form 1099-MISC

Copy B
To be filed with recipient's state income tax return, when required

Form 1099-MISC
DHA

Department of the Treasury - Internal Revenue Service

Form 1099-MISC – Instructions for Recipient

Amounts shown on this form may be subject to self-employment tax. If you net income from self-employment is $400 or more, you must file a return. See Pub. 533, Self-Employment Tax, for more information. If no income or social security and Medicare taxes were withheld, you may have to make estimated tax payments if you are not receiving these payments. See Form 1040-ES, Estimated Tax for Individuals.

If you are an individual, report the taxable amount shown on Form 1040, as explained below. For corporations, fiduciaries, or partnerships, report the amount on the proper line of your tax return.

Boxes 1 and 2. Report rents from real estate on Schedule E (Form 1040). If you provided significant services to the tenant, see Pub. 527, Residential Rental Property, or Schedule C or C-EZ (Form 1040). For royalties on timber, coal, and iron ore, see Pub. 544, Sales and Other Dispositions of Assets.

Box 3. Generally, report this amount on the "Other income" line of Form 1040 and identify the payment. If it is trade or business income, report this amount on Schedule C, C-EZ, or F (Form 1040). The amount shown may be a payment you received as the beneficiary of a deceased employee, prizes, awards, terminal damages, jackpots, gambling profits, or other taxable income.

Box 4. Shows backup withholding or withholding on Indian gaming profits. Generally, a payer must backup withhold at a 31% rate if you did not furnish your taxpayer identification number to the payer. See Form W-9, "Request for Taxpayer Identification Number and Certification," for information on backup withholding. Include this amount on your income tax return as tax withheld.

Box 5. An amount in this box means the fishing boat operator considers you self-employed. Report this amount on Schedule C or C-EZ (Form 1040). See Pub. 595, Tax Highlights for Commercial Fishermen.

Box 6. Report on Schedule C or C-EZ (Form 1040).

Box 7. Shows nonemployee compensation. If you are a sole trader or business of individual, has 7 copy shown (each you received for the sale of fish. If payments that are reported in this box and income from self-employment, report this amount on Schedule C, C-EZ, or F (Form 1040), and complete Schedule SE (Form 1040). Because you received this form (other than Form W-2, the payer may have considered you self-employed and did not withhold social security or Medicare taxes. Contact the payer if you believe this form is incorrect or has been issued in error. If you are not self-employed, report this amount on the "Wages, tips, other comp." line of Form 1040. See the IRS for information about how to report any social security and Medicare taxes.

Box 8. Shows substitute payments in lieu of dividends or tax-exempt interest received by your broker on your behalf after transfer of your securities for use in short sale. Report on the "Other income" line of Form 1040.

Box 9. If marked, notice to you of consumer products on a buyer-recommendation, or any other items for resale have amounted to $5,000 or more. The payer files this return does not have to show a dollar amount in this box. Generally, report any income from your sale of these products on Schedule C or C-EZ (Form 1040).

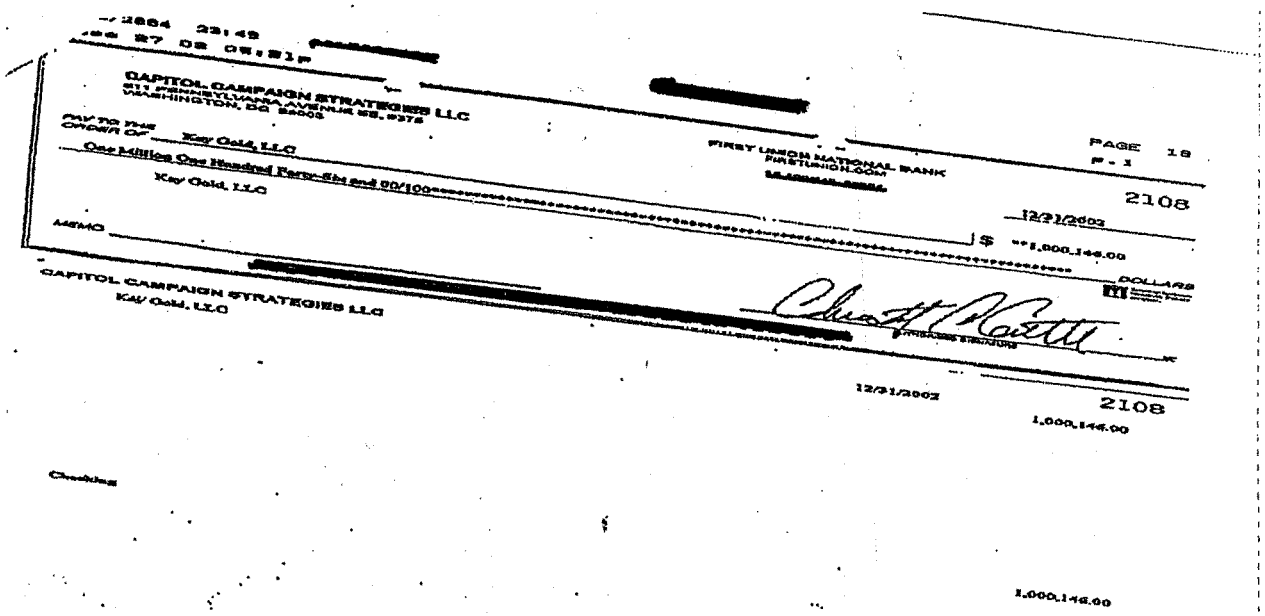
Box 10. Report on the "Crop insurance proceeds..." line on Schedule F (Form 1040).

Box 11. Shows excess golden parachute payments subject to a 20% excise tax. See your Form 1040 instructions for the "Total Tax" line. The amount in box 7 is your total compensation.

Box 12. Shows gross proceeds paid to an attorney in connection with legal services. Report only the taxable part as income on your return.

Boxes 13–15. If taxes or legal expense tax was withheld from the payment, these boxes show by be demonstrated.

GTG-E000011337



2084 23143
JAN 27 03 09:31P

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
911 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE SE #375
WASHINGTON, DC 20003

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM

PAGE 18
F-1

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC

One Million One Hundred Forty-Six and 00/100

2108

12/31/2002

Kay Gold, LLC

$ **1,000,146.00

MEMO

DOLLARS

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
KAY GOLD, LLC

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

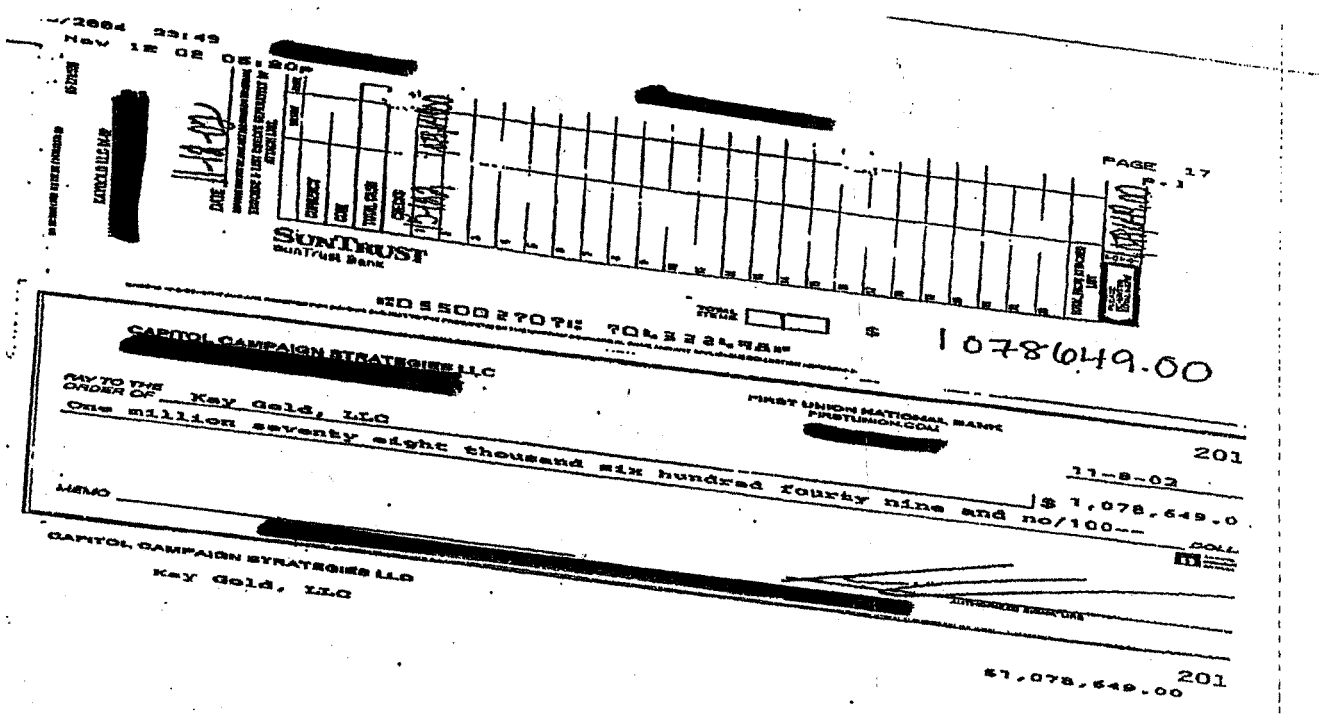
12/31/2002

2108

1,000,146.00

Checking

1,000,146.00



/2004 23:49
Nov 12 02 05:20p

[redacted]

DATE 11-8-02

CHECKS
CUR
TOTAL CASH
CHECKS

SUNTRUST
SunTrust Bank

PAGE 17

[redacted]

⑆D 5 500 2 7 0 7⑈ 7 0 4 3 2 2 1 ⑈ 7 8 ⑈

TOTAL ITEMS

$ 1 0 7 8 6 4 9 . 0 0

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM

[redacted]

201

11-8-02

One million seventy eight thousand six hundred fourty nine and no/100--- $ 1,078,649.0

MEMO

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Kay Gold, LLC

201
$1,078,649.00

GTG-E000011336

[redacted]

[redacted]

PAGE 16

SUNTRUST
SunTrust Bank

DATE 9-13-02

CURRENCY
COIN
TOTAL CASH
CHECKS

TOTAL FROM REVERSE SIDE

TOTAL DEPOSIT

⑆05500270⑆ 9015221928⑈

TOTAL TRANSFER $ 2266250.00

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Key Gold, LLC

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM
[redacted]

19 9-12-02

Two Million two hundred sixty six thousand two hundred fifty and no/100 $2,266,250.00

MEMO

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC

Key Gold, LLC

[redacted]

19:

$2,266,250.00

GTG-E00011335

GTG-E000011334

PAGE 15

[redacted]

DATE 11-11-02

SOUNTRUST

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC

[redacted]

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM

[redacted]

1737

June 11, 2002

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC

$ 150,000.00

One Hundred Fifty Thousand Dollars and no/100 DOLLARS

MEMO

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC

Kay Gold, LLC

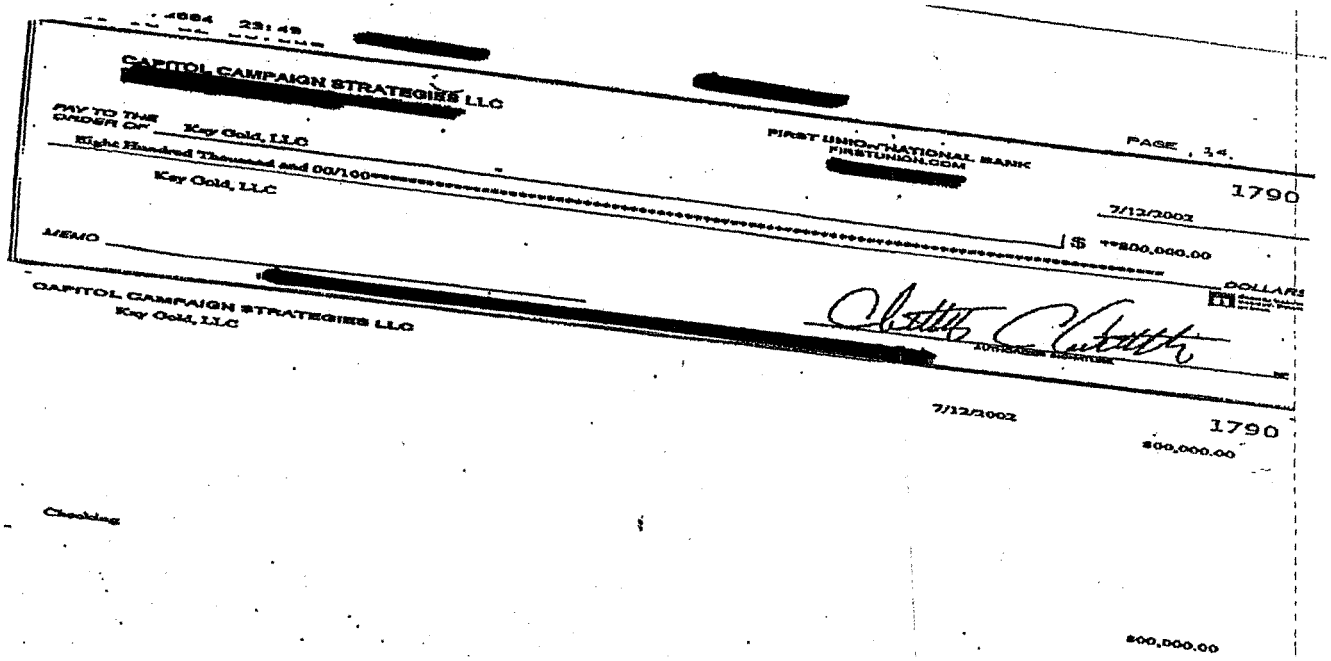
[redacted]

1737

$150,000.00

$ 150000.00

[redacted]



CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Key Gold, LLC

Eight Hundred Thousand and 00/100

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM
[redacted]

PAGE 14.

1790

7/12/2002

$ **800,000.00

DOLLARS

MEMO Key Gold, LLC

[redacted]

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Key Gold, LLC

7/12/2002

1790

$00,000.00

Checking

$00,000.00

GTG-E000011333

[redacted] 23:42

15 02 02:38A [redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

PAGE 13
P.2

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM
[redacted]

1791

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Key Gold, LLC

7/12/2002

Twenty Thousand and 00/100**********

$ **20,000.00

DOLLARS

Key Gold, LLC

MEMO

[redacted]

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Key Gold, LLC

7/12/2002

1791

20,000.00

Checking

20,000.00

GTG-E000011332

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM
[redacted]

PAGE 12
F - 3

1792

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Key Gold, LLC

Forty-Four Thousand and 00/100

7/12/2002

$ **44,000.00

DOLLARS

Key Gold, LLC

MEMO

[redacted]

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Key Gold, LLC

7/12/2002

1792

44,000.00

Checking

44,000.00

GTG-E000011331

GTG-E00001133O

PAGE 11

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM
[redacted]

1580

04/08/02

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold LLC $2,138,025

two million one hundred thirty eight thousand twenty five 00/100 DOLLARS

MEMO [redacted]

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

-9/2004 23:48

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Jack Abramoff

Four Million Eighty Thousand Nine Hundred Ninety-Seven and 00/100

Jack Abramoff

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM
[redacted]

1557

3/21/2002

$ **4,080,997.00

DOLLARS

MEMO

[redacted]

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

SUNTRUST
SunTrust Bank

DATE 3-20-02

[redacted]

$ 4080997.00

GTG-E000011329

GTG-E000011328

[redacted] 04:27p Laura Lippu

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

[redacted]

FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK
FIRSTUNION.COM
[redacted]

PAGE 89

1496

2/22/2002

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Key Gold, LLC

$ **2,779,925.60

Two Million Seven Hundred Seventy-Nine Thousand Nine Hundred Twenty-Five and 60/100**********

DOLLAR

Key Gold, LLC

MEMO [redacted]

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Key Gold, LLC

2/22/2002

1496

2,779,925.60

Checking

2,779,925.60

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 5:37 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

I think the iron is hot in Michigan, and the legislature going out of session (3 weeks) is impelling them to action. Waiting another week will cool their jets, and we won't be able to play this pressure point, which is what has made Otto and Maynard focus. I really think we need to go. You can't travel 2 weeks in a row?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 6:25 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

730 is good. See you then. Also, we need to figure something out on the trip to sag- I can travel two weekd in row and you know that petras is always dramtic.
It would really be better for me - and us I believe to just do the whole swing. I really think a trip out to those fools solo is not worth it regardless, because we will not come back with cash or a firn commitiment, but when you throw in the pain in the ass factor and the petras bullshit factor, its a really bad idea. O

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 5, 2002 5:32p
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

Would 7:30 work? I have a reception at Sigs for Duane Gibson at 6 PM.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, June 05, 2002 4:35 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: lunch Thursday

630 tommorow night? Dinner?

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:49 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

:)

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Haahahhhaah. I love how we all act: You team...and the rest of greenberg. It's gotta piss them off.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 15:01:50 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sock it to them.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

I'm gonna sink some of the costs to the firm..screw them. I used $500 in Bus Dev money last year!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:59:17 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Or here!

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:59 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

They are going to be rescheduling it, but I sucked up some losses on Jess's ticket. Oh well. There are worse things than being stuck in Vegas until thursday.. I could be stuck at Saginaw.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:57:04 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sorry to hear it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:36 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Staff trip got canceled because of weather. I'm heading home wed night/thirday morning...this sucks.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 12:48:39 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Neither rain, nor slow, nor the heat of day will keep him from his appointed idiocy.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 11:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

This is one of his best one's!!!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris <cpetras[redacted]
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [redacted]
CC: boulangert@gtlaw.com [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 11:42:59 2003
Subject: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

I just received a message from a state representative who is running for Congressman Nick Smith's seat in 2004. His last name is Ehardt. He wants tickets to the Kenny Loggins concert.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 8:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

I'm here.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, June 15, 2002 11:09 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: can you smell money?

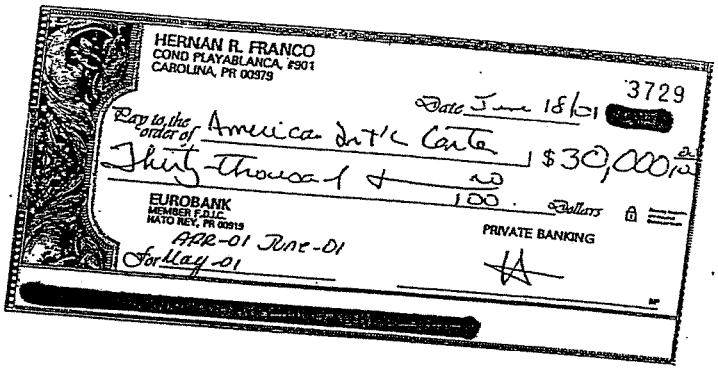
I will call this evening!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 14, 2002 8:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: can you smell money?

I just spoke with Candace. The tribe is calling us Monday to schedule our coming out for a pitch on the whole shooting match. They want Choctaw/Coushatta power. They think that if they don't hire us Barona is going to do so. They are scared about that one! call me Saturday night or Sunday so we can plan out our pitch. We need to go out there with a full blown plan.

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]



HERNAN R. FRANCO
COND PLAYABLANCA, #901
CAROLINA, PR 00979

3729

Date June 18/01 [redacted]

Pay to the order of America Int'l Corp $30,000.00

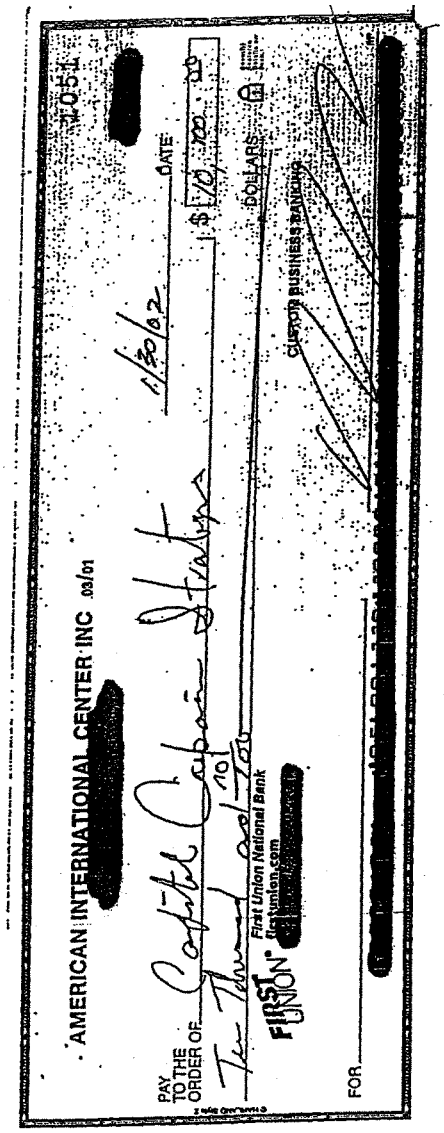
Thirty thousand & no 100 Dollars

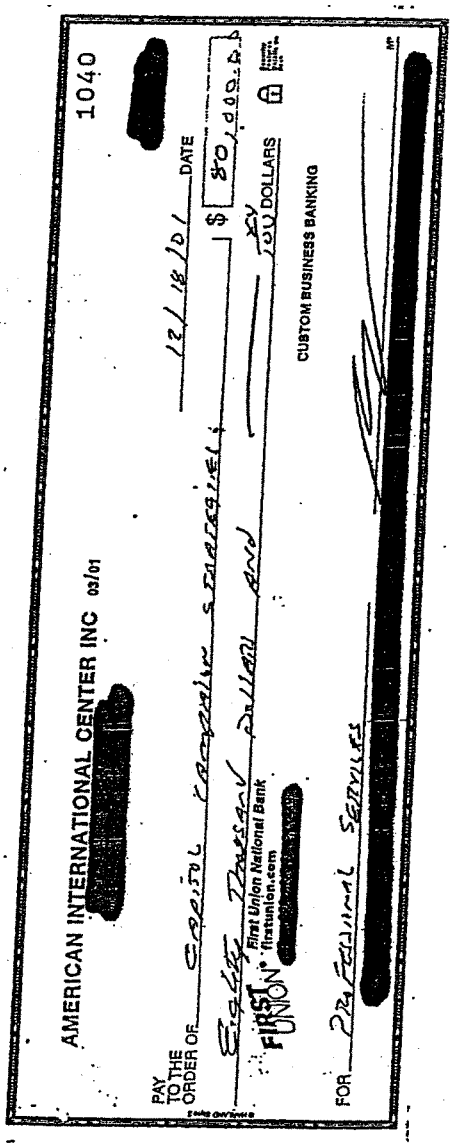
EUROBANK
MEMBER F.D.I.C.
HATO REY, PR 00919

PRIVATE BANKING

APR-01 JUNE-01
For May-01

[redacted]


AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01
[redacted]
1051
[redacted]
PAY TO THE ORDER OF
Capital Cabaret Strategy
Ten Thousand 00/100
DATE 1/30/02
$ 10,000.00
DOLLARS
FIRST UNION
First Union National Bank
firstunion.com
[redacted]
CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING
FOR
[redacted]



AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01

1040

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Capitol Receiver Starkeivel; DATE 12/18/01

$ 80,000.00

Eighty Thousand Dollars and xx/100 DOLLARS

FIRST UNION® First Union National Bank firstunion.com

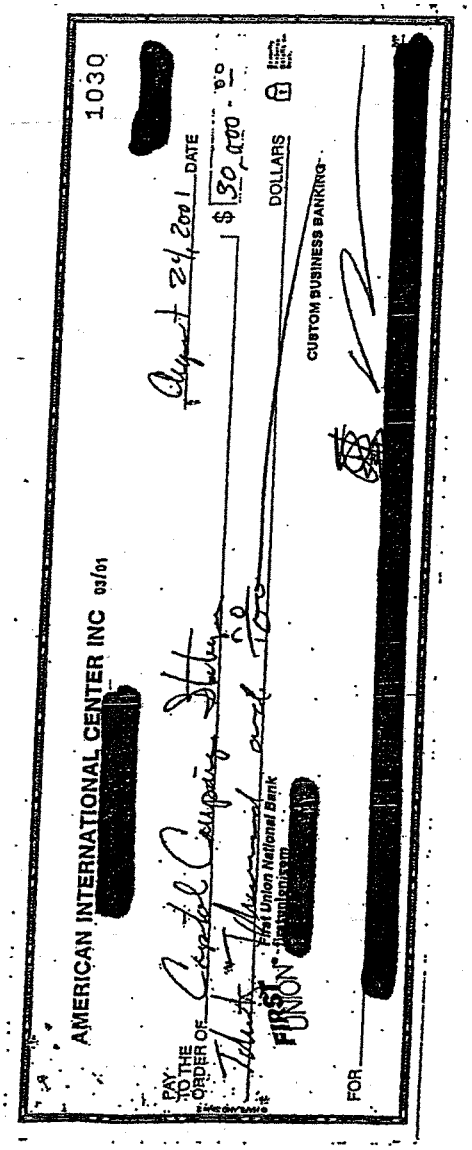
[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Professional Services

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000234


AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01

1030

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

DATE August 24, 2001

$ 30,000.00

DOLLARS

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FIRST UNION

First Union National Bank
firstunion.com

FOR

BB/AIC 000197

..MERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC. 03/01

[redacted]

1027

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF CAPITAL CAMPAIGN :STRATEGIES

AUGUST 1,01 DATE

FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS AND 00/100 DOLLARS

$ 40,000

FIRST UNION

First Union National Bank

[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000203

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 [redacted]

1020

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF CAPITAL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

JUNE 21, 2001 DATE

$ 120,000.00

ONE HUNDRED TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS AND NO CENTS DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com [redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES / FUNDRAISING

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000188

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 1013

[redacted]

DATE 5/20/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES $ 185,800.00

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY FIVE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED DOLLARS DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank Pittsburgh, PA

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000163

American International Center

99

[redacted]

DATE 3/30/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Capitol Campaign Strategies $ 125,000.00

One Hundred Twenty Five Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION First Union National Bank firstunion.com

[redacted]

FOR Prof Serv. / Fundraising

[redacted]

American International Center

94 [redacted]

DATE 3/19/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF [redacted] tiol Campaign Strategies $ 25,000.

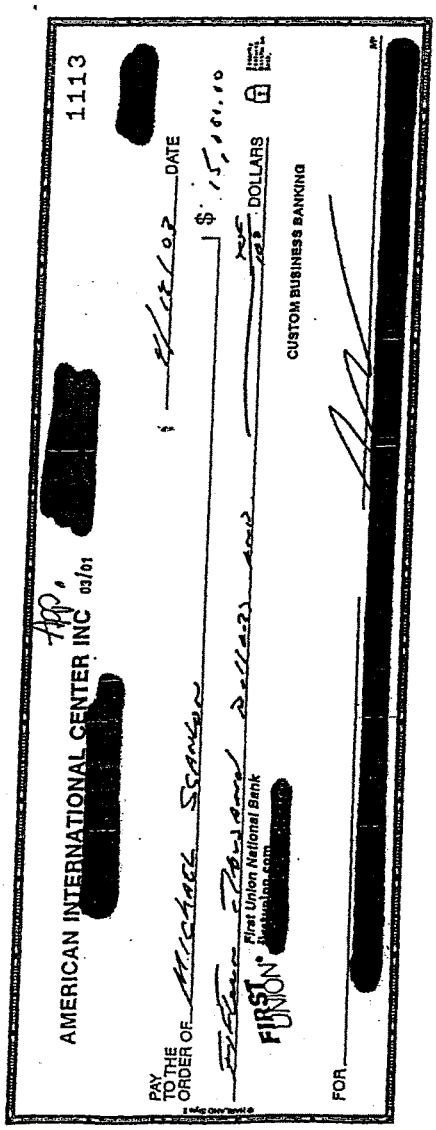
[redacted] Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

FIRST UNION

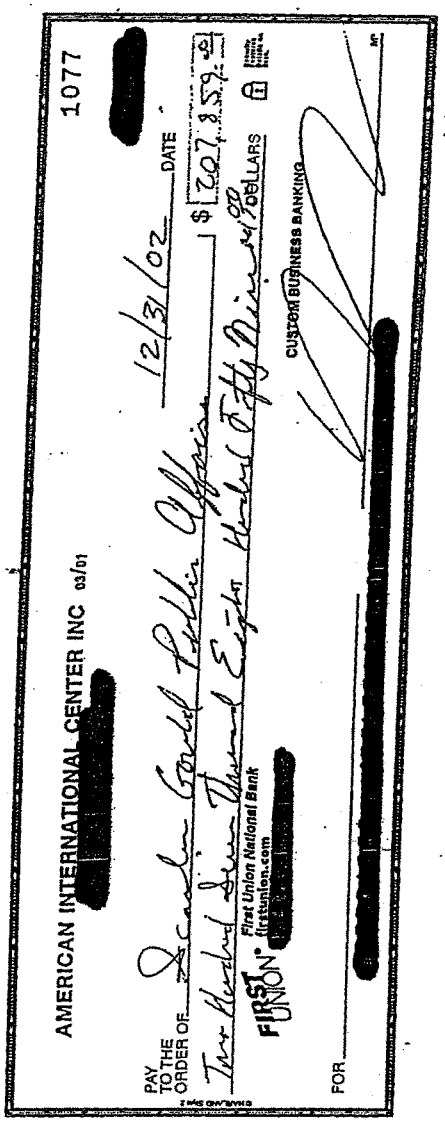
First Union National Bank
firstunion.com

FOR Professional Services [redacted]

BB/AIC 000139


AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01
1113
[redacted]
[redacted]
DATE
PAY TO THE ORDER OF
$
DOLLARS
CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING
FIRST UNION
First Union National Bank
FOR
[redacted]

BB/AIC 000100



AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01

1077

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF [redacted] Cashier Certified Public Accountant

12/31/02 DATE

$ 207,859.00

Two Hundred Seven Thousand Eight Hundred Fifty Nine and 00/100 DOLLARS

FIRST UNION

First Union National Bank
firstunion.com

[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR [redacted]

BB/AIC 000436

1058

DATE 3/11/02

PAY TO Khaled Suffaf

FOR

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD		
DEPOSITS		
TOTAL	45,000	00
THIS CHECK		
OTHER TRANS +/-		
BALANCE		

TAX DEDUCTIBLE ☐ [redacted]

1059

DATE 3/22/02

PAY TO GT

FOR MALAYSIA

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD		
DEPOSITS		
TOTAL	25500	00
THIS CHECK		
OTHER TRANS +/-		
BALANCE		

TAX DEDUCTIBLE ☐ [redacted]

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS AND INFORMATION ABOUT EXPENDITURES ON BACK OF PRINCETON STUB

1060 BSM

DATE

PAY TO

FOR

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD	
DEPOSITS	
TOTAL	
THIS CHECK	
OTHER TRANS +/-	
BALANCE	

TAX DEDUCTIBLE ☐ [redacted]

BB/AIC 0003

1040

DATE

PAY TO

FOR

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

THIS CHECK

OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

1041

DATE

PAY TO K. HALID SAFKULI

FOR

DEPOSITS 15,000 —

TOTAL 2 50 IT

THIS CHECK

OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

LIST SOURCES OF DEPOSITS AND INFORMATION ABOUT EXPENDITURES ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUB

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

1042

DATE 1/18/02

PAY TO State of DE

FOR Franchise Tax Report

DEPOSITS

TOTAL 20 00

THIS CHECK

OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

1031

DATE

PAY TO

FOR VOID

DEPOSITS

TOTAL

THIS CHECK

OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

1032

DATE 5/24/01

PAY TO Saul Ewing

FOR

DEPOSITS

TOTAL 516 00

THIS CHECK

OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS AND INFORMATION ABOUT EXPENDITURES ON BASIS OF PRECEDING STUBS

1033

DATE 10/2/01

PAY TO Khaled Saffuri

FOR Malaysia

SALARY/ CONDUCTING

DEPOSITS

TOTAL 9000 00

THIS CHECK

OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

1019

DATE

PAY TO

FOR

VOID

TOTAL

THIS CHECK

OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

DEPOSITS

1020

DATE

PAY TO

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TOTAL

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OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

DEPOSITS

LIST SOURCE OF DEPOSITS AND INFORMATION ABOUT EXPENDITURES ON BACK OF PRECEDING STUBS

1021

DATE GT

PAY TO

100,000 K

FOR

MALIBU

TOTAL

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OTHER TRANS +/-

BALANCE

TAX DEDUCTIBLE

BALANCE BROUGHT FORWARD

DEPOSITS

EMBASSY OF MALAYSIA

[redacted]

24990

DATE MAR 0 6 2002 [redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER $ 300,000.00

MALAYSIE 300000 DOLLARS

RIGGS [redacted]

FOR Professional services for Feb.20-May 20,2002

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000558

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 8:23 AM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

Is Scanlon involved? We should be pounding these guys.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 8:17 AM
To: volzn[redacted]
Cc: abramoffj[redacted]; boulangert[redacted]
Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

The Gun Lake state House resolution (HR 606), allowing the Governor to negotiate a compact with the Tribe, is scheduled this week for a vote. Timing is everything this week. If the Michigan delegation on the West side of the state want to impact, they must do so now.

----- Original Message -----
From: <volzn[redacted]>
To: <cpetras[redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 09, 2002 7:57 AM
Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?

> Thanks Chris
> ----------
> Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)
>
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Chris <cpetras[redacted]
> To: volzn[redacted]
> CC: abramoffj[redacted]>; boulangert[redacted]
> [redacted]
> Sent: Mon Dec 09 07:13:03 2002
> Subject: Re: Hello Bill. This anywhere near your district?
>
> Calls from the Michigan congressional delegation to state legislators
> is very important. Several state legislators have indicated that the
> congressional delegation holds weight on this issue. The Members can
> emphasize the legal implications for the state should the state
> Supreme Court rule that the last compacts were illegal when approved
> by resolution and not statute. Also, the horse tracks in Michigan are
> attempting a back-door strategy to create casinos at their facilities.
> Their goal is to amend the Michigan Lottery Act to allow video lottery
> machines that give
the
> winner slips of paper (vouchers) good for cash or prizes. They are
> doing this so that they do not have to amend the Michigan Gaming
> Control Act
(gave
> Detroit their casinos), which allows for Class III gaming (slots) and
would
> allow the machines to dispense coins to winners. We have the polling
> data
to
> show Michigan voters do not want Class II or III gaming at horse
> tracks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 9:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Let's discuss. You in town next week?

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 8:54 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Cool - well talk it over. He tried that - well give you a bid project bullshit on us last year - and we wound up spending 100k of AC money to beat back the tracks - and he never even presented our proposal to the council.

He pretty much full of shit. I would rather squeeze him for retainer work - as I don't believe we will get a project from them. Hes a loser.

---Original Message---
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 5:42 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Sag Chip
I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting $10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag Chip

Hey Man - you will probably get a call from Petris - But here is the long and short - Our shop is not under contract with them for PR - we have done it for them as part of programs in the past - but we aren't doing any work for them - and we will not until they hire us as their PR firm of Record.

For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR - or used agua or Coushatta money to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike,

We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December. We want a 100k a month - but will work for 85 - and we wil not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press reeleases and events until we get it.

To tell you the truth - we would rather not work for them any more - but if we get the retainer gig - that wil do.
NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
mike[redacted]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

Etched in the history of our great nation is a long and lamentable chapter about the exploitation of Native Americans. It began with the sale of Manhattan, and has continued ever since. Every kind of charlatan and every type of crook has deceived and exploited America's native sons and daughters. While these accounts of unscrupulous men are sadly familiar, the tale we hear today is not. What sets this tale apart, what makes it truly extraordinary, is the extent and degree of the apparent exploitation and deceit.

[SLIDE 51

Earlier this year, *The Washington Post* reported that Jack Abramoff, an influential lobbyist, together with Michael Scanlon, a self-styled public relations executive and former Capitol Hill staffer, collected over $45 million in three years from a handful of Indian tribes around the country. In the case of one tribe not the subject of today's hearing, the funds were allegedly paid from accounts reserved for tribal housing, education, and health care. That same tribe and another reportedly paid millions of dollars into an outfit called the American International Center, a self-proclaimed think tank run by two of Mr. Scanlon's beach buddies, one a yoga instructor, the other a lifeguard. Even in this town, where huge sums are routinely paid as the price of political access, the figures are astonishing. But, what the tribes actually received for such astronomical sums is mystifying.

In the seven months since the article ran, the Committee on Indian Affairs has worked with my staff on the Commerce Committee to examine the relationship between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, and their relationship with the Indian tribes they represented. I am pleased to report that we now have the cooperation of all of the tribes mentioned in *The Post* article along with others not mentioned. Even Chief Phillip Martin of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, who defended Mr. Abramoff at the outset of this investigation, wrote last month in a letter to Chairman Campbell and me that, "In light of information we have recently obtained from various sources, it now appears that our Tribe may in fact have been the victim of serious wrongdoing by Abramoff and Scanlon . . . Thus, despite my prior concerns, I appreciate your Committee's work on this matter."

I thank Chief Martin for his sentiments, and I extend my gratitude to all the tribes cooperating in this investigation. I am especially grateful to the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe and the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, who are participating in today's hearing. Both tribes have cooperated with us since the beginning. I commend the tribes and their leaders for having the wisdom to understand that this investigation is not an attack on tribal sovereignty, for displaying the courage to cooperate in the face of their critics, and for having the

perseverance to see this through until the bitter end.

We have also obtained and are grateful for the cooperation of Mr. Abramoff's former employer, Greenberg Traurig, which, like his former clients, may have been deceived by this vainglorious and once-powerful rainmaker.

Not surprisingly, we have not received the voluntary cooperation of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. We have had to subpoena documents from Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. Even at this late date, their production of documents remains incomplete. And, I am told, Mr. Scanlon and his attorney have frustrated the Committee's attempts to serve Mr. Scanlon with a subpoena for this hearing. Last I had heard, Mr. Scanlon was dodging the U.S. Marshals attempting to serve him. I want Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to know that their failure to cooperate in the face of compulsory process will not be tolerated and their attempt to slow roll this Committee will not be brooked. Once the Chairman has ruled on their outstanding objections, I will urge the Committee to pursue contempt, if their compliance with the subpoenas is not immediately forthcoming. The time for games has ended.

