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S. HRG. 109–135, Pt. 1

TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

OVERSIGHT HEARING REGARDING TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS, ET AL

JUNE 22, 2005
WASHINGTON, DC

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TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22, 2005

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:44 a.m. in room 216 Senate Hart Building, Hon. John McCain (chairman of the committee), presiding.

Present: Senators McCain, Akaka, Dorgan, Inouye, and Thomas.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN MCCAIN, U.S. SENATOR FROM ARIZONA, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

The CHAIRMAN. Good morning.

Last February, the committee launched an investigation in to allegations of misconduct made by six Indian tribes against their former lobbyist Jack Abramoff and former political consultant Michael Scanlon. Later in the year, the committee held two hearings examining the duo's representation of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians of Palm Springs and the Tigua Tribe of El Paso.

Among other things, the committee determined that Mr. Scanlon's companies collected at least $66 million from the six tribes and secretly paid Mr. Abramoff almost $22 million from that amount.

Today's hearing is the third in this series of hearings. The committee is pleased to have with us representatives of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Nell Rogers who was the tribe's primary contact with Jack Abramoff, Michael Scanlon, and Donald Kilgore, the tribe's attorney general who is presently examining the full extent of the tribe's injuries.

Also attending is Chief Martin's personal representative, Charlie Ben, the director of administration in the Office of the Chief. Chief Martin and I met in my office just weeks ago to discuss this hearing. Given the knowledge and candor of Ms. Rogers and Mr. Kilgore, the committee concluded that Chief Martin's presence would not be necessary. The committee nevertheless appreciates Chief Martin's graciousness in sending his personal representative here today.

During our meeting, Chief Martin shared with me the rumors and misinformation that persists about the committee's investigation. Let me reiterate the focus of the committee's investigation and today's hearing. The committee's investigation is and always has been directed at the allegations of misconduct made by a num-

ber of tribes against their former lobbyists and political consultants and the consequent harm to the tribes. This investigation has never been an attack on tribal sovereignty nor an assault on the tribe's legitimate participation in our great democracy.

This particular hearing is not aimed at Chief Martin, his administration or the tribe. There have been no allegations of wrongdoing made against them, nor have we seen any evidence of such wrongdoing.

With that in mind, I thank Chief Martin for the Mississippi Choctaw's complete and continuing cooperation in the committee's investigation. During our collaborations, the tribe has raised concerns about public revelation of certain matters it deems protected by the First Amendment.

Sensitive to the tribe's concern, whether couched in constitutional terms or not, the committee and the tribe have successfully worked together to ensure that the committee has full access to pertinent information, without needlessly disclosing information potentially damaging to the tribe. This is a commitment I ask my colleagues to honor and respect, and one which I intend to uphold as chairman.

From our first hearing emerged the utter contempt that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon held for their tribal clients. In the second, Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's insatiable greed came to the fore. Today's hearing is about more than contempt; even more than greed. It is simply and sadly a tale of betrayal. When that betrayal began, exactly when and why, we do not and may not ever know. What we do know is that Mr. Abramoff betrayed a longstanding client, betrayed his colleagues, betrayed his friends.

Of all his tribal representations, the Mississippi Choctaw was Abramoff's longest. As far back as 1995, the Mississippi Choctaw hired Mr. Abramoff while at Preston Gates to represent their interests on Capitol Hill. By all accounts, Mr. Abramoff and his team discharged their duties ably and with great success.

When Mr. Abramoff and his team left Preston Gates for Greenberg Traurig at the end of 2000, the tribe moved their account with him. Over the preceding 5 years, the tribe, and more particularly Chief Martin and his aides, had grown to trust Jack Abramoff and his team. Little did they know that that trust would soon be abused.

Over the next 3 years, it appears that Mr. Abramoff separately and in concert with Mr. Scanlon and others defrauded the tribe in three ways. The first is not new to this story. The previous hearings revealed the secret partnership shared by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon and the artificially inflated prices they obtained under false pretenses. The second and third ways have not yet been examined. These are the use of tax exempt organizations to effect their scheme, and the fraudulent billing of fees and expenses by Jack Abramoff and his team at Greenberg Traurig.

According to witnesses, Mr. Abramoff introduced the tribe to Mr. Scanlon and recommended it hire him in late 2001. The two presented Mr. Scanlon as an independent operator. Never did they confess their secret partnership to the tribe. Never did they reveal that together they set prices to account for Mr. Abramoff's stake in the profits. Never did they even hint that the two devoted a small

fraction of the payments to the uses intended by the tribe, pocketing the rest.

Until last year, the tribe had no reason to question the man that had represented and advised them for years. At all times the tribe understood and expected that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were working in their best interests. Even today, the tribe could not have envisioned the betrayal it suffered at their hands.

How big was that betrayal? According to a January 8, 2002 e-mail from Mr. Abramoff to Mr. Scanlon, the two had charged the Mississippi Choctaw $7.7 million for projects in 2001. Of that amount, Mr. Scanlon spent $1.2 million for the efforts. He and Mr. Abramoff split an astounding $6.5 million.

Not content with these astronomical sums, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon conspired for more. In a November 4, 2002 e-mail, Mr. Scanlon asked Mr. Abramoff how he should seek more money from the tribe's legislative liaison Nell Rogers:

> Last time you said to me to just tell her that we are spending our own money to get it done and we are going deep into the hole.

Mr. Abramoff replied:

> I think you should call her and tell her that we have turned the corner, but you are pouring it on to make sure we win. Tell her as of now you are finally willing to say that we will win this, but laughingly say, I do not know how I am going to get back all the money I had to dump into this.

This, of course, was untrue.

Since our first hearing, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon have suggested to the tribes that the two were not partners and that the sums Mr. Scanlon paid Mr. Abramoff were merely referral fees. That explanation strains credulity. Not only did Mr. Scanlon pay Mr. Abramoff one-half his company's profits, conspire with him to set prices and refer to him as a partner, we now know that Mr. Abramoff was prepared to claim to prospective financiers on another venture that, "2000 was a business transition year where I was building CCS." CCS, of course, was Capitol Campaign Strategies, a company owned and operated by Mr. Scanlon.

Last year, the committee reported that Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's partnership apparently commenced in June 2001. It appears that their scam actually started earlier. It apparently began with payments to the American International Center, the self-styled international think tank in Rehoboth Beach, DE that was Greenberg Traurig's fifth largest lobbying client in 2002, paying $840,000 in fees to the firm.

With us today are the center's former directors, Brian Mann and David Grosh. These two gentlemen will hopefully be able to educate us on the nature and scope of the American International Center's business. I suspect both men will be surprised to learn that Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff used the center to carryout their allegedly fraudulent scheme.

As an example of this, in a May 2, 2001 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff informed Mr. Scanlon that the Mississippi Choctaw were about to pay money into the American International Center. According to Mr. Abramoff:

> I am going to try to get us $175,000, $100,000 to Ralph, $25,000 to contribution, $5,000 immediately to the Conservative Caucus, the rest, give me $5,000.

Ultimately in April 2003, the AIC paid Mr. Abramoff's company, Kaygold, almost $1 million. Their "gimme five" scheme seems to have begun with a modest $50,000, as we know. It would soon rocket into millions.

Based on the evidence thus far, the Mississippi Choctaw paid approximately $15 million directly to Mr. Scanlon's companies and Mr. Scanlon paid Mr. Abramoff more than $5 million from those funds.

Unfortunately, the alleged fraud perpetrated against the tribe does not end there. In 2002, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon successfully employed other vehicles to extract another $2 million from the tribe. Apparently at Mr. Scanlon's direction, the tribe paid $1 million into the Capital Athletic Foundation, Jack Abramoff's personal charitable foundation. The tribe intended and understood that the $1 million would be distributed to various grassroots organization to advance the tribe's legislative interests. At all times relevant, the tribe understood that the foundation's sole function was a conduit of money, never a legitimate charity.

The tribe neither intended nor authorized its money to be used as a charitable contribution to the foundation. It certainly never agreed to the uses that Mr. Abramoff ultimately put those funds. To what uses did Mr. Abramoff and his foundation put the money received from the Mississippi Choctaw and other donors in 2002? According to the foundation's tax and accounting records, nearly 80 percent of the funds went to the Eshkol Academy, the all-boys Jewish school established by Jack Abramoff. The foundation also paid a monthly stipend and Jeep payments to Mr. Abramoff's high school friend living in the Israeli West Bank who conducted sniper workshops for members of the Israeli defense force and others.

As Mr. Abramoff tried to square these payments with the charitable mission of the foundation, according to Mr. Abramoff's secretary, his friend suggested that he could write, "some kind of letter with his sniper workshop logo and letterhead." It is an "educational" entity of sorts. Mr. Abramoff could only respond, "No, don't do that. I don't want sniper letterhead."

Based on evidence examined by the committee, Mr. Abramoff adjusted the transactional structure on the books to continue, in the words of his tax planner, "the Jeep payments, as well as all the other military expenses that do not look good on the foundation's books."

His cohort in Israel did so by establishing a bank account in the name of a school that apparently existed only on paper. Whether the substance as opposed to the form of the transaction comports with our tax laws will likely be of interest to the IRS.