[Slide 52

Despite Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's obstinance, the Committee has begun to unravel the complex and tangled web they wove. In the case of both tribes testifying today, the documents show that Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon systematically sought out impressionable tribal leaders and representatives, seduced them with promises of power and prestige, and helped them attain positions of power within their tribes. Once in power, their allies on the tribal council steered multi-million dollar contracts to Mr. Abramoff's lobbying firm and Mr. Scanlon's PR company.

Mr. Abramoff also directed the tribes to donate generously to a long list of political action committees and candidates, think tanks, and charities. As *The Washington Post* reported only yesterday, prominent among the charities was the Capital Athletic Foundation, Mr. Abramoff's personal charitable foundation, which he primarily used to fund an all boys school he established. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon did so, all the while privately deriding and maligning their clients.

Chairman Campbell described for us Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's interference in tribal elections and governance, and revealed the utter contempt these men held for their clients. But to truly understand this story, and appreciate the depth of their misconduct, we need to consider the interference and contempt against the backdrop of the huge fees these men connived from the tribes.

In addition to the $150,000 to $180,000 per month retainers the tribes paid to Mr. Abramoff for lobbying services, it was widely reported that, at Mr. Abramoff's direction, the tribes paid Mr. Scanlon over $45 million for "grass roots activity". It was also widely publicized that unknown to the tribes, Mr. Abramoff received up to $10 million of these funds from Mr. Scanlon. Financial records and internal e-mails reviewed by this Committee establish that those figures, while shocking, are inaccurate. The amounts paid to Mr. Scanlon, and the amounts he paid to Mr Abramoff, are much higher.

[SLIDE 53]

Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's accounting, bank, and tax records establish that, between 2001 and 2004, six tribes paid more than $66 million to Michael

Scanlon's company Capitol Campaign Strategies, which also did business as Scanlon Gould Public Affairs. The tribes include the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso, and the Pueblo Sandia Tribe of New Mexico.

[SLIDE 55

Those same accounting, bank, and tax records clearly indicate that Capitol Campaign Strategies paid Jack Abramoff personally and Kaygold, a company owned and controlled by Mr. Abramoff, over $21 million. The $21million appears to be half of Capitol Campaign Strategies' profit from its Indian client revenue over three years.

Let me emphasize what the $66 million figure does not include. The $66 million does not include payments made by the tribes for lobbying services provided by Greenberg Traurig. The $66 million does not include the substantial payments made by these tribes directly to other entities owned or managed by Abramoff,

such as the Capital Athletic Foundation. The $66 million does not include the substantial political and dubious charitable contributions that the tribes made at Mr. Abramoff's direction. It is my hope that the Committee will address those payments at another time, in another hearing. The $66 million only includes the payments by the tribes to Mr. Scanlon's Capitol Campaign Strategies. It is those sums that we focus on today.

The first question we need to ask is why: why did Mr. Scanlon pay Mr. Abramoff half of his profit. After all, in his interview with *The Post* reporter, Mr. Abramoff denied having any financial interest in Mr. Scanlon's companies. The answer is surprisingly simple: Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were partners.

[June 18, 2001 e-mail Blow-up] — 6

Their partnership apparently began over three years ago. In a June 18, 2001 e-mail to Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon set forth his vision: Mr. Abramoff would develop the client base, and Mr. Scanlon would serve them. In Mr. Scanlon's own words:

> Bottom line: If you help me get CCS a client base of $3 million a

> year, I will get the clients served, and the firm acquired at $9 million. We can then split up the profits. What do you think?

[June 20, 2002 e-mail]

Lest there be any doubt on this point, one year later, Mr. Abramoff extolled his partner's virtues in an e-mail. After Mr. Scanlon reported on the receipt of $3 million from the Louisiana Coushatta for undisclosed services, Mr. Abramoff replied:

> You are a great partner. What I love about our partnership is that, when one of us is down, the other is there. we're gonna make $ for years together.

Scanlon was equal in his enthusiasm: "Amen! You got it boss - we have many years ahead!"

What's wrong with this relationship, some may ask? Possibly nothing, had it been disclosed to the tribes. But it never was. Jack Abramoff, the tribes' trusted lobbyist and advisor, instructed the tribes to hire Michael Scanlon for millions of dollars. But he never disclosed that he would receive about half the net proceeds

from the multi-million dollar contracts. In fact, it appears he hid his partnership with Mr. Scanlon from just about everyone.

[March 15, 2002 e-mail]

In a March 15, 2002 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff writes to a close associate and confidant about his personal financial statement that "no one knows about the CCS stuff." Indeed, they did not. Yet, Jack Abramoff owed the tribes he represented a duty, a duty to disclose his financial stake in the multi-million dollar contracts he was steering Michael Scanlon's way. That he and Scanlon did not speak up was immoral, it was unethical, and, ultimately, it may have been illegal.

I know that Mr. Abramoff has attempted in the past to deny that he directed the tribes hire Mr. Scanlon. His e-mails tell another story.

[Document 36]

In a December 2, 2002 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Chris Petras, the former legislative director of the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe, about racino initiatives in

Michigan

> where is Scanlon on this? What is he doing? Have you guys pushed the button? We need to get him firing missiles. How do we move it faster? Please get the council focused on this as soon as you can. Every day we lose now is going to hurt.

Mr. Abramoff apparently copied or forwarded the e-mail to Mr. Scanlon, whose only reply was, "I love you."

What did the tribes receive for the millions of dollars they paid Capitol Campaign Strategies? According to some tribes, not much. The Committee continues to investigate this issue. We do know, however, that Mr. Scanlon subcontracted out a substantial amount of work to what appear to be legitimate services providers. He did so at an unbelievably small fraction of what he charged the tribes, thus explaining the unconscionable amounts that he and Mr. Abramoff were able to put into their pockets.

[February 20, 2003 e-mail]

A February 20, 2003 e-mail from Mr. Abramoff to his accountant last year sheds considerable light on how much money Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon

pocketed. In that e-mail, Mr. Abramoff wrote:

> I think I understand what he [Michael Scanlon] did. We received $5M into CCS, from which (I guess - am I right?) DC requires a gross receipts tax/franchise tax. He divided the $5M into three piles: $1M for actual expenses, and $2M for each of us.

"$2M for each of us." That phrase alone explains why Mr. Abramoff so fervently pushed Mr. Scanlon's services on the tribes. "$2M for each of us" also explains what the tribes got – or did not get – for their money.

[SLIDE 56]

Many of you are probably wondering where those many millions of dollars went after falling into the pockets of Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff. According to the records reviewed by the Committee thus far, it appears Mr. Abramoff used his share to sustain his restaurant ventures Signatures and Stacks, and to finance Eshkol, the all boys school he established. Since the tribes stopped paying Mr. Scanlon, however, Mr. Abramoff has had to close Stacks and Eshkol. Meanwhile, Mr. Scanlon invested heavily in real estate and securities. At the end of the day, wherever the money went, it should be returned to the tribes, where it belongs.

The story does not end here, and I know that the hearing today will undoubtedly raise as many questions as it answers. To the aggrieved tribes and Native Americans generally I say: rest assured that this Committee's investigation is far from over; together, we will get to the bottom of this; and, hopefully, in the end, our efforts will help other tribes avoid their own tragic tale in this shameful chapter of American history.

washingtonpost.com

Tribal Trickery

Tuesday, September 28, 2004; Page A26

"IS LIFE GREAT or what!!!"

Washington lobbyist Jack Abramoff dashed off that exuberant e-mail to his business partner, public relations consultant Michael Scanlon, on Feb. 19, 2002. The two men were angling to get hired by the Tigua Indian tribe, whose casino had just been shut down by the state of Texas, and Mr. Abramoff was responding to an e-mail about a report in the El Paso paper that 450 casino employees had lost their jobs.

Whether or not life was great for Messrs. Abramoff and Scanlon, it was certainly lucrative: Overall, they collected at least $50 million from Indian tribes that operate casinos and sought the pair's help to stay in business. Although the Tigua never got their $60 million-a-year casino reopened, they shelled out $4.2 million to Mr. Scanlon's firm -- as part of a lobbying plan called "Operation Open Doors." Another piece of the door-opening? The tribe, Mr. Abramoff advised, "will have to make approximately $300,000 in federal political contributions."

What the Tigua didn't know, according to a report by The Post's Susan Schmidt, was that just before the pair hit the tribe up for business, they were actively working, on behalf of rival tribes, to shut down the Tigua casino. "We should continue to pile on until the place is shuttered," Mr. Abramoff wrote in a November 2001 e-mail to Ralph Reed, the former Christian Coalition head who was retained (to the tune of more than $4 million) to organize a coalition to oppose several Indian casinos. Three months later, even as he wrote to Mr. Reed about "those moronic Tigua," Mr. Abramoff was telling a Tigua representative that he could fix the "gross indignity perpetuated by the Texas state authorities" and that he had already lined up "a couple of Senators willing to ram this through." Reports about greedy lobbyists may be the Washington equivalent of the dog-bites-man story, even when the fees, as in this case, are so enormous as to leave others in their business agape. But the exploitative twist uncovered by Ms. Schmidt -- making money by sticking it to the tribe, then making even more by promising to undo the damage -- takes the tale to a new level of avarice and duplicity. Meantime, The Post's R. Jeffrey Smith reports in today's paper on an Abramoff-founded charity, the Capitol Athletic Foundation, which received more than $2 million from three of Mr. Abramoff's tribal clients. The charity's activities included a $150,225 golfing trip by private jet to Scotland, including House Administration Committee Chairman Robert W. Ney (R-Ohio) and Mr. Reed.

Federal authorities are investigating, as is the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, which plans a hearing tomorrow. Whether the conduct of Messrs. Abramoff and Scanlon constituted a crime remains to be determined. That their actions were loathsome is hardly open to question.

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Foundation's Funds Diverted From Mission

Records Detail Spending By GOP Lobbyist Abramoff

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer
Tuesday, September 28, 2004; Page A01

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BRITISH AIRWAYS

The Capital Athletic Foundation's Web site portrays youths at play: shaking hands over a tennis net, learning how to hold a bat, straining for a jump ball. Its text solicits donations for what it describes as "needy and deserving" sportsmanship programs.

In its first four years of operation, the charity has collected nearly $6 million. A gala fundraiser last year at the International Spy Museum at one point attracted the Washington Redskins' owner as its chairman and was to honor the co-founder of America Online.

But tax and spending records of the Capital Athletic Foundation obtained by The Washington Post show that less than 1 percent of its revenue has been spent on sports-related programs for youths.

Instead, the documents show that Jack Abramoff, one of Washington's high-powered Republican lobbyists, has repeatedly channeled money from corporate clients into the foundation and spent the overwhelming portion of its money on pet projects having little to do with the advertised sportsmanship programs, including political causes, a short-lived religious school and an overseas golf trip.

The foundation's brief history -- now the subject of a federal investigation -- charts how Abramoff attached himself to House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) and, in so doing, became a magnet for large sums of money from business interests. It also demonstrates how easily large amounts of such cash flowed through a nonprofit advocacy group to support the interests of a director.

Internal records state, for example, that Abramoff and his wife, Pam -- who are listed as the foundation's sole directors -- spent more than 70 percent of its revenue from 2001 to 2003, or $4.03 million, on a Jewish school that Abramoff founded in Columbia. The Eshkol Academy operated for two years and schooled two of his sons before closing this spring with unpaid bills, faculty members said.

The records also state that $248,742 of the foundation's income went toward buying a house near Abramoff's in Silver Spring, titled in the name of a company directed by Abramoff and fellow lobbyists from Greenberg Traurig, the Washington law firm where he worked until March. It was initially a school dormitory but is now slated to be sold, with proceeds benefiting the company.

Other recorded expenditures include $500 to help finance a memorial dinner two years ago in honor of the Angolan rebel Jonas Savimbi, and $150,225 for a golf trip to Scotland aboard a private jet. Abramoff's guests on the August 2002 trip included two fellow lobbyists, the Republican chairman of the House Administration Committee and a senior official at the General Services Administration.

Those and other expenditures by the foundation have sparked wide-ranging investigations by the Justice Department, the Internal Revenue Service and two congressional committees. A source familiar with the scope of the probes said a grand jury has asked questions concerning whether Abramoff used the foundation to conceal payments from clients and shelter income from taxation. A Senate hearing on Abramoff's lobbying activities and billing practices is planned for tomorrow.

Abbe D. Lowell, Abramoff's attorney, declined to respond to detailed questions about the Capital Athletic Foundation and its activities but said -- as Abramoff has -- that its critics are pursuing a "political and improper agenda." Abramoff publicist Andrew Blum said both the foundation and the Eshkol Academy were "real and properly run charitable institutions which supported real programs that made a real difference in the lives of children in our community."

Abramoff, Blum said, "has not used any charity improperly for his own benefit."

Ties to Indian Tribes

The investigation into Abramoff's financial activities began this spring after The Post disclosed that he and public relations executive Michael Scanlon, a former spokesman for DeLay, had received at least $45 million from Indian tribes that operate gambling casinos. The tribes also had donated $2.9 million to federal candidates since 2001.

After Abramoff became their lobbyist, three tribes -- the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians and the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana -- contributed more than $2.02 million to the Capital Athletic Foundation, according to foundation tax records. The Choctaws also gave $1.07 million to the National Center for Public Policy Research, a nonprofit group for which Abramoff is a board member, according to the center's tax records.

Saginaw Chippewa officials have told federal investigators that they made the donations because Abramoff told them it would impress DeLay, a fellow golf buff whom Abramoff described in a 1995 letter to Arnold Palmer as his "very close personal friend."

The tribe donated $25,000 to the Capital Athletic Foundation in 2002 and another $25,000 to the National Republican Congressional Committee the following year, tribal attorney Henry Buffalo said. The lawyer said tribal leaders assumed that if they gave money, "Mr. DeLay would recognize that in some way," and if they needed legislative help, "Mr. DeLay would be able to look on that more favorably than not."

Stuart Roy, DeLay's spokesman, responded that many lobbyists exaggerate their influence with powerful lawmakers.

The ties between Abramoff and DeLay go back a long way. Since 1997, Abramoff and his wife have contributed $40,000 to DeLay's political action committees, and last year the Capital Athletic Foundation donated $25,000 to the DeLay Foundation for Kids, a charity the lawmaker founded. Abramoff has long been a member of DeLay's Congressional Council, which DeLay describes in promotional materials as a "special group of supporters."

Blum, Abramoff's publicist, said that "in the over 10 years that Jack Abramoff has known Congressman Tom DeLay, each has properly supported the other's charitable causes, each has properly followed the rules of lobbying and disclosure, and each has only properly advocated positions on national policy in which they both believe."

DeLay has also shown support for causes important to Abramoff's clients. A source close to Abramoff who asked not to be named because of the continuing grand jury investigation said Abramoff lobbied DeLay's office to organize a June 2003 letter -- co-signed by DeLay, House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.), Majority Whip Roy Blunt (R-Mo.) and Deputy Whip Eric I. Cantor (R-Va.) -- that endorsed a view of gambling law benefiting the Coushattas' desire to block gambling competition by another tribe.

The letter, sent to Interior Secretary Gale A. Norton, said the House leaders opposed a plan by the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians to open a casino at a non-reservation site, expected at the time to be outside Shreveport, La., not far from a casino owned by the Coushattas. The intent of the letter, the source said, was to protect the income from the Coushattas' casino -- about $300 million a year.

V. Heather Sibbison, a lobbyist at the time for the Jena Band, said: "I do this for a living, and I have never seen a letter like that before. It was incredibly unusual for that group of people, who do not normally weigh in on Indian issues, to express such a strong opinion about a particular project not in any of their home states."

DeLay spokesman Roy did not address whether Abramoff had contacted DeLay about the letter but said: "The majority leader has been consistent in his opposition to the expansion of gambling. Accusations and insinuations to the contrary are simply attempts to make a sexier story."

Using School as a 'Front'

Abramoff and his wife created the Capital Athletic Foundation in 1999 as a limited-liability company. He initially listed his home as the foundation's principal office, and in September 2002 he filed an operating agreement with the state of Maryland that said "all profit or loss shall be allocated to Abramoff," as well as any cash remaining at the end of each year.

In 2000, the foundation's purpose was described in tax documents as providing "gifts to schools in the Wash DC area in order to provide and enhance academic and athletic programs for children." Its Web site said the foundation would make lifetime Spirit of America awards, issue certificates of achievement to schools that emphasized athletics and appoint national ambassadors of sportsmanship.

There is no indication those things happened. Abramoff was the foundation's sole donor that year, giving $12,850, and the Yeshiva of Greater Washington was the sole grant recipient, getting $11,824.

In 2001, the foundation's reported income rose to more than $1.24 million, largely on the strength of a $1 million donation by the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, a $177,415 donation made in Abramoff's name and a $50,000 donation by Foxcom Wireless, an Israeli-financed telecommunications company seeking the House Administration Committee's approval to install cell phone antennas throughout House office buildings. The firm Abramoff worked for, Greenberg Traurig, registered as a lobbyist for Foxcom in 2003.

Catherine Zatloukal, president and chief executive of the company, which is now named MobileAccess Networks, did not respond to questions about the firm's donation to the foundation.

As to the Coushattas' donation, Abramoff and Scanlon told them "where to send money" in Washington, said Roy Fletcher, a spokesman for the tribe. Fletcher and tribal lawyer Kent Hance said tribal leaders concluded eventually that the money was being used to pay for a luxury box at FedEx Field, where Abramoff would lobby for them during Redskins games.

For all its new wealth, the foundation recorded just two major grants that year. It paid a Web designer $50,510 to create an Internet presence for the Eshkol Academy, and it spent $115,930 on a Judaic studies home-schooling program that Abramoff created.

In 2002 the foundation, which on the Web site listed as its address a mail drop on Pennsylvania Avenue, collected more than $2.56 million from nine donors, including $991,749 from Abramoff. Other major donors, according to tax records, included three Indian tribes and the National Center for Public Policy Research.

By that time, the Eshkol Academy had leased office space to use for classes and enrolled several dozen students, some of whom paid annual tuition of more than $12,000. The Capital Athletic Foundation contributed more than $1.85 million to the academy that year, enough to pay a handful of teachers and a dean. The school also bought two Zamboni ice-cleaning machines, even though it did not own a hockey rink.

In 2003, the foundation took in more than $2.15 million, including a $250,000 donation from the National Center for Public Policy Research, a $400,000 donation by Abramoff, a $950,000 donation from Scanlon's consulting firm and a $500,000 donation from the International Interactive Alliance, an Internet casino group that employed Abramoff as a lobbyist, according to tax records. The foundation gave $2.13 million to the Eshkol Academy that year.

E-mails at the time showed Abramoff pushing for more money for his enterprise. He sent an e-mail to Scanlon in February 2003 stating: "Please make sure the next $1M[illion] from Coushatta for me goes to Eshkol Academy directly. Please tell them that we are 'using the school as our conduit for some of activities.' " The e-mail added that "if that won't fly with them, use CAF," referring to the Capital Athletic Foundation, or the National Center for Public Policy Research.

Abramoff repeated the request in e-mails in March and April. The Eshkol Academy "is our front group," the first e-mail said. The second said: "I really need to get those funds into Eshkol asap. Let me know what we have to do."

Scanlon replied in an e-mail, obtained by federal authorities, that he could not direct the money to Eshkol because he did not have any invoices from the school.

Stephen L. Braga, an attorney for Scanlon, confirmed that the request to direct a Coushatta payment to the foundation "was received by Mr. Scanlon's firm" but said "no attempt was made by Mr. Scanlon or anyone at his firm to comply with that request. Furthermore, Mr. Scanlon never made any of the representations to tribal leaders that were suggested." Braga also said that any payment made to the Capital Athletic Foundation by Scanlon's firm in 2003 is "wholly unrelated" to Abramoff's e-mailed requests for money.

Lowell, Abramoff's attorney, did not dispute the e-mails but said whether Abramoff distributed his fees "to charities directly or asked his employers or clients to make charitable contributions on their own, the bottom line is that the money went and was used by legitimate charities for proper charitable purposes."

Major Expenses

A social highlight for the foundation was to have been a $1,000-a-plate fundraiser in March 2003 at the International Spy Museum chaired by Washington Redskins owner Daniel M. Snyder and Fox News commentator Tony Snow. Its aim, according to invitations, was to honor James V. Kimsey, the co-

founder and former chairman of America Online.

Snyder, Kimsey and Abramoff are all members of the Washington Redskins Leadership Council charity. The Capital Athletic Foundation donated $4,000 to the council in 2002, according to the foundation's tax records. Kimsey's chief of staff, Peter Kirsch, said that to his knowledge the dinner was rescheduled several times and then canceled; Redskins publicist Karl Swanson said that Snyder "lent" his name to the function at Kimsey's request but never attended.

A planner for the event said it was finally held in December. Nothing in the foundation's books indicates that the dinner raised more than a few thousand dollars.

Travel was another major foundation expense, totaling $240,416 in 2001 and 2002, records show. More than half of that was spent in August 2002 on the chartered jet that flew at least six people -- including Abramoff, House Administration Committee Chairman Robert W. Ney (R-Ohio), lobbyist and former Christian Coalition leader Ralph Reed, and then-General Services Administration chief of staff David Safavian -- to St. Andrews, Scotland, with a stopover in London on the way back.

None of those on the plane would say precisely how they spent their time, although two people confirmed that they played golf in St. Andrews. Ney spokesman Brian J. Walsh said Ney thought the trip's purpose was to raise money for the foundation, but Walsh did not cite any fundraising events.

Noam Neusner, a spokesman for Safavian -- who has been nominated for a senior position at the Office of Management and Budget -- said the trip was "primarily for golfing." "It had no business orientation to it," Neusner said, noting that Safavian paid back $3,100 for his expenses.

Researcher Lucy Shackelford contributed to this report.

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trog·lo·dyte Pronunciation Key (trŏg'lə-dīt') *n.*

a. A member of a fabulous or prehistoric race of people that lived in caves, dens, or holes.
b. A person considered to be reclusive, reactionary, out of date, or brutish.

2.
a. An anthropoid ape, such as a gorilla or chimpanzee.
b. An animal that lives underground, as an ant or a worm.

[From Latin Trōglodytae, *a people said to be cave dwellers*, from Greek Trōglodutai, alteration (influenced by trōgiē, *hole*, and -dutai, *those who enter*), of Trōgodutai.]

trog'lo·dyt'ic (-dĭt'ĭk) or **trog'lo·dyt'i·cal** (-ĭ-kəl) *adj.*

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TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2004

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to other business, at 3 p.m. in room 216, Hart Senate Office Building, Hon. Ben Nighthorse Campbell (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Present: Senators Campbell, McCain, Inouye, Dorgan, and Conrad

STATEMENT OF HON. BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, U.S. SENATOR FROM COLORADO, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

The CHAIRMAN. Good afternoon. I'm glad we have such a good turnout for this. It's an important hearing.

The committee hearing today is the second in a series of hearings into allegations of improper business lobbying and financial transactions by Jack Abramoff, Michael Scanlon and their entities on behalf of Indian tribes. At the committee's first hearing on September 29, 2004 the evidence and testimony showed that under a variety of arrangements, six tribes paid Mr. Scanlon more than $66 million and that Mr. Scanlon in turn paid Mr. Abramoff more than $21 million.

The September hearing also revealed that Scanlon and Abramoff assisted in the campaigns and elections of tribal council members at two of the tribes, did not charge for their services and after the elections obtained multi-million dollar contracts from the same tribal councils that they helped to elect. Finally, the hearing revealed that while they were being paid tens of millions of dollars, Abramoff and Scanlon held their tribal clients in very low regard, often referring to them as monkeys, troglodytes, morons, and worse.

While the hearing in September disclosed this evidence, our investigation has continued to uncover other distasteful and shocking details.

Today's hearing will focus on the Tigua Tribe of Texas. The story of Abramoff, Scanlon, and the Tiguas looks to me like nothing short of a classic shakedown operation. These men, working with allies, persuaded the State of Texas to force the closure of the tribe's casino, located in El Paso. Having achieved this interim step of shutting down the tribe's casino, Abramoff and Scanlon then approached the Tiguas, offering their services to assist the tribe in re-

opening its casino. For their services, they charged the tribe the tidy sum of $4.2 million.

Documents uncovered by committee investigators shed more light on the Tiguas. To assist the members, as well as the general public, committee staff has prepared those documents most pertinent to the matters covered by this hearing. This is the stack I am holding, and I now offer these documents and move that they be entered into the record of this hearing.

Is there a second?

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. I second.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator McCain seconds it, and hearing no opposition, these documents will be included in our hearing testimony.

[Referenced documents appear in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. These documents demonstrate the extent of Scanlon's and Abramoff's cynical manipulation of the Tigua Tribe. Let me just point out a few of these things in detail.

In 2002, Mr. Abramoff first offered to help the Tiguas on a pro bono basis, provided the tribe hire him in the future as a lobbyist for between $125,000 and $175,000 per month. That's some pro bono work.

Then just last year, Mr. Abramoff approached the Tiguas with yet another scheme that would have benefitted the Eshkol Academy, the Jewish boys school he founded located just outside of Washington, DC. Mr. Abramoff declined the tribal request that he be paid a retainer. Mr. Abramoff recommended that at no cost to the tribe, the Academy would buy up term life insurance policies on elderly tribal members and that the Academy would be named as the beneficiary in case of their death.

In effect, Mr. Abramoff asked to be paid by putting prices on the lives of tribal elders. We have witnessed a lot of unseemly and unethical and vulgar things during the course of this investigation, but asking a tribe to pay a lobbyist with death benefits I think is the most distasteful thing I think we have seen yet in this hearing or the former one.

Writing to one of his key allies in the effort to shut down the Tigua's casino, Mr. Abramoff's references the tribe's donations to the Democrats, saying, "I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contributions. I'd love to get our mitts on that moolah." And that's in quotations. "Oh, well," he continues, "stupid folks get wiped out." Stupid folks get wiped out. I think that about says it all about their opinion about their very clients, the Tiguas.

Finally, on the day the Tigua Tribe voted on their contract, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon exchanged e-mails regarding a newspaper story about some 450 Indian employees at the tribe's recently shuttered casino being thrown out of work. This group of workers included an elderly woman who worried that she would not be able to find another job because of her age. Mr. Scanlon was evidently very excited that the article was on the front page, and in quotes in his e-mails, "While they [the Tiguas] will be voting on our plan." Mr. Abramoff's reply to that: "Is life great or what!!!"

Now, I have been around this town for 2 decades. This strikes me as more than cynical. Rather than being concerned about the misfortunes of the tribe and some of its members, particularly the

elderly, that they were soliciting for business, Abramoff and Scanlon seemed happy, in fact almost gloating, about the prospect that the Tiguas were having their casino closed, so that hundreds of employees would be thrown out of work, all because they were slated to make millions on trying to get that very casino reopened.

There is another element to the Tigua story that I feel compelled to address. It appears that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon used the good name and reputation of our fellow members in Congress in their attempts to part the tribe from its money. You will hear today from witnesses and read from documents indicating that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon contended that Senator Dodd and Congressman Ney were enlisted to spearhead efforts in Congress to provide a legislative fix to the Tigua's problems.

From what we know, that was not the case. Senator Dodd knew nothing about the proposed legislative fix, never supported it. And in fact, we are told that when the idea was proposed to his senior staff, it was rejected at least three times. Congressman Ney agreed to support a legislative fix after being told by Mr. Abramoff that Senator Dodd wanted the language. So there was a lot of shady things going on.

In short, the evidence demonstrates that Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff told their clients that Senator Dodd and Congressman Ney would push their proposal, knowing full well that was not the case, in an effort to further persuade the Tigua Tribe into continuing to pay them more millions of dollars. Today, the committee will hear from Carlos Hisa, the Tigua Tribe's Lieutenant Governor, and Marc Schwartz, a consultant who essentially was the point person for contact between the Tiguas and Abramoff and Scanlon.

I would like to also mention another relevant item. For those of you who watched or listened to the September 29 hearing or who were here, you may recall that the committee repeatedly sought the presence of Mr. Scanlon and had been obliged to issue a number of subpoenas to that effect. At first, Mr. Scanlon's attorney declined to accept the subpoena, even though he had accepted other committee subpoenas for Mr. Scanlon and the various corporate entities he owned or operated.

At that time, I said to the U.S. Marshals, asked them very specifically to find out why he had not been served and to try to make sure that he was served when he did surface, and that at some point he would sooner or later be coming before this committee. That subpoena has been served, and I understand he is here in the audience here today and we will hear from him just a little bit later.

There is another person who I believe flouted the authority of this committee. That person is Jon van Horne, who was served with a document subpoena that was due on October 5. To this date, the committee has not received the documents called for under the subpoena nor an explanation for his non-compliance. This will be the last committee hearing over which I preside as chairman, but I am convinced that Senator McCain, who will be the new incoming chairman, and Senator Dorgan, who will be the new vice chairman when we start again, will take that into consideration. If those documents are not forthcoming, I would hope that they would ask for

a vote of this committee to find him in contempt of Congress by not providing the information the committee requested.

With that, I will just go ahead and submit the rest of my opening statement into the record, because I know we have other members here who would also like to comment. Since Senator Inouye is not here yet, I will go ahead and ask Senator McCain if he would like to offer some opening remarks, since you were instrumental in asking for this investigation.

[Prepared statement of Senator Campbell appears in appendix.]

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN MCCAIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM ARIZONA

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. And thank you for your dedication to this effort.

In light of the fact that this may be the last committee hearing you may chair before your retirement, I would like to express on behalf of all my colleagues on both sides of the aisle your outstanding contributions to Native Americans, to their welfare and your continued dedication and commitment, and your outstanding work as chairman of this committee. We admire you and we respect you and we will miss you enormously, and we wish you every success in the future.

Is life great or what, exclaimed Jack Abramoff in an e-mail to his friend and business partner, Michael Scanlon, on February 19, 2002. Few would have quibbled with Mr. Abramoff at the time. As we learned during the committee's September 29 hearing, the two men shared a secret partnership that connived to collect at least $66 million from six American Indian tribes across the Nation.

When Mr. Abramoff sent his February 19 e-mail, he had already received approximately $3 million from Mr. Scanlon's companies. Over the next couple of years, he would receive almost $18 million more. The two, however, kept their partnership hidden from the tribes and hidden from the world. For these two men, it was seemingly all about the money.

In February 2002, the money flowed, so life was indeed great for Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. At the same time, life was not so good for the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso, TX, also known as the Tigua. The tribe was fighting for its financial life in the Texas courts and legislature. According to a September 26, 2004 article in the Washington Post, the State of Texas had sought a judicial order closing the tribe's Speaking Rock Casino.

The Post article also reported in some detail how Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had worked behind the scenes to support Texas' efforts to close the casino. They had participated in a grassroots and public relations campaign that was designed in part to lend political cover to Texas legal efforts. Evidence suggests that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon also worked behind the scenes in Texas to quash the Tigua's attempts at a legislative solution.

In an internal e-mail, Mr. Abramoff boasted to colleagues in 2003:

> Bill is moving H.B. 809 in the Texas State House, which will enable Indians in Texas to have totally unregulated casinos. If passed out of the House, criminal jurisprudence committee by a 6-2 vote, the current speaker, Tom Craddock, is a strong supporter. Last year we stopped this bill after it passed the House using the Lt Gov., Bill Ratcliffe, to prevent it from being scheduled in the State Senate.

Former Texas Lieutenant Governor did refuse to schedule legislation for a floor vote. The State's legal efforts were successful and the Tigua closed its casino on February 12, 2002. It was a low point for the tribe.

According to tribal representatives the revenue generated from the Speaking Rock Casino had helped to lift the tribe out of poverty. It enabled the tribe to provide education for its children and health care for its elders. It had given them hope where there was none before. The closure of the casino, according to the tribe, threatened the promise of a new and better tomorrow for future generations.

In the Tigua's desperation and despair, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon found opportunity and hope, not for the tribe, but for themselves. In the tribe's misery, Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon saw money. "I'm on the phone with Tigua. Fire up the jet, baby, we're going to El Paso," wrote Jack Abramoff in a February 6, 2002 e-mail. Responding, Michael Scanlon summarized their objective: "I want all their money."

When Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon approached the tribe, they painted themselves as sympathetic to the tribe's plight. In a February 18, 2000 e-mail to tribal consultant Marc Schwartz, which we have blown up onto a poster board, Mr. Abramoff wrote,

> Our motivations for this representation are manifold, including the critical importance of not allowing tribal sovereignty to be eroded by the actions of the State of Texas. While we are Republicans and normally want all Republicans to prevail in electoral challenges, this ill-advised decision on the part of the Republican leadership in Texas must not stand, and we intend to right this, using in part Republican leaders from Washington.

Mr. Abramoff downplayed his primary motivation by writing that:

> It would be insincere of me not to note that our other motivations include the hope and expectation that if we succeed, we can expect to have a long term relationship with the tribe by representing their interests on the Federal level.

Mr. Abramoff's statement was the height of hypocrisy, the pinnacle of deception. The very injustice he described he and Mr. Scanlon had helped to create.

With a straight face and without expressed remorse, Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon solicited the tribe to retain them to help reopen the Tigua casino. According to witnesses interviewed by my investigators, neither Mr. Abramoff nor Mr. Scanlon ever disclosed their role in the lobbying and public relations campaigns waged to close the same Tigua casino. They certainly never disclosed the lucrative partnership they shared.

Their duplicity was pervasive. At the same moment they solicited the tribe, Jack Abramoff wrote:

> I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contribution. I'd love us to get our mitts on that moolah.

That's exactly what Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon set out to do. The very next day, on February 12, 2002, they traveled by private jet to the Tigua Reservation in El Paso. There they made their pitch.

According to witnesses at that meeting, Jack Abramoff offered to help the tribe for free. He would later repeat that promise in his February 18 e-mail to Mr. Schwartz. But Mr. Abramoff insisted

that the tribe had to retain Michael Scanlon for the effort to be successful. Jack Abramoff claimed that Michael Scanlon was a preeminent expert in grassroots lobbying. Michael Scanlon wasn't cheap, Mr. Abramoff told the tribe, but he was the best there was in the business. Mr. Scanlon's asking price: $5.4 million.

Of course, from the last hearing, we know that when Mr. Abramoff advocated Mr. Scanlon's interests, he was advocating his own financial interests. Make no mistake: Jack Abramoff was not going to work for free.

On February 18, 2002 Jack Abramoff submitted to the tribe a document entitled Operation Open Doors, a proposal prepared by Michael Scanlon. Mr. Abramoff endorsed the proposal wholeheartedly.

> The proposal Mike Scanlon has prepared is, in my view, the best chance the tribe has to overcome the gross indignity perpetuated by the Texas State authorities.

Operation Open Doors supposedly entailed a massive undertaking funded by a nationwide political operation.

> This political operation will result in a majority of both Federal chambers either becoming close friends of the tribe or fearing the tribe in a very short period of time. Simply put, you need 218 friends in the U.S. House and 51 Senators on your side very quickly. And we will do that through both love and fear.

Scanlon said his firm promised to build two customized data bases for the tribe, conduct numerous polls and wage a grassroots and grasstops campaign. While he did not guarantee success, Mr. Scanlon wrote, "Under no circumstances do we believe it could be classified as high risk, either." Mr. Scanlon's promises have so far proven empty. Witnesses interviewed by my staff have confirmed that the data base was not customized. Scanlon/Gould did not even construct it. They subcontracted out the work for less than $100,000, a small sum that pales in comparison to the $1.8 million he charged the Tribe for it. And it seems Scanlon/Gould failed to provide the vast majority of services to implement the "massive undertaking" the tribe was told would occur.

On February 19, 2002, El Paso Times newspaper reported that the tribe had to lay off 450 employees as a result of shutting down its casino. It was not enough the two men sought to capitalize on the tribe's plight; they actually reveled in it. Mr. Scanlon forwarded the article to Mr. Abramoff, advising him "This is on the front page of today's paper, while they will be voting on our plan." It was in response to Mr. Scanlon that Mr. Abramoff dashed off his "is life great or what" e-mail.

Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon smelled money. In fact, 19 minutes later, Mr. Abramoff e-mailed Mr. Scanlon again. "One hour, 45 minutes and counting, my friend." The tribal council ultimately decided to move forward with the plan, believing Mr. Abramoff's representation that he already had "a couple of Senators willing to ram this through initially."

Key to Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's plan was secrecy. No one was to know about their involvement in the effort to assist the Tigua. According to witnesses interviewed by my staff, Mr. Abramoff would take no money from the Tribe to avoid having to register under the Lobbying Disclosure Act.

In meetings and telephone conversations with witnesses, Jack Abramoff maintained his role was simple. He would have one or

more Representatives or Senators slip into a conference report very discreet language allowing the Tigua to reopen their casino. After passage of such an amendment, Michael Scanlon and his company would then run a public relations campaign to beat back any attempts to repeal the language.

Almost immediately, Mr. Abramoff's cover was nearly compromised when he was included on an e-mail list from a tribal representative. Mr. Abramoff was furious. In an e-mail to Mr. Scanlon, Mr. Abramoff wrote, and I will try to redact the profanity so I don't offend anyone:

> The f-ing moron put my name on an e-mail list. What a f-ing moron. He may have blown our cover, damn it. We're moving forward anyway and taking their f-ing money.

That the secrecy and hence the effort may have been compromised could not dissuade Mr. Abramoff from taking the tribe's money. He was resolved to take the Tribe's money whether he could help them or not. Even before the Tigua signed a formal contract with Scanlon/Gould Public Affairs, Mr. Abramoff could not wait for the money to arrive. On March 3rd, 2002, he asked Mr. Scanlon, "Did we get the Tigua money?"

Even after the tribe sent a check for $2.1 million, the two could not contain their insatiable greed. On March 19, 2002, Michael Scanlon e-mailed Jack Abramoff, asking, "Is he"—meaning Marc Schwartz—"happy? Where is our f-ing money?" Abramoff responded 10 minutes later, instructing Mr. Scanlon to call Mr. Schwartz and asked for "our damned money." By the end of March, the tribe had paid Scanlon/Gould a total of $4.2 million for what was supposedly going to be a massive public relations campaign.

On April 8, 2002, Capital Campaign Strategies, the alter ego of Scanlon/Gould, paid $2.1 million to Mr. Abramoff's company, K Gold. During this time, Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon identified election reform as the vehicle into which they would insert the Tigua's provision.

Of course, only after the tribe had paid Scanlon/Gould millions of dollars did Michael Scanlon reassess the likelihood of success. In an April 2002 report to the tribe, Mr. Scanlon wrote that:

> With political cover generated, we feel pretty good about our prospects of tacking the legislation on and getting it through. But pleased be advised we are taking the most high risk approach to this by using election reform as a vehicle.

Mr. Scanlon's words stand in stark contrast to his earlier opinion that his efforts could in no way be classified as high risk. Of course, he now had the luxury of being less optimistic, since he had the tribe's money in his pocket.

Despite receiving $4.2 million from the tribe, Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon wanted more. From mid to late 2002, Jack Abramoff hounded the tribe for contributions to the Capital Athletic Foundation, his private charitable foundation that he used to support the all boys school he had founded and operated in Maryland. He asked the tribe to contribute $50,000 to a golf trip to Scotland, sponsored by his foundation. Ultimately, the tribe declined.

That did not deter Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, however. In a September 18, 2002 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff reminded himself, "We need more money for backlash after the Tigua launch." 2½ hours later, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Scanlon:

Did you speak with Marc Schwartz? I have a great idea. Let's tell him we are launching all missiles to get the bill to vote and therefore we're using all our resources, so that once the bill passes we immediately need more money. Okay?

Approximately 1 month later, election reform because law without the Tigua's provision. To this day, the tribe remains unclear on where the $4.2 million they paid Scanlon went, because it appears it was not used for the purportedly massive PR campaign Mr. Scanlon had promised to wage on their behalf.

Mr. Abramoff's pursuit of more money from the tribe did not end in 2002. Only last year, Mr. Abramoff attempted to convince the tribe to take out life insurance on its elders and make Eshkol Academy, the all boys school he founded, the sole beneficiary. Mr. Abramoff claimed that the proceeds of the policies would go to his school, which would then pay Greenberg Traurig for the lobbying fees incurred by the Tigua.

I again direct everyone's attention to the poster, which reflects Mr. Abramoff's e-mail to Mr. Schwartz on the subject:

Marc, per our discussion, the following short memo describe the opportunity to obtain lobbying funds via the insurance program. This will also greatly benefit our school, which means the whole world to me. If it can work, it's truly a win-win. On behalf of a registered non-profit charity, such as the school, CFS will enroll Native American elders 75 years and older in term life insurance.

The premiums will be entirely financed with both debt and equity using the insurance policies, no obligation of any kind to the tribe or Native Americans of the charity, and repaid by the proceeds of the policy at the demise of the insured. Any remaining funds at that time will accrue to the charity. From these funds, the school shall pay Greenberg Traurig its fees and any out of pocket costs for a new Washington representation.

The Washington representation work done by Greenberg Traurig made possible as a consequence of this program should be for the sole benefit of the tribe, including efforts to obtain Federal appropriations, grants and other legislative and administrative assistance for the tribe.

After brief consideration, the Tigua rejected it, because "it just wasn't right."

The story I just shared with you and which we will learn more about today is tragic. Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon preyed upon the tribe and its members when they were most vulnerable. They played upon their hopes and fears. They went to El Paso selling salvation and instead delivered snake oil. Those two men walked away with money that would have gone and should have gone to the children and elders of the tribe. Why? Because Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon were all about the money.

In closing, I just want to thank the Tigua Tribe, Lieutenant Governor Hisa and Mr. Schwartz for their invaluable assistance and continuing cooperation in the investigation and for their participation in today's hearing. Mr. Schwartz told my investigators that after the Washington Post articles broke earlier this year about the other tribes, Mr. Abramoff called him and said, "Don't worry, no one will ever know about the Tigua."

Well, Mr. Abramoff, the committee knows and now the rest of the world knows, too, about the gross indignity it seems you and Mr. Scanlon perpetrated against the tribe. And I pledge, as a mem-

ber of the Committee on Indian Affairs, that we will not stop until the complete truth is told.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator McCain.

I'd like to yield to Senator Dorgan, who will be the incoming vice chairman of this committee starting in January. Senator Dorgan.

STATEMENT OF HON. BYRON L. DORGAN, U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. Let me add my voice to that of Senator McCain's to thank you, Senator Campbell, for the remarkable work you have done over a long period of time. It has been an honor to serve with you.

It would serve no purpose for me to repeat much of what Senator McCain has just described. I think he has described this in great detail and all I can say is that the substantial amount of reading I have done, which includes almost all of the memos that have been referenced here, leads me to say that those involved in this sickening episode should all hang their heads in shame. It is a disgusting thing to investigate and to read. It is about double dealing, it is about secret deals, it is about billing for services that were not performed. But mostly it is about deceit and deception. I would agree with Senator McCain, we need to follow this to the end of the trail, find out who did what and hold them accountable for it.

So let me not repeat it. Let me thank my colleague, Senator McCain for the statement that you have made, which I think is explicit in its detail. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Conrad.

STATEMENT OF HON. KENT CONRAD, U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA

Senator CONRAD. I thank the chairman and I want to thank my colleagues as well, Senator McCain and Senator Dorgan. Certainly Senator Inouye as well.

It is hard to find the words to describe this. It's despicable, it is corrupt. Most of all it is incredibly, deeply cynical. It is hard to believe that people could sit around and conjure up a scheme like this, to on the one hand work behind the scenes to get casinos shut down and then to go to the affected tribes and ask for millions of dollars to get the casinos opened back up.

And all the time to refer to their clients as morons, as idiots, troglodytes. It's a level of arrogance that I must say is almost unparalleled. If you were to set out to write down a scheme that would reveal the basest nature of people, you'd have a hard time coming up with more examples than have been provided by this case. This Jack Abramoff, Michael Scanlon, taking advantage of the political system in the most crass and crude way, all for their own enrichment.

You have to ask yourselves, what kind of people are these? What kind of people are these that would cook up such a scheme and then actually carry it out? It's despicable. They deserve the harshest treatment that the legal system can provide.

I thank the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you, and we will now proceed with the first panel. That will be Lieutenant Governor Hisa of the Tigua Tribe and Marc Schwartz. Would you please come to the table and remain standing for 1 minute.

Will you please raise your right hand? Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Please be seated.

Mr. Schwartz, I think we'll go ahead and start with you, if that's all right. Will you also identify the people who are with you, too, besides the Lieutenant Governor.

STATEMENT OF MARC SCHWARTZ, PRESIDENT, MARC SCHWARTZ PARTNERS, INC., ACCOMPANIED BY MITZI SHANNON AND JOHN BATOON

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes; this is my legal counsel, Mitzi Shannon, and legal counsel for the Tique Tribe is John Batoon.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Proceed.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee.

My name is Marc Schwartz, and I have had the privilege of working with the Tigua Tribe in matters involving public relations and government affairs since 1998. I'm sure many of you are wondering just how Abramoff and Scanlon came before the Tigua Tribe, maybe more importantly, how seemingly bright folks could have fallen for their schemes.

In early 2002, Mr. Abramoff, through an attorney representing the Choctaw Tribe, had offered to visit with the Tigua Tribe about a solution to their gaming problems. I first spoke with Mr. Abramoff on February 6, and he expressed his indignation over what had occurred with the tribe and specifically referred to the need to right the terrible injustice that had been brought upon the tribe.

Unlike others who offered solutions, Mr. Abramoff had both the credentials, as best could be determined, and more importantly, it offered the service of both himself and his firm at no charge. This was quite a difference from the usual band of con men who surface during a crisis to prey upon those involved in the crisis.

During Mr. Abramoff's first meeting with the tribe on February 12, he characterized his presence at the meeting alternately as being interested in righting the wrong that had been perpetrated on the tribe and representing the tribe after his ultimate success in the legislative effort. He explained to us that Mr. Scanlon was the preeminent expert in grassroots politics and that with his experience with Representative Tom DeLay had developed a reputation as "the go-to guy for the most difficult campaigns."

Also during that meeting, Mr. Scanlon represented that his part of the effort would be expensive, essential and exclusive. He described in his proposal to the tribe shortly after the first meeting that:

Operation Open Doors is a massive undertaking fueled by a nationwide political operation. This political operation will result in a majority of both Federal chambers

either becoming close friends of the tribe or fearing the tribe in a very short period of time.

After the initial meeting, in an e-mail to me dated February 18, Abramoff said:

As we discussed, until we are able to achieve the Federal legislative fix, we at Greenberg Traurig will not be engaged by the tribe for services officially. All our work will be done on a pro bono basis. Once the legislation is signed by the President, we would anticipate the tribe engaging us to represent it at the Federal level and assist with efforts to obtain a class III compact. Our normal rate in our tribal government practice is between $125,000 and $175,000 per month.

Critical to the success of the program according to Abramoff and Scanlon was the necessity to maintain absolute and complete secrecy. The friendly legislators that would be carrying this measure for Abramoff required this, and Abramoff explained that this was the most important concept to the program. Of course, secondly possibly to the political contributions that had to be made in support of his friends.

From every outward view, Mr. Abramoff was searching for legislation and "friends" on the Hill that would do this for him. Mr. Scanlon and his associates were busy creating the tribe's monolithic political response effort that would be centered around a customized data source, one that I had come to believe from their accounts would be the envy of even the most sophisticated presidential campaigns.

In late March 2002, Abramoff had reported that he and his staff had spoken to Representative Bob Ney, who was carrying the Election Reform Bill and agreed to carry the Tigua language. On March 26, I received a phone call from Mr. Abramoff, telling me that the tribe needed to make additional contributions to Congressman Ney through some PAC's he had. He told me it was critical. I approached the tribal council with the request for the $32,000 in contributions and it was approved. Later that same day I received an e-mail from a Greenberg Traurig staff person with the breakout and addresses for those contributions.

Each of the additional contributions were outside of what the council had previously approved as part of the initial agreement with Abramoff. But those kinds of requests continued throughout the summer of 2002. On June 7 of the same year, I received an e-mail from Abramoff stating that Congressman Ney had asked if the tribe could cover an expense for a trip to Scotland. The cost was suggested to be $50,000, and again, Abramoff referred to him as "our friend."

As the election reform measure languished throughout the summer, Abramoff and Scanlon continued to report on substantial progress and a virtual guarantee of success. During that time, I requested a meeting between tribal representatives and Congressman Ney. Abramoff set up the meeting in early August of 2002. In an e-mail, Abramoff mentioned that Congressman Ney did not want his trip to Scotland brought up, as he would show his appreciation to the tribe later.

For the rest of the months leading up to October 2002, both Abramoff and Scanlon continued to report that the Senate side would not be a problem, since Senator Dodd had agreed to include the solution through his side. It wasn't until the announcement of

the final passage of the election reform measure that Abramoff phoned to say that Congressman Ney had reported Senator Dodd had gone back on his word and stripped the measure from the committee report.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, you can only imagine the sheer disappointment we all felt about these events. For an almost sure thing, as Abramoff had stated numerous times, to utter defeat was extremely hard to take. In a phone call on October 4, Abramoff said Congressman Ney wanted to speak directly to the tribal council to express his outrage. On October 8, Congressman Ney held a conference call with the tribal council and told them about his disbelief that Senator Dodd had gone back on his word. He further reported that he would continue to work on the issue and believed that the tribe was entitled to their gaming operation.

We were extremely disappointed by all of these actions and certainly by the results that we've discovered since the outcome of the Washington Post articles.

I thank you all for your kind attention and for the opportunity to share this information with you.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Schwartz appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Normally we would take both testimonies first, but since you have referred in your testimony to several of our colleagues, I'd like to yield to Senator Dorgan for a statement from Senator Dodd.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, the committee did contact Senator Dodd, with the information that Mr. Schwartz revealed. Senator Dodd asked that his statement be included in the record and also read for the record, so I will read it, inasmuch as his name was used.

The CHAIRMAN. Please proceed.

Senator DORGAN. This is all in quotes, statement of Chris Dodd on Marc Schwartz testimony.

> I don't know Jack Abramoff or Mike Scanlon.

Again, this is Senator Dodd.

> So any representations they might have made without my knowledge regarding me and efforts at recognition of the Tigua Tribe are categorically wrong and false. They never contacted me on recognition of the Tigua Tribe and I never represented either to them or to Congressman Ney that I would in any manner work legislatively to recognize the Tigua Tribe.

Congressman Ney's staffer, Lottie Shackleford, did approach my office during the waning hours of negotiations over the HAVA legislation to inquire whether recognition provisions for the Tigua Tribe could be included in the bill. The suggestion was summarily rejected. The fact that the HAVA bill never included any legislative language regarding this tribe should confirm that fact in no uncertain fashion.

Continuing to quote Senator Dodd:

> I am particularly proud of the HAVA legislation and am angry that there were those who were seeking to use it to advance their own interests. I am also, needless to say, angry that unbeknownst to me, people were trading on my good name, especially since I have aggressively fought for years to reform the recognition process, so that the criteria at the BIA is based upon facts and not politics.

I intend to continue to push for those reforms, especially since this activity clearly highlights further problems with the recognition process. I had no involvement whatsoever in any effort to recognize this tribe. Mr. Abramoff and his associates need to be held accountable for their duplicitous, greedy and underhanded actions.

That in its entirety is the statement from Senator Dodd that he wished to be read into the record today.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be included in the record in written and verbal form.

[Prepared statement of Senator Dodd appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Inouye, did you have any opening comment before we proceed with Lieutenant Governor Hisa?

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL K. INOUYE, U.S. SENATOR FROM HAWAII, VICE CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Senator INOUYE. Yes; I am sorry that I am late. But as you know, we are having our appropriations conference now, trying to resolve our differences before we end the session. Mr. Chairman, as we undertake the second hearing on the lobbying practices, I would just like to observe that in the 27 years I have served on this committee, I do not believe we have had before us such a sad and sickening set of circumstances. And I hope, Mr. Chairman, that we will be able to reach a resolution of the matters as soon as possible and that this may never happen again.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Lieutenant Governor Hisa, would you like to proceed?

STATEMENT OF CARLOS HISA, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO

Mr. HISA. Yes; Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice Chairman, and members of the committee. My name is Carlos Hisa. I am the Lt. Gov. for the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, a federally recognized Indian tribe located in El Paso County, TX.

The Pueblo was initially contacted regarding Jack Abramoff by Bryant Rogers, an attorney in Santa Fe, NM, who indicated that Jack Abramoff was a prominent Washington lobbyist who had helped a number of Indian tribes. Attached under tab 1 is a memorandum from Norman Gordon, one of our tribal attorneys, to Tom Diamond regarding a conversation with Bryant Rogers.

As a result of this contact, we authorized Marc Schwartz, our public relations representative, to contact Jack Abramoff regarding a possible proposal, which Mr. Schwartz did. Mr. Schwartz indicated that Jack Abramoff was a prominent lobbyist and worked for one of the largest law firms in Washington, DC. He was identified in various national magazines and newspapers as one of the top lobbyists in Washington, DC, who had helped several Indian tribes in legislative matters.

Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon came to El Paso in early February 2002 and met with Governor Albert Alvidrez, Marc Schwartz, and tribal attorney Tom Diamond, and made a proposal for a lobbying effort to gain Federal legislation allowing the tribe to resume gaming requiring an extensive lobbying effort by Scanlon/Gould Associates and Jack Abramoff.

On February 18, 2002, Jack Abramoff sent an e-mail to Marc Schwartz, tribal representative, that set forth the services he proposed to provide to the tribe and a copy of the Scanlon/Gould Operation Open Doors proposal. Attached under tab 2 is a copy of the e-mail and the enclosure. Mr. Abramoff represented that the legislative effort would not succeed without the implementation of Operation Open Doors and the required data base to be developed by Scanlon/Gould.

On February 22, 2002, Jack Abramoff appeared before the tribal council in El Paso, TX and made a verbal presentation of the proposal outlined in the February 18, 2002 e-mail and the Operation Open Doors document. Subsequent to that meeting, later that day, the tribal council made a counter-proposal to Abramoff lowering the Abramoff-Scanlon/Gould proposal by $1.5 million, offering a total compensation package of $4.2 million. Marc Schwartz was directed to communicate this to Abramoff, and did so. Abramoff accepted the tribe's counter-offer.

Mike Scanlon provided a memorandum of agreement which was executed by the tribe on March 5, 2002. Attached under tab 3 is a copy of the memorandum of agreement.

Subsequent to the signing of the memorandum of agreement, the tribal council directed Marc Schwartz, tribal representative, to be the direct contact with Abramoff and Scanlon/Gould regarding the Operation Open Doors project. The tribe provided all information requested of Scanlon/Gould and Abramoff for the creation of the data base required for Operation Open Doors and provided all cash disbursements required for the political contributions and other expenses required by Operation Open Doors.

From April 2002 through the summer, numerous oral representations were made by Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon with regard to the progress of the project. So specifically, they identified a number of bills what the language modifying the Restoration Act, which would allow the tribe to resume gaming, were moving and the bill language would be able to be slipped into those bills.

Late spring and early summer of 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon identified the Election Reform Bill as the bill that would contain the amendment to the Restoration Act language that would allow the tribe to resume gaming. Marc Schwartz, tribal representative, received a number of e-mails and verbal communications from Abramoff and Scanlon that the progress of the bill was a little slower than had been anticipated, but was moving forward and was expected to fall into place in late summer.

During this period of time, the tribe made numerous requests through its representative Marc Schwartz to Abramoff and Scanlon regarding the data base and the progress of the Open Doors project. We were told that the progress of the bill had slowed down, but that everything was still in place on numerous occasions throughout the summer of 2002. In October 2002, we were informed by Abramoff and Scanlon through Marc Schwartz that the language amending the Restoration Act, which would allow the tribe to resume gaming, was taken out of the Election Reform Bill.

After the Election Reform Bill passed at the end of 2002, without the language amending the Restoration Act, which would have allowed the tribe to resume gaming, Abramoff and Scanlon continued

to make representations that there were other bills that would be available to place the necessary language amending the Restoration Act into, and they expected to still successfully complete Operation Open Doors.

Tribal representatives met with Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon in January 2003 where a similar representation was repeated. Additionally, the tribal representatives for the first time were able to see the data base that had been purportedly created to complete Operation Open Doors.

Subsequent to the disclosure in the Washington Post of the Senate committee investigations into alleged improprieties and misconduct by Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon, the tribe has examined all its documents, correspondence and spoken with key tribal representatives, officials and employees involved to determine whether or not services promised to be performed by Scanlon and Abramoff were ever performed.

After a lengthy investigation, it does not appear at this time that the date base was ever used in the manner represented in any way to benefit the tribe, and there was never any success by Abramoff or Scanlon in placing any language amending the Restoration Act into any bill that was considered by Congress. More specifically, Jack Abramoff and Scanlon/Gould Associates failed to provide the following as they had promised.

No. 1, they failed to make contact with key suppliers and vendors as outlined in Operation Open Doors, whether by personal contact, phone calls or written communications.

No. 2, they failed to provide suppliers and vendors with letters to send to their legislative representatives.

No. 3, they failed to provide a phone bank operation for large suppliers and vendors.

No. 4, they failed to generate 375,000 contacts as set forth in Operation Open Doors.

No. 5, they failed to complete a program in the time promised.

No. 6, they failed to have employees of vendors and suppliers write and call in to targeted legislative districts.

In fact, the data base was essentially a compilation of the tribe's supplier, vendor and customer lists, which were provided to Scanlon/Gould and Jack Abramoff. It appears that Scanlon/Gould did nothing more with respect to the creation of the data base than rearrange the list provided to them by the tribe.

It now appears that Abramoff and Scanlon, under cover of various religious groups, worked behind the scenes to shut down the operation of the tribe's casino and then came to El Paso, and with false promises said to the tribe that they could get the casino reopened through Operation Open Doors, undoing the wrong they had secretly helped cause, so they could cheat us out of our money.

We ask that you do the following: Punish the people who cheated us; help us recover the money we were cheated out of; and pass laws to protect all Americans from corrupt political activity.

On behalf of my tribe, the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, I want to thank the committee for its critical work in investigating and remedying the wrong perpetrated by Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon on my tribe and on other Native American tribes. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Lt. Gov. Hisa appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I am going to ask some questions, then yield to my colleagues. I read your testimony, and on the last page, as you mentioned, you had asked us to punish the people who cheated you. One of the reasons this committee has moved a little bit slowly is that there is an ongoing investigation by the Justice Department. It has yet to be determined what they will come up with, but I have a hunch that's going to be done, very frankly.

Second, to help you recover the money, that's probably going to be something you'll have to take up in the civil courts, to try to get your money back. And I hope you do that, very frankly. And third, to pass laws to protect all Americans from corrupt political activity, we've already got them on the books. Passing the laws and getting them implemented, there's always a loophole somewhere or a way to get around them if a person is larcenous in nature, very simply. So we hope that the ones we already have on the books are going to be enough to do the job.

In any event, let me ask a couple of questions of each of you before I yield to my colleagues. Mr. Schwartz, thank you, and by the way, thank you both for cooperating with this investigation. I know sometimes it's a little embarrassing or difficult to come before a committee, in front of the cameras and newspaper people and so on, and admit, that very frankly, you got skinned. That's not an easy thing to do.

I'd like to ask you a couple of questions about it. Was this the first time the tribe has dealt with a high-powered Washington firm? Maybe Mr. Schwartz could answer that.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. This had been the first time that the tribe—yes, Senator, it had been the first time.

The CHAIRMAN. Good. Well, I hope, very frankly, there's a lot of them, look in the yellow pages, and you'll find pages and pages of people who represent different entities in America. I would hope you understand that this is not a norm in my view, for most people that are back here representing their clients and different things. It's just something that happened, that went terribly wrong.

On February 18, I think we have it, in fact exhibit 16, it was either up there a minute ago where it is now, Jack Abramoff proposed his lobbying work for the Tiguas would be done on a pro bono basis. Did you take that to mean that that was a normal process by which firms dealt with tribe here, that they would do things on a pro bono basis? In fact, they do, but the glitch here of course was, it was at least implied, we do it on a pro bono basis, and then you ante up with $125,000 to $175,000 per month after we get it done. Did you take it to—did you believe at the time that was a normal kind of thing that's done?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. No, Senator; we did not think it was a normal situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you think that when he proposed that that would have been a fair exchange, or did it strike you as a quid pro quo arrangement?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Absolutely, based on his discussions with us privately in telephone calls and then in front of the council that there would be a payoff, so to speak, for the firm, once the casino was opened. So yes, it certainly would have been a quid pro quo.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hisa, these activities were particularly offensive to me, what was called the Elderly Legacy Program. Being Native American yourself, how did you react to that, when you found out they were going to pay for the lobbying efforts with a scheme that would take out life insurance policies on your tribal elders?

Mr. HISA. I felt uncomfortable. It didn't seem right.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was rejected by the tribe, too, is that correct?

Mr. HISA. It was approved initially, but the tribal council got together outside the meeting and we discussed it for 1 or 2 weeks, and then we just decided not to move forward on it anymore.

The CHAIRMAN. We have exhibit 58, can we put that back up here if we have it? Exhibit 58 is the e-mail from Mr. Abramoff outlining the Elderly Legacy Program, in which he said the scheme provided the opportunity to provide lobbying funds via this insurance program. Obviously if tribal members died, that would pay for his efforts. He also said in there that it would mean the whole world to me if the tribe would accept this.

It seems to me that he got a real two-fer. First of all, this arrangement would benefit the school that he supported, the private charity that he supported, and also it would pay Greenberg Traurig for their fees and out of pocket costs for Washington representation. Mr. Schwartz, was your reaction to that as cynical as mine is if I had heard it for the first time?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. It was certainly extremely a morbid subject.

The CHAIRMAN. The word morbid fits pretty well, I think.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The context was that he was searching for a way to expand his ability to serve the tribe without, in his mind, draining any of the precious resources of the tribe.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he represent to the tribe that it was a normal or legal kind of arrangement that was often done?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. My recollection, Senator, was that his representation of it was that it was a brand new deal.

The CHAIRMAN. It sure was.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. One that his firm had just developed and it was a great concept.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure was. I'd like to yield to Senator Inouye for questions.

Senator INOUYE. I just have a few.

At your first meeting, and I am calling on Mr. Schwartz, did you have anything to lead you to believe that you were dealing with fast talking Washington con men?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. No, Senator; and thank you for the question. At the time that Mr. Abramoff made the initial contact with us, and it had come through the tribal attorneys, we had done an internet search, just as kind of a cursory effort, to see who he was, never having heard his name.

At that time, there had been a series of stories, both in the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, kind of at that very moment, where he was described as the uber lobbyist of Washington. So it was not something that really, his credentials appeared to be extremely legitimate. Obviously the law firm that he represented, is employed by, was certainly one of the top law firms in the area and certainly up and down the east coast.

Senator INOUYE. When did you begin to doubt his credibility, integrity and character?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. In all honesty, Senator, I think that probably came after he told us that nobody would ever find out about the Tiguas this year.

Senator INOUYE. But you continued to deal with him?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. We didn't have a lot of contact with him last year, and the articles came out in February of this year. So it was shortly after that when he suggested that there was nothing to the articles, that it was certainly more of a witch hunt that a reporter had done, and the suggestion that there would be hearings was nothing more than political payback.

Senator INOUYE. But up until then, you believed in him?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. We had no reason at that point not to, yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. One more thing before I yield to Senator McCain. To Mr. Hisa, what was the economic and social cost of that closure?

Mr. HISA. It was a great impact, not only to the tribe, but to the El Paso community.

The CHAIRMAN. Because there were a number of non-Indians working for the tribe, I would assume, as with most casinos?

Mr. HISA. Exactly, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the tribe's reaction, by and large, did you get most of it from the seniors? Did they find out that this proposal had been made that they take out life insurance policies on them?

Mr. HISA. Yes; it was. We have an elder center, and I had gone and talked to the elder center and sort of mentioned the idea before, because Jack Abramoff wanted to send an insurance representative to sign them up. So I met with the elders before and I told them I didn't feel comfortable with the idea, but it was something new, and to see how they felt. And their reaction to it was, they didn't want it. So that's when I reported back to Marc Schwartz and said, you know what, not a good idea. I have talked to the council members and they agree, so just tell Jack that it's not going to fly.

The CHAIRMAN. I'm glad he didn't send an undertaker to start taking measurements, very frankly. I was just horrified when I found out about it.

Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I noticed, Governor Hisa, that your tribe has been very generous in its campaign contributions, to the tune, at least, of $300,000 at least in one batch. Is that correct?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. Are tribal members familiar with the Rely On Your Beliefs Funds, or perhaps the Missouri Millennium Fund, or Restore America PAC or Friends of the Big Sky? The Superior California Federal Leadership Fund? It looks to me like your tribe has great political interest throughout America.

Mr. HISA. Those contributions were recommended by Jack Abramoff. According to his statement, he needed to give his money to these compacts. He called it hard money and soft money to generate the support to get our bill passed.

The CHAIRMAN. If the Senator would yield a moment, I hadn't seen that list, but as Senator McCain read some of the names of those things, it's like the Association of God-Fearing Citizens. Who's that? Did some of these names ring a bell, or did you ask, who are these people that we're being asked to contribute to?

Mr. HISA. No; I never asked.

The CHAIRMAN. You took Abramoff's word at face value that it was something good?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. I'll move on. But this was, there were several requests made of the tribe, right, for additional funds throughout the campaign cycles, is that right?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir; Senator, there were additional requests that were made after. The list that you were referring to was given to the tribe at the moment that Mr. Abramoff made his presentation. Those checks were required by Mr. Abramoff, directed that the Tribe do those immediately. So there was not a lot of time.

But the requests from him for additional contributions continued throughout the process.

Senator MCCAIN. Not a lot of time for you to investigate the Friends of the Big Sky or the Rely On Your Beliefs Fund and others, I guess.

Anyway, in January 2003, after the bill was signed, you came to Washington to meet with Mr. Scanlon. Mr. Schwartz, were you and the Governor together on that?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. What did Mr. Scanlon say to you at that time, when you met with him after the bill was signed into law without the provision for your tribe? What did he say?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Well, and certainly with due respect to Senator Dodd, there was a tremendous amount of wringing of hands and blaming going around, mainly at the feet of Senator Dodd. It was not easy, of course, to try and contact him to determine what his feelings were. Obviously had we done that, we could have discovered that much sooner.

Senator MCCAIN. What is your recollection, Governor Hisa?

Mr. HISA. The same as Marc is stating. He also said that he was still committed to get this language inserted into another bill, that the effort had not died, it was just a battle lost in the war. But we will move forward on it.

Senator MCCAIN. Did he mention he would need more money for that effort?

Mr. HISA. He did mention it at the time, that if we were to use, to request the usage of the data base once again that there would be an extra charge.

Senator MCCAIN. Did Mr. Scanlon ever say why Senator Dodd was so disappointing?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The position of it, Senator, was that, my recollection of it was that there had been an agreement between Mr. Abramoff and Senator Dodd early in the process. Representative Ney came on the scene somewhat later. So the concern at that point was that Senator Dodd would not be a problem, the problem might be more in the House than it was in the Senate.

So it was a shock at the end, and I certainly with all due respect use this term, but it had been greased with Senator Dodd, so that was not an issue. And Mr. Scanlon's position was that they were going to be dumping lots of information into his State.

Senator MCCAIN. What did Mr. Abramoff tell you about the need for the Tigua Tribe to pay to the Capital Athletic Foundation?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He had brought a proposal to us and specifically in an e-mail referring to a request directly from Congressman Ney wanting to take a trip to Scotland. That was in June of 2002, and that he, during that time, the trip was going to be approximately a $50,000 expense, and he wanted the tribe to sponsor that trip, since Congressman Ney had asked him that.

One of the reasons that he said in many e-mails was that Congressman Ney was not doing anything else for other Indian tribes that he represented or others that he knew of, so we were the likely target or the Tiguas were the likely target to sponsor the trip.

Senator MCCAIN. Did you have any conversation with Mr. Abramoff after the Senate investigation was announced?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes; he had called to of course, several times during that process, to let us know that there was nothing to these articles, that he was blaming it on tribal infighting between those tribes that had been identified in the early Washington Post articles. And with respect to the Senate hearings, he had suggested that maybe you and he had a personal issue and that that was why you were calling for the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. You've got a personal issue now, I would say. [Laughter.]

Senator MCCAIN. Governor, I have many other questions, but my colleagues are waiting. I just want to ask you, Governor, what's the impact on your tribe, on your tribal members, on the tribal council? This must be a devastating kind of thing for you. Maybe you could in your own words give us a few words about how the impact of this has been on both the tribal council and you as their elected Lieutenant Governor and the membership of the tribe.

Mr. HISA. Well, going back to the closure of the casino, that impacted the tribe significantly. Then coming back and losing another $4.2 million that could have been used to provide more educational opportunities for our people, health care or housing be given away, and I don't know if we'll ever see it back, it has impacted the tribe even more.

Our tribal members were disappointed, angry. They don't blame the tribal council. They recognize that our efforts at the time were for the better benefit of the tribe and there was no way of us knowing that Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon had worked to shut us down at the time.

So the tribe is in support. They want us to follow through and make sure that these gentlemen do not get away with it, if gentlemen is the word. So the people are outraged, just as I was. My personal feeling, at first I was disappointed with myself. But going back and looking at the facts, there's no way that I could have known that this was going on.

So I accepted that and I'm here to work with the committee and with any investigation that's here to make sure that these men don't get away with it and they don't do it again.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. They won't. We will be adjourning soon, but that does not mean this issue is going to go away. I certainly would recommend to Senator McCain that some of these names that are kind of non-descriptive, that when you take this investigation back up next year, we might look into, or you might look into what was the connection between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon and some of those groups. Was it another feeding process like it was with the school? I'd be interested to know that when I'm back in the private sector.

Senator Dorgan.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

Mr. Schwartz and Governor Hisa, now that you have seen the e-mails that have moved back and forth between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon and also Mr. Reed. I believe the import of your testimony is that you did not know this scheme existed, a scheme by which Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff employed Mr. Reed, and together they worked to find ways to accelerate the shutdown of the Tigua casino. That was done without your knowledge, is that correct?

Mr. HISA. Yes, Senator.

Senator DORGAN. Then following the order to shut down the casino, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon both approached your tribe, saying they would be able to help you reopen the casino?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The initial contact was made by Mr. Abramoff in scheduling the meeting. Once the meeting was scheduled, then he, a day or two before the meeting was to take place, which ironically occurred on the very day the casino was going to close, that he then told me that Mr. Scanlon was going to be coming with him, he was bringing an associate, and identified him as Michael Scanlon.

Senator DORGAN. Was the name Ralph Reed employed in any way? I assume it was not employed in any way in representations to your tribe.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. Abramoff was extremely vocal about Ralph Reed, describing him as a friend of his, that they had come up together in various party affiliations and organizations, but that he didn't agree with Mr. Reed on a lot of issues, and that Mr. Reed was in fact a friend of his of long standing. At one point, I believe either during the first or second meeting, he acknowledged the fact that he had received a page or an e-mail while he was with us from Mr. Reed. But he never disclosed in any way, shape or form that they had all been involved in some function together previous to our issue.

Senator DORGAN. Does it surprise you to know that while he was working with you he was paying Mr. Reed to help shut down your casino?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. That's probably one of the most disturbing details. Yes, it was a complete surprise.

Senator DORGAN. And do you think, based on any information that you have, that Mr. Reed knew that he was also working with you to achieve funding to reopen your casino?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I don't think I understand your question, I'm sorry, Senator.

Senator DORGAN. Well, we have a partnership here, in effect. More than $2 million was paid to Ralph Reed by Abramoff and Scanlon, or by one or the other, perhaps both, to help accelerate efforts to shut down the casino. The e-mail trail suggests contacts with the Texas attorney general, work with various pastors and others and that partnership was to accelerate the closing down of your casino, and then Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were attempting to get money from you to open the casino backup.

My question is, does that partnership with Mr. Reed extend to the other side, that is, the reopening of the casino?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. We were not aware of any relationship in any discussion that he had. There was a member of the council during one of the meetings that had asked that very question, how do you reconcile your issues with Mr. Reed. And he said, well, we just don't agree, this is Mr. Abramoff saying, we just don't agree on all things.

So he never represented that Mr. Reed was involved with this issue in particular, in opening the casino.

Senator DORGAN. Knowing what you now know, do you and the Governor believe that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Reed perpetrated a fraud on your tribe?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. I can speak for myself, and I would absolutely say that yes, it's obvious from just the limited information we've seen here today in the committee's hearing and what we've seen since then, I would say that there's no doubt there was fraud.

Senator DORGAN. Also, there is a golfing trip to Scotland by private jet. My understanding is that our records disclose that trip includes passengers Mr. Scanlon, Mr. Abramoff, Representative Ney, and Ralph Reed. Would that suggest to you that at least some participants knew most of what was happening here?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes; absolutely, Senator.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask you about the e-mails with respect to that trip. In June 2002, you received an e-mail asking the Tigua Tribe to pay for a trip to Scotland for "our friend." Who did you understand the our friend to be?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. We had a phone conversation previous to that, so it referred to Congressman Ney.

Senator DORGAN. This e-mail also said, we did this for another member, you know who, 2 years ago. Do you know to whom that was referring?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He told me in that same phone call that that was Representative Tom DeLay.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask a question about the meeting that was held. My understanding from your testimony was that you held a 2-hour meeting or at least a meeting that went on for some while with Representative Ney in his office, is that correct?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator DORGAN. What was the length of that meeting?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. It was, my recollection it was about 1½ hours. It may have been 2 hours, I'm kind of fuzzy on the time.

Senator DORGAN. Governor, were you at that meeting?

Mr. HISA. Yes; it was 1½ hours to 1 hour and 45 minutes.

Senator DORGAN. My colleagues will recognize, that's a very lengthy meeting here on Capitol Hill. We have the attention span of gnats. [Laughter.]

And we pack a lot of meetings into 1 day. I can't remember the day when I had a 1½-hour meeting or a 2-hour meeting. So you think it was not, this meeting was not a short meeting, you think this meeting was well over 1 hour?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, Senator; absolutely.

Senator DORGAN. Close to 2 hours?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator DORGAN. You are confident of that?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, Senator.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask you, what did you discuss at that meeting with Congressman Ney? What did you discuss for a such lengthy amount of time? That is a very long meeting.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He was extremely animated about Mr. Abramoff and his ability as a representative lobbyist in the city, how they had become friends and acquainted themselves. He discussed his district. My recollections were that he did not have access or did not have a tremendous amount of Native Americans in his district or reservation, I should say, in his district.

But he had tremendous sympathy for the plight that the tribe had gone through and the issues that had occurred. He discussed some of the political ramifications of what had occurred to the tribe with respect to the Republicans in Texas that had done this, filed this lawsuit and taken it to the extreme of the closure of the casino.

And then he spoke for a period, explaining to the tribal council representatives that were there the process by which a conference committee report is done and how this would work and what work remained, etc. Then he took the Lieutenant Governor and the council member on a tour of his hearing room.

Senator DORGAN. So he was giving you assurances that he was on board, he was working to solve this problem for you?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Absolutely, Senator.

Senator DORGAN. And Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were both at that meeting?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Mr. Scanlon was not.

Senator DORGAN. Just Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes.

Senator DORGAN. So now you know that accompanying you at that meeting, to try to find a way to open your casino, was a man who actively worked with Mr. Scanlon and Ralph Reed to close your casino.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator DORGAN. My colleague, Senator Campbell, just made a point that I think is really important. These records, these memoranda that we have, move in all kinds of directions. And I don't know all the facts. All I know is what you're telling us, and I for one thank you for being here. It's likely not easy for you to come here and testify, because first of all, these folks showed great disrespect for you in their communications with each other. I'm talking about all of them that I've mentioned, great disrespect. It ap-

pears to me you were defrauded, and I know it's not easy to come to talk about this.