Interestingly, in 2002 the foundation listed as beneficiaries of its largest the Alexandria Police Youth Camp Foundation, Boy Scouts of America, YMCA of Metropolitan Washington, and other legitimate organizations. Yet cumulatively, those organizations received only $7,000 in donations that year, a sum that pales in comparison to what each of the three largest recipients received individually. In fact, the listed organizations together received less than 1 percent of the money spent.

Before its website was taken out, Mr. Abramoff's foundation listed its mission as fostering character development through sportsmanship, which it defined as:

> Ethical behavior both on and off the playing field, both in athletics and in business, both as a youth and as an adult.

Given what we have learned over the past year and what we will hear today, that mission statement rings hollow.

More betrayals were to come. In October 2002, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon successfully defrauded the tribe of another $1 million. To accomplish this, Jack Abramoff betrayed not just the tribe, but also two long-time friends and violated his fiduciary duty to the non-profit organization on whose board he sat. The process was two-fold. On the top end, Mr. Abramoff directed the tribe to pay $1 million into the National Center for Public Policy Research, upon whose board he sat and whose executive director he knew for over 20 years.

To induce the tribe in to making the payment, he told them that the money would be used for their grassroots activities, activities which he knew the center could not and would not undertake either on its own or through another. To the center, Mr. Abramoff explained that part of the money was a donation ultimately destined for the Capital Athletic Foundation and the rest was intended for a huge educational effort the tribe was undertaking to educate the public on the benefits of Indian gaming and the distinction between Indian and non-Indian gaming. The center understood it would participate in that educational effort.

On October 10, 2002, the center provided Mr. Abramoff with an invoice for $1 million for, "contribution to the National Center for Educational and Research Programs and Activities." But the tribe never saw that invoice because Mr. Abramoff never sent it. Instead, he sent an invoice fabricated by Mr. Scanlon's shop purportedly from the National Center for Public Policy Research, for "professional services." That was the invoice the tribe ultimately saw and paid.

Once the money arrived at the center, Mr. Abramoff told the center to pay $500,000 to Capitol Campaign Strategies, which Mr. Abramoff claimed was performing the heavy lifting on the educational effort, and $50,000 to Nurnberger and Associates, which Mr. Abramoff said would be supervising the effort. He told the center the remaining $450,000 was intended as a charitable contribution to the Capital Athletic Foundation.

In fact, the tribe never intended to donate any of that money to Mr. Abramoff's personal charity. Mr. Nurnberger never worked on behalf of the center or the Choctaw. He received his money in repayment of a personal loan he had made to Mr. Abramoff years earlier. When Mr. Nurnberger raised concerns about the center repaying the loan, Mr. Abramoff assured him that the funds were due Mr. Abramoff as director of the center.

To try and give his activities the veneer of legitimacy, Mr. Abramoff instructed his executive assistant to "make up invoices" from Nurnberger and Associates and the Capital Athletic Foundation which he then submitted to the center. According to Mr. Nurnberger, he neither saw nor approved the invoice submitted in his firm's name. Believing the transaction in order and relying

upon the word and fiduciary duty of their director, the center disbursed the funds. By abusing the trust of those involved, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon profited by another $1 million.

I want to thank Amy Ridenour, the president of the National Center for Public Policy Research, for agreeing to appear here today to help illuminate what appears to be a $1-million fraud.

The third area of possible fraud identified by the committee involves the possible fraudulent billing of fees and expenses by Mr. Abramoff and his team while at Greenberg Traurig. It ranges from charging non-business meals at Mr. Abramoff's restaurant, Signatures, to the impermissible expensing for club dues and other items hidden from the tribe. It apparently also involves the padding of bills.

As just one example, when Mr. Abramoff learned that the tribe's bill was nowhere near the $150,000 monthly mark, Mr. Abramoff instructed one of his associates to "add 60 hours" for him, and to "pump up Scanlon, Todd, and you; give Amy some hours if you have to." Even when Mr. Scanlon began running his own companies and receiving payments directly from the tribes, Mr. Abramoff nevertheless tried to bill clients for Mr. Scanlon's time.

There is other evidence which I believe the Department of Justice should review if it has not already begun to do so. If proven true, such activity could well constitute a violation of the mail and wire fraud statutes.

There is much more to this story than I could possibly describe in the limited time we have today. Indeed, the committee has come upon evidence suggesting that Mr. Abramoff may have perpetrated a similar scam on some of his non-tribal clients. While we cannot emphasize enough the harm Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon inflicted upon the tribe, we should not overlook the toll their actions took on the men and women they betrayed.

How that wound can be salved, I cannot say. I leave it to Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to try. I asked the vice chairman for his concurrence in having documents that I will be asking questions on, those related to these areas, entered as part of today's record.

Senator DORGAN. Without objection. I would support that.

[Referenced documents appear in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN Senator Dorgan.

STATEMENT OF HON. BYRON L. DORGAN, U.S. SENATOR FROM NORTH DAKOTA, VICE CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. I will make a similar request that the documents on which I ask questions be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN Without objection.

[Referenced documents appear in appendix.]

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, this is, as you have described, a disgusting story of greed unlike any that I have seen in my service in Congress. I think it is important to begin, as you did, to point out that there is no evidence of wrongdoing by the Choctaws, the Indian tribe that will be discussed here. We have had their full cooperation. We appreciate the cooperation of Chief Martin and others from that tribe.

It is important to understand that this tribe has been a victim of fraud, we believe, and we will describe some of that in the hearing and learn much more from the witnesses.

The commitment that the chairman has made in this committee to provide a thorough and exhaustive investigation of how a number of Indian tribes were deceived and defrauded by Jack Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon is important. Today, we focus on the Choctaw Tribe of Mississippi and how they were victimized.

The Choctaw Tribe is a notably successful tribe in its business operations. It is the second-largest employer in the State of Mississippi. The tribe has a very substantial annual payroll. Its businesses are diversified and successful. These are business-savvy people with a business plan. Part of their plan was to hire someone who they could trust to advance their agenda.

The Choctaw Tribe began its relationship with Jack Abramoff 10 years ago. Mr. Abramoff designed a business model for the tribe, running their money through a variety of people and entities for grassroots public policy and public relations purposes. These included Preston Gates, Greenberg Traurig, Americans for Tax Reform, Capitol Campaign Strategies, Ralph Reed, and many more. In fact, there were a large number of characters who became recipients of the tribe's money through various means.

At some point, it appears to me that around January 2002 Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon decided they could be making millions themselves instead of sending money to others, including Ralph Reed. They referred to him as a bad version of us; no more money for him, in January 2002. And then they hatched the scheme whereby Abramoff told the tribe to hire Scanlon for millions. But he failed to tell the tribe that his firm would be getting at least one-third of the Scanlon fee as his reward.

The tribe was accustomed to sending money at Abramoff's direction to various organizations as a part of its public relations efforts. It appears they did not raise questions about the new groups that began to appear at Mr. Abramoff's recommendation: The American International Center, which is a Scanlon company; the National Center for Public Policy Research, whose board membership included Abramoff; the Capital Athletic Foundation whose sole board members were Abramoff and his wife; and Scanlon and Gould Public Affairs, also known as Capitol Campaign Strategies.

As part of its investigation, the committee uncovered a mind-boggling list of organizations used as financial and grassroots conduits by both Scanlon and Abramoff. The organizations provided an alarming picture of how these groups were used, and in some cases manipulated, sometimes for personal gain and sometimes for political gain. The goal was always the same: To hide, to obscure and to mislead where the money was coming from and where it was going.

The committee did not need a Deep Throat to tell us to follow the money. The e-mail that you will see today have done that for us. E-mail show that Mr. Abramoff may have tried to evade taxes by having earned income sent to his private charitable foundation which seemed also to serve as his personal piggy bank, the Capital Athletic Foundation. Quoting from one of his e-mail:

I have some money due me from CCS, Capitol Campaign Strategies. If I have them write it to the Capital Athletic Foundation for services rendered, can the Capital Athletic Foundation just take it and not pay taxes if the services are in the realm of what the Capital Athletic Foundation does, advice on athletics or something like that? That way, the CCS could expense it and the Capital Athletic Foundation could take it in tax-free.

E-mails show how Jack Abramoff shopped around for a 501(c)(4) or multiple 501(c)(4)s to use as pass-throughs for various money transactions. In an e-mail to Ralph Reed, Mr. Abramoff refers to Amy Ridenour at the National Center for Public Policy:

She does not have a (c)(4), only a (c)(3). So we are back to ATR, Americans for Tax Reform, only. Let me know if this will work. Just do this through ATR until we can find another group.

That is February 2, 2000.

A few weeks later, Abramoff responds to Reed about how to continue funding Reed's work:

Thanks, Ralph. I hope to have a decision imminently on going back up hard. I also have a new (c)(4) to use.

There are numerous memos between Mr. Abramoff, Reed, ATR, and Mr. Norquist on how to move more money through c(4)s to obscure or deceive the source of the money. Mr. Chairman, while it is not in this committee's jurisdiction to determine whether nonprofit organizations were acting legally or not, it certainly begs the question as to whether they were acting within their charitable or tax exempt purpose. I hope we will consider a future hearing perhaps with the Senate Finance Committee to explore the activities of these 501(c)(3)s and 501(c)(4)s. I suggest that we consult with the Finance Committee about how to further investigate those activities.