But in order for this committee to put together the pieces of this puzzle and understand what happened, who did it, how did they do it and what should the ramifications of that be and how do we prevent this from happening again, we need all this information. But as Senator Campbell pointed out, although he's not going to be with us when we reconvene, that this moves in many directions and we ought to follow it to understand it completely.

And let me just say that Senator Campbell and Senator Inouye have been extraordinary leaders on this committee for a long, long while. Senator Inouye wasn't here when I spoke of Senator Campbell's service, but Senator Inouye will now remain on the committee but move on as Ranking Member of the Commerce Committee. Senator McCain, I know, with his leadership, and I certainly with my involvement and I'm sure with Senator Conrad's involvement and others, will intend to pursue the kinds of things that Senator Campbell mentioned.

Let me thank both of you for being here today.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Conrad.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I'd like to ask Governor Hisa, how much money did you pay to Mr. Scanlon?

Mr. HISA. $4.2 million.

Senator CONRAD. How much money did you pay to Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. HISA. Zero. We have not paid him 1 cent.

Senator CONRAD. You didn't pay any money to Mr. Abramoff. What was your understanding of how Mr. Abramoff would be compensated?

Mr. HISA. After the casino would open, he would help us, through the law firm, get a compact through the State for class III gaming.

Senator CONRAD. So he would be paid in a future time?

Mr. HISA. Yes, sir.

Senator CONRAD. Did you have any understanding that Mr. Scanlon would be paying Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. HISA. No.

Senator CONRAD. Did Mr. Scanlon ever suggest that he had special influence here in Washington, DC as a reason to pay him that much money?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. In what way did he indicate that he had special influence?

Mr. HISA. He used to work, I believe, with Tom DeLay.

Senator CONRAD. Did he say that to you?

Mr. HISA. Yes; he did.

Senator CONRAD. What representation did he make as to what special influence he might have with Mr. DeLay?

Mr. HISA. That's all he said, that he had special interest and that he would try to convince him to work to our benefit, try to get us open. And others as well, and using Tom DeLay's credibility to contact and get to other representatives.

Senator CONRAD. Did he indicate that he had special influence with anyone else?

Mr. HISA. No.

Senator CONRAD. Did Mr. Abramoff ever suggest that he had special influence with anyone here in Washington, DC?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. He did as well?

Mr. HISA. Yes, sir.

Senator CONRAD. Who did he say that he had special influence with?

Mr. HISA. A majority of people, from Bob Ney all the way to the President of the United States of America.

Senator CONRAD. He suggested he had special influence with the President of the United States?

Mr. HISA. Yes; according to him, the President assigned him to staff some of the open slots for the Department of the Interior and such. And Jack Abramoff recommended some of the individuals that were placed in those positions.

Senator CONRAD. Did he provide other evidence of special influence that he had with the President of the United States?

Mr. HISA. No.

Senator CONRAD. What representation did he make about special influence that he had with Congressman Ney?

Mr. HISA. A history of working with him and that he was very supportive of Native Americans across the Nation, not just the Tiguas.

Senator CONRAD. When you were asked to make a contribution to the Capital Athletic Foundation—were you asked to make a contribution to the Capital Athletic Foundation?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. In what amount were you asked to make a contribution?

Mr. HISA. 50,000.

Senator CONRAD. $50,000?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. What reason was given to you for making a contribution in that amount?

Mr. HISA. Ney was going to a golfing trip, and there were other individuals from Congress going along and Bob Ney needed this trip to bring some of these individuals on board.

Senator CONRAD. Did that strike you as possibly illegal?

Mr. HISA. No; Jack Abramoff said he had done it before he and he had the foundation to justify this trip. There was a sporting event and it was an athletic foundation of some sort, so he could justify the trip.

Senator CONRAD. Did you ask your legal counsel whether such a contribution might be illegal?

Mr. HISA. No; I did not.

Senator CONRAD. Did you know that Ralph Reed was going to go on that private charter for this golf outing as well?

Mr. HISA. No.

Senator CONRAD. Did you know that Ralph Reed was leading the effort in Texas to close your casino?

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. Did you know that Mr. Scanlon was providing money to Mr. Reed for that effort?

Mr. HISA. No.

Senator CONRAD. When did you find out that Mr. Scanlon was providing money to Mr. Reed to close the casino which he then promised to try to get reopened?

Mr. HISA. When we started working with the investigation committee and the e-mails were provided to us.

Senator CONRAD. Do you recall when that was?

Mr. HISA. Earlier this year, I would say May of this year, March, around that time.

Senator CONRAD. March to May of this year. What was your reaction when you learned that you had paid for a golf outing for the man who had worked to close your casino?

Mr. HISA. Outrage. A rattlesnake will warn you before it strikes. We had no warning. They did everything behind our back.

Senator CONRAD. Mr. Schwartz, you said, you quoted someone, and I jotted down that you indicated that Abramoff said to you, no one would find out about the Tiguas this year. Was that Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, Senator; that was after the initial articles had come out in the Washington Post, and he said, you know, it was political in nature, mainly involving Senator McCain, so no one would know about Tigua, was his statement.

Senator CONRAD. That no one would know about the Tiguas this year. That is very unclear to me, why he would have made such a statement.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The context of it, Senator, is that he was in discussions that I had with him at that time over these articles, and whether or not the allegations were correct. One of the concerns that he had was that the secrecy of his representation of the tribe, you know, would be blown by this. So I said to him, simply whether or not there was going to be disclosure, and that was the context by which he said no one will know about Tigua.

Senator CONRAD. This year.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. When I said that, that conversation took place this year.

Senator CONRAD. I see. So there wasn't a timeframe on that?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. No, sir; and I apologize for the misunderstanding.

Senator CONRAD. So he was saying to you no one would find out about the Tiguas maybe forever?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Correct. That was his inclination.

Senator CONRAD. What led him to that belief? Did he indicate a reason why no one would find out?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He had stated that his, he was in a discussion or a beginning of a battle with his law firm, former employer, who represented him, was his "lawyers." So there was an attorney-client privilege, he felt, so there would not be certain disclosures regarding what had happened with the tribe. In the legislative effort, not the fraud. We were still not clued in on the fraud at that point.

Senator CONRAD. Did Mr. Scanlon ever indicate to you that he had special influence here in Washington, DC?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Oh, absolutely.

Senator CONRAD. What was the nature of the special influence that he had?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He had established himself through his involvement as Representative DeLay's former press secretary, I believe,

and regular kind of go-to guy that he had entrees into certain areas, and certainly with the Republican Party and the Republican National Committee.

Senator CONRAD. With the Republican National Committee?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator CONRAD. That he had special influence with the Republican National Committee and the Republican House leadership?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator CONRAD. Did he provide evidence to you of that special relationship or that special influence?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. No, sir; those discussions, he was, so that we're properly in context, his responsibility was to create this wonderful program. So from that standpoint, there wasn't a lot of, how should I say, with respect to the e-mails, chit-chat time. It was needed to get to work and get this done.

Senator CONRAD. How about Mr. Abramoff? Did he make representations to you that he had special influence here in Washington, DC?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Absolutely.

Senator CONRAD. What was the nature of the special influence that he enjoyed here, according to him?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. As the Lieutenant Governor has said, he had spoken quite highly of his association with President Bush's transition team back in 2000, where he had led the, been involved with the selection of various individuals at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, close friendship with the President, with Carl Rove. During a visit to his office, there was of course all those general pictures that you see, with arms around each other, with the House leadership mainly, certainly on the Republican side.

And at the time, because of the leadership in the Senate being in the Democratic side, the majority side, he was, he had a special relationship with Senator Lott.

Senator CONRAD. Did he have a special relationship with all those people?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. There were others whose names escape me at this point. I apologize to all those, I don't mean to diminish their importance. But he was the individual.

Senator CONRAD. At any time did you feel, or at what point if you did begin to feel that Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff were taking advantage of the tribe?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Senator, I have thought about that since the first time I was contacted by the committee. I think there was certainly a part early this year that led me to believe that there might be some issue with them. I had a phone call with Mr. Scanlon shortly after the news report came out.

Senator CONRAD. Which news report?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. The first article where it disclosed, I believe it was the Washington Post, that disclosed, it was in February I think, of this year. I had a phone call with Mr. Scanlon and there were some things that he said that in hindsight might have been the first crack, so to speak, in the scheme, the first opportunity to see through it, I think as I look back. They were just references that he made to, we'll certainly have to stand down for a little while, this may not blow over.

And you would assume that somebody who had been simply maligned in a newspaper article would not be so concerned about the ramifications long term of that article. I think in retrospect, in looking back, hindsight, that may have been the first time that I suspect that there might be something untoward.

Senator CONRAD. Let me ask you this, and I'm right at the end, Mr. Chairman.

But I have a copy of an e-mail that you received, I think all members of the Committee, I'm sure all members of the committee do, from Mr. Abramoff dated February 25, 2002, responding to some newspaper articles that you sent via e-mail on the situation with the casino. His reply to your message stated, and I quote:

> If this came out of your office, please tell them never.

In capital letters.

> Never to include my name on a list like this. Our presence in this deal must be secret, as we discussed. Please call me so we can discuss a spin on this, since some of the people on this list are real dangerous, knowing I am involved.

This occurred in February 2002. Didn't it strike you that there is something wrong when Mr. Abramoff is telling you the relationship has got to be secret?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Thank you for the question. No, it did not strike me as anything necessarily wrong, and let me share with you why. We throughout the entire process, we had looked into obviously the Greenberg firm, and they were well known, highly regarded and highly respected, Mr. Abramoff certainly, being referred to in various publications as one of the top lobbyists.

We had had communication directly with his office and his office staff at that point. We had spoken to various members of the firm, other than Mr. Abramoff. So there was, if there was an issue, we would have assumed that this might, I think in your context, if it had been quiet and our conversations only involved directly to Mr. Abramoff and back and there was no other involvement, then I could see where that could be drawn.

But in this case, there was multiple contacts with his staff with various other lawyers at Greenberg Traurig and at early dates. So the concept that we felt like, that certainly the law firm had approved it, knew about it and he was involved with it. So the secrecy angle, if that's what was necessary for the terrible hardship that the Tribe was going through through its closed casino to be rectified, it was certainly a price that I was willing to pay at the time.

Senator CONRAD. Over what period of time did you pay $4.2 million to Mr. Scanlon? Over how long a period?

Mr. HISA. All in 2001, from 2002—I'm sorry.

Senator CONRAD. All in 2002?

Mr. HISA. March through I'd say June. It was three invoices sent, I believe each one was divided in thirds and that's the way we paid it. When Scanlon would bill us, we would send a payment.

Senator CONRAD. In a 3-month period, you paid $4.2 million?

Mr. HISA. Yes; I believe so. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. Didn't that strike you as wildly exorbitant?

Mr. HISA. No.

Senator CONRAD. Why not? Had you ever paid any other firm money of that—in those amounts?

Mr. HISA. We had not paid a firm, we paid Michael Scanlon's company. But it was presented to us that this money needed to be paid so that our effort could move. When Operation Open Doors was presented to us, there was a timeline that by, I believe mid-July that the bill would pass and we would be back in operations. That's why everything needed to move so fast.

Senator CONRAD. How much money were you losing a month because the casino was closed?

Mr. HISA. That year, a month, I don't have those numbers with me. But it was a great amount of money.

Senator CONRAD. Can you give us some ballpark estimate?

Mr. HISA. I believe for the year 2002, after the casino closed, we still tried to keep some people employed. And after this effort was presented to us and we were going to open, we were going to have a second layoff, but we decided to keep the people employed. The reason that we were convinced we hoped that the casino would open, we kept these people employed. A number of, I believe $2 million, was lost that year.

Senator CONRAD. I thank the witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. I have one more before we move on to Mr. Scanlon.

Senator CONRAD. Go ahead, sir.

Mr. HISA. Senator, for the record, the golf trip, the tribe did not fund the $50,000.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. It was just requested of them.

Mr. HISA. Yes; it was requested.

Senator CONRAD. I see. You didn't provide the money.

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Schwartz, I just have one additional question.

After the Washington Post article came out, Mr. Abramoff contacted you?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

Senator MCCAIN. What was the conversation?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He of course wanted to know if I had seen the article, and I told him that I had.

Senator MCCAIN. And then he went on to discuss with you about cooperation or non-cooperation with the committee?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Senator, that came prior, that came after, I believe, the second article came out. And the question was at that point internally, in meetings with the tribe, it was decided that we would obviously wait and sit back and we were not going to have any more contact with him.

At that point he had said that if the tribe was contacted by members of investigative counsel for this committee or others that I believe his words were, they didn't have to cooperate. They didn't have to say anything. And he subsequently sent me an e-mail with his attorneys and asked that I forward that directly to the tribal attorneys so that if they were contacted they would at least call his lawyers before speaking with committee counsel or other investigators.

Senator MCCAIN. So just to clarify for the record, when he said they don't have to talk to the committee investigators or the committee, they were referring to tribal council?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. He was referring to the tribe. He was asserting, I would assume what he was attempting to do was assert or have the tribe assert some sort of sovereignty.

Senator MCCAIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. One last question. Did I understand you, Mr. Schwartz, to say that Mr. Scanlon contracted with the tribe to create a data base?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have that?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Well, a massive, and there were several components to the program, the data base being one of these key customized.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he do that? Do you have that?

Mr. SCHWARTZ. We have seen one this year that was sent to the tribe at our request. And so it is, Senator, it is a data base.

Senator CONRAD. Mr. Chairman, might I ask one other question that has come up as a result of the answers? Governor Hisa, you just testified that the tribe, your tribe, did not pay for the golf outing. You were requested to pay for it, but you did not pay for it.

Mr. HISA. Yes.

Senator CONRAD. Do you know who did pay for it?

Mr. HISA. I think in total the golfing trip was going to be $100,000, my understanding is that the Mississippi Choctaw paid $50,000 and the Alabama Couchata paid another $50,000.

Senator CONRAD. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. We appreciate your being here. The committee may have further questions, and they may submit them in writing, and if they do, we'd appreciate your response to it.

Mr. SCHWARTZ. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you once again.

Mr. HISA. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now move to Mr. Michael Scanlon, if he would come forward.

Mr. Scanlon, if you would remain standing for 1 moment. Mr. Scanlon, do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. SCANLON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Please be seated.

I would also remind you, you have counsel with you, I assume the two people that are with you?

Mr. SCANLON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I would remind you that they are free to speak to you at any time but not free to speak to any member of the committee unless the committee asks them a specific question.

Mr. SCANLON. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. If you would like to proceed with a statement.

Mr. SCANLON. No, sir; no, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no statement?

Mr. SCANLON. No, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, we'll just proceed with some questions. And we'll take turns with the questions, too.

Mr. Scanlon, let me read a couple of e-mail exchanges between you and Mr. Abramoff that have been presented to us. The day before Mr. Abramoff arranged for a presentation to the Tigua Tribe,

he told you to "fire up the jet, baby, we're going to El Paso." You responded by telling him, "I want all their money." Whose money were you referring to?

Mr. SCANLON. Unfortunately, Senator, upon the advice of counsel, I must decline that question based upon my rights under the Fifth Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. When Mr. Schwartz raised some issues with Mr. Abramoff, your response was, let me apologize, as Senator McCain did about the language, "Is he happy? Where's our f-ing money?" And then in the same e-mail exchange, you told Mr. Abramoff, "The check came in and was way short, about $900,000 short." Was that the Tigua money you were referring to?

Mr. SCANLON. Upon the advice of counsel, I must decline to answer that question based upon my rights under the Fifth Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scanlon, Mr. Abramoff spoke often of his affection for his Indian clients, even though he used some very derogatory terms for them. Do you share that same kind of affection that he had for Indians?

Mr. SCANLON. Senator, upon advice of my counsel, I must decline to answer that question based upon my Fifth Amendment privileges.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. And do you intend to invoke that privilege throughout all the questioning?

Mr. SCANLON. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I'd like to yield to Senator McCain.

Senator MCCAIN. Mr. Scanlon, I find your behavior bizarre, throughout this, not only incredible in the way that you treated Native Americans but also the way you have treated this committee, refusing to come forward with us, us having to serve subpoena and then have a U.S. Marshal spend taxpayers' money waiting for you so that they can deliver a subpoena.

Do you have any remorse, Mr. Scanlon, about this treatment of these innocent people that you and your partner and perhaps others took the money that could have been used for health care, for education, for the elderly? Do you have any remorse, Mr. Scanlon?

Mr. SCANLON. Unfortunately at this time, Senator, I must decline to answer that question based upon my Fifth Amendment privileges. Hopefully in the future I will have an opportunity to do so.

Senator MCCAIN. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask one more before I yield to Senator Conrad. Mr. Scanlon, in reading all the testimony, and all the e-mails, it strikes me that you were working both sides of the street, if I understand this thing. You managed to not only con the tribe but con Mr. Abramoff. And many people around here think he was very good at doing that, too.

You were responsible for lining up political supporters to assist the Tigua Tribe in reopening its casino. You told Mr. Abramoff and the tribal council you had the Senate's support. You told them, "All the major players on the election reform package have given their support on our issue." In fact, and this is your e-mail, in fact, numerous witnesses have told the committee that nothing you told Mr. Abramoff and the tribe about Senate support was accurate. When Mr. Abramoff found out that you did not have the Senate's

support you had bragged about, he pleaded with you, in an e-mail, "please call me." He later demanded that you "get our money back from the person who was supposed to take care of arranging Senate support."

When did you come up with this scheme to not only con the tribe but con your partner?

Mr. SCANLON. Upon advice of counsel, I must decline to answer that question, based upon my rights under the Fifth Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. I have no further questions. Senator Conrad.

Senator CONRAD. Did you receive $4.2 million from the Tigua Tribe?

Mr. SCANLON. Upon advice of counsel, I must decline to answer that question at this time, based upon my rights under the Fifth Amendment.

Senator CONRAD. Did you suggest to the Tigua Tribe or their representatives that you had special influence with Congressman DeLay here in Washington, DC?

Mr. SCANLON. Upon advice of counsel, I must decline to answer that question, based upon my rights under the Fifth Amendment.

Senator CONRAD. Well, it's clear that we're going to get, as the witness has already indicated, that answer repeatedly. I don't understand why you can't say if you do feel remorse that you have that feeling here today. I don't know how that would possibly jeopardize your legal position.

But—I don't know. I don't know how you go to sleep at night, really. I would hope your conscience bothers you.

I thank the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I have no further questions. But just speaking as an enrolled member of an Indian tribe, not the chairman of this committee, I have to tell you that for 400 years people have been cheating Indians in this country, so you're not the first one, Mr. Scanlon. It's just a shame that in this enlightened day that you have added a new dimension to a shameful legacy of what's happened to American Indians. You're the problem, buddy, of what's happened to American Indians.

This committee is adjourned.

[Applause.]

[Whereupon, at 4:45 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. BEN NIGHTHORSE CAMPBELL, U.S. SENATOR FROM COLORADO, CHAIRMAN, SENATE COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Good afternoon, the committee will come to order. Today's hearing is the second in a series of hearings into allegations of improper business, lobbying and financial transactions by Jack Abramoff, Michael Scanlon, and their various entities on behalf of Indian tribes.

At the committee's first hearing on September 29, the evidence and testimony showed that under a variety of arrangements six tribes paid Mr. Scanlon more than $66 million, and that Scanlon, in turn, paid Abramoff more than $21 million.

The September hearing also revealed that Scanlon and Abramoff assisted in the campaigns and elections of tribal council members at two of the tribes, did not charge for their services, and after the elections obtained multimillion dollar contracts from the same tribal councils they helped elect.

Finally, the hearing revealed that, while they were being paid tens of millions of dollars, Abramoff and Scanlon held their tribal clients in very low regard and referred to them as "monkeys," "troglodytes," "morons," and worse.

While the hearing in September disclosed very offensive evidence, our investigation has continued to uncover other distasteful and shocking details.

Today's hearing will focus on the Tigua Tribe of Texas. The story of Abramoff, Scanlon and the Tiguas looks to me like nothing short of a classic shakedown operation:

These men, working with allies, persuaded the State of Texas to force the closure of the Tribe's casino, located in El Paso. Having achieved this interim step of shutting down the tribe's casino, Abramoff and Scanlon then approached the Tiguas, offering their services to assist the Tribe in reopening its casino. For their services, they charged the Tribe the tidy sum of $4.2 million.

Documents uncovered by committee investigators shed more light on the Tiguas. To assist the Members, as well as the general public, committee staff has prepared those documents most pertinent to the matters covered by this hearing.

I now offer these documents and move that they be entered into the record of this hearing.

The documents demonstrate the extent of Scanlon's and Abramoff's cynical manipulation of the Tigua Tribe. I'd like to discuss a few of them in detail:

In 2002, Abramoff first offered to help the Tiguas "on a pro bono basis," provided the tribe hired him in the future as lobbyist for between $125,000 and $175,000 per month. That's some "pro bono" work isn't it?

Then, just last year, Abramoff approached the Tiguas with another scheme that would have benefited the Eshkol Academy, the Jewish boys school he founded located just outside Washington, DC. After Mr. Abramoff declined tribal requests that he be paid a retainer, Mr. Abramoff recommended that, at no cost to the tribe, the Academy would buy-up term life insurance on particularly elderly tribal members, and the Academy would be named as their death beneficiaries.

In effect, Abramoff asked to be paid by putting prices on the lives of tribal elders. We have witnessed a lot of unseemly and unethical, things during the course of this investigation, but asking a Tribe to pay a lobbyist with death benefits may be the most distasteful thing I have heard of yet.

Writing to one of his key allies in the effort to shut down the Tiguas' casino, Abramoff references the tribe's donations to Democrats, saying "I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contributions. I'd love to get our mitts on that moolah! Oh well, stupid folks get wiped out." Stupid folks get wiped out. That about says it all, doesn't it, about the way Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon felt about their clients?

Finally, on the day the Tigua Tribe voted on their contract, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon exchanged emails regarding a newspaper story about some 450 Indian employees at the tribe's recently shuttered casino being thrown out of work. This group of workers included an elderly woman who worried that she would not find another job. Mr. Scanlon was evidently excited that the article was on the front page "while they [the Tiguas] will be voting on our plan." Mr. Abramoff's reply: "Is life great or what!!!" I am not naive and have been around this town for almost a quarter of a century, but it strikes me as more than cynical that, rather than being concerned about the misfortunes of the tribe and its members, they were soliciting for business, Abramoff and Scanlon seemed happy almost gloating about the prospect that the Tiguas were having their casino closed and hundreds of employees thrown out of work, all because they were slated to make millions off the tribe.

There is another element to the Tigua story that I feel compelled to address: it appears that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon used the good name and reputation of our fellow Members of Congress in their attempts to part the tribe from its money.

You will hear today from witnesses, and read from documents, indicating that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon contended that Senator Dodd and Congressman Ney were enlisted to spearhead efforts in Congress to provide a legislative fix to the Tiguas problems.

From what we know, that was not the case. Senator Dodd evidently knew nothing about the proposed legislative fix; never supported it; and, in fact, we are told that when the idea was proposed to his senior staff, it was rejected at least three times. Congressman Ney agreed to support a legislative fix after being told by Mr. Abramoff that Senator Dodd wanted the language.

In short, the evidence demonstrates that Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff told their clients that Senator Dodd and Congressman Ney would push their proposal, knowing full well that was not the case, in an effort to further persuade the Tigua Tribe into continuing to pay them millions of dollars.

Today the committee will hear from Carlos Hisa, the Tigua Tribe's Lieutenant Governor, and Mark Schwartz, a consultant who essentially was the point person for contact between the Tiguas and Abramoff and Scanlon.

I would be remiss if I did not mention a few other, relevant, items:

Those of you who watched or listened to the September 29 hearing may recall that the committee repeatedly sought the presence of Mr. Scanlon, and had been obliged to issue a number of subpoenas to that effect. At first, Mr. Scanlon's attorney declined to accept the subpoena, even though he had accepted other committee subpoenas for Mr. Scanlon and the various corporate entities he owned or operated.

At the time, I said that the U.S. Marshals had been asked to find and serve Mr. Scanlon, and that he would surface at some point and come before the committee. That time has come. The Marshals found Mr. Scanlon and served him, and he will appear here today.

There is another person who has flouted the authority of this committee, and that person is Jon Van Horne, who was served with a document subpoena that was due on October 5. To date, the committee has not received the documents called for under the subpoena nor an explanation for his non-compliance.

I may be leaving as chairman, but Mr. Van Horne should know that neither this committee nor this investigation are going to end on December 31.

As was the case with Mr. Scanlon, sooner or later Mr. Van Horne will be called to account.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, U.S. SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT

I don't know Jack Abramoff or Mike Scanlon. So any representations they might have made without my knowledge regarding me and efforts at recognition of the Tigua Tribe are categorically wrong and false. They never contacted me on recognition of the Tigua Tribe and I never represented—either to them or Congressman

Ney—that I would in any manner work to legislatively recognize the Tigua Tribe. Congressman Ney's staff and Lottie Shackelford did approach my office during the waning hours of negotiations over the HAVA legislation to inquire whether recognition provisions for the Tigua Tribe could be included in the bill. The suggestion was summarily rejected. The fact that the HAVA bill never included any legislative language regarding this tribe should confirm that fact in no uncertain fashion.

I am particularly proud of the HAVA legislation and angry that there were those who were seeking to use it to advance their own interests. I am also—needless to say—angry that unbeknownst to me people were trading on my good name, especially since I have aggressively fought for years to reform the recognition process so that the criteria at the BIA is based upon facts and not politics. I intend to continue to push for those reforms, especially since this activity clearly highlights further problems with the recognition process.

I had no involvement whatsoever in any effort to recognize this tribe. Mr. Abramoff and his associates need to be held accountable for their duplicitous, greedy, and underhanded actions.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CARLOS HISA, LT. GOVERNOR
YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO

My name is Carlos Hisa. I am the Lieutenant Governor of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, a federally recognized Indian tribe located in El Paso County, Texas.

The Pueblo was initially contacted regarding Jack Abramoff, by Bryant Rogers, an attorney in Santa Fe, New Mexico, who indicated that Jack Abramoff was a prominent Washington lobbyist who had helped a number of Indian tribes. Attached under Tab 1 is a memorandum from Norman Gordon, one of our tribal attorneys, to Tom Diamond, regarding a conversation with Bryant Rogers.

As a result of this contact, we authorized Marc Schwartz, our Public Relations representative, to contact Jack Abramoff regarding a possible proposal, which Mr. Schwartz did. Mr. Schwartz indicated that Jack Abramoff was a prominent lobbyist and worked for one of the largest law firms in Washington, D.C. He was identified in various national magazines and newspapers as one of the top lobbyists in Washington DC who had helped several Indian tribes with legislative matters.

Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon came to El Paso, in early February 2002, and met with Governor Albert Alvidrez, Marc Schwartz, and Tribal attorney Tom Diamond, and made a proposal for a lobbying effort to gain federal legislation allowing the Tribe to resume gaming requiring an extensive lobbying effort by Scanlon/Gould Associates, and Jack Abramoff.

On February 18, 2002, Jack Abramoff, sent an e-mail to Marc Schwartz, Tribal representative, setting forth the services he proposed to provide to the Tribe, and a copy of the Scanlon Gould Operation Open Door proposal. Attached under Tab 2 is a copy of the e-mail and enclosure. Mr. Abramoff represented that the legislative effort would not succeed without the implementation of Operation Open Door and the required database to be developed by Scanlon/Gould.

On February 22, 2002, Jack Abramoff appeared before the Tribal Council in ElPaso, Texas, and made a verbal presentation of the proposal outlined in the February 18, 2002 e-mail, and the Operation Open Door document.

Subsequent to the meeting, later that day, Tribal Council made a counterproposal to Abramoff lowering the Abramoff-Scanlon/Gould proposal by $1.5 million dollars, offering a total compensation package for $4.2 million dollars. Marc Schwartz was directed to communicate this to Abramoff, and did so. Abramoff accepted the Tribe's counteroffer.

Mike Scanlon provided a Memorandum of Agreement which was executed by the Tribe on March 5, 2002 attached under Tab 3 is a copy of the Memorandum of Agreement.

Subsequent to the signing of the Memorandum of Agreement, the Tribal Council directed Marc Schwartz, Tribal representative, to be the direct contact with Abramoff and Scanlon/Gould

regarding the Operation Open Doors project. The Tribe provided all information requested of Scanlon/Gould and Abramoff, for the creation of the database required for Operation Open Door, and provided all cash disbursements required for the political contributions and other expenses required by Operation Open Door. From April of 2002 through the summer, numerous oral representations were made by Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon with regard to the progress of the project. So specifically, they identified a number of bills that the language modifying the Restoration Act, which would allow the Tribe to resume gaming, were moving and the bill language would be able to be slipped into those bills.

Late Spring and early Summer of 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon identified the Election Reform Bill as the Bill that would contain the amendment to the Restoration Act language that would allow the Tribe to resume gaming. Marc Schwartz, Tribal representative received a number of e-mails and verbal communications from Abramoff and Scanlon that the progress of the Bill was a little slower than had been anticipated, but was moving forward and was expected to fall into place in late summer.

During this period of time the Tribe made numerous requests, through its representative Marc Schwartz, to Abramoff and Scanlon regarding the database, and the progress of the Open Doors Project. We were told that the progress of the Bill had slowed down, but that everything was still in place on numerous occasions throughout the summer of 2002. In October 2002, we were informed by Abramoff/Scanlon, through Marc Schwartz, that the language amending the Restoration Act which would allow the Tribe to resume gaming, was taken out of the Election Reform Bill. After the Election Reform Bill passed at the end of 2002 without the language amending the Restoration Act, which would have allowed the Tribe to resume gaming, Abramoff and Scanlon continued to make representations that there were other Bills that would be available to place the necessary language amending the Restoration Act into and they expected to still successfully complete Operation Open Door.

Tribal representatives met with Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon in January of 2003 where similar representations were repeated. Additionally, the Tribal representatives for the first time were able to see the database that had been purportedly created to complete Operation Open Door.

Subsequent to the disclosure in the Washington Post of the Senate Committee investigations into alleged, improprieties and misconduct by Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon, the Tribe has examined all its documents, correspondence, and spoken with the key Tribal representatives, officials and employees involved, to determine whether or not the services promised to be performed by Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff were ever performed. After a lengthy investigation it does not appear at this time, that the database was ever used in the manner represented, in any way to benefit the Tribe, and there was never any success by Abramoff or Scanlon in placing any language amending the Restoration Act into any Bill that was considered by Congress. More specifically, Jack Abramoff and Scanlon/Gould Associates failed to provide the following as they had promised:

1. They failed to make contact with key suppliers and vendors as outlined in Operation

Open Door, whether by personal contact, phone calls, or written communications.

2. Failed to provide suppliers and vendors with letters to send to their legislative representatives.
3. Failed to provide a phone bank operation for large suppliers and vendors.
4. Failed to generate 375,000 contacts as set forth in Operation Open Door.
5. Failed to complete the program in the time promised.
6. Failed to have employees of vendors and suppliers write and call in to targeted legislative districts.

In fact, the data base was essentially a compilation of the Tribe's supplier, vendor, and customer lists, which were provided to Scanlon/Gould and Jack Abramoff. It appears that Scanlon/Gould did nothing more with respect to the creation of the data base than rearrange the lists provided to them by the Tribe.

It now appears that Abramoff, Scanlon, under cover of various religious groups worked behind the scenes to shut down the operation of the Tribe's casino, and then came to El Paso, and with false promises said to the Tribe that they could get the casino reopened through Operation Open Door, undoing the wrong they had secretly helped cause, so they could cheat us out of our money. We ask that you do the following:

1. Punish the people who cheated us
2. Help us recover the money we were cheated out of.
3. Pass laws to protect all Americans from corrupt political activity.

On behalf of my Tribe, the Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo, I want to thank the Committee for its critical work in investigating, and remedying, the wrong perpetrated by Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, on my Tribe and on other Native American Tribes.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Tom Diamond

FROM: **Norman J. Gordon**

Date: **February 4, 2002**

RE: Telephone Conversation with Bryant Rogers

I had a telephone conversation this afternoon with Bryant Rogers, a lawyer in Santa Fe, who represents a number of Indian Tribes. He advises me that he was asked by Mr. Jack Abramoff, a lobbyist in Washington, D.C. whether the Tiguas were attempting a solution to the order that may be outside the courts. According to Mr. Rogers, Mr. Abramoff is with a firm that is well connected to the Bush Administration (Greenberg Trauring Firm in Washington, D.C. which represented the Bush Campaign in the Florida dispute-lobbying arm) and has been effective in the past in efforts for other tribes. He is willing to come to El Paso and meet with the Council at no cost to discuss whether he can be of assistance. His phone number is [redacted].

Subj: Operation Open Doors
Date: Monday, February 18, 2002 9:48:42 AM
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mjschwartz@[redacted]

ATTORNEY CLIENT
CONFIDENTIAL AND PRIVILEGED COMMUNICATION

Dear Marc,

Attached please find Mike Scanlon's Operation Open Doors plan. I appreciate your conveying this to the Governor and Tribal Council.

As we discussed, until we are able to achieve the federal legislative fix, we at Greenberg Traurig will not be engaged by the tribe for services officially. All our work will be done on a pro-bono basis. Once the legislation is signed by the President, we would anticipate the tribe engaging us to represent it at the federal level and assist with the effort to obtain a Class III compact. Our normal rate in our tribal government practice is between $125,000 to $175,000 per month for our clients.

I know that the prospect of a lobbying firm working for free until the major victory has been achieved is unusual, but, with the success rate we have had over the past decade, we are sufficiently confident in our abilities that we can afford to take this risk. Our motivations for this representation are manifold, including the critical importance of not allowing tribal sovereignty to be eroded by the actions of the State of Texas. While we are Republicans, and normally want all Republicans to prevail in electoral challenges, this ill advised decision on the part of the Republican leadership in Texas must not stand, and we intend to right this using, in part, Republican leaders from Washington.

Of course, it would be insincere of me to not note that our other motivations include the hope and expectation that, if we succeed, we can expect to have a long term relationship with the tribe by representing their interests on the federal level.

The proposal Mike Scanlon has prepared is, in our view, the best chance the tribe has to overcome the gross indignity perpetuated by the Texas State authorities. Indeed, as I mentioned on the phone, the several day delay getting this to you was the consequence of our wanting to ensure that we have a path to get this done, and a couple of Senators willing to ram this through initially. I am pleased to note that both are in place.

Coupled with this plan, we anticipate that the tribe will have to make approximately $300,000 in federal political contributions. We are currently preparing a target list of those contributions and hope to have that to you shortly. Perhaps in the interim, the tribal council could approve that gross amount, with detail to follow.

Mike and I are both free to answer any questions you might have on this proposal and we look forward to getting moving rapidly.

Kindest regards,

Jack Abramoff
Senior Director
Government Affairs

<<Tig- Operation Open Doors Final.doc>>

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

Operation Open Doors

February 18, 2002

The singular objective of our strategy is to open the doors of the Speaking Rock Casino within the next 4 months.

Our objective is clear, and in the following pages we are going to tell you exactly how we intend to reach our objective. Operation Open Doors is a massive undertaking fueled by a nation-wide political operation. This political operation will result in a Majority of both federal chambers either becoming close friends of the tribe or fearing the tribe in a very short period of time.

The network we our building for you will give you the political clout needed to end around the obstacles you face in your own back yard. Simply put, you need 218 friends in the U.S. House and 51 Senators on your side very quickly, and we will do that through both love and fear.

Without this national political operation we believe you stand no chance of achieving a ***permanent*** legislative solution to your problem any time soon. This strategy will help us get the legislative ball rolling, but more importantly it will provide us the muscle to withstand an expected legislative backlash after section 107a is repealed.

Make no mistake; the true value of this strategy is not the legislation. Quiet frankly the legislative solution itself is not what one would call rocket science. The truly important part of what we are doing is providing political support to the legislative solution that we have already identified.

Before going forward we would like to make it completely clear that this strategy is not full proof. However, under no circumstances do we believe it could be classified as high risk either. We have waged similar strategies in the past that have been successful and we will wage many more in the years to come. Your responsibility is to determine if this strategy has reasonable prospects for success, and then completely commit yourself to it.

As we presented in our initial meeting, we firmly believe that if you execute this strategy in its entirety, your doors will be open and gaming will return in the immediate future.

Strategic Overview

The first and most important fact of Operation Open Doors is that you will be launching a massive, national, political operation. This political campaign will be waged at varying intensity in up to 250 congressional districts spanning roughly 30 states.

The reason we point this out is to give you a better understanding of exactly what we do. Plainly put, we will be running advocacy and political campaigns similar to the ones you have already in waged in Texas, but in 250 individual congressional districts and several dozen states. Granted that our campaigns will be far less direct, and based on more individualized issues, but similar tactics will be employed.

Using kindness and political pressure we will identify majorities in both Houses, then build the political operations in their districts that will ensure their support before the legislative relief is put forward. Once the legislative vehicle has passed, we will activate the political network ensuring that the legislation is not defeated, or reversed.

To do all the things we have mentioned in the strategy we follow a simple strategic model to get you where you need to be. It is important to note, that to be successful you must execute all of them in sequence. The strategic phases are as follows:

- Organization
- Identification
- Research
- Recruitment (Third Party Allies)
- Execution.

The pages that follow will walk you through each stage and explain the individual tactics executed therein.

Organization

The true key to any successful political effort is its organizational design. For Operation Open Doors we have developed a two-tiered system. The first component will identify, classify and organize members of our new political army.

The second component will identify, classify and organize all qualitative research we gather for this strategy. Both will be imported into two custom built political databases. As we execute Operation Open Doors, each phase will draw back to this organizational design for mobilizing individuals and ensuring that the individuals in our army have the information needed to mobilize passionately.

Grassroots Database

Our first step is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate (or redirect) them into a custom built political database. To do this, we tap into the various individuals and entities that already benefit economically from the tribe, and that have support bases outside the state.

We gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. and we import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registration and e-mail addresses (when available), and then sort them by FEDERAL election districts nationwide. The district breakdown in your database will from U.S. Senator down to State Representative.

Once completed, we will be able to tap into this database and mobilize supporters in ANY election of your choosing nationwide in a matter of moments.

At this point you will have a national political network.