Over the course of the Choctaw's involvement with Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, the tribe spent at least $20 million on various lobbying and grassroots activities. No one questions their right to contract for services to grow their business. Like many groups who work with lobbyists, they put their trust in these experts from Washington to do the right thing, but there was a breach of trust and a betrayal.

This tribe was never told about the secret scheme that allowed Jack Abramoff to skim $5 million from the money that Michael Scanlon had promised the tribe would be spent on grassroots and public relations, but was not spent on that purpose. The tribe was never told that part of the $1 million they had been told to send to the National Center for Public Policy Research for grassroots organizing would be used to repay a personal loan going back to Jack Abramoff's days as a filmmaker. The tribe was never told that $10,000 of their money would be sent to Reed for chairman when Ralph Reed was seeking the chairmanship of the Georgia Republican Party. The tribe was not told that the $1 million they were directed to send to the Capital Athletic Fund was basically going to Abramoff's pet projects. We know that the Capital Athletic Fund, allegedly a private charitable foundation, was used as Mr. Abramoff's personal checking account.

Were these thefts or just betrayals? And where is the line drawn? Mr. Chairman, this investigation has taken twists and turns that none of us had anticipated. It has uncovered deceptions

and greed that even by Washington standards are breathtaking. It has raised questions of ethics and legality that we must pursue.

I thank you especially for your persistence and for your dogged approach. I look forward today to hearing from the witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Our first panel is Charlie Benn, a representative of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; Donald Kilgore, Esquire, attorney general for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; and Nell Rogers, planner of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Please come forward and welcome to the committee.

I apologize. While the witnesses are seating, Senator Akaka has an opening statement.

STATEMENT OF HON. DANIEL K. AKAKA, U.S. SENATOR FROM HAWAII

Senator AKAKA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and Vice Chairman Dorgan for holding this oversight hearing on tribal lobbying practices.

This is the third, as you know, in a series of hearings that this committee has conducted already. While I am appalled by these men, Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, they were able to conduct a pattern and practice of dealings that took advantage of native peoples. I am hopeful that through these hearings, the committee will be able to provide guidance in resolving these matters to ensure that this type of history is not repeated again.

I look forward, Mr. Chairman, to hearing the testimony from the witnesses who are here today. Thank you for holding this hearing, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Good morning.

Ms. Rogers, who is accompanying you, for the record?

Ms. ROGERS. Bryant Rogers who is the tribe's attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. Welcome, Mr. Rogers, just for the record.

We will begin with you, Mr. Benn. Thank you for appearing. Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF CHARLIE BENN, DIRECTOR OF ADMINISTRATION, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF, MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS

Mr. BENN. Thank you, sir.

Good morning. My name is Charlie Benn and I am the director of administration for the Office of Chief Phillip Martin, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. With me today are Nell Rogers, who works in the tribal planning office in the area of legislative affairs, who will also offer testimony in a few moments. Don Kilgore, the tribe's attorney general is here as well. Mr. Kilgore will also offer brief testimony and assist in answering questions that you may have. Also present with the panel is C. Bryant Rogers, outside counsel for the tribe.

We certainly appreciate this opportunity to present the views of the tribe as regards the committee's ongoing investigation into the conduct of Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon.

The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians is a federally recognized Indian tribe of nearly 10,000, most of whose members reside on eight reservation communities located on trust lands scattered

over a five-county area in East-Central Mississippi. The majority of our tribal members are full-blood Choctaw language-speaking. We are descendants of those Choctaw people who resisted repeated efforts by the Federal Government to force their relocation to Oklahoma. This continued from 1830 through the early 1900's. The tribe's reservation lands are poor and unproductive and the tribe is without any natural resources which could be used to generate income.

The Mississippi Choctaws were ignored and abandoned by the Congress and Federal executive branch for almost a century, finally securing our initial Indian reservation lands in 1944 and Federal recognition as a separate tribe in 1945. Our members were then essentially destitute without any resources and our tribal government was basically powerless to help them. Unemployment was so prevalent among our tribal members that we knew we had to find another path and we did.

We made the choice to pursue self-determination as the best means to meet the growing needs of the tribe and to pursue manufacturing jobs as the best means of employing large numbers of our people. Beginning with one tribal employee in 1963, the Mississippi Choctaws have grown to become the second-largest employer in Mississippi, employing some 9,200 people. We operate about 25 different commercial enterprises.

The tribe has developed a strong and stable government providing the full array of governmental services. This includes the operation of a large school system, police and fire protection services, courts, hospitals, clinics, social, housing, realty, and economic development agencies. These were key ingredients of our latest success in building a reservation economy and attracting private investment.

The passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and the introduction of class III gaming in 1989 in Mississippi led to the development of the tribe's current Pearl River Resort. We have invested over $1 billion in this development, which has created jobs and generated income. Rather than make large distribution payments to tribal members, we chose to invest in our future in a different way.

The success of the resort has allowed the tribe to begin catching up from generations of poverty. There has been extraordinary progress which I set forth in more detail in Chief Martin's written testimony. Still, significant needs remain particularly in the areas of health, education and housing. Since all of our enterprise growth has been debt-financed, we still have a $300-million debt load to retire.

Because of the tribe's government-to-government relationships with the United States and because of the need to protect tribal investments and our ability to repay business debt, the Mississippi Choctaws have engaged in extremely active and aggressive efforts to monitor and affect the Federal decisionmaking process and to shape public opinion on matters affecting the tribe's political and economic interests.

To achieve this, we have long engaged experienced professionals, including lobbyists with prestigious law firms who know and understand how Federal lobbying and grassroots advocacy works. Our

effort in this regard has historically been successful and we have relied upon the professional expertise and integrity of those law firms and their lobbyists to ensure that this work is handled for us in a lawful and appropriate manner.

So when the initial press reports emerged last year regarding the large fees paid to Jack Abramoff at Greenberg Traurig or to Michael Scanlon by a number of tribes for lobbying work and grassroots advocacy, we had no reason to believe that anything questionable had occurred concerning those payments or their work for us. We were pleased with the results that we had achieved.

Later, we have learned, based on the work of the committee and our attorneys, that Mr. Abramoff, along with Mr. Scanlon, had engaged in what appears to be a consistent pattern of kickbacks, misappropriated funds, payment induced under false pretenses, and padded billings, all orchestrated by Mr. Abramoff from his position as Senior Director of Governmental Affairs for Greenberg Traurig, LLP, the law firm which the tribe had retained to handle its public affairs needs starting in January 2001.

From the onset of this matter, the tribe has fully cooperated with the FBI and the Justice Department. Since July 2004, almost 1 year ago, we saw evidence of apparent wrongdoing on the part of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. We have worked closely with the committee to further its investigation.

Early on in this process, however, the tribe raised with the committee its concern that sensitive information regarding its lobbyists, lawful lobbying and public affairs activities not be unduly disclosed through the committee's investigation of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, and of the tribe's First Amendment right to protect against such involuntary disclosure.

The tribe certainly appreciates that the committee has respected the tribe's First Amendment rights throughout this. Consistent with this position, the tribe has shared all requested documents and information with committee staff, but has declined to place in the record information regarding the tribe's First Amendment-protected activities when disclosures of such information is not required. This remains the tribe's position today.

I would now like to defer to Ms. Rogers to discuss how the tribe came to employ Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, and further details on our lobbying activities, and to request that the committee's questions be deferred until each of us on this panel has had the opportunity to make our opening statements.

Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN Thank you very much, Mr. Benn.

Mr. KILGORE OR MS. Rogers, whichever way. Ms. Rogers is fine.

STATEMENT OF NELL ROGERS, PLANNER, MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you.

Good morning and thank you Senator McCain, Senator Dorgan, and Senator Inouye for your comments. I would also like to say that we appreciate the work of your staff in pulling together our information for the hearing.

Prior to 1994, Chief Martin was the tribe's primary lobbyist. Partly this was because the tribe had no funds to pay for these

services. Later as the scale and reach of Federal regulations and legislation affecting Indian tribes expanded, and as the tribe's businesses and revenues grew, attending to those enterprises required more and more of the chief's time, leaving less time to devote to the legislative process.

It became prudent to hire outside lobbyists and legal counsel to assist in addressing the tribe's Federal advocacy needs and to assign additional staff in the chief's office to assist in coordinating the tribe's public affairs efforts.

Before the tribe retained Preston Gates, it had retained the law firm of Hobbs, Strauss, Dean, and Walker here in Washington to provide some legal services and public affairs work, primarily in the area of self-determination, in health, and in education. The tribe continues to work with Hobbs, Strauss, and with other law firms, firms who have represented the tribe for many years such as Wise, Carter and Caraway and Scott, Sullivan, Streetman and Fox firms in Mississippi, and Roth, Van Amberg, Rogers, Ortiz and Yepa in New Mexico. All of them have provided a high caliber of legal representation and have done so with honesty and scrupulous adherence to their duties to the tribe as a client. No less was expected from the other Washington firms hired by the tribe starting in 1995.

In 1994, two simultaneous events occurred which required an expansion and a change in the direction of the tribe's public affairs work. First was a change in leadership of the Congress as a result of the 1994 elections. Second, the opening of the Silver Star Hotel and Casino by the tribe, also in 1994, gave rise to an array of new issues and concerns that had to be tracked and dealt with at the national level.

The tribe also wanted to tell its economic story, how it was possible to use the tax and regulatory structures unique to Indian reservations and economies operating under tribal jurisdiction to achieve on-reservation economic development. This was not just a theory. The tribe had experienced successful economic development for 15 years before opening the first casino. It did so by finding products that could be made and sold, hiring good managers, setting up a judicial system that provided fair treatment for outside parties, building a stable constitutional government with a separation of powers, and honoring its business contracts.

When the tribe opened its first casino, financed 100 percent with borrowed money, it had to be proactive in protecting its casino operations and its ability to pay off its debt. Thus in 1995, the announcement by the then-Ways and Means Committee Chairman of a plan to subject tribal income to taxation set off extraordinary alarms with the tribe because that meant that the tribe's gaming and other business revenue could be taxed up to 34 percent, threatening the tribe's ability to pay off its debt and undermining its capacity to provide essential governmental services to the some-10,000 tribal members.

It was in this climate, then, that the tribe recognized the need to reach out to the new Republican majority and to redouble all efforts to outline its long-time unmet needs and its reservation development experiences with all members of Congress in a bipartisan way.

Jack Abramoff was identified to us in 1995 as a potential public affairs specialist in the Washington office of a major law firm, Preston Gates. This firm, in addition to having ties to the new majority, also included former Congressman Lloyd Meeds, who was known to the tribe as someone knowledgeable of tribal issues, as well as of the government-to-government relationship that exists between the tribes and the Congress.

At Chief Martin's request, I contacted the firm and subsequently, following a meeting with Chief Martin with Mr. Meeds, Mr. Abramoff, and others in the firm, a retainer agreement was executed and approved by the tribal council. What followed was a very positive relationship with Preston Gates from 1995 through 2000. They did very effective work for the tribe, both at the Federal level and through various grassroots projects.

Then Mr. Abramoff and most of his team left Preston Gates to join Greenberg Traurig in 2001. Since the bulk of the work done by Preston Gates for the tribe was in the area of public affairs and not ordinary legal work and since Mr. Abramoff and most of his team who had handled that work at Preston Gates moved to Greenberg Traurig in 2001, the tribe then retained Greenberg Traurig. Later, Mr. Abramoff introduced us to Michael Scanlon as a political consultant who had several companies which he used for his public affairs, marketing and grassroots work.

When Mr. Abramoff left Preston Gates to move to Greenberg, there was no reason to believe that anything improper or unlawful had occurred in connection with his work. There was no reason to question the integrity or otherwise doubt that the representation through Greenberg would be handled in any less professional way and honest way than we believed had previously occurred. Unfortunately, those expectations were not met and misconduct did occur. Details on what that misconduct was and how it occurred will be addressed by Mr. Kilgore, the tribe's attorney general in his opening statement.

However, before I turn to Mr. Kilgore, there are some matters which the tribe wishes to clarify, largely because of errors by the media and reporting on these events. The first, the tribe has never authorized any payment for the purpose of sending any member of Congress on any golf trip anywhere. This includes the widely reported Scotland trip. Second, the tribe did not contribute any money to Americans for Tax Reform to buy the opportunity to attend a White House meeting with President Bush. In particular, no money was paid to ATR for that purpose as regards the White House meeting on May 9, 2001 and no tribal representative attended that meeting as has been reported in the press.

Third, the tribe decided years ago that its core governmental operations, including public relations and related public affairs activities that were administered through the Office of the Chief, would not be funded with gaming revenue. In this regard, none of the funds the tribe paid to Americans for Tax Reform for various purposes in 1999 and 2002 were generated by the tribe's gaming operation.

Finally, the tribe has been extremely careful to ensure that its public affairs efforts complied with all the applicable rules. That remains the case. The behavior of both Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scan-

lon, which is the subject of this hearing, is not associated with the nature of the work they were doing for the tribe, but misconduct in the way the tribe was charged for that work and in the diversion to themselves of those payments from lawful authorized activities.

In this regard, Senator McCain, the tribe appreciates your acknowledging that the tribe has not been accused of wrongdoing at any point in these proceedings and we appreciate that.

Now, if you are agreeable, I will ask Mr. Kilgore if he can complete the tribe's opening statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kilgore.

STATEMENT OF DONALD KILGORE, ATTORNEY GENERAL, MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS

Mr. KILGORE. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, we again thank you for this opportunity to present the tribe's views with regard to this investigation into the misconduct of Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon.

As previously referenced, I was only appointed to serve as Choctaw attorney general recently, but since then I have worked closely with the tribe's outside legal counsel, Mr. Rogers, to fully acquaint myself with this investigation and review his analysis and conclusions of the evidence.

Clearly, after my consultation with outside firms and with your staff, Senator, it has become apparent that Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon engaged in a consistent pattern of kickbacks, misappropriated funds, payments induced under false pretenses, and padded billings.

First of all, the kickback scheme. Under the kickback scheme, we learn that Mr. Abramoff calls Mr. Scanlon, who was represented to us as an independent contractor, to quote prices which included undisclosed and exorbitant add-ons in the fee. They would then split it, one-half going to Mr. Abramoff as a kickback and one-half being retained by Mr. Scanlon as moneys obtained under false pretenses. All of this was in furtherance of their "gimme five" scheme.

It should be noted that while the prices were high, they were not out of line with other billings from other contractors for similar work that we have experienced. However, we now know after reviewing thousands of e-mail exchanges, that before these quotes were given, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had already agreed upon the amount of extra money that they were going to solicit from us under false pretenses and then split between themselves.

I refer to, as an example of that kickback scheme, an e-mail, Senator McCain, dated September 2, 2001 which your staff has. Mr. Abramoff:

> So let me see, that is $700,000 each for us and $100,000 for the effort. Seriously, what do you think we can score?

Response:

> If you think they are good for it, then I can slide you $350,000 with no sweat, plus you have $313,000 sitting here. So if you want, $663,000 is yours on Tuesday. When the clip comes in, another $350,000, which will put you over $1 million. But that is not all. There will be more when the dust settles, and if we get the full $4.6 million, much, much more. I think the 350 strategy is the best way to go. It is good on the gimme five front.

Response:

Thanks. I am having a great time running the gimme fives.

The CHAIRMAN. And who was that?

Mr. KILGORE. That was an exchange between Mike Scanlon and Jack Abramoff.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be made part of the record.

Mr. KILGORE. Thank you.

[Referenced document appears in Phillip Martin's prepared statement located in appendix.]

Mr. KILGORE. The pass-through scam, the second phase of the fraud that was perpetrated on the tribe. Regarding grassroots advocacy projects, some of the actual work was always going to be performed by various third parties after passing through the Scanlon companies, for example, American International Center, Capitol Campaign Strategies, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs or other entities such as the National Center for Public Policy Research or the Capital Athletic Foundation.

The tribe never agreed that any of these moneys were to be retained by Ms. Scanlon or Mr. Abramoff. When the tribe was quoted a price for a given project, the tribe expected that its payment to fund that work would be expended for that purpose, and where there were pass-throughs involved that the money would be passed through to the appropriate lawful entity for that purpose.

In this regard, the tribe was also induced in 2002 to send large sums to NCPPR and CAF. Mr. Abramoff did not, as the chairman has observed, disclose to us that CAF was Mr. Abramoff's private charity, nor that he sat on the board of directors of NCPPR. These payments were made on Mr. Abramoff's representation that the funds would be used to carryout previously approved grassroots projects.

Instead, these additional funds were solicited and used to generate money to complete the financing of unauthorized kickbacks and fee-sharing arrangements for Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's "gimme five" scheme.

Another e-mail was an e-mail between Mike Scanlon and Jack Abramoff dated Friday May 31, 2001. In an extraordinarily candid exchange, Mr. Scanlon says:

Here is the overall plan. We need about $200,000 to run the operation, leaving $1.3 million to split or $650,000 apiece. To make you whole, the idea was to get the $500,000 to CAF directly then have AIC cut Kaygold a check for the remaining $150,000.

Clearly, perpetrating a fraud on his client.

The last area that we have investigated and looked at thousands of documents, along with your staff. We have learned that a number of the bills received by the tribe from Greenberg Traurig contained fabricated time entries and unauthorized expense charges. Unlike many or all of the other tribal clients who retained Greenberg and Jack Abramoff, the Choctaws retainer agreement with the firm was on a regular hourly billing basis. The tribe never agreed to pay a flat fee per month.

However, it is now clear that Mr. Abramoff consistently manipulated the bills at Greenberg in order to have them approach a minimum billing target of fees and expenses of between $135,000 and $150,000 a month. When the actual hours of work completed were

insufficient to approach that target, Mr. Abramoff routinely directed that the bills be padded and pumped up.

The e-mail that I wanted to refer to, Mr. Chairman, is the one that you have already referred to about he only had 2 hours, and therefore directed that be pumped up. So I am not going to repeat that e-mail. But we also note there are significant amounts of unauthorized expenses charged in those billings. It was structured in such a way that looking at the bill, the tribe could not detect those unauthorized expenses and billings.