Depending in the amount of vendors you have and their physical locations, we can reach out and mobilize tens of thousands of voters almost instantaneously. This is an extremely powerful tool that is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.

Qualitative Research Database

This custom built database acts as the information center of Operation Open Doors. Over the next three weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on the Members we have targeted and place it into this database.

The research will include nearly every piece of information on the targets that is relevant to our campaign. In addition we will be waging a simultaneous effort to gather qualitative research on the key opponents of our position. This research can be classified as unfriendly, and is solely intended to give us the ammunition to fight on an even playing field if the battle turns nasty. Rest assured, if it does turn nasty, we will be far better positioned than our opponents.

Once the qualitative research is gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. This purpose of this is so that information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or other interested parties.

To put things in military terms, the grassroots database is your weapon; the research database is your ammunition. As I stated previously, this database will contain every piece of information fathomable, and place it at your fingertips. The only question left unanswered is how you use the information.

Identification / Research

Once we have both political databases in place we can begin the identification process. What we do in this phase of the program is identify a series of targets. Your database will tell us where you are politically strong in a national sense, and then we build a target list of allies based on that data.

For example, lets say that your long distance carrier is sprint communications. Sprint benefits by having you as a client, they make thousand of dollars a year on commutations services and hardware they provide to the tribe. Our system we will immediately tell us that Santa Cruz, California is the home of Sprint Communications, who the U.S. Representatives from the area are and obviously the two U.S. Senators.

Instantly, we have identified a power base outside of your own community that you never knew existed, and if we educate them and properly, two powerful U.S Senators and a House Member are now on our team.

This process is repeated with every vendor that does business with the tribe. From paper clips, to the manufacturer of your slot machines, our identification process will tell us where our NATIONAL power base truly is.

The identification process is important because it helps us strategically target supporters, but its most important aspect is the fact that it allows you to build a large network in a very, very short period of time. Without this process it would take you years to determine who may or may not help the tribe. Our system does it almost overnight.

Perhaps the most time consuming part of this process is the anti-gaming cross-referencing portion. Once we have imported the data and identified our potential political allies, we immediately run a legislative cross-reference on the politicians identified. This cross-reference immediately tells us if the elected official has a voting history that could clearly be construed as anti-Indian or anti-gaming. This helps identify potential enemies, and helps determine if we should "write off" certain Members of Congress as potential allies even though we have supporters in their districts.

Recruitment

At this point in the strategy we identified our relief mechanism in repealing 107a, we have redirected your political resources for a federal fight, and identified allies in both chambers of congress.

It's now time to go after our targets and lock down the support we need.

We will due this largely through the vendor portion of the database we built you. We will make contact with your key suppliers and vendors in the target districts and recruit them for the cause.

Put plainly, the vendors who have benefited financially from the tribe over the years are about to thank the tribe in a very political way. Its time they pay a little back, and all we are going to ask these companies to do is lobby their federal representatives on our behalf.

We will do this by utilizing a series of tactics. We will call them, write them a letter and in many cases place a personal visit. In our communications we will educate them as to what the issue is, and how they can help. We will inform them that we need them to contact THEIR representative and support the tribe.

For example, when a Congressman or Senator gets a call from a home state employer asking for their support for the repeal of section 107a – they will listen. In addition we may not need them leading up to a vote, but after the fact. And when the local business owners are supporting them, they will be much more likely to stand behind a decision they made.

This out reach effort is the largest part of the program. We will be reaching out to not only your vendors and suppliers, but to their individual employees as well. We could find ourselves drafting hundreds of thousands of letters soliciting their support, and an equivalent number to their employees, and their family members. The multiplier effect of this program is enormous. If you have one supplier in California, and a hundred employees at that supplier, you have a nice power base there. When you add the employees family members to the count you have gone from nothing to 250 voters in someone's district fighting for you.

Now imagine that nationwide.

Execution

The execution of the program will unfold in the exact same manner as the proposal, with one small exception. The execution of the program will be conducted on two separate tracks, by two separate teams. While our main focus, and the majority of our staff is dedicated to the political strategy, we will have a legislative team in place getting the legislation introduced (most likely as an amendment).

That said, the rest of the program will follow a series of sequential steps. They are as follows:

Organization

1) We will immediately begin acquiring the computer hardware, software and design the computer program that houses your database. This database will be for your use only, available on-line for your use, and will be the permanent property of the tribe.
2) We will have a team come to El Paso to gather all relevant data so that we can import it into your database. Ordinarily we simply ask for data such as vendor lists, employee list etc. In some cases customer lists can be helpful, but they are not required. Furthermore, if we do believe this information will be helpful we will sign any confidentiality documents to ensure the lists safety.
3) In one week to ten days we can have your data fully integrated and the system in place.

Identification

1) Before the system design is even completed we can get the data sets necessary to being the identification process. At this point we will report to you our preliminary target lists.
2) We will dispatch a field research team to conduct research on the allies identified (such as how many employees they have, if they are financial supporters the Member of Congress etc).
3) We then establish criterion or goals for member contact in each targeted district.

Research

1) When we establish the list of opponents we will conduct a comprehensive opposition research program on the individual. This research is intended to keep our opponents "in line".

2) In targeted "friendly" districts we will conduct traditional polls to determine the strength and weakness of our position. Our objective here is to compile data that shows each member that the public favors our position. This data will be shared with the Members of Congress in certain districts.

Execution

At this point we are roughly two weeks into the program. We have built a national network, identified our targets, gathered the appropriate research to win with "honey and vinegar" it is now time to mobilize in their districts. This portion of the program is a very gray area; our efforts will vary from district to district. However, the following is what we typically do in the targeted districts.

1) ***Business owner letter and follow up call campaign.***
We will make contact with the owner of the business who supplies you with services and provide them a letter to sign and send to their members. We will then provide call script for that person to follow up. Field visits to the identified businesses are usually conducted

2) ***Employee phone bank.*** For the companies with large employee bases we will conduct a phone-bank operation to their Representatives.

3) ***Employee letter writing campaign.*** We will have each employee in each targeted districts write an individual letter to their Representatives.

4) ***We recruit third parties*** to write and call in the targeted districts, these individuals include large donors, other large business owners former staffers etc.

5) ***Third party advocacy campaigns.*** In some districts we will encourage large employers to take out advertisements under their name advocating our position.

These are the five main tactics we use in our efforts. While these may seem rather simple, please remember the enormity of the overall project. If we have **only one** business execute this program in each district we target we will place 62,500 calls and 62,500 letters to federal legislators.

On average we see three employers in the targeted districts participate. We can reasonably expect generating roughly 375,000 individual contacts from this program. 375,000 calls and letters in support of a political position is an extremely large show of force, and more than enough muscle for us to achieve our objective.

Budget / Timeline

*Note:
Due to the time sensitivity, we will conduct the Organization, Identification and Research phases on a rolling basis.

Organization

Cost: $1,875,000.00

Timeline: February 19, 2002 – February 27, 2002.

Identification

Cost: $845,000.00

Timeline: February 23 – February 27, 2002

Research

Cost: $935,000.00

Timeline: February 25- February 27,2002

Execution / Advocacy

Cost: 1,745,000.00

March 1, 2002 – program completion

Total: $5,400,000.00

March 5, 2002

By this memorandum, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services as outlined in the proposal February 21, 2002 entitled "Operation Open Doors". Scanlon Gould will be employed directly by the Tigua Tribal Council and work through the office of the Governor.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following:

Building of National Political Organization:
Includes acquisition, and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Recruitment/Identification:
Includes development comprehensive target lists, design and execution of survey instruments, anti-gaming cross referencing, all necessary cross matching, phone and mail costs, and field staff.

Research and Messaging:
Scanlon Gould will conduct all necessary polling, both nationally and regionally. Tracking polls will be used when necessary.

Execution/Advocacy:
Scanlon Gould will execute tactics outlined in Operation Open Doors including, vendor letter writing campaign, employee phone banks, employee letter writing campaigns, and third party advocacy campaigns on an as needed basis and with the approval of the Governor and Council.

For the above stated services Scanlon Gould will be paid a total $4,200,000.00.

Payments for services outlined in the agreement are due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices. Either party may cancel this agreement with 30 days notice, however, given the compact nature of this campaign, payments for the first three phases($2,100,000.00) is due in advance and are non-refundable. The remaining balance is due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices.

All materials generated by Operation Open Doors are the permanent property of the tribe. All public affairs services provided by Scanlon Gould are strictly confidential.

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Albert Alvidrez — Date: 03/05/02

Michael P. Scanlon — Date: 3/05/02

OFFICE OF THE TRIBAL CHIEF
PHILLIP MARTIN
PHONE (601) 656-5251 FAX (601) 656-7333
EMAIL: pmartin@choctaw.org
MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS
P.O. BOX 6010 • 101 INDUSTRIAL ROAD
CHOCTAW, MS 39350

December 1, 2004

The Honorable Carlos Hisa
Lieutenant Governor
Tigua Indian Reservation
Ysleta del Sur Pueblo
P.O. Box 17579
El Paso, Texas 79907

Dear Governor Hisa:

During your testimony before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee on November 17, 2004, you sought to correct the false perception that the Tiguas actually paid for a trip to Scotland undertaken by Congressman Bob Ney, Ralph Reed, Jack Abramoff, and others. You clarified that, in fact, your tribe was only asked to pay for the trip. However, when questioned whether or not you knew who did pay for the trip you indicated that you understand that half or $50,000 was paid for by the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians.

Of course, you have no way of knowing that to be true and you were evidently only advised of such information. In actuality, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians did not pay for this trip or any part of the trip. Your understanding was based on incorrect information. Yet, your statement was widely reported as factual. I believe it is fair to ask that you request that the Indian Affairs Committee strike your comment about the Choctaws from the record, and I would appreciate receiving a copy of your request to the committee.

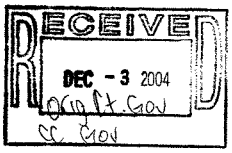
Additionally, both The Hill newspaper and the El Paso Times reported that gaming tribes in Mississippi and Louisiana were behind efforts to close down your casino. We unequivocally support the sovereign right of any tribe to legally operate a casino on its reservation. The Tigua casino was never a competitive concern of ours.

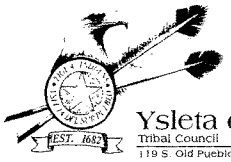
Sincerely,

Phillip Martin

Phillip Martin
Tribal Chief

Cc: Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell
Senator John McCain
MBCI Tribal Council





Ysleta del Sur Pueblo
Tribal Council
119 S. Old Pueblo Rd. • P.O. Box 17579 • El Paso, Texas 79917 • (915) 859-8053 • Fax: (915) 859-4252

December 6, 2004

The Honorable Phillip Martin
Tribal Chief
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
P.O. Box 6010-101 Industrial Road
Choctaw, MS 39350

Dear Chief Martin:

My understanding of the Scotland golf trip was based on a verbal comment from Jack Abramoff. He did state that your respected tribe contributed half, or $50,000.00, towards the trip. I will request in writing that the Indian Affairs Committee consider revising my comments to include the fact that my statement was based on a verbal claim made by Jack Abramoff.

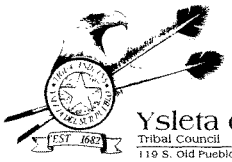
In regards to your concerns on the newspaper reports, our tribe has never commented on the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians involvement in the efforts to close down our casino. We have reported that during our own initial background investigation on Jack Abramoff, we discovered that he had provided assistance to your tribe in the past.

I hope this will clarify any misunderstanding there may exist between your nation and ours.

Sincerely,

Carlos Hisa
Lieutenant Governor

Cc: Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell
Senator John Mcain
Tribal Governor Arturo Senclair
YDSP Tribal Council



Ysleta del Sur Pueblo
Tribal Council
119 S. Old Pueblo Rd. • P.O. Box 17579 • El Paso, Texas 79917 • (915) 859-8053 • Fax: (915) 859-4252

December 6, 2004

Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell
Chairman
Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
836 Hart Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Campbell:

The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians have asked me to consider removing a comment I made during my testimony before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee on November 17, 2004. My initial comment indicated that I understood that the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Band of Indians had contributed $50,000.00 to fund a golfing trip to Scotland undertaken by Congressman Bob Ney, Ralph Reed, Jack Abramoff and others.

I respectfully ask that my comments include that my statement was based on a verbal claim made by Jack Abramoff.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to call me at (915) 859-8053.

Sincerely,

Carlos Hisa
Lieutenant Governor

Cc: Senator John Mcain
Chief Philip Martin
YDSP Tribal Council

STATEMENT OF MARC SCHWARTZ

November 17, 2004

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the committee. My name is Marc Schwartz and I have had the honor of being able to work with the Tigua Tribe in matters involving public relations and government affairs since 1998.

Since the outset of the press coverage of the actions by Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon, and their contemporaries, against Indian Tribes across the country, not a day has passed that I haven't relived all of the events of my unfortunate association with them.

As I was preparing for our visit here today, I was reminded of a trip I made with two members of the Tigua Tribal Council in August of 2002 to attend a briefing with Congressman Bob Ney and Mr. Abramoff for the so-called legislative effort that was underway at the time. We arrived with much anticipation and I felt a great deal of pride to be in the company of the Council members who had never been inside the Capitol much less to visit with such an esteemed member of Congress who held a leadership position in our nation's system of democracy.

During that meeting, Congressman Ney was very animated about Mr. Abramoff's skill and repute as a leader in the lobbying circles. We were told about the impending success of Mr. Abramoff's legislative plan and how much Congressman Ney wanted to help with to restore the Tribe's ability to conduct gaming on their reservation. On the plane back to El Paso, I listened intently to the Council members as they recounted their thoughts, and the day's achievements. I recall vividly how wonderful it was for them to have had the experience and the good fortune of the Tribe to have Jack Abramoff working for them.

As a result of that meeting, I would never have expected to be sitting before this august body two years later to testify and answer questions regarding what, in my opinion, is the most despicable acts of greed and fraud that I hope to never, ever see again.

It goes without saying that I am personally grateful and appreciative to you, Mr. Chairman, and the members of this committee and the Commerce Committee and your collective staffs for the professionalism and dedication that is evident as you search for answers to this horrific episode. It is through that tenacity and desire to seek nothing more than the truth that I join you here today.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, shortly after the first reports began to surface regarding the liberties Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff took against their clients, I spoke with both of them regarding the various allegations and I must report that their deception continued unabashedly. In particular, after my discussion with Mr. Scanlon, he sent an email dated February 24, 2004 that I distributed to the Tribal Council as an explanation for the motivation behind the story. He attributed it to political infighting among the Tribes quoted and even still reinforced that the work he had done for the Tigua Tribe remained as he had always represented it to our team.

I'm sure many of you are wondering just how this started and, maybe more importantly, how seemingly bright folks could have fallen for Scanlon and Abramoff's schemes. During a particular Tribal Council meeting in early February of 2002, one of the Tigua Tribal Attorneys reported on a contact one of their partners had received regarding Jack Abramoff. Mr. Abramoff, through an attorney representing the Choctow Tribe of Mississippi had offered to visit with the Tigua Tribe to offer his help. Mr. Abramoff was unknown to us at that time and I was assigned the task of making contact with him to determine what he wanted to discuss. A simple internet search at the time revealed that Mr. Abramoff was a highly respected lobbyist with extensive ties to the Republican leadership, including Representative Tom DeLay and others. I recall some of the reports referred to him as the "uber" lobbyist, one who was in such an elite position with friendships that extended directly to the White House.

You must bear in mind that, during those times, virtually the only relationship the Tiguas had with Republican elected officials was either in a courtroom or exchanging quotes in news articles. Nonetheless, during my conversation with Mr. Abramoff on February 6, 2002, he expressed his indignation over what had occurred with the Tigua Tribe in Texas and specifically

referred to the need to "right the terrible injustice" that had been brought upon the Tribe. He offered pro-bono services for himself and his firm, Greenberg-Traurig to effect this legislative solution. I remember thinking how confident he was in each of his statements and invited him to meet with the Pueblo's Tribal Council to speak directly to them. I must clarify here that during the period where the Tribe's litigation with the State of Texas was ongoing, there were many individuals from all walks of life that contacted the Tribe and me, attempting to sell their "guaranteed" solutions for the Tribe's problems with the State. Most would be dismissed immediately, and others that required a bit of research generally always turned out to be nothing more than offers to separate the Tribe from their money. However, Mr. Abramoff had both the credentials, as best as could be determined, and more importantly had offered the services of both himself and his firm at no charge. This was quite a difference from the usual band of con men who surface during a crisis to prey on those involved in the crisis.

Throughout our telephone conversations Mr. Abramoff spoke about his broad relationships with Republican party leaders and their overall concern for how the Tribe had been mistreated by his party's leaders in Texas. It was obvious from those conversations that the Tribal Council and Mr. Abramoff needed to meet. That meeting took on February 12, 2002 and included Mr. Scanlon.

Scanlon and Abramoff spent the first few minutes providing an overview of their individual biographies and purpose for the visit. It was during this meeting that, for the first time, I began to believe there might be some hope for a legislative solution from Congress. Mr. Abramoff characterized his presence at the meeting alternately as he being interested in righting the wrong that had been perpetrated on the Tribe and representing the Tribe after his ultimate success in a legislative effort. He explained to us that Mr. Scanlon was the "preeminent expert in grassroots politics" and that with his experience with Representative Tom DeLay, had developed a reputation as the "go to guy" for the most difficult campaigns.

During this first meeing, Mr. Abramoff told us that his part of the work would be relatively easy but that we would need a "bulldog" on our side to keep the effort from being undone. He stated that he had already spoken to several of his friends on the hill and that he was confident it could be passed in secret, but that once the President signed it there would be lots of people out to

restore the original language and that is where Scanlon's efforts were so important. Mr. Scanlon represented that his part of the effort would be expensive, essential, and exclusive. He described in his proposal to the Tribe shortly after the first meeting that "Operation Open Doors is a massive undertaking fueled by a nationwide political operation. This political operation will result in a majority of both federal chambers either becoming close friends of the tribe or fearing the tribe in a very short period of time". Scanlon through his proposal also confirmed much of what he presented us at the first meeting. Again, quoting from his proposal, "Simply put, you need 218 friends in the U.S. House and 51 Senators on your side very quickly, and we will do that through both love and fear".

Throughout all these discussions, Abramoff represented his work and that of Greenberg Traurig to be pro-bono, but the Tribe would need Scanlon's efforts in order to ensure success. During a telephone call shortly after the presentation that his efforts would be completely wasted if we didn't have the ability to maintain the win in the subsequent assault. After the initial meeting, in an email to me dated February 18, 2002, Abramoff said and I quote, "As we discussed, until we are able to achieve the federal legislative fix, we at Greenberg Traurig will not be engaged by the tribe for services officially. All our work will be done on a pro-bono basis. Once the legislation is signed by the President, we would anticipate the tribe engaging us to represent it at the federal level and assist with the effort to obtain a Class III compact. Our normal rate in our tribal government practice is between $125,000 to $175,000 per month for our clients."

Key to all of these issues was the financial requirements that Tribe would have to provide. In both his presentation and proposal, Michael Scanlon detailed several items critical to the success of the campaign, including a database that would provide the most thorough single source of information that could be created. This customized product would be created by his staff, due to the confidential nature of our program, and would be proprietary to the Tribe.

Critical to the success of the program according to Abramoff and Scanlon was the necessity to maintain absolute and complete secrecy. The friendly legislators that would be carrying this measure for Abramoff required this and Abramoff explained that this was the most important concept to the program…of course second possibly to the political contributions that had to made

in support of his friends. This particular and peculiar request for so much secrecy was not troubling to me at the time, since we had already spoken with staff members from the Greenberg firm and exchanged contact information, etc., and with that firm's reputation and Mr. Abramoff's openness about "his" firm left me with no doubt at the time of the legitimacy of this requirement.

Abramoff and Scanlon were instructed to provide a proposal, which I have quoted from earlier, and to send it to the Tribe. Due to an internal issue, it was decided that Scanlon and Abramoff should make a return trip for additional discussions. That meeting took place on February 22, 2002 and although Mr. Scanlon was not able to attend, Mr. Abramoff did return and presented their proposal.

The Tribal Council took extraordinary measures to meet and consider their proposal. It was decided to accept Mr. Abramoff's offer of help and retain Mr. Scanlon for the efforts Abramoff described as critical. Almost immediately, Mr. Scanlon was requesting payments in order to begin the arduous task before him. Throughout those exchanges, I had several conversations with Abramoff where he placed subtle pressure for the Tribe to finalize payments with Scanlon since he and his staff had already spoken with several members of Congress and they were willing to help.

From every outward view, Mr. Abramoff was searching for legislation and "friends" on the Hill that would do this for him. Mr. Scanlon and his associates were busy creating this monolithic political response effort that would be centered around the aforementioned customized data source, one that I had come to believe would be the envy of even the most sophisticated Presidential campaign.

Even before the contract or document between the Tribe and Scanlon had been completed, Abramoff had sent me a list of contributions that had to be made immediately. That list represented some $300,000 and he asked that the checks be drawn and sent to him for distribution.

Of course throughout this process the key word was secrecy and so there was a very tight circle of people who knew about this effort. On March 11, 2002, Abramoff reported the first potential bill that he had targeted and in an email suggested that the language would be offered in the Terrorism Insurance Bill. These types of communication are significant in that it offered some measure of proof that the effort, at least from Abramoff's side of the equation, was moving forward and he would probably meet his goal of having this completed in a few months.

In a variety of ways, Abramoff and Scanlon continued to report on minor successes. Even when reporters began questioning the size and recipients of the Tribe's political contributions, Abramoff would call and reassure that the contributions were critical in order to have the support needed to keep the measure under wraps until absolutely necessary.

In late March of 2002, Abramoff had reported that he and his staff had spoken to Representative Bob Ney who was carrying the election reform bill and had agreed to carry the Tigua language in that conference committees report. On March 26, 2002 I received a phone call from Abramoff telling me that the Tribe needed to make additional contributions to Congressman Ney through some PACS he had. He told me it was critical. I approached the Tribal Council with the request for the $32,000 in contributions and it was approved. Later that same day, I received an email from a Greenberg Traurig staff person with the breakout and addresses for those contributions.

Each of these additional contributions were outside of what the Council had previously approved as part of the initial agreement with Abramoff. But those kinds of requests continued throughout the summer of 2002. On June 7th, of that same year, I received an email from Abramoff stating that Congressman Ney had asked if the Tribe could cover the expense for a trip to Scotland. The cost was suggested to be $50,000 and again Abramoff referred to him as "our friend".

These types of requests became all too common during the process, but by following the progress of the election reform measure, we knew it was a stop/start proposition so there was a great deal of down time.

Throughout this entire episode, I requested on behalf of the Tribe comprehensive reports in order to keep the Tribal Council informed as to the progress of the initiative. Several of these reports stated that the process Scanlon and his team were working on required a great deal of his staff's time and energies but would be completed and ready when needed. As early as April of 2002, Scanlon reported to me that the database and assorted other assets were ready and in use. On April 16th he reported they were "already laying down cover for Senators in New York and Connecticut.

As the Election reform measure languished through the summer, Abramoff and Scanlon continued to report on substantial progress and a virtual guarantee of success. During that time, I requested a meeting with Abramoff and Scanlon to brief the Council on those efforts. I suggested that we would be in Washington and would like to meet with Congressman Ney. Abramoff set the meeting up in early August of 2002. In an email to me, Abramoff mentioned that Congressman Ney didn't want his trip to Scotland brought up, as he would show his appreciation to the Tribe later. During the meeting with the Congressman the schedule of the expected passage of the Election Reform bill along with the Tribal language included.

For the rest of the months leading up to October of 2002, both Abramoff and Scanlon continued to report that the Senate side would not be a problem since Senator Dodd had agreed to include the solution through his side of the conference committee. It wasn't until the announcement of the final passage of the election reform measure that Abramoff phoned to say that he had just spoken with Congressman Ney who had reported that Senator Dodd had gone back on his word and stripped the measure from the committee report. Abramoff suggested that we contact any Democratic members and see if we could get them to intercede with Dodd to restore the language. We did, in fact, contact our own Congressman who reached Senator Dodd and reported to us that Senator Dodd knew nothing about the issue, but would be happy to talk to the Congressman about it when they returned from recess.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, you can only imagine the sheer disappointment we all felt about these events. For an almost sure thing, as Abramoff had stated numerous times to utter defeat was extremely hard to take. In a phone call on October 4th, Abramoff said that

Congressman Ney wanted to speak directly to the Tribal Council to express his outrage. On October 8th, Congressman Ney held a conference call with the Tribal Council and told them about his disbelief that Senator Dodd had gone back on his word. He further reported that he would continue to work on the issue and believed that the Tribe was entitled to their gaming operation and he would personally continue to seek a solution.

As a result of all of the activities I have chronicled for you, I assure you that both Abramoff, Scanlon and their associates were extremely convincing in their efforts and so it came as quite a surprise to learn of the details of their other schemes and activities.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee for the opportunity to share this information with you and I would be happy to answer any questions, you may have.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:31 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: Article

Some stupid lobbyists up here who do Indian issues. We'll find out who and make sure all our friends crush them like bugs.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 6:28 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Article

wow. these guys are really playing hard ball. they also did a full page ad in the austin-american today. do you know who their consultant(s) are?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 6:27 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Article

Great. Full page ad attacking Cornyn in the Washington Post today (page 5). We are trying to reduce size and fax to you now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:55 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Article

great work. get me details so i can alert cornyn and let him know what we are doing to help him.

talked to ed young again today. incredibly engaged and excited. he is planning on hosting a breakfast with the top pastors in houston to get them all mobilized and to provide cover for cornyn. we may invite cornyn to address them.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:54 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW: Article

Remember I mentioned the NIGC today? We are going to get them on the [redacted], and I told our guy to get them onto the Tiguas as well. Cornyn needs to get Indians to lead the way. Let us help with that.

-----Original Message-----
From: : Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:11 PM
To: vanhornej@[redacted]
Cc: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Article

John, here is a good backgrounder on what they are up too.

Nov. 11, 2001, 12:21AM
Despite pitfalls, reservation plans casino opening
By RICHARD STEWART
Copyright 2001 Houston Chronicle
While the Tigua Indians of far West Texas battle in court to keep their lucrative casino open, the Alabama-Coushattas of East Texas are learning to deal blackjack, roll roulette wheels and operate slot machines in what they hope will become the closest gambling hot spot to Houston.
The East Texas casino near Livingston could be in operation as early as Christmas, said Kevin Battise, chairman of the tribal council. But that opening is far from certain. It is dependent upon the tribe finding a way around legal opposition to casino gambling by the state government.
The attorney general's office would certainly file a lawsuit to block the opening of a casino.
"If we get into trouble over this, I'm the one who's liable," Battise said with a chuckle. "And I don't think I'd do too well in jail."
What the Alabama-Coushattas are planning in their "entertainment complex" is modest, Battise said. "We can't afford to start out with a Las Vegas-style resort operation. We have to start out small."
He admitted that many members of the combined tribe have no personal love of gambling or the crowds that a casino might bring. They need the money a casino could generate.
Two years ago, the tribe voted 201-62 to bring gambling to the reservation.
By that time, their Louisiana cousins had a thriving and growing casino, Grand Coushatta, north of Kinder, La. While the Texas tribe struggled with soaring unemployment, low wages and other problems, they watched their related tribe have full employment and prosperity fueled by gamblers -- many of them from Texas -- at their casino.
The Alabama and Coushatta tribes once inhabited parts of what is now the state of Alabama. While they were separate tribes, they have long lived together and have intermarried over the generations. In the 1760s, many began migrating west. A group of Coushattas remained in western Louisiana. In the 1780s, many Alabamas and a smaller number of Coushattas took up residency in Texas.
The Tiguas, one of the Pueblo tribes, started their casino near El Paso in 1993 and now make about $60 million a year.
Battise said his tribe could make good use of gambling income. Like many other reservation residents, he once had to commute 85 miles each way to a job in Houston. The tribe closed its tourist facility at the end of the summer, he said.
"We hated to do that, because almost all of us had worked there at one time or another. But it was just losing too much money. And I'm not talking about thousands of dollars, I'm talking about hundreds of thousands of dollars," he said.
The tribe could use the money from a casino for education or health benefits, Battise said.
"We have a terrible problem of diabetes among our members. We need money to deal with that."
The prosperity would not be limited to tribal members, he said.
"We would employ many people from surrounding communities without regard to race," he said.
Unlike many other Indian casinos, the Alabama-Coushattas plan to operate their casino themselves -- at least at the outset -- Battise said. It will probably start as a small operation in an existing building at the front of the tribal complex on U.S. 190, 17 miles east of Livingston.
The location is not where the tribe really wants its casino to be, he said.
The Alabama-Coushattas have purchased 4,000 acres to the west of their 4,600-acre reservation and some of that land adjoins U.S. 59, Battise said. If that land can be declared part of the tribal trust, the tribe would like to put their casino there.
Not only would that keep most of the traffic away from the quiet, wooded area the tribe has long inhabited, but it would make it even more convenient to gamblers from Houston.
Battise noted that Interstate 10 is full of buses bringing gamblers from Houston to gambling boats at Lake Charles, 143 miles away, and to the Grand Coushatta casino, which is 175 miles from Houston. The Alabama-Coushatta casino would be half as far.
The Alabama-Coushattas will probably end up in court fighting the state for the right to operate a casino, Battise said.
Texas Attorney General John Cornyn has been outspoken in his opposition to Indian casinos. He has said that casino gambling isn't just illegal for Indian tribes, "Casino gambling is illegal for all Texans," he said.

"That law is simple and is grounded in the Texas Constitution: Gambling is illegal in Texas," Cornyn said. "My responsibility as attorney general is to enforce the laws of the state."

Cornyn's office filed a lawsuit against the Tiguas in 1999, claiming that in 1987, the tribe made a legally binding commitment not to establish gambling on its reservation as a condition of becoming a federally recognized tribe.

The Tiguas argued that Texas opened up the state to Indian casinos when it approved bingo and a state lottery. Tribes in several other states have used similar arguments to open reservation casinos.

On Sept. 27, U.S. District Judge Garnett Thomas Eisele ruled in favor of the state and gave the tribe until the end of November to cease operation. He has since turned down a request for a new trial, and the decision is being appealed.

In the last legislative session, the Texas House passed a bill that would have allowed casinos on Indian reservations, but a similar measure never made it to the floor of the Senate.

"In some states, the government has helped out the Indians," he said. "But, in Texas, there still seems to be this Old West idea of keeping the Indians down."

He noted that with only a little more than 1,000 members, half of them living on the reservation, the Alabama-Coushattas have never had enough votes to be much of a political force.

The Alabama-Coushattas made the same pledge in 1987 to never have gambling on their reservation. That pledge, Battise said, was negated when Texas started to allow certain forms of gambling within the state. It is hypocritical, he said, for Texas to operate a lottery while forbidding the Indians to operate a casino.

There is one alternative to a casino, Battise noted. If the tribe can't open a casino, perhaps it can operate a large-scale bingo operation, similar to those operated by some tribes in Oklahoma.

"You know," he said, "some of the Alabamas went to Oklahoma, too."

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted].

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 2:10 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: FW:

You better tell him you already started.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 3:00 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE:

i strongly suggest we start doing patch-throughs to perry and cornyn. we're getting killed on the phones.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 2:57 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW:

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 1:21 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject:

Look out! This was in the el paso times today
Tiguas seek support with state, DC ads
Gary Scharrer
El Paso Times
The Tiguas took their public relations offensive to the state and national capitals Monday with full-page newspaper ads portraying their gambling casino as a lifeline and appealing for support to keep Speaking Rock Casino open.
The tribe placed identical ads in the Austin American-Statesman and in newspapers in Houston, Dallas, San Antonio and Fort Worth, imploring people to contact Texas Attorney General John Cornyn and "beg him to save our families."
Cornyn contends that casino gambling is illegal in Texas. A federal judge has agreed and ordered the Tiguas to shut down the casino gambling operation at Speaking Rock by Nov. 30. The tribe has appealed the order. The ad in the Austin newspaper cost the tribe about $20,000. The Tiguas paid considerably more for space in the Washington Post, which has a daily circulation of about 760,000. The Tiguas would not say what it cost to buy full-page ads in the big-city newspapers, although spokesman Marc Schwartz said the media buy probably exceeded $100,000. The ad spots in the Washington Post and Texas newspapers highlighted the 1993 opening of Speaking Rock Casino as the event that reversed the Tiguas' habitually high unemployment and meager living to full employment, modern housing and easy access to college and health care. The tribe contends that Cornyn "is using a legal technicality" to close the door both on Speaking Rock and on its future. But Cornyn said the ad reminded him of a message that President Theodore Roosevelt gave to Congress in 1903 when he said, "No man is above the law and no man is below it; nor do we ask any man's permission when we require him to obey it. Obedience to the law is demanded as a right; not asked as a favor."
The ad message in the Texas newspapers and in the Washington Post is nearly identical, although the Post spot is framed as a letter to President Bush and asks him to convince Cornyn to back off. "We'd like to invite (Cornyn) to take a moment to see the community he's about to destroy," the Tiguas said in their ad. Cornyn will visit El Paso Thursday

to speak at the El Paso Better Business Bureau's annual "torch award" noon luncheon at the Marriott. He is not expected to accept the Tiguas' invitation to visit the reservation. State Rep. Paul Moreno, D-El Paso, is urging El Pasoans to peacefully demonstrate against Cornyn.

"Mr. Cornyn must understand that El Pasoans will not accept his malicious act to quash the Tiguas' request for a stay on the unusually harsh punishment on the Tiguas and El Paso County," Moreno said. As of late Monday, Cornyn's office reported receiving 71 pro-Tigua e-mail responses and five favoring the state's position; and 92 pro-Tigua phone calls and 9 pro-state phone calls.

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2001 10:01 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: After Cornyn gets whacked in El Paso, let's chat on the phone

Fine, but I still hope he gets whacked so we can work on both [redacted] and getting [redacted] helping us.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 14, 2001 10:13 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: After Cornyn gets whacked in El Paso, let's chat on the phone

Ok. We are sending 50 pastors to give him moral support.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]

Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 9:17 AM

To: 'Ralph Reed'

Subject: RE: TIGUA NEWS-Tiguas gave candidates more than $500,000

Perry has to return that contribution!!! Oh my goodness!! What was he thinking taking that money? He has to come up with some spin on this fast and get that money back to them, and then take decisive and public action to smash them, and the [redacted]

---Original Message---
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 9:34 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: TIGUA NEWS-Tiguas gave candidates more than $500,000

we're getting this in the water with the right people.
---Original Message---
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 9:08 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW: TIGUA NEWS-Tiguas gave candidates more than $500,000
These Tiguas are giving 4:1 to the D's.

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 8:44 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: FW: TIGUA NEWS-Tiguas gave candidates more than $500,000

Maybe this is why Ralph cant get Perry to do anything!
---Original Message---
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 6:13 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: TIGUA NEWS-Tiguas gave candidates more than $500,000
EL PASO TIMES
12-04-01
Tiguas gave candidates more than $500,000
Gary Scharrer
Austin Bureau
If federal courts ultimately decide to shut down the Tiguas' Speaking Rock Casino, the tribe almost certainly will be forced to turn off the spigot that has moved more than $500,000 to political candidates in the past two election cycles.

The Tiguas have become midlevel players on the state level, handing out $10,000 checks to several state senators, more than $20,000 to Texas Gov. Rick Perry and more than $60,000 apiece to gubernatorial candidate

Garry Mauro and attorney general candidate Jim Mattox -- both Democrats defeated in the 1998 general elections.

Tribal leaders plan to keep supporting political candidates and are confident that Speaking Rock will stay open to keep generating revenue.

"The tribe has been a vehicle to bring attention to El Paso," Tigua Gov. Albert Alvidrez said. "Certainly, the tribe is committed, as El Paso has been committed to the tribe, to participate at any levels that are going to improve the community that we live in."

The importance of political contributions was underscored a year ago when the Tiguas gave Perry $20,000, Alvidrez said.

"Out of the numerous times that we've made a request to meet with Governor Perry, the only time we've had an audience was because we had a check in our hand," Alvidrez said.

Perry disputed Alvidrez's claim.
"The idea that a campaign contribution is indicative of my desire to meet and, or help Texans is just wrong," Perry said. "I don't really know what his statement means and, frankly, I'm not not going to worry about it.

"What I'm going to worry about is continuing to be constructive in trying to help people who may be out of a job in six weeks or two months -- and how does the governor of the state of Texas address a displaced worker, whether they are Tiguas or whether they are people at a manufacturing facility in El Paso," Perry said.

In September, a federal judge ordered the Tiguas to shut down Speaking Rock by Nov. 30 -- a ruling that the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans suspended last week pending a hearing on the tribe's appeal. The appellate court will hear oral arguments Jan. 9.

The tribe expects to win, Alvidrez said, "because our operations here on the reservation are after the fact. We are not the ones who introduced gaming to the state of Texas. Texas did that first. They introduced it to the reservation."

One veteran Capitol political consultant contends that the Tiguas might be better off investing in the legal side of their fight.

"In my opinion, their money is best spent in hiring good lawyers because this is strictly a legal issue," Bill Miller said. "The likelihood of the Legislature taking this up and doing anything is remote at the very best."

The Tiguas contributed $36,000 to Barbara Perez's unsuccessful mayoral campaign against incumbent Carlos Ramirez in the 1999 election.

The tribe contributed at least $499,000 to statewide candidates and legislative candidates in the 1998 and 2000 elections, according to records filed with the Texas Ethics Commission.

It's difficult for the Tiguas to gain much political clout, Miller said, because they're driven by a single issue.
"You know that every dollar given is toward just one issue, and that's keeping the casino open," he said. "All other groups that raise and contribute large sums of money have a diverse agenda where there are a lot of things in play, so (the Tiguas) are exceptional in that they are kind of the one-horse, one-issue entity."

Without a casino generating tens of millions of dollars in profit each year, the Tiguas probably won't be handing out political checks at election time. Without campaign money to give away, the Tiguas will get less attention and have fewer allies.

"It's just the way it works," said Miller, whose clients include Republicans and Democrats.
However, if the Tiguas prevail and Speaking Rock continues to generate millions of dollars, the tribe will keep writing campaign checks, Miller said.

The tribe will have to stay friendly with state lawmakers as long as it remains in the gaming business, he said: "You do not want your market invaded, so to protect your turf you continue to build allies and prevent any measures that might weaken your position or your market."

The Tiguas contributed $10,000 last year to help Sen. Leticia Van de Putte win a special election in San Antonio. Van de Putte, a Democrat, said the Tiguas were "very, very generous ... very, very helpful."
She ranks their political participation up there with doctors, trial lawyers and Texans for Lawsuit Reform. However, records show the Tiguas lag far behind the political contributions of those groups.

The lawsuit reform group has averaged about $1.1 million in political contributions in the past two elections, compared with the $250,000 average of the Tiguas. The Realtors' political action committee has averaged nearly $600,000 for those two elections.

The Tiguas contributed about $91,000 to Republican candidates in the past two elections and nearly $410,000 to Democratic candidates and organizations.

Candidates usually approach the tribe for financial support, Alvidrez said: "The tribe evaluates their platform. We evaluate their track record."

In addition to supporting candidates, the El Paso-based tribe also has invested heavily in lobbyists and political consultants to help pitch their case in the state Capitol.

The tribe paid at least $155,000 and as much as $300,000 for lobbying efforts during the legislative session earlier this year, according to records filed with the Texas Ethics Commission. The commission requires only a range of expenditures to be reported instead of precise payments.

So far, the Tiguas have spent a big chunk of money on political candidates without much payback. But it might have been different had Democrat Mattox defeated Republican John Cornyn in the 1998 race for attorney general.

Cornyn filed suit against the tribe last year because he contends casino gambling runs afoul of state law.
The Tiguas contributed $66,500 to Mattox, making them his largest single source of campaign money, according to records filed with the Texas Ethics Commission.

The Tiguas might have been able to avoid the state's legal efforts to shut down Speaking Rock had Mattox been elected.
"I think the Indians had a legitimate issue to make on the question of whether or not the state had actually gone into the gambling business," said Mattox, who was the state's attorney general from 1983 to 1991.

The Tiguas argue that the state-run lottery, legalized by Texas voters in 1991, opened the door for them to sponsor gambling.

"I think the attorney general (Cornyn) had to go a long ways out of his way in this effort to stop what appears to me to be not a harmful process but actually a process that's been largely helpful to not only the Indians themselves but for employment in general in El Paso," Mattox said.

The former attorney general said had he been elected again in 1998, he would have encouraged the governor to negotiate with the Tiguas.

Gary Scharrer may be reached at gscharrer@[redacted]

El Paso Times Online

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 4:00 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: FW: 11-29-01 TIGUA NEWS-Perry offers job aid to Tiguas

What is he thinking?

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 05, 2001 3:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: 11-29-01 TIGUA NEWS-Perry offers job aid to Tiguas

December 5, 2001
DALLAS MORNING NEWS
Perry offers job aid to Tiguas
Tribe is committed to saving casino from shutdown by state 11/29/2001 Associated Press
AUSTIN - Gov. Rick Perry said Wednesday that he wants to help Tigua Indians and other El Pasoians find new jobs if the tribe's Speaking Rock Casino is shut down as the state wants. "Those are Texas citizens who could be out of work, and we've got a lot of different ideas at different agencies," Mr. Perry said. The tribe is appealing a shutdown order by Texas Attorney General John Cornyn. He believes it violates Texas laws that prohibit casino-style gambling. Mr. Perry and a federal court agreed with Mr. Cornyn, but on Tuesday the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals allowed the casino to remain open while the tribe appeals. Lawyers for the Tiguas have argued that the tribe is a sovereign nation, meaning it can do anything the state of Texas is allowed to do. They say the casino is structured so that it meets the requirements of the state Lottery Act, which would mean the casino is legal as long as the state lottery is legal. The Tiguas say they would be forced back into poverty if denied the $60 million the casino pulls in annually. The tribe has more than 1,200 members, and the casino employs about 850 people, 800 of whom are not tribal members. "Governor Perry has finally recognized the economic devastation El Paso and the Tigua Indians will suffer due to the unwarranted action the state of Texas took against our Pueblo," said Tigua Gov. Albert Alvidrez, head of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo tribe, which operates the casino. Mr. Alvidrez said he welcomed state help with the tribe's efforts to diversify economically but criticized Mr. Perry for not doing more. "It is unfortunate that Governor Perry did not take a more proactive approach and familiarize himself with Native American issues, which might have prevented the situation as it currently exists in Texas," Mr. Alvidrez said. Mr. Perry said he met with Rep. Norma Chavez, D-El Paso, on Tuesday and has discussed alternatives to casino gambling with the Texas Department of Economic Development. "We're working closely with the Tiguas, trying to work with the tribe on issues of how the state of Texas can work with them, being innovative," said Mr. Perry, a gambling opponent. Ms. Chavez said she requested the meeting with Mr. Perry before the court granted the stay allowing the casino to remain open. She wanted the state to be ready to quickly respond to unemployment and other economic effects the closing would have on employees and El Paso, which also had recent layoffs at a clothing manufacturer, Ms. Chavez said. "It doesn't mean we're conceding. We're not," Ms. Chavez said. The governor's attention to the issue is appreciated, Ms. Chavez said. But "I don't like seeing the governor dance with the issue of Indian gaming." Mr. Perry said his administration's ideas for the gaming facility include continuing the operation of legal games such as bingo, or using the facility as a music venue. Ms. Chavez and Mr. Alvidrez said that Mr. Perry's ideas did not change their strong opposition to closing the casino. Mr. Alvidrez invited Mr. Perry to visit the tribe while attending a governors' conference in El Paso this weekend. "All lands of the Pueblo have multiple entrances including access from the front and rear, whichever would be more convenient for Gov. Perry," he said. Said Mr. Perry, "I don't imagine that I'll be going out to the local casino."

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:45 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Texas

Damn right.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 10:41 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

He is out of his fucking mind!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Jan 07 21:51:36 2002
Subject: RE: Texas

It's not shuttered yet. let's get this thing closed and then we'll see what we can do. As we type they are gambling away.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:18 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

Done.

Hope these developments help with client.

I think we should budget for an ataboy for cornyn.

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

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Tue Jan 08 00:11:31 2002
Subject: RE: Texas

Great. As to the legislative proposal, even though they don't meet, we should have one of the tigers announce that he is going to introduce it next session, so we scare them out of working with these casinos. It should be someone who is mega safe from a district not near these. Also, we have to fire some shots at Kickapoo.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 11:48 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

we have talked to the AG's office. here's the skinny:

1. The Fifth Circuit judge is going to rule on the Tiguas on Wednesday, 1/9. This is the appelate ruling on the Tiguas appeal of the order by a lower federal court to shut down their casino by November 15, 2001. We have to watch this ruling very carefully. The AG feels there is no ambiguity in the law and the ruling should be very clear. He feels the Tiguas filed this appeal simply to delay the inevitable and operate as long as they could.

2. The AC case is before a very solid judge. The AG's office is very confident of victory in the case, but they do not expect him to rule before the Fifth Circuit does on Wednesday. If they win the Fifth Circuit, this case will go our way very rapidly. The cases are both under the same state law.

3. The TX legislature does not meet this year. We could agitate for this in Alabama in the session beginning tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 11:11 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Texas

Great. Let's get it rocking and go out in the press with it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 10:13 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

easy to get our tigers to introduce that in both places. alabama session begins tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 10:12 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Texas

Even if we never get it passed, it will scare the you know what out of vendors and make life tough on the tribe. We should do it in Alabama too.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:41 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

we have tigers. tx leg only in session every other year. let me check. good idea.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:43 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Texas

Great. thanks Ralph. we should continue to pile on until the place is shuttered. Perhaps we could get one of our guys in the legislature to introduce a bill which disqualifies from state contracts any vendor who provides goods or services to a casino in the state? This way Perry and Cornyn can sit back and not be scared. Let one of our tigers go get em. Do we have someone like this and can we get it introduced as soon as possible?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 07, 2002 9:21 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

see previous email. we are discussing this with the head of criminal division today; looks like the heads up that we got on December 15, and which i passed on to you that evening, is finally happening, but we will confirm and provide you with additional G-2. we did get our pastors riled up last week, calling his office. maybe that helped but who knows.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2002 5:19 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: Texas

Please see if you can get independent confirmation that they did go to court as the article says. For some reason we can't find this elsewhere on line. Thanks.

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2002 3:32 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE.

Already told him.

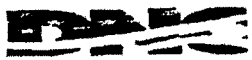
-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2002 12:37 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject:

Can Ralph get the Raid going now?

Ruling deals blow to Indian casino
Appeals court upholds decision saying Tigua gaming hall illegal 01/18/2002 By GEORGE KUEMPEL / The Dallas Morning News AUSTIN - The Tigua Indians on Thursday were dealt a serious setback in their legal battle to keep open the El Paso casino that has provided tens of millions of dollars to the once-destitute tribe. In a terse ruling, a three-judge panel of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans upheld a ruling by a trial court last October that the tribe's Speaking Rock Casino is illegal and that it must shut its doors. "We affirm the judgment of the district court essentially for the reasons stated in its careful, thorough Sept. 27, 2001, memorandum opinion. Affirmed. Stay vacated," the panel wrote. Visiting U.S. District Judge Garnet Thomas Eisele previously ordered the casino shut down on a motion by Texas Attorney General John Cornyn, who argued that it violated the state ban on casino gaming. At the time, Judge Eisele ordered the casino to close by Nov. 30. But the 5th Circuit Court later agreed to stay that order while it considered the tribe's appeal. It is unclear just when the casino must close because the judge's original deadline has long passed. The Tiguas have two weeks to notify the court if they want a rehearing before the entire court. The latest ruling doesn't become official until after Feb. 7, when it will be sent to the U.S. District Court in El Paso for processing. Tigua tribal leaders were returning from a meeting in New Mexico late Thursday afternoon and were unaware of the ruling, according to a tribal spokesman. They have said in the past that they would take their fight to the Supreme Court, if necessary. A spokeswoman for Mr. Cornyn, who is running for the U.S. Senate, said his office is pleased with the ruling. "We especially appreciate the expedited way in which they [appeals court panel] handled this case," Jane Shepperd said. Around the Speaking Rock Casino, it was business as usual after the ruling. Only a few employees appeared to know of the decision, news of which was broadcast on local television. Among those aware of it, some said it appeared that the government was picking on the Tiguas. "I don't understand all the laws and details, but it sounds like the same old discrimination and conquer and destroy mentality that's always been directed at Indian populations," said Luís Antonio Cordero, 42, a businessman dealing in textiles from the Mexican city of Madera. "It's really a shame because everyone loses." Attorneys for the Tiguas have argued that the state's approval of the lottery in 1991 opened the door to casino gambling in Texas. The games of chance they offer are not unlike those now run by the state, they say. Under the federal Restoration Act of 1987 that recognized the tribes, the Indians are allowed to offer any type of gaming already allowed in the state, attorneys say. The casino, which opened in November 1993, has been a financial boon for the tribe. It also is popular with business leaders and government officials in El Paso, and even with many clergy, because of the tourist dollars it attracts. The tribe has more than 1,250 members and the casino employs about 850 people, 50 of whom are tribal members. The casino nets about $60 million a year. State Comptroller Carole Keeton Rylander said in an economic report released last month that El Paso would lose nearly 2,200 jobs and $55 million in personal income if the casino goes under. "Based on our economic analysis, this action, if taken, would have a significant economic impact, both on the Tiguas and the El Paso area," she said. El Paso County Judge Delores Briones had asked for the study. The Texas House last year passed a bill that would have allowed the state's three federally recognized tribes to operate

casinos, but the measure died in the Senate when acting Lt. Gov. Bill Ratliff refused to allow it to be debated. The Tiguas' success inspired the Alabama-Coushatta tribe near Livingston in southeast Texas to open a casino late last year. Additionally, the Kickapoo tribe operates its Lucky Eagle Casino near Eagle Pass. Kevin Battise, Alabama-Coushatta Tribal Council chairman, said his tribe would consider its options in light of the court ruling: "We're very disappointed in the outcome. We are meeting tonight as a tribal council, trying to figure out what our next step is going to be," he said. "We believe we're next on Attorney General John Cornyn's hit list. We're fully ready." In its month-and-a-half of operations, Mr. Battise said the Alabama-Coushatta have enjoyed "pretty good, fairly decent crowds ... It's been a pleasant surprise, the traffic flow." Much of it comes from Houston, 90 minutes driving time to the southwest. "We can't help but be worried," Mr. Battise said. Staff writer Bruce Nichols in Houston and special contributor Sonny Lopez in El Paso contributed to this report.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
Washington, DC 20003
(202)[redacted]
(202)
(202)
mike@[redacted]



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Research Associate

PAGES TO FOLLOW: 2

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MESSAGE:

MIKE -
TIGUA INDIAN RESOLUTION
JRB

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GTG-E000076152

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GTG-E00076153

302

The following resolution was adopted by the Democratic National Committee at its meeting on January 19, 2002.

Submitted by: Molly Beth Malcolm, State Chair, Texas
Frank La Mere, At-Large/Nebraska
Dennis Langley, Vice Chair, South Dakota
Lottie Shackelford, Arkansas
Ben Jaffers, Louisiana
Steven Alari, California

Resolution in Support of the Sovereignty of the Tigua Indians

WHEREAS, the Democratic National Committee by previous resolution has affirmed its recognition of the sovereign powers that Indian Nations maintain and has acknowledged the right of tribal self-determination and self-governance on Indian lands deemed to be "federally recognized" by Congress; and

WHEREAS, Texas is home to three "federally-recognized" tribes including the Tigua Indians of the Ysleta del Sur, who first consecrated the ground on which they live and grow and who have governed themselves as a Tribal Nation within the boundaries of Texas for over 300 years thus ensuring survival; and

WHEREAS, the Tigua Indians, who existed as an independent nation long before European settlers arrived, seek to remain self-sufficient and to provide for their families; and

WHEREAS, the establishment and operations of Speaking Rock Casino under the Indian Gaming and Regulatory Act has enabled the Tiguas to provide its families with needed health care, housing, and well-paying jobs while giving them the resources to allow every child to attend college; and

WHEREAS, the success of the gaming enterprise has instilled in the Tiguas a sense of pride and accomplishment at being able to eliminate the devastation caused by poverty at Ysleta del Sur, a condition resulting from generations of dependence on local, state, and federal governments; and

WHEREAS, the Tiguas have been generous and have shared their good fortune with the El Paso community by making a significant contribution to the region's economy, by impacting the tourism industry and the job market, by providing support for much needed services, and by employing 800 people and generating over $50 million annually for the community; and

WHEREAS, closure of the Tribe's Speaking Rock Casino would result in irreparable harm not only to the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo and its people but also to the entire El Paso Community by again adding to the unemployment rolls and leaving El Paso at a competitive economic disadvantage with nearby communities that permit gaming facilities in Mexico and the state of New Mexico; and

WHEREAS, the El Paso area has benefitted greatly from the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo and its Speaking Rock Casino as an economic partner; and

WHEREAS, the discussion of gaming in Texas is not at issue, as the state sponsors a lottery and allows for pari-mutuel betting on horses and dogs, but is instead a matter of a Tribal Nation's legal and sovereign right to participate in activities similar to other gambling activities allowed under Texas law; and

WHEREAS, the characterization of the Tigua people as an "association" by the Attorney General of Texas and the legal efforts by the same to apply laws, as such, is historically and legally flawed.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Democratic National Committee supports the efforts of the Tigua Indian Tribe of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo to maintain their sovereign rights to govern and provide for their people on their federal reservation; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Democratic National Committee calls for a cessation of any activities that may erode the sovereignty of this or any other historic Indian Tribe.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 05, 2002 7:26 PM
To: Mike Scanlon alt
Subject: FW: TX

Whining idiot. Close the f'ing thing already!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 05, 2002 5:11 PM
To: Jack Abramoff [redacted]
Subject: TX

from a TX operative:
Just spoke with a source close to the Attorney General who tells me they anticipate either February 8 (this Friday) or February 11th-next Monday -- will be the date Judge Eisele shuts down the Tigua casino. His order would dispatch federal marshals to the facility to close it. Judge Eisele cannot enforce his previous order to shut down the casino until the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals officially sends its ruling back to Eisele (this was postponed from 2/7 to 2/11). Judge Eisele has taken a very strong, uncompromising stance against the casino. While he has the leeway on when to act when he receives the appeals court ruling, all indicators are that he will do so. Cornyn is pushing very hard to shut the casino ASAP. In fact, you may also remember that he filed a court request to speed up the closure of the speaking rock casino.
We are also told that the AG is considering going back to the judge in the Alabama Coushatta case on the same day to request an expedited order to shut down the Livingston casino. They argue that judge has no choice anyway based on the Fifth Circuit appellate ruling, so they want it to happen immediately.
Keep in mind that they expect the Tiguas to appeal---if only as a delaying tactic. The AC would likely follow suit. That means this could drag on longer until the Supreme Court denied cert. So we have to be prepared for that possibility.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 10:42 AM
To: Mike Scanlon alt
Subject: FW: tiguas

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 10:39 AM
To: Jack Abramoff [redacted]
Subject: tiguas

here's the latest move, just as we predicted:

El Paso Times Wednesday, February 6, 2002
In brief: Tiguas file for stay of casino closing Lawyers for the Tigua Indian tribe of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo filed a motion for a stay of mandate Monday with the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. The stay would allow the tribe's Speaking Rock Casino to remain open while the case is on appeal. The appeals court, in New Orleans, ruled last week that it would send its ruling, upholding a lower court's decision that the casino is illegal under Texas law, back to El Paso's federal court so the order can be enforced. The lower court ruled in September 2001 that the casino must shut down.-Jennifer Shubinski

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 9:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: i'm on the phone with Tigua!

Yawzah!~

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 11:40 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: i'm on the phone with Tigua!

I want all their MONEY!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 10:54 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: i'm on the phone with Tigua!

Fire up the jet baby, we're going to El Paso!!

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 8:23 AM
To: 'mike[redacted]
Subject: Fw: Tiguas Plan to Reopen Speaking Rock Casino

Pretty damn funny. What's ur eta?
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed <ralph[redacted]
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail) <abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 12 09:16:43 2002
Subject: Tiguas Plan to Reopen Speaking Rock Casino

looks like we need to gear up for more fireworks, including a legislative battle---perhaps during an election year:

> Associated Press : Texas Wire
> Tigua governor vows to reopen Speaking Rock Casino
> By CHRIS ROBERTS (Associated Press Writer)
> The Associated Press
> Web Posted : 02/12/2002 3:26 AM
> After Tigua Gov. Albert Alvidrez announced that the tribe's casino would
> comply with a court order and close its doors, he told a cheering crowd,
> "We will return."
> Alvidrez said the state's effort to close the casino, which was initiated
> by Texas Attorney General John Cornyn in 1999, was a political move to
> hold the Indians back.
> The $60 million the casino makes annually has been used to provide
> housing, health insurance and educational scholarships to tribal members.
> "It is extreme racism," Alvidrez said. "Some officials would rather see us
> in front of the unemployment lines begging for handouts."
> Cornyn has successfully argued in court that the casino violates state law
> and he has said he is simply enforcing the law. "The law is pretty clear,"
> he said Monday.
> U.S. District Judge Garnet Thomas Eisele ruled in October that the casino
> must close by Nov. 30. The Tiguas appealed to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court
> of Appeals, which granted a stay that allowed the casino to continue to
> operate during the appeals process.
> Last month, a three-judge panel of the appeals court affirmed Eisele's
> ruling and revoked the stay, which became official on Monday.
> Early Monday morning, the Tiguas asked the U.S. Supreme Court to grant a
> stay and were rejected, and Eisele's order took effect at midnight Monday.
> The tribe is still waiting to find out whether they will be granted a
> rehearing before the three-judge panel or a hearing before the entire
> appeals court.
> "If the courts do not recognize the merits of the case, then we will go to
> the Legislature" to try to change the law, Alvidrez said.
> The tribe has argued that it is a sovereign nation and isn't bound by
> specific state laws.
> Attorneys for the tribe contend the casino's games are structured to
> conform with the requirements of the State Lottery Act.
> Cornyn has said the tribe gave up it's sovereignty when it comes to
> gambling after it signed the 1988 Restoration Act, which restored the
> tribe's trust relationship with the federal government. He has said state
> law doesn't permit casino-style gambling in any form.
> So far, the courts have agreed with Cornyn.
> Alvidrez has said closing the casino represents economic suicide for the

> tribe, which lived in poverty less than a decade ago. The casino employed
> about 850 people, only 50 of which were tribal members.
> El Paso community leaders, including the mayor, the county commission and
> both chambers of commerce have supported the casino in a town where jobs
> that pay well are hard to find.
> "I left the city to get a better job," said Oscar Duran, a patron who
> lives near the casino, which is on tribal land east of El Paso. "It's kind
> of a pathetic thing. As soon as El Paso gets a good employer, they close
> them down."
> 02/12/2002
>

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 8:33 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: Texas

pathetic

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2002 9:24 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

got it. we're talking to our contacts today. now that we have the supremes on board, we're pushing hard for immediate lower court action on the AC. they want to do that and are willing, but in the end it's up to the judge. if they push too hard and insult the judge, the judge becomes difficult and it backfires. expect to have an update for you later today. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 8:03 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Texas

Ultimately, as you can imagine, the main target is the AC. I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contributions. I'd love us to get our mitts on that moolah!! Oh well, stupid folks get wiped out. Now let's get AC.
-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 1:56 PM
To: Jack Abramoff [redacted]
Subject: Texas

major victory. now it's on to livingston. but note they plan a legislative battle now that they have lost in the courts:

> Associated Press : Texas Wire
> Tigua casino set to close barring Supreme Court stay
>
> The Associated Press
> Web Posted : 02/11/2002 2:08 AM
> After years of legal wrangling, a casino run by the Tigua Indian tribe was
> set to close Monday, barring a last-minute stay by the U.S. Supreme Court.
> Tigua Gov. Albert Alvidrez said tribal attorneys planned to file an
> emergency request Monday morning to keep their Speaking Rock Casino open
> until the tribe exhausts its opportunity for appeal.
> Last week, the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans declined
> to grant a stay that would have kept the casino open.
> Texas Attorney General John Cornyn filed a lawsuit to close the casino in
> 1999, six years after it opened.
> Cornyn's office has maintained that state law prohibits casino-style
> gambling and that the Indians are subject to that law because of an
> agreement they signed in 1987 that restored their trust relationship with
> the federal government.
> The tribe has said it is a sovereign nation and not subject to specific
> state criminal laws. Tribal officials have also said their games of chance
> are structured so they comply with the Texas State Lottery Act and that
> they have the right to do anything allowed to the state.
> In January, a three-judge panel of the court affirmed a lower court ruling
> that the tribe's casino violates state law and must close. That mandate

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 13, 2002 10:38 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: TIGUA INDIANS

This guy NEEDS us to save his ass!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mjschwartz[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 13, 2002 10:33 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: TIGUA INDIANS

Jack:
Certainly enjoyed your visit and efforts to help our client. I look forward to receiving your proposal and we will do everything possible to make it come to fruition. Best,

Marc

GTG006968-JA

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 18, 2002 10:49 AM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: Operation Open Doors

Tig- Operation Open Doors Fina...

ATTORNEY CLIENT
CONFIDENTIAL AND PRIVILEGED COMMUNICATION

Dear Marc,

Attached please find Mike Scanlon's Operation Open Doors plan. I appreciate your conveying this to the Governor and Tribal Council.

As we discussed, until we are able to achieve the federal legislative fix, we at Greenberg Traurig will not be engaged by the tribe for services officially. All our work will be done on a pro-bono basis. Once the legislation is signed by the President, we would anticipate the tribe engaging us to represent it at the federal level and assist with the effort to obtain a Class III compact. Our normal rate in our tribal government practice is between $125,000 to $175,000 per month for our clients.

I know that the prospect of a lobbying firm working for free until the major victory has been achieved is unusual, but, with the success rate we have had over the past decade, we are sufficiently confident in our abilities that we can afford to take this risk. Our motivations for this representation are manifold, including the critical importance of not allowing tribal sovereignty to be eroded by the actions of the State of Texas. While we are Republicans, and normally want all Republicans to prevail in electoral challenges, this ill advised decision on the part of the Republican leadership in Texas must not stand, and we intend to right this using, in part, Republican leaders from Washington.

Of course, it would be insincere of me to not note that our other motivations include the hope and expectation that, if we succeed, we can expect to have a long term relationship with the tribe by representing their interests on the federal level.

The proposal Mike Scanlon has prepared is, in our view, the best chance the tribe has to overcome the gross indignity perpetuated by the Texas State authorities. Indeed, as I mentioned on the phone, the several day delay getting this to you was the consequence of our wanting to ensure that we have a path to get this done, and a couple of Senators willing to ram this through initially. I am pleased to note that both are in place.

Coupled with this plan, we anticipate that the tribe will have to make approximately $300,000 in federal political contributions. We are currently preparing a target list of those contributions and hope to have that to you shortly. Perhaps in the interim, the tribal council could approve that gross amount, with detail to follow.

Mike and I are both free to answer any questions you might have on this proposal and we look forward to getting moving rapidly.

Kindest regards,

Jack Abramoff
Senior Director
Government Affairs

Operation Open Doors

February 18, 2002

GTG-E000076140

The singular objective of our strategy is to open the doors of the Speaking Rock Casino within the next 4 months.

Our objective is clear, and in the following pages we are going to tell you exactly how we intend to reach our objective. Operation Open Doors is a massive undertaking fueled by a nation-wide political operation. This political operation will result in a Majority of both federal chambers either becoming close friends of the tribe or fearing the tribe in a very short period of time.

The network we our building for you will give you the political clout needed to end around the obstacles you face in your own back yard. Simply put, you need 218 friends in the U.S. House and 51 Senators on your side very quickly, and we will do that through both love and fear.

Without this national political operation we believe you stand no chance of achieving a ***permanent*** legislative solution to your problem any time soon. This strategy will help us get the legislative ball rolling, but more importantly it will provide us the muscle to withstand an expected legislative backlash after section 107a is repealed.

Make no mistake; the true value of this strategy is not the legislation. Quiet frankly the legislative solution itself is not what one would call rocket science. The truly important part of what we are doing is providing political support to the legislative solution that we have already identified.

Before going forward we would like to make it completely clear that this strategy is not full proof. However, under no circumstances do we believe it could be classified as high risk either. We have waged similar strategies in the past that have been successful and we will wage many more in the years to come. Your responsibility is to determine if this strategy has reasonable prospects for success, and then completely commit yourself to it.

As we presented in our initial meeting, we firmly believe that if you execute this strategy in its entirety, your doors will be open and gaming will return in the immediate future.

Strategic Overview

The first and most important fact of Operation Open Doors is that you will be launching a massive, national, political operation. This political campaign will be waged at varying intensity in up to 250 congressional districts spanning roughly 30 states.

The reason we point this out is to give you a better understanding of exactly what we do. Plainly put, we will be running advocacy and political campaigns similar to the ones you have already in waged in Texas, but in 250 individual congressional districts and several dozen states. Granted that our campaigns will be far less direct, and based on more individualized issues, but similar tactics will be employed.

Using kindness and political pressure we will identify majorities in both Houses, then build the political operations in their districts that will ensure their support before the legislative relief is put forward. Once the legislative vehicle has passed, we will activate the political network ensuring that the legislation is not defeated, or reversed.

To do all the things we have mentioned in the strategy we follow a simple strategic model to get you where you need to be. It is important to note, that to be successful you must execute all of them in sequence. The strategic phases are as follows:

- Organization
- Identification
- Research
- Recruitment (Third Party Allies)
- Execution.

The pages that follow will walk you through each stage and explain the individual tactics executed therein.

Organization

The true key to any successful political effort is its organizational design. For Operation Open Doors we have developed a two-tiered system. The first component will identify, classify and organize members of our new political army.

The second component will identify, classify and organize all qualitative research we gather for this strategy. Both will be imported into two custom built political databases. As we execute Operation Open Doors, each phase will draw back to this organizational design for mobilizing individuals and ensuring that the individuals in our army have the information needed to mobilize passionately.

Grassroots Database

Our first step is to tap into your natural political resources and integrate (or redirect) them into a custom built political database. To do this, we tap into the various individuals and entities that already benefit economically from the tribe, and that have support bases outside the state.

We gather lists of your vendors, employees, tribal members etc. and we import those lists into your new database. Our computer program will match the individuals or businesses with addresses, phone numbers, political registration and e-mail addresses (when available), and then sort them by FEDERAL election districts nationwide. The district breakdown in your database will from U.S. Senator down to State Representative.

Once completed, we will be able to tap into this database and mobilize supporters in ANY election of your choosing nationwide in a matter of moments.

At this point you will have a national political network.

Depending in the amount of vendors you have and their physical locations, we can reach out and mobilize tens of thousands of voters almost instantaneously. This is an extremely powerful tool that is absolutely necessary if we are to be successful.

Qualitative Research Database

This custom built database acts as the information center of Operation Open Doors. Over the next three weeks, our team will gather qualitative information on the Members we have targeted and place it into this database.

The research will include nearly every piece of information on the targets that is relevant to our campaign. In addition we will be waging a simultaneous effort to gather qualitative research on the key opponents of our position. This research can be classified as unfriendly, and is solely intended to give us the ammunition to fight on an even playing field if the battle turns nasty. Rest assured, if it does turn nasty, we will be far better positioned than our opponents.

Once the qualitative research is gathered, it is then sorted by subject matter and made retrievable by a phrase search. This purpose of this is so that information can then be instantly disseminated to any audience we choose such as our universe of supporters, the press, third party interest groups or other interested parties.

To put things in military terms, the grassroots database is your weapon; the research database is your ammunition. As I stated previously, this database will contain every piece of information fathomable, and place it at your fingertips. The only question left unanswered is how you use the information.

Identification / Research

Once we have both political databases in place we can begin the identification process. What we do in this phase of the program is identify a series of targets. Your database will tell us where you are politically strong in a national sense, and then we build a target list of allies based on that data.

For example, lets say that your long distance carrier is sprint communications. Sprint benefits by having you as a client, they make thousand of dollars a year on commutations services and hardware they provide to the tribe. Our system we will immediately tell us that Santa Cruz, California is the home of Sprint Communications, who the U.S. Representatives from the area are and obviously the two U.S. Senators.

Instantly, we have identified a power base outside of your own community that you never knew existed, and if we educate them and properly, two powerful U.S Senators and a House Member are now on our team.

This process is repeated with every vendor that does business with the tribe. From paper clips, to the manufacturer of your slot machines, our identification process will tell us where our NATIONAL power base truly is.

The identification process is important because it helps us strategically target supporters, but its most important aspect is the fact that it allows you to build a large network in a very, very short period of time. Without this process it would take you years to determine who may or may not help the tribe. Our system does it almost overnight.

Perhaps the most time consuming part of this process is the anti-gaming cross-referencing portion. Once we have imported the data and identified our potential political allies, we immediately run a legislative cross-reference on the politicians identified. This cross-reference immediately tells us if the elected official has a voting history that could clearly be construed as anti-Indian or anti-gaming. This helps identify potential enemies, and helps determine if we should "write off" certain Members of Congress as potential allies even though we have supporters in their districts.

At this point in the strategy we identified our relief mechanism in repealing 107a, we have redirected your political resources for a federal fight, and identified allies in both chambers of congress.

It's now time to go after our targets and lock down the support we need.

We will due this largely through the vendor portion of the database we built you. We will make contact with your key suppliers and vendors in the target districts and recruit them for the cause.

Put plainly, the vendors who have benefited financially from the tribe over the years are about to thank the tribe in a very political way. Its time they pay a little back, and all we are going to ask these companies to do is lobby their federal representatives on our behalf.

We will do this by utilizing a series of tactics. We will call them, write them a letter and in many cases place a personal visit. In our communications we will educate them as to what the issue is, and how they can help. We will inform them that we need them to contact THEIR representative and support the tribe.

For example, when a Congressman or Senator gets a call from a home state employer asking for their support for the repeal of section 107a – they will listen. In addition we may not need them leading up to a vote, but after the fact. And when the local business owners are supporting them, they will be much more likely to stand behind a decision they made.

This out reach effort is the largest part of the program. We will be reaching out to not only your vendors and suppliers, but to their individual employees as well. We could find ourselves drafting hundreds of thousands of letters soliciting their support, and an equivalent number to their employees, and their family members. The multiplier effect of this program is enormous. If you have one supplier in California, and a hundred employees at that supplier, you have a nice power base there. When you add the employees family members to the count you have gone from nothing to 250 voters in someone's district fighting for you.

Now imagine that nationwide.

Execution

The execution of the program will unfold in the exact same manner as the proposal, with one small exception. The execution of the program will be conducted on two separate tracks, by two separate teams. While our main focus, and the majority of our staff is dedicated to the political strategy, we will have a legislative team in place getting the legislation introduced (most likely as an amendment).

That said, the rest of the program will follow a series of sequential steps. They are as follows:

Organization

1) We will immediately begin acquiring the computer hardware, software and design the computer program that houses your database. This database will be for your use only, available on-line for your use, and will be the permanent property of the tribe.
2) We will have a team come to El Paso to gather all relevant data so that we can import it into your database. Ordinarily we simply ask for data such as vendor lists, employee list etc. In some cases customer lists can be helpful, but they are not required. Furthermore, if we do believe this information will be helpful we will sign any confidentiality documents to ensure the lists safety.
3) In one week to ten days we can have your data fully integrated and the system in place.

Identification

1) Before the system design is even completed we can get the data sets necessary to being the identification process. At this point we will report to you our preliminary target lists.
2) We will dispatch a field research team to conduct research on the allies identified (such as how many employees they have, if they are financial supporters the Member of Congress etc).
3) We then establish criterion or goals for member contact in each targeted district.

Research

1) When we establish the list of opponents we will conduct a comprehensive opposition research program on the individual. This research is intended to keep our opponents "in line".

2) In targeted "friendly" districts we will conduct traditional polls to determine the strength and weakness of our position. Our objective here is to compile data that shows each member that the public favors our position. This data will be shared with the Members of Congress in certain districts.

Execution

At this point we are roughly two weeks into the program. We have built a national network, identified our targets, gathered the appropriate research to win with "honey and vinegar" it is now time to mobilize in their districts. This portion of the program is a very gray area; our efforts will vary from district to district. However, the following is what we typically do in the targeted districts.

1) ***Business owner letter and follow up call campaign.***
We will make contact with the owner of the business who supplies you with services and provide them a letter to sign and send to their members. We will then provide call script for that person to follow up. Field visits to the identified businesses are usually conducted

2) ***Employee phone bank.*** For the companies with large employee bases we will conduct a phone-bank operation to their Representatives.

3) ***Employee letter writing campaign.*** We will have each employee in each targeted districts write an individual letter to their Representatives.

4) ***We recruit third parties*** to write and call in the targeted districts, these individuals include large donors, other large business owners former staffers etc.

5) ***Third party advocacy campaigns.*** In some districts we will encourage large employers to take out advertisements under their name advocating our position.

These are the five main tactics we use in our efforts. While these may seem rather simple, please remember the enormity of the overall project. If we have **only one** business execute this program in each district we target we will place 62,500 calls and 62,500 letters to federal legislators.

On average we see three employers in the targeted districts participate. We can reasonably expect generating roughly 375,000 individual contacts from this program. 375,000 calls and letters in support of a political position is an extremely large show of force, and more than enough muscle for us to achieve our objective.

Budget / Timeline

*Note:
Due to the time sensitivity, we will conduct the Organization, Identification and Research phases on a rolling basis.

Organization

Cost: $1,875,000.00

Timeline: February 19, 2002 – February 27, 2002.

Identification

Cost: $845,000.00

Timeline: February 23 – February 27, 2002

Research

Cost: $935,000.00

Timeline: February 25- February 27,2002

Execution / Advocacy

Cost: 1,745,000.00

March 1, 2002 – program completion

Total: $5,400,000.00

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 7:46 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

Is life great or what!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:38 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Fw: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

This is on the front page of todays paper while they will be voting on our plan!

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]; Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 19 06:43:25 2002
Subject: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

EL PASO TIMES
Tuesday, February 19, 2002
450 casino employees officially terminated
By Jennnifer Shubinski
El Paso Times
One week after Tigua tribal officials complied with a federal court order to shut the casino down, 450 people received their final termination notice and 60-day severance packages Monday. A line wound out the door at Speaking Rock Casino Monday morning as employees waited to get their checks and turn in uniforms. About 200 people kept their jobs, but Tigua spokesman Marc Schwartz said there may be more layoffs. Many of the employees said they didn't know where to look for a job and were disappointed the casino had to close. "I am an old lady, it's going to be difficult for me to find another job," said Guillermina Morales, 60. Morales worked in house keeping for the casino for four years. Jennifer Shubinski may be reached at jshubinski@[redacted] Full story in tomorrow's El Paso Times

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:05 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

1 hour 45 minutes and counting my friend

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:38 AM
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From: [redacted]
To: [redacted] Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 19 06:43:25 2002
Subject: TEXAS-450 casino employees officially fired...

EL PASO TIMES
Tuesday, February 19, 2002
450 casino employees officially terminated
By Jennnifer Shubinski
El Paso Times
One week after Tigua tribal officials complied with a federal court order to shut the casino down, 450 people received their final termination notice and 60-day severance packages Monday. A line wound out the door at Speaking Rock Casino Monday morning as employees waited to get their checks and turn in uniforms. About 200 people kept their jobs, but Tigua spokesman Marc Schwartz said there may be more layoffs. Many of the employees said they didn't know where to look for a job and were disappointed the casino had to close. "I am an old lady, it's going to be difficult for me to find another job," said Guillermina Morales, 60. Morales worked in house keeping for the casino for four years. Jennifer Shubinski may be reached at jshubinski[redacted] Full story in tomorrow's El Paso Times

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 10:12 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: TIGUA ARTICLES

feb24.pdf (210 KB)

That fucking idiot put my name on an email list! what a fucking moron. He may have blown our cover!! Damnit. We are moving forward anyway and taking their fucking money.