After we learned what had happened, we were surprised that a senior director at a major law firm could and would engage in misconduct of this type, whether it is the billing fabrication or the more egregious "gimme five" scheme, and he was able to get away with it for so long. What we have learned regarding Mr. Abramoff's misconduct at Greenberg has caused us to take a closer look at his work at Preston Gates. Those inquiries have just begun.

It presently appears that some similar financial misconduct also occurred while Mr. Abramoff was at Preston Gates, though on a vastly smaller scale, both as to billing improprieties and as to Mr. Abramoff's unlawful diversion of money. We have initiated discussion with Preston Gates on these matters. However, those discussions are in a very preliminary stage.

In regard to Greenberg Traurig, we wish to acknowledge that positive settlement negotiations with that firm are now underway and that we have been assured that they will take appropriate action to address and remedy any concerns and issues which we may identify as to any respect of our relationship with that firm. They have responded to this situation in a professional and honorable way, which we very much appreciate. Thus, we are confident a mutually agreeable settlement of our claims respecting these issues will be reached with Greenberg.

In closing, I want to thank the committee for its efforts in the investigation. We are moving forward with our efforts to build our reservation economy, which also benefits our non-Indian neighbors as well, and to strengthen our government-to-government relationship with the United States to enhance our capacity to improve health care, education and employment opportunities for our members.

Mr. Chairman, we consider this a lesson and we will endeavor to ensure that we will not experience anything like this in the future.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Inouye, do you want to say anything?

Senator INOUYE. Mr. Chairman, I have an opening statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, Senator Inouye's opening statement will be made part of the record.

Ms. Rogers, you said that these funds that were expended did not come from gaming revenues. Where did they come from?

Ms. ROGERS. Revenues from the tribe's other businesses, manufacturing businesses, printing plants.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Ms. Rogers, Jack Abramoff recommended the tribe hire Michael Scanlon at the end of the year 2001, as you have testified. Did Mr. Abramoff tell you that Mr. Scanlon was an independent contractor?

Ms. ROGERS. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Jack Abramoff or Michael Scanlon ever disclose to you that Mr. Scanlon would pay Mr. Abramoff any of the money paid to Mr. Scanlon by the tribe?

Ms. ROGERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The tribe never intended the money it paid to Michael Scanlon and his company be kicked back to Jack Abramoff?

Ms. ROGERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Rogers, in 2002 the Capital Athletic Foundation, Mr. Abramoff's private charitable foundation, reported on its tax forms that the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians was far and away the single biggest contributor. According to publicly available tax forms, of the $2.6 million that the Capital Athletic Foundation raised that year, almost $1.9 million, 70 percent of it, went to the Maryland Jewish boys school started by Mr. Abramoff. Michael Scanlon and Jack Abramoff directed the tribe to make these contributions?

Ms. ROGERS. These were not intended as contributions, Senator. They were intended to be pass-throughs to other groups doing grassroots public advocacy work for the tribe.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the tribe did not know that 70 percent of these moneys were going to——

Ms. ROGERS. Not at all. They were never intended to be contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon never told you that the Capital Athletic Foundation was Mr. Abramoff's private charity?

Ms. ROGERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Rogers, another major beneficiary of the Capital Athletic Foundation in 2002 was an entity called the Kollel Ohel Tiferet. I am sure I mispronounced that. It received almost $100,000 from the Capital Athletic Foundation that year. Based on this committee's investigation, it appears this organization was a sham entity designed to funnel payments from Mr. Abramoff to an Israeli settler who ran a sniper workshop. Is it fair to say that neither Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon ever told anyone at the tribe that the tribe's money would be used to finance paramilitary activities in Israel?

Ms. ROGERS. Oh, no; we only learned that from your staff.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kilgore, exhibit 95 is an e-mail exchange between Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon on March 3 and 4, 2002. Basically, it says:

By any chance did you send us a balance? Can you get me a check to Presidential Kosher Holidays for my Choctaw share? Do you think we could figure a way to expense this? Any idea? Thanks.

That is from Mr. Abramoff to Mr. Scanlon. Mr. Scanlon says:

I will think of something on this. I will get back to you." And then Mr. Abramoff says:

You is that man.

Did you intend any of the money you paid to Mr. Scanlon's companies to be used to cover Jack Abramoff's Passover vacation?

Mr. KILGORE. Absolutely not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We could go on and on. Mr. Kilgore, in October 2002, as you mentioned, the tribe paid $1 million to the National Center for Public Policy Research at the direction of Jack Abramoff. Is that correct?

Mr. KILGORE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Jack Abramoff told the tribe that the entire $1 million would be passed through to the grassroots organizations working on issues important to the Mississippi Choctaw Tribe. Is that true?

Mr. KILGORE. That was our understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. There are other questions, but the pattern is clear here. I first of all want to thank the tribe. I know that this has been a very difficult time for them. There was concern that somehow the tribe would be blamed for this exploitation and ripoff that has taken place. I view you as people who were trying to act in the best interests of your tribe and recognized that a lot of those interests are affected here in our Nation's capital. There is no one I have greater respect for than Chief Martin who I have had the privilege of knowing for more than 24 years.

I only have one additional question, Senator Dorgan, that I guess I would ask. Ms. Rogers had the most interface with Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. If they were here right now, Ms. Rogers, what would you say to them?

Ms. ROGERS. Chief Martin asked me that same question. I told him that I am past anger and bitterness, but it is the act of betrayal, betrayal of the tribe's trust, betrayal of those of us who worked with him. It is an extraordinary story of betrayal, of deliberately building trust and then betraying it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to make any additional comments, Mr. Ben.

Mr. BEN. No, sir; we certainly appreciate the time you have provided for us, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kilgore.

Mr. KILGORE. No, Mr. Chairman; I have no further comments.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in office?

Mr. KILGORE. March 1, 2005. That is after 32 years of private practice.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a very large task ahead of you and we thank you for all of your cooperation.

Mr. KILGORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a vote beginning shortly. I am going to run over and vote while Senator Dorgan asks his questions. I am going to try and get right back.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. We were told the vote would begin about 10:45, so if it works the right way, we will be able to proceed with the hearing without a brief recess. If that is delayed just a bit, we will have a very brief recess.

First of all, Ms. Rogers, Mr. Kilgore, and Mr. Ben, thank you for your cooperation. The staff has indicated to us that you have been extraordinarily helpful to them and I know based on your state-

ment, Ms. Rogers, that you used the word "betrayal" which I think is an awfully good description of what has happened here.

There are two tracks here that I want to talk about. One I think Senator McCain has covered pretty well, and that is the track of just what appears to be outright fraud—extracting money for one purpose and then using it for something else and not disclosing to the tribe who was spending this money as part of a secret business relationship.

It is pretty clear with the research that our investigators have done that the trail on that is evident. It is in writing. We have many, many, many documents that go back and forth that describe in great detail exactly what has happened.

The other area that I described briefly in my opening statement is not the kind of fraud that is just up-front fraud. It is the obscuring of the source of money in order to deceive where money came from or where it was spent. That also is of interest. It is kind of a different set of circumstances because it appears to me that money was run through (C)(3)s or (c)(4)s, to deliberately to obscure the source of the funds. That was at the request of Mr. Abramoff, as I understand it, and others.

I want to ask you just a bit about that, if I might, whether everybody knew that. There is an exhibit number 33, I believe. Ms. Rogers, you indicated that the money was spent on activities that were perfectly legal—grassroots activities and the money came from non-gaming sources. Is that correct?

Ms. ROGERS. Right. That is correct.

Senator DORGAN. What would be the purpose then of the recipients of that money demanding that it be washed through organizations in order to obscure and deceive the identity of the money? If it is in fact non-gaming, what was the purpose of the deception on behalf of the recipients and those who decided to run it through (C)(4) organizations?

Ms. ROGERS. I may have to consult with the tribe's attorneys because I am obliged by the tribe to be concerned about First Amendment issues. I would like to try to answer your question. We did not have a sense of an effort to obscure the money. There was simply the use of intermediaries, which is a common practice in this country by businesses and political and professional groups, to use intermediaries to get their message out. Jack Abramoff had structured that.

I am sure there probably were concerns or public perception concerns about some of the recipients about not being associated with a gaming tribe. I hope I have answered your question. I am not trying to be evasive.

Senator DORGAN. I understand.

Ms. ROGERS. I am trying to deal with my obligation to the tribe as well.

Senator DORGAN. Memorandum number 33 is a memorandum I believe from Mr. Abramoff to Mr. Reed that says:

> Thanks, Ralph. The firm has held back all payments pending receipt of a check from Choctaw which was held up because of a paperwork glitch.

In this case, because of this e-mail, my expectation would be the recipient or the expected recipient of the money knew exactly where the money was coming from. For that reason, I do not un-

derstand the reason to try to move that money through a (c)(4) organization to obscure the identity of the money. Do you have any notion of why that was the case?

Ms. ROGERS. If I can consult the attorney on that.

Senator DORGAN. Yes; of course.

Ms. ROGERS. Yes; the recipient did know where the money was coming from.

Senator DORGAN. And presumably then wanted it obscured so that it was not evident to others?

Ms. ROGERS. Presumably. We have never had any direct conversations.