-----Original Message-----
From: PGroupMktg [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 9:44 AM
To: [redacted] abramoffj [redacted]
Subject: TIGUA ARTICLES

El Paso Times
Borderland · Page 1B
February 24, 2002

Candidates talk Tiguas, education at TV forum

By Louie Gilot
El Paso Times

TEXAS ELECTIONS
Democratic primaries
▶ Early voting starts today 1A

Tigua gambling was among topics Sunday at a televised forum in El Paso that drew Democratic candidates who have opponents in four selected primary races.

Candidates in the March 12 primary also debated the legislative challenges of the next two years, including transportation and education issues and the possibility of a Republican majority in the Texas House.

The race for District 75 state representative pits incumbent Manny Najera, a retired U.S. Customs district director running for his third term, against Inocente "Chente" Quintanilla, an assistant superintendent in the Socorro Independent School District and a member of the El Paso Community College board.

Najera said he has helped pass legislation on veterans and senior citizens issues and helped raise pay for teachers. Quintanilla said education will be his focus.

Both candidates said they support Tigua gambling, halted by a federal court.

"I saw them when they had very little. Then they were able to provide for their own survival," Quintanilla said.

In 2000, the state House approved the legalization of casino gambling for the Tiguas, but the measure died in the Senate.

The bill "is good. It got killed in politics. I'm willing to carry the same bill again," Najera said.

The League of Women

Please see Forum 3B

Forum

Continued from 1B

Voters of El Paso sponsored the KCOS forum, which paired off candidates in the contested races for state representative seats for districts 75, 77 and 79 and for the State Board of Education, District 1.

Early voting for the March 12 primaries starts today.

Paul Moreno, who is running for his 13th two-year term as state representative for District 77 and is a member of the budget-writing House Appropriations Committee, tackled campaign contributions by big business: "The state of Texas is governed by the greedy, not the needy."

Moreno called the Enron case a "disgrace," and he proposed putting limits on licensing certified public accountants.

"It's a shame that a large company like Arthur Andersen can get away with it," he said of the accounting company embroiled in the energy giant scandal.

Two candidates — Tony San Roman, a candidate for District 77 state representative and Said Abokoul of Laredo, candidate for the State Board of Education, District 1 — did not attend the forum.

The candidates for District 79, El Paso's fastest-growing district, focused on transportation.

Joe Pickett, who is running for a fifth term and is a member of the House Appropriations Committee and one of the leaders on the Transportation Committee, said he wants to see Loop 375 completed and a truck bypass built at the Anthony Gap.

His opponent, Dan Chavez, who owns a textiles company and ran unsuccessfully for East Side city representative last spring, said he would like to have a trade corridor built at the Zaragoza port of entry.

Pickett dismissed his public feud with El Paso's state legislators Sen. Eliot Shapleigh and Rep. Norma Chávez, who claimed Pickett has not been a team player.

"Every bill with my name and Shapleigh's name on it has passed."

Rene Nuñez is running for a fifth term on the 15-member State Board of Education for District 1.

Nuñez favors changing text books more often, until, "Someday we will be able to put all students on laptops." He also wants the board to regain authority on testing issues.

Most of all, District 1 must fight for equal funding, he said: "It's not the student's fault to have been born in San Elizario instead of Dallas Highland Park."

Republican candidate for State Board of Education, District 1, Trini Muñoz of El Paso, has no GOP challenger, so will be pitted against Abokoul or Nuñez in November.

Louie Gilot may be reached at lgilot@elpasotimes.com

EDITORIAL PAGE
February 24, 2002

Tiguas have a long history of struggles

Leon Metz

The Tigua Indians are El Paso's oldest continuing residents, and their history is a sad and complex saga.

Bear in mind that they are not native to this area, their aboriginal home of Isleta being near present-day Albuquerque. When the New Mexico Pueblo Indian revolt erupted in 1680, the Tiguas fled south with the Spanish refugees. The Tiguas say they were forced.

Roughly 2,000 people (including Spaniards) were displaced, their trek south becoming the greatest retreat from Indians in the history of North America.

These refugees, leaving behind their burning villages and dead relatives, passed through what is now Socorro, N.M., where the Piro Indians and a few others joined them.

On Oct. 12, 1680, the present-day communities of Ysleta and Socorro were established in the El Paso Lower Valley, this time frame making Ysleta and Socorro the two oldest towns in today's Texas. Of course, in those days Texas belonged to Mexico.

The Tiguas served as scouts and as warriors not only for the Mexican government but for the subsequent Texas one. They rode with the Texas Rangers as well as Fort Bliss soldiers, tracking down, shooting and scalping other Indians, especially marauding Apaches.

In terms of reservation land, their property extended for miles around the Ysleta core, by most accounts including today's Hueco Tanks as well as portions of what we would call Downtown El Paso. In those times, land was plentiful and people were few.

Over time, the Piros and other tribes in and around Socorro, Texas, lost their Indian identity. The Tiguas did not, and the evidence seems to support it. Meanwhile, politicians hacked and chopped at Tigua boundaries.

In 1871, the state of Texas incorporated Ysleta and the great Tigua land grab commenced. Much of the Tigua land — former land — could be sold to any citizen. But the state Legislature attached a catch: The Tiguas were Indians, and not citizens. So they did not qualify for property that had been theirs for two centuries.

The reservation shrank. What had once been 36 square miles of Tigua lands, with additional Tigua claims tripling that but never firmly establishing it, didn't look quite that big anymore. So the largest chunk of Tigua land disappeared in 1874.

In 1925, the American Folklore and Ethnological Society downgraded the Tiguas to nontribal status. Now they not only weren't citizens, they also weren't Indians, either.

Although the Tiguas retained a tribal government, they lived an indigent hand-to-mouth existence in a remote Ysleta area known as Indian Town. The women made and sold Indian bread baked in outside, adobe ovens. Trinkets were peddled out of tiny buildings. Visitors pitied the Indians, but did little except wring their hands regarding the Indian subsistence level.

In 1967, Tom Diamond, an El Paso attorney, achieved tribal recognition for the Tiguas, the greatest legal breakthrough in their history. Since then, the Tiguas have become unparalleled entrepreneurs, although their successes are coming at a price and a struggle.

Today, they fight the state with legal briefs instead of war clubs. Who knows how the struggle may end?

For those interested in understanding the Tiguas more in depth, read "Exiled: the Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur," by El Paso author Randy Lee Eickhoff (Republic of Texas Press, 1996.) Additional materials are available at the public library and the El Paso County Historical Society.

Leon Metz, an El Paso writer and historian, writes often for the El Paso Times. E-mail: [illegible]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 10:13 AM
To: Marc Schwartz
Subject: RE: TIGUA ARTICLES

Marc, if this came out of your office, please tell them NEVER to include my name on a list like this. Our presence in this deal must be secret as we discussed. Please call me so we discuss a spin on this since some of the people on this list are real dangerous knowing that I am involved.

-----Original Message-----
From: PGroupMktg[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 9:44 AM
To: [redacted] abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: TIGUA ARTICLES

<< File: feb24.pdf >>

From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 3:51 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: did we get Tigua money?

GTG-E000076431

From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 8:15 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: tigua

OK, let me know.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 8:25 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: tigua

I would wait till tomorrow - and see.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 4:58 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: tigua

If we didn't get their money yet, should I contact Marc?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster[redacted]

March 5, 2002

By this memorandum, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs (Scanlon Gould) and the Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso (the Tribe) hereby enter into an agreement for the provision of public affairs services as outlined in the proposal February 21, 2002 entitled "Operation Open Doors". Scanlon Gould will be employed directly by the Tigua Tribal Council and work through the office of the Governor.

Under this agreement Scanlon Gould will provide the following:

Building of National Political Organization:
Includes acquisition and design of hardware and software, data matching, grassroots development, online applications and political modifications.

Recruitment/Identification:
Includes development comprehensive target lists, design and execution of survey instruments, anti-gaming cross referencing, all necessary cross matching, phone and mail costs, and field staff.

Research and Messaging:
Scanlon Gould will conduct all necessary polling, both nationally and regionally. Tracking polls will be used when necessary.

Execution/Advocacy:
Scanlon Gould will execute tactics outlined in Operation Open Doors including, vendor letter writing campaign, employee phone banks, employee letter writing campaigns, and third party advocacy campaigns on an as needed basis and with the approval of the Governor and Council.

For the above stated services Scanlon Gould will be paid a total $4,200,000.00.

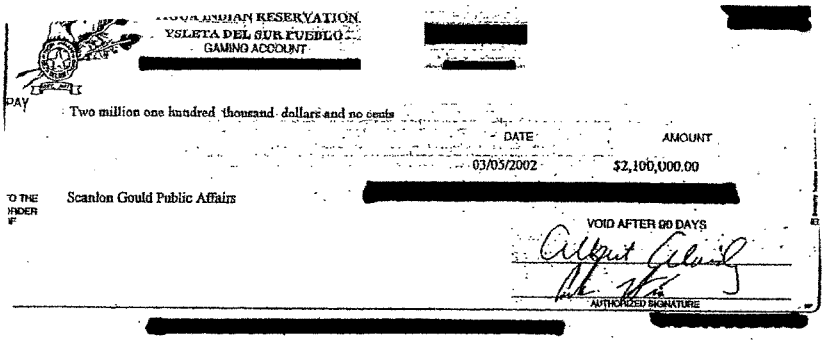
Payments for services outlined in the agreement are due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices. Either party may cancel this agreement with 30 days notice, however, given the compact nature of this campaign, payments for the first three phases($2,100,000.00) is due in advance and are non-refundable. The remaining balance is due upon receipt of Scanlon Gould invoices.

All materials generated by Operation Open Doors are the permanent property of the tribe. All public affairs services provided by Scanlon Gould are strictly confidential.

The undersigned agree to the terms and conditions outlined above.

Albert Alvidrez — Date: 03/05/02

Michael P. Scanlon — Date: 03/05/02



...AN RESERVATION
YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO
GAMING ACCOUNT

[redacted]

PAY Two million one hundred thousand dollars and no cents

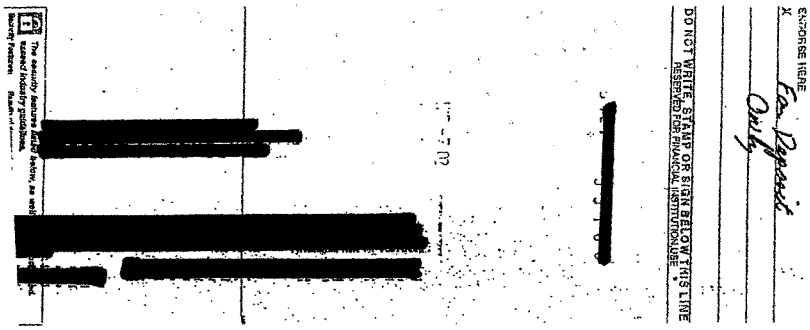
DATE	AMOUNT
03/05/2002	$2,100,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF Scanlon Gould Public Affairs [redacted]

VOID AFTER 90 DAYS

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

[redacted]



[redacted]

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[redacted]

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

[redacted]
W: 202[redacted]
F: 202[redacted]

INVOICE

DATE: March 6, 2002

Payable Upon Receipt

To:
The Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso
[redacted]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
03/06	Professional Services	$ 817,000.00
	TOTAL	$817,000.00

Make all checks payable to: Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 8:19 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: moving legislation

Thanks. How do we find little silly things which are moving which can have some technical correction language attached?

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 9:02 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: RE: moving legislation

3. Energy bill. More problematic. Might not become law but possible [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Sent: Thu Mar 07 09:00:37 2002
Subject: RE: moving legislation

You da man

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 9:00 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: RE: moving legislation

Vehicle 1: unemployment insurance stimulus bill. That will go to conference shortly,
2. Terrorism insurance bill. Passed house starting to move in senate [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Sent: Thu Mar 07 08:57:51 2002
Subject: RE: moving legislation

It would be where we put the tigua provision. It will start in the Senate and we'll protect it in the house. Nothing to do yet but find possible vehicles.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 07, 2002 8:54 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: Re: moving legislation
Importance: High

For whom? Or does the focus of the bills not matter?
[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
To: [redacted]
CC: DCGOVAffs [redacted]

GTG-E000076415

Sent: Thu Mar 07 08:52:47 2002
Subject: moving legislation

I need to know asap which pieces of legislation are likely to be passed through both House and Senate in the next three months. Please work with the guys to get a complete list. they need to discuss with leadership in house and Senate (r and d). thanks.

[redacted]

VSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO
GAMING ACCOUNT
[redacted]

PAY Eight hundred seventeen thousand dollars and no cents

DATE	AMOUNT
[redacted]	[redacted]

TO THE ORDER OF Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

VOID AFTER 90 DAYS

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

[redacted]

[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 7:49 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Marc Schwartz

What did he say about it, again?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 8:43 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Marc Schwartz

It came in and was way short - about 900k short.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 12:32 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Marc Schwartz

Did it come and it was short, or did it not come?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 6:40 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Marc Schwartz

He says the money is coming - we were supposed to have it two weeks ago. He says its been cut though.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 10:06 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Marc Schwartz

He's happy, but he wants you to send him a weekly report. There is grumbling at the council (infighting) which is normal since they see us as a black box and they are anxious. I told him we have a bill and are moving fast. I told him we were greased and that you were moving as fast as hell and that your Easter was just cancelled because you are working so hard on this!! He also wants to hire a pollster for a poll (I humored him and told him it was a good idea and that you would think of a pollster for him). He was very happy about everything, and admitted that he owes you info. He said he had 11 disks for you. You should call him, tell him I told you to call him about the pollster recommendation and then ASK HIM FOR OUR DAMN MONEY!!! Let me know if you want me on that call.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 19, 2002 9:56 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: Marc Schwartz

Is he happy? Where's our fucking money!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tue Mar 19 09:55:55 2002
Subject: Marc Schwartz

This guy does not stop running his f'ing mouth!!! I have been on the phone with him for 45 minutes!!! Ignore his email until we chat.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 5:25 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

office

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:22 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

Ive been trying - no one can seem to find you. on Cell?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:21 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

Just met with Ney!!! We're f'ing gold!!!! He's going to do Tigua. Call me.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 6:11 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Florida baby!!

[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 20, 2002 4:53 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Florida baby!!

[redacted]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster[redacted]

Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]

INVOICE

DATE: March 22, 2002

Payable Upon Receipt

To:
Governor Albert Alvidrez
The Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo of El Paso
[redacted]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
03/22	Professional Services	$1,283,000.00
	TOTAL	$1,283,000.00

Make all checks payable to: Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 26, 2002 9:20 AM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: Cong. Ney

He is the chairman of the committee doing election reform. Please get us the following checks for him asap:

Bob Ney for Congress - $2,000
American Liberty PAC - Federal - $5,000
American Liberty PAC - non-Federal - $25,000

Things are moving even faster than we thought when we last chatted. I was told yesterday that the Senate will take up the bill right after the Easter recess, so we could have this done by May 1 potentially. Please get this to me via federal express at my office.

Thanks Marc. Happy Passover.

Subj: PAC Addresses
Date: Tuesday, March 26, 2002 9:45:09 AM
From: [redacted]
To: Mjschwartz[redacted]

Hi Marc - here are the PAC addresses, please let me know if you have any questions or need any additional information.

American Liberty PAC
[redacted]
$25,000 (Soft money account)

Bob Ney for Congress
[redacted]
$2000

American Liberty PAC
[redacted]
$5000 (Hard Money Account)

[redacted]
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[redacted]

[redacted]

INDIAN RESERVATION
YSLETA DEL SUR PUEBLO [redacted]
GAMING ACCOUNT
[redacted]

PAY One million two hundred eighty-three thousand dollars and no cents

DATE AMOUNT

[redacted] 03/27/2002 [redacted] $1,283,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF Scanlon Gould Public Affairs

VOID AFTER 90 DAYS

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted]

[redacted] 1580

04/08/02

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Lay Gold LLC $2,138,025

Two million one hundred thirty eight thousand twenty five 00/100 DOLLARS

MEMO

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM

TO: TRIBAL COUNCIL

FROM: MIKE SCANLON -JA

SUBJECT: UPDATE

DATE: 4/12/02

Gentlemen:

This memo is intended to bring you up to speed on all of our activity to date, where we currently stand in our campaign, and the steps we are taking in the immediate future.

Infrastructure:

As you recall, we have developed a two-tiered organizational system for your grassroots efforts. The first step is to identify, classify and organize members of what will become your political army. All of this information is then stored in a tremendously powerful database. Our team has received a number of data lists including your customers, and tribal members. Coupled with the vendor list you sent earlier, and our newley identified supporters your database is now an impressive unit.

We have completed the infrastructure of the database and have applied the national computer program that will enable us to sort each individual by location and elected official (from U.S. Senator to county commissioner). We are still cleaning up some of the data, phone-matching, cross referencing, and editing and this should be finished within two days.

In short the database – your national organization -is built and operational. We need to make a few final modifications and it will be totally completed. However, as I said it is operational now, and in some areas we are already activating it.

Action items:

As we have reported we are attempting to tack on our language to the election reform bill.

We now have:

- A Commitment to place it into the bill.
- The language in the hands of the sponsor.

- We have Senate support – but they are looking for political cover.

What we are doing now is creating political cover for the sponsor and the Senate supporter. Here is a breakdown of activity:

- We are conducting polling in their districts/ states that show support for this move – or at the very least shows that they will not pay a considerable political price for it.

- We have our phone banks in place and are beginning "thank you" phone calls to targeted Senate and House offices to show that we have the network to provide support.

- We are reaching out to the third-party vendor districts and targeting additional congressional supporters. For example we are going to your vendors in New Mexico and having them contact Senator Bingaman on your behalf.

- We are going to conducting "thank you mailings" to our targets solidifying our supporters.

With this political cover generated we feel pretty good about our prospects of tacking the legislation on and getting it through. But please be advised – we are taking the most high-risk approach to this by using the election reform bill as the vehicle.

Members are extremely sensitive to the fact that we are using a "reform bill" to achieve our objective. Both the House and the Senate sponsors are going to need considerable cover in the time period from when it is included in the bill and before it is signed into law.

We have organized over 208 districts at this point and have mail and phone scripts prepared to fly in a moments notice – I will send these down by COB Tuesday. We are also planning a major national telephone patch through campaign into the White House once the bill gets off the hill. This is intended to avoid a veto if the addition of the language comes to light.

As a fall back position the lobbyists have identified another legislative vehicle and sponsors to carry our language. It is the supplemental appropriations bill scheduled for early May. We have designed a campaign for this bill in case we need to shift our focus.

The bottom line is that we are in place legislatively and politically. We will be launching our political program on a massive scale starting late this week if the election reform bill is used or in a few weeks if we use the supplemental. Either way, we have the national program built, all districts identified and in position, we are just waiting to pull the trigger.

It is all about timing right now, we need to be very careful not to launch to early or to late, while "showing enough leg" to the legislators to prove that we can protect them when it hits the fan.

From this point forward we will be talking nearly everyday, as things are moving very fast – we will be checking in with Marc every morning and before close of business from this point forward.

Mike

c: Marc Schwartz
[redacted]

Subj: RE: UPDATE?
Date: Tuesday, April 16, 2002 2:05:31 PM
From: mike[redacted]
To: Mjschwartz[redacted]
cc: abramoffj[redacted]

Oh yeah my friend here is the deal:

We are laying down going cover in CT and NY.
We have a meeting Set for Thursday and Friday of this week to lock in the commitment form the Senate Sponsor. The folks that we brought on to the team to do this smeeting are the Chariman of the Senators Finance committee and a long time political ally that we identified through the data base.
We believe that Thursday or Friday of this week we will have our commitment in the Senate. The ground cover will give him the feeling that the voters are with him on this and the political allies give him the cover on the retail level.

We are also working in NY on the ground right now to hit a bank shot with Hillary. She is going to weigh in for us as well on this, and we are providing the ground cover for her to do so.

So her is the sequence of events:
Completed:
House commitment and language done
Today through - TBA:
Ground cover in NY, CT and OHIO to give our senate helpers cover and to keep our Ohio sponsor happy.

Thursday and Friday:
We lock in commitment on Senate side

Monday - Tuesday:
Language goes in bill

Next Tuesday- till vote on conference report:
Gramm shits his pants and threatens to bring down whole bill over this - we have phones and mail turned on beating him back.
We have enough votes for cloture and to beat a filibuster right now so we are golden, we just need to keep the calls letters and political support coming as Gramm pounds his chest.

Vote passes both chambers in roughly two and a half weeks from next

Tuesday, and the president will sign.

I think we are looking pretty good - But Gramm will flip when he finds out, its up to us to keep him from brining down a 99-1 bill. I am a bit scared of him putting a hold on this - but given its popularity it will be very hard for him to sustain.

He may be able to delay us a bit - but once we get in in this - we will ultimately prevail even if he does slow us down. I hope this whole thing fly's right by him and everyone else, but that is very unlikely.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mjschwartz[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 16, 2002 3:50 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: UPDATE?

Mike:

Anything to report?

Marc

---------- Headers ----------
Return-Path: <mike[redacted]
Received: from [redacted]

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARC SCHWARTZ
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: MAY 13, 2002

Marc:

I wanted to provide you with this quick update regarding your efforts here in Washington. The process is moving along with great success. All of the major players on the election reform package have given their support on our issue and we continue to provide them with the necessary ground support to ensure that the process moves forward smoothly. The next steps are to stay the course by continuing to provide the necessary ground cover to the House and Senate managers of the bill and to watch closely the deliberations of the conferees.

Senate

Currently, the Senate has picked its conferees. They are, Senators Christopher Dodd (D-CT), Christopher Bond (R-MO), Mitch McConnell (R-KY), Charles Schumer (D-NY), and Richard Durbin (D-IL). We continue to be active in each of their respective home states and will maintain the appropriate political pressure on each of these officials.

House

The House has moved considerably slower in their efforts to push the election reform bill through conference. They have not selected their conferees yet, but our relationships and activities with the key leaders in the House continue to reassure us that the process will move ahead smoothly. We expect that the conferees will be named this week, and we remain active in Ohio, the home state of the committee Chairman, Rob Ney (R-OH).

In summary, we remain extremely optimistic about the outcome of this effort despite the typical Washington foot dragging that often occurs during legislative "sausage making". We will continue to update you on our efforts. As always, feel free to contact me directly with any questions or concerns.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 7:53 AM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: our friend

Asked if we could help (as in cover) a Scotland golf trip for him and some staff (his committee chief of staff) and members for August. The trip will be quite expensive (we did this for another member - you know who) 2 years ago. I anticipate that the total cost - if he brings 3-4 members and wives - would be around $100K or more. I can probably get another one of my tribes to cover some of it. let me know if you guys could do $50K and I'll get them to do the other $50K, though I'll have to get him to bring someone who has relevance to their matters - our friend does not as you can imagine. They would probably do the trip through the Capital Athletic Foundation as an educational mission. I have to start planning this now to make sure they can get tee times. Can you let me know if this would be OK, and possibly start to process it as a donation to Capital Athletic Foundation? Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 13, 2002 5:47 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: Scotland

The sponsoring foundation will be the Capital Athletic Foundation.

Here is their information, though you should have them send the check to me if possible, and I'll get it organized.

Capital Athletic Foundation
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, July 25, 2002 8:54 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: emergency Tigua

Importance: High

I just spoke with Ney who met today with Dodd on the bill and raised our provision. Dodd looked at him like a "deer in headlights" and said he has never made such a commitment and that, with the problems of new casinos in Connecticut, it is a problem!!! Mike, please call me immediately to tell me how we wired this, or were supposed to wire it. Ney feels we left him out to dry. Please call me!!!

From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Friday, August 02, 2002 12:12 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: when you get the check for Capital Athletic

Please get it to my office fed ex. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, August 05, 2002 12:23 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: RE: did we get the CAF checks

---Original Message---
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Friday, August 02, 2002 3:59 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: did we get the CAF checks

From Tigua? Sag Chip?

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Friday, August 09, 2002 9:32 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Ney meeting

Please get confirmation on the others as soon as you can.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, August 08, 2002 4:11 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: Ney meeting

There will be 5 people total. The following are confirmed:

-Marc Schwartz
-Councilman Raul Gutierrez
-Lt. Governor Carlos Hisa

[redacted] is not yet confirmed, and Marc is trying to get one additional person, but is not yet sure who it will be.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Friday, August 02, 2002 3:59 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: marc schwartz

Please call him and ask him how many people and who would be coming to the Ney meeting on the 14th. Thanks.

Subj: RE: CLOSE HOTEL
Date: Saturday, August 10, 2002 5:11:14 PM
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mjschwartz@[redacted]

JW Marriott on Pennsylvania Ave. let me know if you want us to help secure rooms. Also, please let me know the full list of those coming. BN had a great time and is very grateful, but is not going to mention the trip to Scotland for obvious reasons. He said he'll show his thanks in other ways, which is what we want. We can discuss on the phone. did you get the other $50K done? Also, we should plan on breakfast before the meeting at 8:30 at Signatures, [redacted]

-----Original Message----
From: Mjschwartz@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, August 09, 2002 6:52 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: CLOSE HOTEL

Jack:

We are coming in on Tuesday night. Shoot me the name of the closest (?) or most convenient hotel. We are planning to leave Wednesday after meeting. Thanks!

Marc

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---------- Headers ----------
Return-Path: <abramoffj@[redacted]
[redacted] Sat, 10 Aug 2002

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2002 7:09 AM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Marc, where are we on this one?

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 9:34 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: Tigua launch

Then we need more $ for backlash
Jack Abramoff

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 11:55 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: Tigua

Did you speak with Marc Schwartz? I have a great idea. Let's tell him that we are launching all missiles to get the bill a vote and, therefore, using all our resources, so that, once the bill passes, we immediately need more money!!! OK?

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 04, 2002 8:53 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Cherokee

Let's chat about this over the weekend. Too many crises right now. we HAVE to win this Tigua thing.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 04, 2002 9:48 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Cherokee

Did you give any more thought to working with them?

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 07, 2002 10:24 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: sorry I blew up

I am having real personnel issues on the school front and am in a total fury. We still have to deal with the fuck up on Tigua though. I'll call you later.

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 07, 2002 12:13 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: Conference call

Bob Ney will be available at 11 am East Coast time tomorrow, Tuesday. We will use our conference call facility. You guys should call in using the following:

[redacted]

Participant Passcode: [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 7:32 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Stuff

yup

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 09, 2002 7:59 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Stuff

Cool - we on for 6 tonight?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 6:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Stuff

We'z cool. I was not really pissed at you. I have been going through hell on the school in the last few days and it has really put me in a horrible mood. Sorry about that. I'll give you the lowdown tomorrow night on where we're at. We're fine with Schwartz for now. I had Ney on the phone with the council today. hold tight, but get our money back from that mother fucker who was supposed to take care of dodd.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 08, 2002 5:33 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Stuff

Hey - I know you are pissed about the Tigua thing but we gotta do the best we can to recover. I feel totally comfortable that we lived up to every bit of our contract, and things just went the other way - and I am very very sorry about that.

But I don't want this hanging over my head anymore, we need to get past it ASAP, and get back on track. I don't like you being angry with me over this, and if its going to be an issue going forward you need to let me know.

I'm not going to contact Swartz until I hear from you, but my perspective on this if he contacts me is that we did our best, we lived up to the terms of Scanlon Gould's contract with them, and unfortunately things didn't turn out. And that we will do every thing in our power to help them down the road.

And by the way Schwartz told us that you were apologizing for Scanlon giving the tribal list out to ARM PAC. I don't know what kind of game Schwartz is playing but I need to shoot him an e-mail or something flatly denying that we had anything to do with it - and quite frankly I think it never took place.

Are we cool?

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]

[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 15, 2002 6:53 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: Tigua

bd

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 15, 2002 4:16 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: Tigua

Hello Jack,
Who do we bill the Tigua stuff too? Is that business development or is it part of one of the existing tribal accounts?
Thanks,
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 30, 2002 4:20 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: FW: PLAN OF ATTACK

Hi Marc. We are coordinating efforts to attach our legislative fix to the upcoming omnibus appropriations bill. Specifically, we are working to attach it to the Indian Health Care section of the Labor, Health and Human Services portion of the legislation. Currently, there is a lot wrangling over the size and scope of any omnibus bill - or whether there will be several smaller bills passed instead. Our hope is that an omnibus bill is put together so we can work through our friends on the leadership staff to insert the language at the very end of the process, instead of working through the normal appropriations process - which involves too many people and could jeopardize our legislative fix. The Members/Senators will be back on the week of January 6th and decisions about approaches and bills will be finalized then. Meanwhile, I'll be in touch. Thanks so much and hope you have a great new year. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Marc Schwartz [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, December 29, 2002 9:07 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: PLAN OF ATTACK

Jack:
I realize it has been a welcome respite from the hustle and bustle, but I'm am being asked about our plan for 2003. It appears we will have a new Governor (which is a blessing), and Carlos will be returning. I need to give them some information regarding a plan. What do you want me to tell them? Have a safe and Happy New Year! Marc

From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 2:15 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Meeting

I love this bitch talk you punk ass bitch. As soon as I get yo ass on the court, you be crying like a baby! :)

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 3:08 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Meeting

We will see about that fucko.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 2:50 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Meeting

Hey bitch, I am ready fo yo ass, but yu a big time faggot and afraid of a real man!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 2:48 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Meeting

You fucking lame ass - you better start pulling some real opponents or I am going to beat your ass to a pulp next time we get out there!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 2:46 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Meeting

Noon it is. I'll play rb at 10 with a real man: [redacted]! :) see you noon Sigs.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 07, 2003 2:42 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Meeting

Hey - What about a noon lunch - cant play the Rball my man - but soon.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 9:09 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Meeting

Thursday lunch it is my man. hey, how about 11 am rb and then 1 PM lunch? If not, just 1 PM lunch is fine too. Just let me know,. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [redacted]
Sent: Monday, January 06, 2003 7:30 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Meeting

Hey - I switched stuff around to accommodate Schwartz on Wednesday AM - I was coming gin Tuesday and staying over - but now he wants to do Thursday am. Can we bump things back to Wednesday eve - Thursday Lunch - instead of tomorrow?

Sorry.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
mike[redacted]

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FINAL REPORT MEMO

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARC SCHWARTZ
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: UPDATE
DATE: 1/9/2003

Marc:

I would like to provide you with this review of the political campaign waged in 2002. As you know, Scanlon Gould waged the grassroots portion of your battle in conjunction with a face-to-face lobby effort headed by Jack Abramoff's federal affairs team. As you know, the election reform bill was targeted as the vehicle for the necessary legislative language needed to reopen the Speaking Rock Casino. Fortunately, Congressman Bob Ney (R-OH), with whom we have good relations and a solid working arrangement, was managing the House process; while, Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) managed the Senate. However, our grassroots advocacy efforts reached far beyond those two leaders and included the entire election reform conference committee, other influential members of the United State Congress and the President of the United States. All of our efforts were designed to support the would-be vehicle that would carry language to reopen the casino.

Organization

First and foremost, we are pleased to provide you with the completed database. This political matrix is the cornerstone of this or any other political campaign. The system is designed to hold and make usable, all of the data associated with your political army. It is designed to make it possible to match an average voter who might also be a customer or vendor of yours, and tie him to a targeted elected official. We can do it for the U.S. Congress and we can do it for every state representative or senator in the Union. It is a most powerful tool.

Your army now includes 251,876 records. The army spans from Connecticut to California and can be mobilized at the drop of a hat. Your natural resources comprise the vast majority of your records. That is, the individuals and organizations that make money from the Pueblo's business operations. Your natural resources are critical to political campaigns as they are highly motivated to act on your behalf. However, without the ability to map them and accurately direct them to target an elected official, they have very little political value. This database changes that.

In addition, we have used our phone surveying technique to identify almost 10,000 more supporters of your position. In this case, the individuals were supporters of election reform. They are located all over the country, but most concentrated in targeted congressional districts. Our surveying technique uses a method that screens and pre-qualifies potential supporters of a position. Once we are able to determine that they support our position, we go one step further - we determine if they are willing to act on our behalf. The recruited individuals are active supporters of our position and we know we can count on them to be mobilized when the time is right.

Messaging

As you know, knowing what to say and how to say it is a key part of American politics. That is why we spent an extensive amount of time studying the political landscape in Washington and in the key battleground states for this campaign. As a result of our studies and research, we were able to identify the key message that would motivate your supporters. In addition, we were able to identify exactly which words, phrases and arguments best spur your supporters to action.

The results were clear. Americans were adamantly in favor of changing the electoral process in the United States. The election of 2000 solidified support for reform legislation that would ensure that all Americans get a fair chance to vote on Election Day. As a result, all of our messaging in our mobilization efforts was clearly positioned to push those buttons.

In addition to developing a broad message that would work in all of our battleground locations, we conducted an extensive survey in one of our pivotal states, New York. Our qualitative research indicated that either of the two Senators from the Empire state, but particularly Senator Clinton, could play a critical role in the election reform debate. The results proved what our qualitative research indicated, New Yorkers, like all Americans, wanted election reform. But more importantly, the quantitative surveys were very effectively used to assist in the direct lobbying campaign in Washington. Specifically, our survey became an invaluable tool in expressing to Senators Clinton and Schumer that they should in fact, be champions of the election reform legislation.

Mobilization

Once your political army was assembled, recruited and organized, the message correctly identified and honed, it was time to selectively mobilize the political army for action. The mobilization campaign was designed to first target Senator Dodd and persuade him to support not only election reform, but also our specific legislative remedy. The second waves of attack would focus more broadly on key opposition and supporters of the legislative vehicle itself.

We began to target Senator Dodd using a system of repeated contact from influential members of his political family. At the cornerstone of the project was the vice chairperson of the DNC and a member of his finance committee, Lottie Shackelford. Her support and access was critical for our ongoing efforts to influence the Senator. We directed her to make personal contact with the Senator throughout the campaign starting in April and lasting through the passage of the legislation in October.

While Ms. Shackelford was critical to personally influencing Senator Dodd and other key Democratic officials, it was important to mobilize additional members of the Senator's political family. Opinion-makers are important to elected officials as these influential members of the community often deliver their own constituencies. We orchestrated several contacts - via written correspondence, e-mail and telephone - between these opinion-makers and Senator Dodd. We duplicated the effort with the Senator again in the waning days of the debate, and added several of the most influential members of the conference committee to our target list.

The next step of the campaign involved mobilizing everyday ordinary citizens. We employed a massive phone campaign targeting the members of the conference committee for election reform. At key points in June, July and September, we directed thousands of patch through phone calls to Representatives Ney (R-OH), Hoyer (D-MD), Ehlers (R-MI), Doolittle (R-CA), Reynolds (R-NY), Fattah (D-PA), and Davis (D-FL). In addition, we targeted the key players in the Senate debate, Dodd (D-CT), Bond (R-MO), McConnell (R-KY), Schumer (D-NY), and Durbin (D-IL) with equal numbers of constituent phones calls. Elected officials who receive on average 1 phone call every ten minutes (average call volume was 50 patch throughs per call day) for weeks on end, take notice to an effort like that. In fact, it is safe to say that the elected officials' staffs were doing little else but fielding phone calls on that issue.

Throughout our mobilization campaign we also effectively used direct mail to further demonstrate to our legislative targets that their constituents were firmly behind the election reform effort. Our creative team designed a very effective mail piece that was delivered directly to your supporters in our targeted districts that reminded them to call and write their elected officials. The direct mail added legitimacy and credibility to our efforts and further mobilized valuable voters.

In addition to our efforts to influence the legislative process, we diligently pursued an effective campaign to influence the President's staff. While influencing the President is far more complicated and delicate, we were able to employ an effective phone campaign launched after the Congress reconvened in September. We wanted the President, who was facing a very serious test in the mid-term elections, to recognize that voters were very much aware of the election reform issue, and they would settle for nothing less than a signed bill before Congress recessed for the year.

Summary

While we were disappointed that the final legislation did not contain the language for which we had all worked, the program was successful in organizing your political assets into an effective machine, the likes of which Texas and the country has rarely, if ever, seen. The army was effectively mobilized and its sights trained on key targets from all over the country. We garnered key support from both sides of the political isle, including the Democratic National Committee. We trained thousands of constituent contacts on targeted officials and made sure that the voice of your supporters was heard. Furthermore, we effectively used influential members of the targets' political family to further spur them to action. In the end, political forces beyond all control kept Senator Dodd from inserting our needed language.

We have greatly enjoyed working with you and the council over the past 9 months and look forward to working to solve future political dilemmas in Texas and nationwide.

[redacted]

From: Mjschwartz@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 10, 2003 12:05 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Cc: [redacted] abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: YOUR PRESENTATION

Mike:

This morning was the best! The Governor and Lt. Governor were absolutely blown away by the way you explained everything and with the enthusiasm you guys showed about working for them. It was everything I expected and more.

Please thank everyone for taking so much time with us this morning. It will pay off down the road. I'll be in touch next week to talk about a few things. Jack was right...you guys are the best. Many thanks!

Marc

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 27, 2003 12:09 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Tigua: talking points for [redacted]

A bill is moving (HB809) in the Texas state house which will enable the Indians in Texas to have totally unregulated casinos. It passed out of the House Criminal Jurisprudence Committee by a 6-2 vote.

The current Republican Speaker Tom Craddick is a strong supporter. Last year we stopped this bill after it passed the house using the Lt. Governor (Bill Ratcliff) to prevent it from being scheduled in the state senate. This year, the new pres of the state senate (Lt. Gov) is Dave Duhurst, and he supports the bill and is going to move it.

The Christian Coalition in the state was active last year. This year, they did not even come to the hearing! If it passes the legislature, we will pressure Perry to veto, but he has let his staff know that he is probably not going to veto. He has a mechanism whereby he can claim opposition and not sign, but not veto and the bill becomes law.

If this becomes law, the three tribes in the state will have unlimited class III casinos. The one which really worries us is the one which will be in Livingston, near Houston. The Alabama Coushatta tribe there will put in 8000 slots and build a mega casino. They will have no requirement for regulation (because they are NOT BOUND BY THE REGULATIONS OF IGRA!!!) and will put in zero toward paying for the destroyed infrastructure thanks to their casino (police, roads, utilities, let alone impact of gambling on the populace).