Senator DORGAN. You know, some money to that type of recipient, Mr. Reed and some others I believe, was passed through Preston Gates at one point. Did Preston Gates charge for being a conduit for some of that money?

Ms. ROGERS. I do not know the answer to that question. I would have to ask the attorneys who are looking at all the billing. It was so long ago.

Senator DORGAN. But there was a charge for the purpose of obscuring the identity of the source of the money. There was a charge made by the Americans for Tax Reform. Is that correct?

Ms. ROGERS. No, sir; I do not believe there was a charge made for obscuring the money.

Senator DORGAN. Let me rephrase it then. A certain portion of the money that was run through the (C)(4), Americans for Tax Reform, included a fee that was charged by the Americans for Tax Reform for the purpose of moving the money through that (C)(4). Is that correct?

Ms. ROGERS. There was a small management fee, but we had a long-term relationship with Americans for Tax Reform and assumed that that payment would simply be used to support the overall activity of ATR.

Senator DORGAN. How large was that payment? Do you remember?

Ms. ROGERS. I believe it was $50,000 over a period of time, but we routinely made contributions to Americans for Tax Reform because they had allied themselves with the tribe early on in the tax fight to tax tribal revenues.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask about, if I might, the issue you raised in your testimony, the issue of money for the purpose of a meeting with the President or a White House meeting.

Ms. ROGERS. No donation was made for that purpose nor did anyone attend the meeting.

Senator DORGAN. Are you aware at this point, based on the evidence, that some of the money went for that purpose?

Ms. ROGERS. The attorneys are saying we do not know that.

Senator DORGAN. I believe there are a series of e-mails. I do not think I have the number for those at the moment. An e-mail dated April 5, 2001, Abramoff dictated a note to Grover Norquist.

Ms. ROGERS. Do we have that exhibit?

Senator DORGAN. I believe you do. It is exhibit number 38.

Ms. ROGERS. Okay.

Senator DORGAN. Abramoff appears to dictate a note to Grover saying:

Here is the first of the checks for the tax event at the White House. I will have another $25,000 shortly.

Are you familiar with that? On the top of that memo, I believe it says Nell approved that.

Ms. ROGERS. What we funded, Senator Dorgan, if you look at the first memo at the bottom of the e-mail, Jack Abramoff sent an e-mail to me asking us to make a contribution to the new anti-tax campaign. That is what we approved, a contribution for that.

Senator DORGAN. So you were making a contribution you thought for that purpose.

Ms. ROGERS. Right. And then he represented to ATR that we had made the contribution apparently from this e-mail trail. His representation to ATR was that it was for the White House dinner.

Senator DORGAN. And then there was another follow-up memo from ATR about a White House meeting, the second year, I believe 2002. And that is where I think the confusion was because in that memorandum it was represented by ATR that the Choctaws were involved in the White House meeting previously and had made a contribution for that event. So you are saying that that representation is inaccurate, right?

Ms. ROGERS. That is inaccurate.

Senator DORGAN. These pieces of information are part of the record and I think hopefully will clarify exactly what was happening. It appears to me that Mr. Abramoff and others, ATR, Mr. Norquist and others, were trying to put together events at the White House. One event apparently must have happened in 2001, and they were seeking $25,000 contributions for the cost of those events and promising meetings with the President and so on. It is helpful for us to know because the written information from Mr. Abramoff and ATR also would suggest that the Choctaws participated.

Ms. ROGERS. The Choctaws did not participate. I remember those invitations, but normally they were primarily for State legislators to come in and meet with the President, and then tribes were extended invitations. But the Choctaws did not participate, did not respond to any of those invitations.

Senator DORGAN. The money that the tribe paid to the National Center for Public Policy Research, that money was expected to go where, in your judgment?

Ms. ROGERS. It would have gone to support some of the activities, grassroots activities with smaller groups, polling, research, opinion pieces, education pieces. NCPPR had done some of those for us earlier when Ms. Ridenour visited the reservation and had expressed a real interest in how the tribe was using gaming revenue to support tribal culture, language and that sort of thing.

Senator DORGAN. So sending that money to the National Center for Public Policy Research and discovering that a portion of that was used to repay a bill for $75,000 that Mr. Abramoff owed to someone going back to his days as a filmmaker, that was something that you would not have been aware of and would have been an unauthorized use of the funds?

Ms. ROGERS. Absolutely.

Senator DORGAN. How about the $10,000 of your money being sent to "Reed for Chairman", when Ralph Reed seeking the chairmanship of the Georgia Republican Party.

Ms. ROGERS. We did not know that or certainly did not authorize it.

Senator DORGAN. So what you have, it seems to me, is a substantial amount of money going from the tribe with the expectation it is going for a normal business purpose, the business relationship with Mr. Abramoff. When in fact, a substantial portion of that money was being skimmed off to a secret partnership established by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. That represents what appears to us to be a fraud committed on the tribe. Of course that is a judgment that I am sure the Department of Justice and others will make in the criminal arena.

And then on the other side, money that is moved through (c)(4) and perhaps a (c)(3) organization, part of which appears to have been, I was going to say misdirected, but that is too soft a word, part of which appears to have also been fraudulent, particularly the expenditure of the money to the National Center for Public Policy Research. I am not suggesting that they are the ones that spent that money. In fact, they are going to testify today and we appreciate their cooperation. But I am suggesting the money was diverted by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon.

Then the other question that I mentioned is whether there was misuse of (c)(3) and/or especially (c)(4) organizations to be a conduit to receive funds in order to obscure its identity for the purposes of others. I do not know the answer to that. I suggested to the chairman that we hold open that question and perhaps meet with the Senate Finance Committee.

I think it does warrant additional inspection because in addition to the information we have, we have references in e-mails to other (c)(4) organizations that have been used. So I do not know what the entire inventory of (c)(4) organizations would be here, but it appears to me that the (c)(4) organizations were used as a convenient buddy system to move money around in order to obscure its identity.

Sometimes that is called laundering, but that has a criminal connotation. I do not know that this is criminal at all, but I know that it is laundered from the standpoint of the recipient so that it comes out clean for the recipient. That appears to be what the e-mail trail suggests, and not from the standpoint of the tribe, but from the standpoint of the recipient.

So I think all of these raise an enormous number of questions. We have, as I said, e-mail trails and e-mail tracks on it which I think will be helpful.

Let me ask Senator Inouye if you have some questions at this point, Senator.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you.

During this period of relationship with Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff, how much did the tribe provide these two men and their organizations?

Mr. KILGORE. Senator Inouye, in both Senator Dorgan's opening comments and Senator McCain's opening comments, they referred to those amounts. They got those from the staff. We have provided

that detailed financial information to the staff. They have cumulated those figures. Yesterday we met with the staff and in anticipation of that question, those figures that were given are what are records showed.

Senator INOUYE. I am sorry I was not here, but what is the number?

Mr. KILGORE. I believe that on payments to Capitol Campaign Strategies, d/b/a Scanlon-Gould and his groups was approximately $15,855,000. And then Mr. Abramoff's receipt out of those funds was in the range of $5 million to $7 million. We have not been able to pin those down exactly, but we are working on that and we would be glad to supplement the record at a later date once we get an agreement with the staff as to exactly what the figure is going to be.

Senator INOUYE. As a general rule, organizations and law firms who are doing business would provide periodic reports in writing to their clients telling them, giving them a progress report on projects and such. Did you ever receive any report from Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon?

Ms. ROGERS. Yes, sir; we received detailed reports. We know that the work was done. We met once a year or twice a year. We also had independent means of determining that work was done.

Senator INOUYE. And this was not fraudulent work?

Ms. ROGERS. No, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Did you also receive receipts from these organizations?

Ms. ROGERS. We received bills from the law firm. Yes, sir, we received receipts.

Senator INOUYE. From the law firms.

Ms. ROGERS. We always had a budget and cost from Mr. Scanlon's companies as well and from the grassroots companies.

Senator INOUYE. These reports would advise you that certain things had occurred?

Ms. ROGERS. Yes, sir.

Senator INOUYE. Did you take the time to see if they did actually occur?

Ms. ROGERS. We know that the work was done.

Senator INOUYE. So you are saying that a certain portion was not fraudulent?

Ms. ROGERS. The work was done. What appears to be fraudulent was the overcharges and the conspiracy (I probably should not use that word because I am not a lawyer) between the two to plan to overcharge.

Senator INOUYE. Setting aside the work that was done, the legitimate work, how much of the amount that you mentioned would you attribute to fraud or overpayment or padding of books, et cetera?

Mr. KILGORE. Senator Inouye, may I inject here? The circumstances that we are faced with here, we are not able to give you the amount of harm in money terms. The reason is this. We are in very sensitive settlement negotiations with various parties. If we go into much detail on that, Senator Inouye, I think you can appreciate it will jeopardize our ability to settle that civil matter with those parties.

We have already mentioned two of the firms that we have either made an inquiry in or are in serious negotiations. What we will do is once we conclude that, we would be glad to get with the staff and supplement this record. We would even agree to an in camera meeting with you and your staff to detail those monies. It is just that this is a very sensitive time for us in those negotiations.

Senator INOUYE. When did the tribe realize that it was being defrauded or conned?

Ms. ROGERS. I believe it was in June 2004 when Chief Martin and Mr. Rogers met with the law firm that was conducting the internal investigation for Greenberg Traurig. They were shown evidence.

Senator INOUYE. What step did you take at that point?

Ms. ROGERS. The tribe immediately terminated its relationship with Mr. Abramoff. The lawyers began working with that internal investigative group. We were contacted by the committee and of course we have been cooperating with the committee. We have cooperated fully with the Justice Department and the FBI. We have provided them documents and details.

Senator INOUYE. When did the Justice Department and FBI participate in this investigation?

Ms. ROGERS. They began last summer. We had our first contact with them last summer. They came to Mississippi for interviews and records review and we have had a subsequent meeting with them, also in Mississippi.

Senator INOUYE. Are you satisfied that the investigation is moving along properly?

Ms. ROGERS. I have not had any contact with them, but the tribe's attorneys have had, so they may be able to address that.

Mr. KILGORE. Senator Inouye, we are aware that the investigation is moving forward. Frankly, my personal opinion is that they are inundated with records. We have looked at probably 60,000 e-mails and that is a lot of paperwork, a lot of paper trail. Your staff has done a terrific job in putting that in some semblance of order. I think Senator Dorgan mentioned that every time that you take another look at this, it takes a twist or turn that is unexpected. I think that is true for the criminal side, too. I think that every time they look at something, another avenue opens up. So that is my take on where the Justice investigation is.

Senator INOUYE. My last question, since you severed your relationship officially with the two men, did they ever contact you?

Ms. ROGERS. They have not.

Senator INOUYE. Thank you very much.

Ms. ROGERS. Thank you.

Senator DORGAN. Just one additional point, it is exhibit 102 that I was looking for when we talked about the White House issue. I think just for the record, you do not need to refer to it, but for the record I wanted to make clear what it was I was referring to. I think it is important that it be cleared up because it is the one that indicates, as you say, inaccurately that the Choctaws were at the White House.

The vote has just started. I am sure Senator McCain will be back momentarily. Let me ask you, Ms. Rogers, as I said in my opening statement, this is a very successful tribe, with substantial business

skills evidenced by the success that they have had with their business enterprises. They hire many people and I think are one of the largest employers in Mississippi. So a very successful tribe.

We understand from the outset that you have legitimate business interests, that you would contract with people to engage in legitimate business activities. So we understand all that. The assumption with all these questions is not that you yourself, although your name is on some of these memos, but the implication is not that you did something wrong; it is that the tribe was deceived. It appears to me that the tribe was defrauded. Obviously, that is a matter for perhaps the Justice Department or someone else.

I think what Senator McCain and I and others on the committee are trying to do is just understand the story, what has happened here, and how can we prevent this from happening again. You were asked by my colleague Senator McCain how you would address Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff. I understand the passion of the answer. When Mr. Abramoff began to hand-off a business relationship to Mr. Scanlon, what kind of relationship did the tribal representatives have with Mr. Scanlon? Was their frequent contact?

Ms. ROGERS. There would be frequent contact, frequent reports.

Senator DORGAN. At that point, did you still continue to have a relationship with Mr. Abramoff as well?

Ms. ROGERS. Not as much. There were times when we contacted Mr. Scanlon to do something independently. The unanswered question is whether or not Mr. Abramoff got a portion of that. I do not know. We do not know that, knowing what we know now. From looking at the e-mails, it appears that Mr. Abramoff was driving, and you have probably seen the same e-mails, the call up, do this, do that. Many of the e-mails where Mr. Abramoff was directing Mr. Scanlon to do that, I did not get a call or I did not get an e-mail.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Kilgore referred to this, but I know that you are aware of it as well, we now know what "gimme five" means. You have had a chance to review the e-mails. Mr. Kilgore, you have as well. Your reaction to "gimme five"?

Mr. KILGORE. Senator, it is a blatant calculated scheme to defraud a client. We have been surprised, you understand. We dealt with reputable law firms all these years, and we relied on those law firms' internal ability to audit what goes on among its members and its shareholders. We have been surprised at the lack of institutional oversight on Mr. Abramoff. It never occurred to us.

As a practitioner for 32 years, when I bill a client, that client can be assured that I am billing actual time and my actual expenses. If I were in a firm, there would be somebody that would have some oversight. We assumed that oversight was in place. Apparently if it was in place, it was insufficient.

Senator DORGAN. Let me refer finally, and the chairman has just returned and I will then run and vote, let me refer to exhibit number 45 just for the purpose of saying, as it occurs in a number of memos, the last two words are "gimme five." Obviously, we know what that means now. It means "I am taking a cut of this; we are going to slice away a part of this for my bank account."

Mr. Chairman, I have finished with these witnesses. I do again want to say that we very much appreciate their cooperation. Ms. Rogers, you especially perhaps were uncomfortable coming to a

committee, your name is on some of these memoranda, but from all that we know, you are a victim and the tribe was victimized by what appears to be grand theft and fraud. Your willingness to help us try to understand this, Mr. Kilgore and Mr. Benn and others, your willingness to help us is very much appreciated. We appreciate your being here today.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank the witnesses. Thank you for being here. Hopefully, you will never see anything like this again.

Our next panel is Kevin Ring who is a former member of Jack Abramoff's lobbying team who has information about Mr. Abramoff's practice pertinent to the investigation, and Shawn Vasell, who is a former member of Jack Abramoff's lobbying team who has information about Mr. Abramoff's practice pertinent to the investigation.

Mr. Ring, we will begin with you.

STATEMENT OF KEVIN RING, FORMER ABRAMOFF ASSOCIATE

Mr. RING. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I am sorry to be here today under these circumstances. As I informed the committee a few weeks ago on the advice of counsel, I regretfully must decline to answer any questions concerning the subject matter of this hearing. I am sorry that clients for whom I worked have had to endure the enormous emotional and financial burden associated with this matter, as well as the multiple investigations that prompt it.

As the committee knows and as my counsel has advised me, my constitutional right to remain silent at this time would be forfeited should I try to answer any questions. Therefore, I must abide by that advice and would like to truly apologize for not being able to answer the committee members' questions at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me make it clear, Mr. Ring. You are asserting your rights under the 5th amendment of the Constitution. Is that correct?

Mr. RING. That is correct, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vasell.

STATEMENT OF SHAWN VASELL, FORMER ABRAMOFF ASSOCIATE

Mr. VASELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, honorable members of the committee, I am here today at the committee's request with the greatest respect for the important work of this committee and the Senate itself. I have been called to testify because of my past association with Jack Abramoff, whose activities are the focus of this committee's current inquiry.

The committee staff reached out to me earlier this year and assured me they sought my information solely as a witness to the conduct of others. Given the range of pending investigations and inquiries relating to the work of Mr. Abramoff's government affairs practice, I engaged outside counsel to guide me toward my goal of providing meaningful and complete cooperation to such efforts. I now feel constrained to follow that guidance.

Accordingly, I assert my privilege under the 5th amendment to the Constitution and decline to respond to questions related to my

employment in Mr. Abramoff's group. I reach that decision reluctantly and with no purpose of impeding the committee's inquiry. I am persuaded that this is the right decision, however, and I will maintain it in response to any and all questions from the committee today.

In advance of this hearing, my counsel confirmed my position in writing to the committee, yet I was not excused from this appearance. Therefore, I yield to questions of the committee.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Both of you have the right, obviously, to assert your 5th amendment rights and the committee obviously will respect it.

Mr. Ring, what is KAR Consulting? You can respond if you wish to or assert your 5th amendment privileges under your previous statement if you choose.

Mr. RING. I respectfully invoke my constitutional right.

The CHAIRMAN. According to the information we have, KAR Consulting is a Maryland limited liability company formed on April 25, 2002 and registered to your home address. We have attached corporate registration from the Maryland Department of Assessments and Taxation. In February 2004, KAR Consulting, which is listed to your home address, Mr. Ring, received a $25,000-payment from a company called Grassroots Interactive. We have an exhibit which I will enter into the record, without objection, exhibit 183 of December 15, 2003 check for $25,000 from Grassroots Interactive LLC to KAR Consulting.

[Referenced document appears in Phillip Martin's prepared statement located in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who KAR Consulting is, Mr. Ring?

Mr. RING. I respectfully invoke my constitutional right under the 5th amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time of the payment, did you know that Jack Abramoff controlled Grassroots Interactive?

Mr. RING. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully invoke my constitutional right under the 5th amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. In March and April 2002, did you receive a total of $125,000 from Michael Scanlon's company Capitol Campaign Strategies?

Mr. RING. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully invoke my constitutional right under the 5th amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that money come from payments made by Pueblo Sandia Tribe of New Mexico to Capitol Campaign Strategies?

Mr. RING. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully invoke my constitutional right under the 5th amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. What services benefiting the Pueblo Sandia did you provide for that $125,000? In fact, you did not provide any services, according to the information that we have.

Let's take a look at exhibit 43. It is an e-mail exchange between you, Mr. Ring, and Jack Abramoff dated April 24, 2001. In that e-mail, you asked Mr. Abramoff whether there is any way to "bury" your University Club dues in the Choctaw or SGMA bill. What did you mean when you asked Mr. Abramoff where you could "bury" your University Club dues in the Choctaw bill?