Last time they county officials in Polk county joined our opposition. This time they support!

There is only one way to stop this potentially out of control Class III casino next to Houston: slip in language which would subject this tribe and the Tiguas to the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. This would enable them to open up a Class II facility (bingo, who cares) but not permit them to have a class III unless Perry were to sign a compact (the legislature cannot screw us on that one).

Please tell [redacted] that this is urgent. we have to get this language into the first moving bill to stop this. they will have this thing passed in 45-60 days at the rate they are going. We are working this on behalf of our client [redacted] They do not have clean hands because they are a gaming tribe, but who cares. On this one, we are totally in bed with the anti-gaming guys. we have to stop this. there is no other option at this point.

Language:

"Public Law 100-89 is amended by striking sections 107 and 207 (101 Stat. 668, 672)."

[redacted]

Subj: Tribal Legacy Financing Program
Date: Wednesday, March 26, 2003 9:52:13 AM
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mjschwartz@[redacted]

Marc, per our discussion, the following short memo describes the opportunity to obtain lobbying funds via the insurance program. This will also greatly benefit our school, which means the whole world to me. If it can work, it's truly a win-win.

Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, ("CFS") administers the Elder Legacy Program, which arbitrages the longevity calculus for Native Americans (including Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians) in the insurance market.

On behalf of a registered non-profit charity (such as a school) CFS will enroll Native American elders, 75 years and older, in term life insurance. The premiums will be entirely financed (with both debt and equity) using the insurance policies (no obligation of any kind to the Tribe or Native Americans, or the charity) and repaid by the proceeds of the policy at the demise of the insured. Any remaining funds at that time will accrue to the charity.

In addition to the repayment of the policies, however, the arbitrage program provides for a modest annual cash flow to charity named as the beneficiary of the insurance policies. In this case, the school will receive an annual payment based on the disparity between the insurance payments and the financing costs related to Native Americans insured. From these funds, the school shall pay Greenberg Traurig its fees and any out of pocket costs for a new Washington representation.

The Washington representation work done by Greenberg Traurig made possible as a consequence of this program shall be for the sole benefit of the tribe, including efforts to obtain federal appropriations, grants and other legislative and administrative assistance for the tribe.

The sole actions required by the tribe are to locate as many Native Americans (not necessarily enrolled members of the tribe) over the age of 75 of insurable health and then to work with CFS personnel to enable the elders to complete the application and medical exam. Once the group of tribal elders has completed the exam and are accepted by the insurance company, the financing phase will commence immediately.

Amsterdam Atlanta Boca Raton Boston Chicago Denver
Fort Lauderdale Los Angeles Miami New Jersey New York
Orlando Philadelphia Phoenix Tallahassee Tyson's Corner
Washington, D.C. West Palm Beach Wilmington Zurich

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[redacted]

Subj: **correction**
Date: Wednesday, March 26, 2003 12:08:25 PM
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mjschwartz@[redacted]

Marc, one correction. Duane reminds me that non of the proceeds from the Elder Legacy Program to the charity can be used for lobbying purposes, therefore, the school will use other funds of the school to pay for that. This is a technicality but important.

Amsterdam Atlanta Boca Raton Boston Chicago Denver
Fort Lauderdale Los Angeles Miami New Jersey New York
Orlando Philadelphia Phoenix Tallahassee Tyson's Corner
Washington, D.C. West Palm Beach Wilmington Zurich

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From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, July 30, 2003 6:20 AM
To: 'Mjschwartz@[redacted]
Subject: RE: MEETING TODAY

New client in California? Do you mean [redacted]?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mjschwartz@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, July 30, 2003 1:03 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: MEETING TODAY

Jack:

As I briefly said on the phone, they are extremely depressed and almost fatalistic. Obviously any state solution appears to have waned at least in the near term. They have been rejected by their Elders on the insurance plan; "just shouldn't be done".

One of the answers they are looking for is whether there is any 'realistic' hope of a federal solution this year? They respect you and your efforts and they want to see and hear from you on this issue. They hear about your new client in California and wondered why it couldn't be them. I have stuck with your program.

Just thought you'd want a heads-up. They have some meetings tomorrow morning - trying to find federal contracts they can do. Unfortunately, there doesn't appear to be any that they qualify for or can reasonably do. They have laid off virtually all unnecessary employees and other than their meager funds to run their Tribal government, they'll be out of $ by Spring.

I'm here until we meet at 5:00, they'll join me at 4:30 and we'll see you at Sigs.

Marc

From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, July 30, 2003 1:29 PM
To: 'Mjschwartz@[redacted]
Subject: RE: MEETING TODAY

We have had them for over a year. And in any event, they pay us $150K/month. We recently got another tribe at the same price. I am not sure I understand what they are upset about? I am supposed to stop taking tribes?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mjschwartz@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, July 30, 2003 10:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: Re: MEETING TODAY

You've had [redacted] for awhile? It was a comment made by a Council member during last week's meeting. He was reading it in an Indian mag, so it may be dated. Looking forward to seeing you!

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 8:31 PM
To: Marc Schwartz
Subject: RE: ARTICLE

Hi Marc. The piece was the usual hit bullshit, but what's new. Funny part (for me, not Mike) was that 60% of the over 300 emails I got thought it was a puff piece. Thank G-D for ADD!

-----Original Message-----
From: Marc Schwartz [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:05 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: ARTICLE

Well, it wasn't pretty. It sure looks like Scanlon was living a little large, huh! Call me when you get a chance.

Marc J. Schwartz

[redacted]

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message. Thank you.

From: Abramoff, Jack[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:07 AM
To: Marc Schwartz
Subject: RE: ARTICLE

Don't you love Washington? I'll try to call later today.

-----Original Message-----
From: Marc Schwartz [redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 23, 2004 11:05 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: ARTICLE

Well, it wasn't pretty. It sure looks like Scanlon was living a little large, huh! Call me when you get a chance.

Marc J. Schwartz

[redacted]

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Fundraising Program Package

Eshkol Academy, Inc., A Charitable Non-Profit School

[redacted]
Spencerville, MD 20868
[redacted]

Creative Funding Solutions, LLC

Overview of the Fundraising Program
for the
Eshkol Academy, Inc.

The Eshkol Academy, Inc. is a non-profit, charitable Yeshiva secondary school in Washington, D.C. Its mission is to educate young men through a rigorous and stimulating classical general studies curriculum, charitable service, lessons in civility, and a comprehensive athletic program. Eshkol is a charitable organization under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, is a company dedicated to designing creative fundraising mechanisms for charitable organizations. Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, has a relationship with Eshkol Academy to assist it in raising funds for its non-profit educational missions.

Eshkol Academy accepts donations. Donations to the Academy are tax deductible as they are for a charitable organization under the tax code. Donations will be used to enhance the availability of scholarships, academic and athletic programs, educational facilities, and help to cover operating expenses.

Beyond cash donations, an aspect of the school's fundraising involves donation of life insurance policies. This aspect of the fundraising program is undertaken with the assistance of Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, which advises concerning insurance policy donations and structuring creative fundraising programs for Eshkol Academy.

The life insurance donation fundraising program for Eshkol Academy is designed for elderly participants, age 75 and older. Those who want to participate can obtain insurance policies at no out of pocket cost to themselves, and they can donate the policies to Eshkol Academy.

The Eshkol Academy insurance donation fundraising program requires **little time and effort of people who wish to donate.** It will require filling out some application forms and will require a physical examination, which is done at no cost to donors.

The participants are valued advisors to the Eshkol Academy on the direction of the school. Being contributors to the school, the school will value and use the opinions of those who make donations. Donors can assist the school in setting its policies and direction.

If you wish to participate in the fundraising program and you are age 75 or older, then you may complete the sign-up form on the following pages.

Eshkol Academy Fundraising Program Information and Sign-Up Form

The Eshkol Academy, Inc., a charitable organization under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, is high a school educational institution. Eshkol Academy is conducting a Fundraising Program assisted by Creative Funding Solutions, LLC. It has been explained to me how the Fundraising Program derives money through donations and how the school spends its money to further the academic and infrastructure needs for Eshkol students.

I elect to participate in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program. The program involves the purchase of life insurance on my life and donation of insurance to the Eshkol Academy. As a participant in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program, I understand that there is **absolutely no cost to me and my family. Specifically, I understand that I pay nothing out of my own pocket to participate in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program.**

I have not been promised and expect no direct benefit at this time or in the future based on my participation in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program. I understand that the Eshkol Academy has the sole discretion to determine the charitable project, projects, or activities that best benefit the school generally and to disburse funds for charitable purposes based on that determination.

However, I understand that my advice about the use of money derived from my participation in the Fundraising Program is very valuable to Eshkol Academy. As a participant in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program, I may offer my recommendations and views about what charitable projects Eshkol Academy should undertake related to the school. I can elect to give this advice, but I do not need to do so. To begin to fulfill this valued role, I hereby submit my preference for the type of project that I desire to be funded for the Eshkol Academy.

- ☐ I have no preference
- ☐ Scholarships
- ☐ Academic Facilities
- ☐ Teaching Chair
- ☐ Other _____

I understand that once I elect to participate in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program, the Eshkol Academy may make substantial financial commitments and incur obligations based on my participation, so I promise to carry through with the application process. The application process may include a medical examination and a blood test, which will be provided to me at no cost if needed.

The Eshkol Academy is responsible for—

(a) obtaining directly or through others the capital funding needed for Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program that uses insurance and financial contracts;

(b) obtaining and commercially placing all financial contracts (annuity policies, life insurance policies, and other financial contracts) necessary for Eshkol Academy's Fundraising technique;

(c) providing for management services;

(d) making decisions about what charitable projects will be undertaken that benefit the school ;

(e) providing, when needed, management of projects, programs, and grants that are carried out for charitable purposes using resources from Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program;

(f) periodically providing an accounting of projects and programs that are undertaken;

(g) providing, when deemed necessary and advisable by Eshkol Academy or when required by law, an accounting of income and expenses associated with Eshkol Academy.

I understand that I am obligated to—

(a) provide **truthful and accurate information** needed to purchase the insurance policies and annuities;

(b) when needed, obtain a free medical examination (possibly including blood tests) that will **not** be paid for by me;

(c) communicate any concerns about Eshkol Academy and how it works to the managers of Eshkol Academy.

I understand that Eshkol Academy is **not** designed to provide financial benefits to the participants for personal purposes, but rather is to provide charitable benefits that focus on the charitable needs of Eshkol Academy related to education. Until commercial financing is obtained for groups of participants, there is no guarantee of a return to Eshkol Academy for its charitable work under this Fundraising Program.

IMPORTANT AUTHORIZATIONS AND DISCLOSURES

Authorization Generally. I hereby authorize and consent to the purchase of life insurance policies **on my life**, annuity policies **on my** life, and other financial instruments as part of the Eshkol Academy fundraising program. I also authorize and consent to such purchases by my personal representative and agent, who I hereby name as _____. I appoint and authorize such personal representative as attorney-in-fact to apply for and purchase life insurance policies and annuity policies on my life on my behalf and in connection therewith to obtain confidential medical and financial information about me.

Authorization re: Insurance Policies and Annuities. I furthermore authorize that such life insurance policies and annuities be purchased on my behalf for the benefit of the Eshkol Academy. I also authorize that such life insurance and annuity policies be purchased subject to a security interest held lenders or financers, if needed. I also authorize that such life insurance policies be donated to Eshkol Academy or can be assigned to Eshkol Academy. I furthermore authorize that Eshkol Academy may be named the beneficiary of such policies. I understand that Eshkol Academy will ultimately own the life insurance policies and annuities—whether by designation of Eshkol Academy as the beneficiary or the owner, by assignment, or by donation of such policies to Eshkol Academy, or by other means.

Policy Rights. Eshkol Academy, when it becomes the ultimate owner of the life insurance policies, would retain all rights under the life insurance policies, including the right to change premiums, the right to surrender a policy at my death or beforehand, and the right to elect to receive accelerated benefits under the policy, if any.

Authorization re: Annuities. I hereby authorize the my personal representative and Eshkol Academy, severally, to apply for and to purchase annuity policies on my life. I hereby appoint such personal representative and Eshkol Academy, severally, as my attorney-in-fact to apply for and purchase annuity policies on my life, and in connection therewith to obtain confidential medical and financial information about me. I understand that multiple annuity policies from multiple companies may be purchased. The Eshkol Academy may be the owner and the beneficiary of the annuity policies as my other institutions participating in the transaction.

Agents. I authorize my personal representative and agent to delegate one or more agents the authority to apply for and purchase life insurance policies and annuity policies on my life for the benefit of the Eshkol Academy or other parties involved in the transaction, and in connection therewith to obtain confidential medical and financial information about me.

Donation. If such life insurance or annuity is not purchased for the benefit of the Eshkol Academy, then immediately after the issuance of the insurance policies, *I hereby donate (or assign, at the option of Eshkol Academy) the policies and all benefits thereunder to the Eshkol Academy. I understand that benefits of the policies will flow to Eshkol Academy so it can*

carry out its charitable work and educational commitments and the costs of this fundraising campaign. Eshkol Academy will receive at least two-thirds of the revenues from this Fundraising Program.

Annuity and Life Insurance Purchase. Eshkol Academy will assist in arranging for purchase life insurance policies and annuity policies on my life approximating the life insurance premium amount. The policies may be for the benefit of the Eshkol Academy, or, if purchased by me, then the policies are hereby donated to Eshkol Academy by me.

No Costs to Participants. There are no financial costs of any kind that will be paid by any participants in Eshkol Academy Fundraising Program. The Eshkol Academy will pay or arrange to have paid all of the medical examination and other medical costs associated with the Eshkol Academy Fundraising Program, if any. Eshkol Academy will arrange for funds needed to purchase the life insurance policies and annuity policies from lenders. The loans will be obtained for groups of participants in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program and the life insurance policies and annuity policies of all participants will be pledged to the lenders as security for the financing instruments. All selection of insurance carriers, life insurance policies, annuity policies, and lenders is the responsibility of Eshkol Academy, Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, or Agents of Eshkol Academy or Creative Funding Solutions, LLC.

Annuity and Insurance Benefit Payments. Depending on structuring of the transaction, payments from the annuities on my life to the benefit of the Eshkol Academy, may be applied to pay (i) premiums on the life insurance policies on my life, (ii) interest or interest and principal on the loans, (iii) taxes fees and expenses of the Eshkol Academy, (iv) revenues due to Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, (v) insurance and hedge costs related to the transaction. Death benefits from the life insurance policies on my life for the benefit of the Eshkol Academy will be assigned by Eshkol Academy to the extent required to (i) pay interest or interest and principal on the loans, (ii) to pay fees and expenses of Eshkol Academy, (iii) pay annuity payments to Eshkol Academy to conduct its charitable purposes.

Fee Disclosure. I acknowledge that the insurance agents and brokers who write and place the life insurance policies and annuity policies will receive commissions from the issuers of the life insurance policies and the annuity policies. Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, is not an insurance agent or broker and cannot write and place insurance policies. I acknowledge that fees may be paid to Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, attorneys, accountants, Fundraising Program administrators, and others who perform services for any of the parties conducting or advising concerning Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program. In no case will fees be paid by or to me as a participant in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program.

The Eshkol Academy has contracted with Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, to conduct this Fundraising Program. Creative Funding Solutions, LLC, advises concerning Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program and may be paid a percentage of the revenues raised by Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program, some of which may be from set-up fees.

Management Services. Eshkol Academy may contract for management services associated with fundraising for the Eshkol Academy and for project management and implementation so that funds are ensured to be spent on the most worthwhile charitable projects to benefit the school.

Current Structure. Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program has been structured to take advantage of the income tax free status of life insurance death benefits to charities and certain tax benefits of a charitable entity under the Internal Revenue Code. Changes in laws could require modification of the plan.

Understanding. *I have decided to participate in Eshkol Academy's Fundraising Program and I understand this sign-up form and the authorizations and consents that I freely give by signing below. I have asked and had answered any and all questions that I had concerning this Fundraising Program and received answers to my questions.*

_____ _____
Signature of Participant Date

_____
Printed Name

_____
Physical Street Address

_____
City State Zip Code

Telephone Number _____

Eshkol Academy, Inc.

By: _____ _____
Signature Date

Informal Inquiry for Life Insurance

Full Name:	Sex:	Date of Birth:	Date of last nicotine use: Specify tobacco: Using nicotine gum or patch?
Place of Birth:	Height:	Weight:	SS #:
Address:			
Insurance Amount $	Plan of Insurance:		

Medical History

Attending/Personal physician	Address & Phone Number	Date last seen	Reason
Consulting physician	**Address & Phone Number**	**Date last seen**	**Reason**

Institutions and/or hospitals	Address & Phone Number	Date	Reason

List all medications, including over-the-counter drugs and vitamins:

Family History: Have any immediate family members (parents, brothers, sisters) died prior to age 60?
_____Yes* _____No

*If "yes," identify family member, cause of and age at death.

Avocation or special risk concerns: (flying, diving, climbing, driving, or similar activities)
_____Yes** _____No

**If yes, then you will need to submit the appropriate underwriting questionnaire.

Agent's Report (to be filled out by the insurance agent)

Submitted by:_____ Agency:_____

Address:_____

_____

Phone #:_____ Fax #:_____ E-mail address:_____

What are the product and premium goals of this case?_____

What other carriers have reviewed this risk? Results?_____

What problems have you encountered so far?_____

American General/US Life

I hereby authorize and request any licensed physician, medical practitioner, hospital, clinic or other medical related facility, insurance company, the Medical Information Bureau, or other organization, institution or person, that has any records or knowledge of me or my health, or that of any member of my immediate family proposed for insurance to give to American General Life Insurance Company and its reinsurers any such information. A photographic copy of this authorization shall be valid as the original. Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the notices made a detachable part of this application pertaining to the Fair Credit Reporting Act and the Medical Information Bureau. I represent that the statements and answers recorded above are true and complete to the very best of my knowledge and belief.

Hartford

I authorize Hartford Life or Hartford Life and Accident Insurance Company (Hartford) to complete a Personal History Interview and to obtain an Investigative Consumer Report on me or on my children. I authorize the release of any medical or non-medical information that relates to: (1) past or current health conditions including illnesses; sicknesses; diseases; disabilities; disorders; accidents; or injuries; (2) confinements in any hospital; medical facility; or medical clinic; (3) outpatient treatment in any hospital; hospital emergency room; medical facility; or clinic; (4) treatment for alcohol abuse; drug abuse; or mental health protected by Federal Law. This information may be released by any person or organization that has records or knowledge of my health or of the health of my children, if they are applying for insurance. This includes any doctor; medical professional; health practitioner; therapist; counselor; hospital; clinic; insurer; reinsurer; consumer reporting firm; employer or the Medical Information Bureau (MIB). This information may be released for the purpose of determining eligibility for insurance under a new or existing policy. This information may be released to Hartford or to their legal representative. I understand that the MIB will release records of information only to Hartford. Hartford may release the information in their file(s) to: their reinsurers; the MIB; any other insurance company to whom I or my children apply for life or health insurance; or other persons and/or organizations performing business or legal services in connection with this application or a claim.

Mass Mutual Life Insurance Company

I have received the Notice about the Medical Information Bureau, Inc, (MIB). I have also received the Notice about the Fair Credit Reporting Act. I understand and authorize an investigative report to be made. This report may include information about my character, general reputation, personal characteristics, and mode of living. I hereby authorize certain parties that have any records or knowledge of me and my health (or my children and their health if juvenile insurance), to make such information available to the Company and its reinsurers. These parties include: any licensed physician, medical practitioner, hospital, clinic, other medical or medically related facility, insurance company, MIB, or other organization. I agree that a photo copy or facsimile of this authorization may be used to obtain information.

The Manufacturers Life Insurance Company/The Manufacturers Life Ins. Comp. of America

I hereby give permission to any physician, medical care provider, hospital, clinic, laboratory, insurance company or MIB, Inc. (The Medical Information Bureau) or any other similar person or organization to give The Company and to its reinsurers, information about me or any of my minor children who are to be insured. The information collected by The Company may relate to the symptoms, examination, diagnosis, treatment or prognosis of any physical or mental condition. Although information related to drug or alcohol abuse at any time, but any revocation will not affect such information that has already been collected and relied on by The Company. Information collected under this Authorization will be used by The Company to evaluate my application for insurance, to evaluate a claim for benefits, or for reinsurance or other insurance purposes. I understand that I have a right to receive a copy of this form. I agree that a photocopy of this form will be as valid as the original. This authorization will be valid for two years from the date shown below. I acknowledge receipt of the Notice of Disclosure of Information

Lincoln Financial Group, Inc.

I AUTHORIZE any medical professional, hospital, clinic, medical care institution, insurer, the Medical Information Bureau, Inc. consumer reporting agency, Social Security Administration, employer, or other person having records or knowledge of me or my family members' physical or mental health, or any other information bearing on my (our) insurability, to give Lincoln National Life Insurance Company and its reinsurers or any consumer reporting agency acting on the Company's behalf, any such information. This shall include all information about my (our) medical history, diagnosis, treatment, and prognosis including information regarding alcohol and drug abuse. I AUTHORIZE the Insurance Company to have blood sample and urine sample analyzed for the purpose of underwriting my application for insurance coverage. The analysis of the blood and urine sample may include, but is not limited to, tests where allowed by law for diabetes, liver function, kidney disorders, cholesterol and related blood lipids, presence of acquired immune deficiency syndrome antibodies, immune disorders or the presence of medication, drugs or nicotine. I AUTHORIZE the Insurance Company to disclose the results of these tests to the Medical Information Bureau described in the Important Notice. I UNDERSTAND THAT my (our) medical records may be protected by certain Federal Regulations especially as they apply to any drug or alcohol abuse data. I understand that I (we) may revoke this authorization at any time as it pertains to any such drug or alcohol abuse data by written notification; however, any action taken prior to revocation will not be affected. This authorization shall be valid for a period of two years after the date it is signed. A photographic copy of this authorization shall be as valid as the original. I will be given a copy of this authorization at my request. An investigative consumer report may be obtained and if such a report is obtained, I may request to be interviewed in connection with the preparation of that report. If a consumer report is obtained, ___I do,___I do not request to be interviewed. I ACKNOWLEDGE the receipt of the "Important Notice" containing Fair Credit Report Act and Medical Information Bureau, Inc. information.

General Authorization

I hereby authorize any licensed physician, medical practitioner, hospital, clinic or other medical or medically related facility, insurance company, the Medical Information Bureau or other organization, institution or person that has any records or knowledge of me or my health to give to the life insurance companies listed on this form and their reinsurers at the time of my signature any such information. To facilitate rapid submission of such information, I authorize all said sources to give such records or knowledge to any agency utilized by the insurance company to collect and transmit such information. A photocopy of this authorization shall be as valid as the original. AIG, American General/U.S. Life, Ascensus, Canada Life, CNA/Valley Forge, Empire General, First Colony, Fortis, General Life, Hartford, ICMG, Indianapolis Life, Jefferson-Pilot, John Hancock, Life of Virginia, Lincoln Benefit, Lincoln Security, Manufacturers Life Insurance Company (U.S.A.), Manufacturers Life Insurance Company of America, Mass Mutual, Metropolitan, Midland, Nationwide, New England, New York Life, North American, Phoenix Life, The Potomac Group, Principal Mutual, Protective, Prudential, Reliastar, Security Life of Denver, Southland Life, State Life, Sun Life of Canada, TransAmerica, The Travelers, United of Omaha, West Coast Life and Zurich Kemper Life. I have received a copy of the Fair Credit Reporting Act Notification and the Exchange of Information (Medical Information Bureau).

General Authorization II

I hereby authorize any licensed physician, medical practitioner, hospital, clinic or other medical or medically related facility, insurance company, the Medical Information Bureau or other organization, institution or person that has any records or knowledge of me or my health to give to the life insurance companies listed on this form including but not limited to AIG Life Insurance Company, American General Life Insurance Companies, American General Life Insurance Company of New York, American Mayflower Life Insurance Company of New York, AmerUs Life Insurance Company Bankers Life Insurance Company of New York, Banner Life Insurance Company, Canada Life Assurance Company, Canada Life Assurance Company of New York, Companion Life Insurance Company, Continental Assurance Company, Empire General Life Assurance Company, First Colony Life Insurance Company, First Penn Pacific Life Insurance Company, General Life Insurance Company, GE Life and Annuity Insurance Company, Guarantee Trust Life Insurance Company, Hartford Life Insurance Company, Indianapolis Life Insurance Company, Jefferson-Pilot Life Insurance Company, John Hancock Financial Services, Lincoln Benefit Life Insurance Company, Lincoln Life Insurance Company, Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company/The New England, The Midland Life Insurance Company, Nationwide Life Insurance Company, New York Life Insurance Company, New York Life Insurance Company and Annuity Corporation, North American Company for Life and Health, Phoenix Home Life, Protective Life Insurance Company, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, ReliaStar Life Insurance Company, ReliaStar Life Insurance Company of New York, Security Life of Denver Insurance Company, Security Mutual Life Insurance Company, Southland Life Insurance Company, State Life Insurance Company, Sun Life of Canada, Transamerica Life Insurance and Annuity Company, The Travelers, United of Omaha Life Insurance Company, United States Life Insurance Company in the City of New York, Valley Forge Life Insurance Company, William Penn Life Insurance Company of New York, The Manufacturers Life Insurance Company (Manulife Financial) and their reinsurers at the time of my signature any such information. To facilitate rapid submission of such information, I authorize all said sources to give such records or knowledge to any agency utilized by the insurance company to collect and transmit such information. A photocopy of this authorization shall be as valid as the original I have received a copy of the Fair Credit Reporting Act Notification and the Exchange of Information (Medical Information Bureau).

Print Proposed Insured Name	Signature	Date

Instructions: A copy of the Notification appearing below must be given to the Proposed Insured before or at the time of signature.

Notice to Proposed Insured

Federal Fair Credit Reporting Act

In connection with your informal inquiry about insurance, an investigative consumer report may be prepared whereby information is obtained through personal interviews with your family, friends, neighbors, business associates, financial sources, or others with whom you are acquainted. This report includes information as to your character, general reputation, personal characteristics, and mode of living. Upon written request to the life insurance companies listed in this Notice within a reasonable time after receipt of this Notice, you will be informed whether or not an investigative consumer report was requested, and, if so, you will be advised of the name and address and telephone number of the consumer reporting agency to whom the request was made. The consumer reporting agency, upon request, will furnish information as to the nature and scope of its investigation. You have the right to inspect and to receive a copy of any such report by contacting the consumer reporting agency.

MIB (Medical Information Bureau) Disclosure

Information regarding your insurability will be treated as confidential. The life insurance companies listed in this Notice or their reinsurers may, however, make a brief report thereon to the Medical Information Bureau, Inc., a non-profit membership organization of life insurance companies, which operates an informational exchange bureau on behalf of its members. If you apply to another Bureau member company for life or health insurance coverage, or a claim for benefits is submitted to such a company, the Bureau, upon request, will supply such company with the information it may have in its file.

Upon receipt of request from you, the Bureau will arrange disclosure of any information it may have in your file. If you question the accuracy of information in the Bureau's file, you may contact the Bureau and seek a correction in accordance with the procedures set forth in the federal Fair Credit Reporting Act. The address of the Bureau's information office is Post Office Box 105, Essex Station, Boston, Massachusetts 02112 Tel. ([redacted]

The companies listed in this Notice or their reinsurers may also release information in their files to other insurance companies to whom you may apply for life or health insurance, or to whom a claim for benefits may be submitted.

Notice of Insurance Information Practices

In the course of properly underwriting and administering your insurance coverage, the listed insurance companies below will rely primarily on information provided by you. The companies may also seek information from others, such as medical professionals who have treated you. In some cases, the insurance companies may ask a consumer reporting agency to collect information and submit an investigative consumer report to them as explained in this Notice under **Federal Fair Credit Reporting Act**.

You may request to be interviewed in connection with the preparation of this report. In certain limited situations, the insurance companies are allowed by law to disclose necessary items of personal information to third parties without your specific authorization. You have the right to be told about, and to see and copy if you wish, items of personal information about you which appear in the insurance companies' files, including information contained in investigative consumer reports. You also have the right to seek correction of information you believe to be inaccurate. The above is a general description of the listed insurance companies and information practices. If you would like to receive a more detailed explanation of these practices, please send your request to the General Agent who contacts you to write life insurance policies. This is only an informal inquiry that will be acted upon by an agent. The listed insurance companies are: AIG Life Insurance Company, American General Life Insurance Companies, American General Life Insurance Company of New York, American Mayflower Life Insurance Company of New York, AmerUs Life Insurance Company Bankers Life Insurance Company of New York, Banner Life Insurance Company, Canada Life Assurance Company, Canada Life Assurance Company of New York, Companion Life Insurance Company, Continental Assurance Company, Empire General Life Assurance Company, First Colony Life Insurance Company, First Penn Pacific Life Insurance Company, General Life Insurance Company, GE Life and Annuity Insurance Company, Guarantee Trust Life Insurance Company, Hartford Life Insurance Company, Indianapolis Life Insurance Company, Jefferson-Pilot Life Insurance Company, John Hancock Financial Services, Lincoln Benefit Life Insurance Company, Lincoln Life Insurance Company, Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company/The New England, The Midland Life Insurance Company, Nationwide Life Insurance Company, New York Life Insurance Company, New York Life Insurance Company and Annuity Corporation, North American Company for Life and Health, Phoenix Home Life, Protective Life Insurance Company, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, ReliaStar Life Insurance Company, ReliaStar Life Insurance Company of New York, Security Life of Denver Insurance Company, Security Mutual Life Insurance Company, Southland Life Insurance Company, State Life Insurance Company, Sun Life of Canada, Transamerica Life Insurance and Annuity Company, The Travelers, United of Omaha Life Insurance Company, United States Life Insurance Company in the City of New York, Valley Forge Life Insurance Company, William Penn Life Insurance Company of New York, The Manufacturers Life Insurance Company (Manulife Financial)

TRIAL LIFE INSURANCE APPLICATION

Section 1. Proposed Insured Information

1. Proposed Insured _____ 2. Date of Birth _____ Sex ☐Male ☐Female
3. Social Security No. ____-____-____ 4. Ht:____ Wt:____ 5. Birth Place_____
6. Address _____
7. Driver's License # _____ 8. License State_____
9. US Citizen? ☐Yes ☐No If No, Date of Entry: Type of Visa:_____

Section 2. Medical History

1. Physician Information: Please list the name(s) and address(es) of each of the Proposed Insured's personal physician(s):

Physician Name	Institution	Address/Phone Number	Date Last Seen	Reason
Physician Name	Institution	Address/Phone Number	Date Last Seen	Reason

2. Personal Health History
If yes answers apply to any question, provide details, such as: date of first diagnosis, name and address of doctor, tests performed, test results, medication(s) or recommended treatment in the area provided.

	Yes	No
A. Has the Proposed Insured ever been diagnosed as having been treated for, or consulted a licensed health care provider for:		
1) heart disease, heart attack, chest pain, irregular heartbeat, heart murmur, high cholesterol, high blood pressure or other disorder of the heart?	☐	☐
2) a blood clot, aneurysm, stroke, or other disease, disorder or blockage of the arteries or veins?	☐	☐
3) cancer, tumors, masses, cysts or other such abnormalities?	☐	☐
4) diabetes, a disorder of the thyroid or other glands, or a disorder of the immune system, blood or lymphatic system?	☐	☐
5) colitis, hepatitis or a disorder of the esophagus, stomach, liver, pancreas, gall bladder or intestine?	☐	☐
6) a disorder of the kidneys, bladder, prostrate or reproductive organs or sugar or protein in the urine?	☐	☐
7) asthma, bronchitis, emphysema, sleep apnea, or other breathing or lung disorder?	☐	☐
8) seizures, a disorder of the brain or spinal cord, or other nervous system abnormality including a mental or nervous disorder?	☐	☐
9) arthritis, muscle disorders, connective tissue disease or other bone or joint disorders?	☐	☐
(If any question above is answered yes, please explain.) _____		
B. Has the Proposed Insured used tobacco in any form in the past 24 months?	☐	☐
If yes, please list the date of last nicotine use:_____ Specify Tobacco Type:_____		
Are you currently using nicotine gum or patch?	☐	☐
C. Is the Proposed Insured currently taking any medication, treatment, or therapy or under medical observation?	☐	☐
(If yes, explain) _____		
D. Has the Proposed Insured in the past three years had but not sought treatment for:		
1) fainting spells, nervous disorder, headaches, convulsions or paralysis?	☐	☐
2) any pain or discomfort in the chest or shortness of breath?	☐	☐
3) disorders of the stomach, intestines, or rectum, or blood in the urine?	☐	☐
(If any question above is answered yes, please explain.) _____		
E. Has the Proposed Insured ever:		
1) sought or received advice, counseling or treatment by a medical professional for the use of alcohol or drugs, including prescription drugs?	☐	☐
2) used cocaine, marijuana, heroin, controlled substances or any other drug, except as legally prescribed by a physician?	☐	☐
(If yes answered to E1 or E2 please complete Drug/Alcohol Questionnaire)		

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	Yes	No
F. Has the Proposed Insured ever been diagnosed or treated by any member of the medical profession for AIDS Related Complex (ARC) or Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)?	☐	☐
(If yes, please explain.)		
G. In the past 10 years, has the Proposed Insured:		
1) been hospitalized, consulted a health care provider or had any illness, injury or surgery?	☐	☐
2) had any laboratory tests, treatments or diagnostic procedures, including x-rays, scans or EKGs?	☐	☐
3) been advised to have any diagnostic test, hospitalization or treatment that was not completed?	☐	☐
4) received or claimed disability or hospital indemnity benefits or a pension for any injury, sickness, disability or impaired condition?	☐	☐
(If any question above is answered yes, please explain.)		
H. Does the Proposed Insured have any symptoms or knowledge of any other condition that is not disclosed above?	☐	☐
(If yes, please explain.)		

Section 3. Non-Medical Questions

	Yes	No
I. Will this insurance replace, change, or use cash values of any existing insurance policy or annuity policy by any company?	☐	☐
J. Does any proposed insured intend to travel or reside outside of the United States or Canada within the next two years?	☐	☐
(If yes, list proposed insured's name, country, date, length of stay and purpose.)		

Section 4. Authorization and Disclosures

As the proposed insured or the proposed insured's authorized representative:

I hereby authorize any licensed physician, medical practitioner, hospital, clinic or other medical or medically related facility, insurance company, the Medical Information Bureau or other organization, institution or person that has any records or knowledge of me or my health to give the companies listed on this form and their reinsurers at the time of my signature any such information. To facilitate rapid transmission of such information, I authorize all said sources to give such records or knowledge to the agencies utilized by the insurance companies to collect and transmit such information as identified below. I understand the disclosed information will be used to determine eligibility for life insurance with any of the companies named below. I, as well as my representative, may, upon written request, obtain a copy of this consent from Eshkol Academy or Creative Funding Solutions, LLC. The consent will be valid for 24 months from the date it is signed. I understand I may at any time write to Advisors, LLC in care of the organization to revoke this authorization and that the revocation will take effect when it is received. A photocopy of this authorization shall be as valid as the original. AIG Life Insurance Company, American General Life Insurance Companies, American General Life Insurance Company of New York, American Mayflower Life Insurance Company of New York, AmerUs Life Insurance Company Bankers Life Insurance Company of New York, Banner Life Insurance Company, Canada Life Assurance Company, Canada Life Assurance Company of New York, Companion Life Insurance Company, Continental Assurance Company, Empire General Life Assurance Company, First Colony Life Insurance Company, First Penn Pacific Life Insurance Company, Fortis, General Life Insurance Company, GE Life and Annuity Insurance Company, Guarantee Trust Life Insurance Company, Hartford Life Insurance Company, ICMG, Indianapolis Life Insurance Company, Jefferson-Pilot Life Insurance Company, John Hancock Financial Services, Lincoln Benefit Life Insurance Company, Lincoln Life Insurance Company, Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company/The New England, The Midland Life Insurance Company, Nationwide Life Insurance Company, New England, New York Life Insurance Company, New York Life Insurance Company and Annuity Corporation, North American Company for Life and Health, Phoenix Home Life, The Principal, Principal Mutual, Protective Life Insurance Company, The Prudential Insurance Company of America, ReliaStar Life Insurance Company, ReliaStar Life Insurance Company of New York, Security Life of Denver Insurance Company, Security Mutual Life Insurance Company, Southland Life Insurance Company, State Life Insurance Company, Sun Life of Canada, Transamerica Life Insurance and Annuity Company, The Travelers, United of Omaha Life Insurance Company, United States Life Insurance Company in the City of New York, Valley Forge Life Insurance Company, West Coast Life, William Penn Life Insurance Company of New York, The Manufacturers Life Insurance Company (Manulife Financial), and Zurich Kemper Life, and their reinsurers at the time of my signature any such information. , Empire General, First Colony, Fortis, General Life, Hartford, ICMG, Indianapolis Life, Jefferson Pilot, John Hancock, Life of Virginia, Lincoln Benefit, Lincoln Life, Lincoln Security, Manufacturers Life Insurance Company (USA), Manufacturers Life Insurance Company of America, Mass Mutual, Metropolitan Midland, Nationwide, New England, New York Life, North American, Phoenix Life, The Potomac Group, The Principal, Principal Mutual, Protective, Prudential, Reliastar, Security Life of Denver, Southland Life, State Life, Sun Life of Canada, TransAmerica, The Travelers, United of Omaha, West Coast Life and Zurich Kemper Life.

Proposed Insured Name (Please Print) _____ Proposed Insured Signature _____ Date _____

3/1/2003 Agent's Name_____ Application #_____ Page 2 of 2

Identification
In order to comply with the federal law it is required that we have on file several forms of identification.

Please provide copies of the following forms of identification:

Government issued Photo Identification *(at least one, but two are preferred).*
Examples:
- Passport
- Driver' License
- State Photo I.D.

Verification on Telephone Number and Permanent Address *(at least one).*
Examples:
- Phone Bill
- Utility Bill

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