Mr. RING. Regretfully, Mr. Chairman, I must respectfully invoke my constitutional right under the 5th amendment.

The CHAIRMAN..Did you ever seek to expense your University Club dues to the Mississippi Choctaw or to any other clients of Greenberg Traurig?

Mr. RING. I respectfully invoke my constitutional right under the 5th amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. I now refer to exhibit 136, which is Mr. Ring's expense report for September 27, 2002 in which he apportions his club dues to the Choctaw Indian Tribe.

Mr. Vasell, please review exhibit 47, an e-mail exchange between you, Mr. Vasell, and Mr. Abramoff dated June 19, 2001. It begins with you asking Mr. Abramoff why Michael Scanlon was billing time to Greenberg Traurig clients. Did Mr. Scanlon bill time through Greenberg Traurig to the Choctaw in 2001?

Mr. VASELL. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline to answer that question on the basis of my privilege under the 5th amendment to the Constitution not to be made a witness against myself. It is my intention to respond to all of the committee's questions in this same manner.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you concerned that Mr. Scanlon was billing Greenberg Traurig clients through the law firm?

Mr. VASSEL. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline to answer that question on the basis of my privilege under the 5th amendment to the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. You were the tribe's client manager. You were aware, weren't you, of Mr. Abramoff billing the tribe for fees and expenses unrelated to the services that Greenberg Traurig provided the tribe.

Mr. VASSEL. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline to answer the question on the basis of my constitutional right.

The CHAIRMAN. I refer both to Mr. Ring and Mr. Vasell to exhibit 37, which is on the screen. I will have to quote from it, which is a March 14, 2001 e-mail exchange between Jack Abramoff and his executive assistant. In it, Mr. Abramoff indicates he will ask the client managers to tell him how many hours they want him to bill. Either one of you, both of you, do you know if Mr. Abramoff ever fabricated time for himself or any associate to bill the Choctaw? You can just say, "I give you the same answer."

Mr. RING. The same answer.

Mr. VASSEL. The same answer, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's take a look at exhibit 53, an e-mail between Abramoff and his assistant dated August 29, 2001. In it, the assistant indicates that he is "creatively" entering Mr. Abramoff's July and August time for the Choctaw account, quote, "with the help of some great language Shawn and Kevin have provided." What kind of language did you provide Mr. Abramoff for billing purposes?

Mr. RING. Again Mr. Chairman, the same answer.

Mr. VASSEL. The same answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vasell, I would like you to take a look at exhibit 42 which is an April 18, 2001 e-mail from Mr. Abramoff to you. In that e-mail, Mr. Abramoff instructs you to add 60 hours to the Choctaw bill to pump up Scanlon, Todd, and you. Was this done?

Mr. VASSEL. Again, Mr. Chairman, I have to invoke my constitutional right.

The CHAIRMAN. The March 2001 bill to the Choctaw totaled $147,340.50 in fees and the April 2001 bill totaled $146,963.97.

Well, the list goes on. I am sorry that young men like yourself are engaged in such activities that you come before this committee and invoke your constitutional rights under the 5th amendment. We had hoped that you would cooperate with the committee. Obviously, you have chosen not to do so, which again is your right.

Senator Dorgan, I do not think there are any additional questions for the witnesses. They have invoked their 5th amendment rights.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, they certainly have a right to invoke that privilege, but I share your disappointment. I believe that justice would be better served by being forthcoming about what has happened here, but I think you have asked a series of questions that are questions that I would have asked as well. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witnesses are dismissed.

The next panel is Amy Ridenour, who is the president of the National Center for Public Policy Research, a non-profit foundation on whose board Mr. Abramoff sat, who has information pertinent to the investigation; Gail Halpern, Jack Abramoff's tax adviser, who has information about Mr. Abramoff's businesses pertinent to the investigation; Brian Mann, a yoga instructor who served as a director one of Michael Scanlon's companies who has information about Mr. Scanlon's businesses pertinent to the investigation; David Grosh, a lifeguard who served as a director for one of Michael Scanlon's companies who has information about Mr. Scanlon's businesses pertinent to the investigation; and Aaron Stetter, a former employee of Michael Scanlon who has information about Mr. Scanlon's business pertinent to the investigation.

Ms. Ridenour, we will begin with you.

STATEMENT OF AMY RIDENOUR, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

Ms. RIDENOUR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and committee for inviting me to appear before the committee.

In the interest of brevity, I am summarizing my remarks, but I do refer the committee to my written testimony for additional details.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, your entire written statement will be made part of the record.

Ms.RIDENOUR. Thank you.

The National Center is a 23-year-old conservative free market non-profit institution. I am the chief executive officer. One of the National Center's programs is project 21, which highlights the views of conservative and moderate African Americans. Another activity examines the extent to which low-income and minority populations disproportionately bear the cost of some government regulations.

Jack Abramoff joined our board in 1997 when we increased the number of board members from three to seven for the purpose of improving oversight. At that time, I had known Jack for nearly 17

years. He was a dedicated conservative, a successful lobbyist and businessman, and his managerial skills it seemed to me at the time exceeded my own.

In 2000, the National Center adopted a conflict of interest policy requiring directors to reveal to the board all financial interests in any entity with which the National Center is negotiating a transaction. We required every member of the board to sign the resolution so that no one could later claim they were unaware of the policy. Every director did so.

It was through Jack Abramoff that I had the honor in February 1997 of meeting Chief Phillip Martin and learning the Choctaw success story. From 1997 through 1999, the National Center received contributions of $7,500 in total from the Mississippi Choctaws. In 2000, we received $65,000. I understood all of these funds to be general support contributions.

I am, of course, aware of news media coverage connecting part of these contributions to a trip we sponsored by a member of Congress. At the time I extended an invitation to this member of Congress through his chief of staff, I did not know we would be receiving contributions from the Mississippi Choctaws that year. At no time did I convey to the Congressman or to his staff that we had received these contributions and I was never told nor was I under the impression that the Mississippi Choctaws even knew we had sponsored a congressional trip.

In 2002, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians donated $1 million to the National Center. Approximately 4 months before we received this contribution, my husband, who is vice president of the National Center, and I had lunch with Jack. The lunch was social, but we briefed him on information pertinent to the board, including the fact that the negative financial impact of 9–11 had reduced our ability to expand program services as we previously had planned for 2002. I told him that new donors would be especially valued that year, as would the opportunity to sponsor projects consistent with our mission for which funding was available.

Jack then shared with us details of his work doing what he called "a new kind of lobbying." He said he and his colleagues working with the Mississippi Choctaws had noted that for-profit non-Indian gaming establishments were pushing to establish themselves in areas of the Country not noted for their admiration of gaming. They believed that a public backlash against gaming was brewing and that before things came to a head, perhaps 4 to 5 years down the road, they would educate the public about the Choctaw success story.

I was very interested in what I was hearing. I noted that his new kind of lobbying was not lobbying at all, but educational work and I expressed an interest in the National Center sponsoring it. Jack seemed mildly agreeable, but noncommittal. I did not press the matter, assuming the Choctaws were financing the project and would have to approve our involvement.

Approximately four months later, Jack asked me if the National Center was still interested. For reasons I describe more fully in the written testimony, we were. Jack instructed me to send a $1-million invoice to the Mississippi Choctaws, which I did. When the funds arrived, he told me how they should be disbursed: $450,000

to the Capital Athletic Foundation as a grant; $500,000 to Capitol Campaign Strategies; and $50,000 to a company called Nurnberger and Associates.

I believe Capitol Campaign Strategies was to be paid for educational program services, while Ralph Nurnberger was going to help coordinate the project. Jack referred to his receiving "instructions" for the disbursements, which I took to mean recommendations from the donor, which was consistent with my belief that the Mississippi Choctaws were actively involved.

Believing I was joining a project in progress, knowing that Jack was the legal representative of the Mississippi Choctaws, was part of a major law firm, and as a member of the National Center's board of directors, had a fiduciary responsibility to the welfare of the National Center, I disbursed the funds in accordance with Jack's instructions. At the time, I also requested and received Jack's repeated assurances, both by e-mail and verbally, that he in assuming managerial authority for the project on the National Center's behalf, would adhere to the laws governing public charities.

I often requested from Jack that he provide documentation about the educational activities we were supporting. He always said it would be no problem and I believed him—so much so that I agreed to continue the project in May and June 2003 when Greenberg Traurig sent the National Center $1.5 million. Jack told me $250,000 had been designated for the Capital Athletic Foundation as a grant and $1,250,000 was to be paid to Kaygold, a company I believed was owned by Michael Scanlon.

I had resolved by then that if I did not promptly receive sufficient proof of good solid work performance, I would withdraw the National Center from the project. I did not get this proof, so I told Jack in July 2003 that we would cease participation. He did not object. I continued asking him for documentation for work performed on the payments we already had made.

I always trusted Jack and I believed we would ultimately receive this documentation. Of the various theories I had in my mind as to why we were not receiving the funds, none of them involved a suspicion of misuse of funds. I still trusted him, frankly, after the negative press stories began in 2004. But when the Washington Post published, and that is in September 2004, that Jack owned Kaygold, I knew that something was very seriously wrong. At that point, I telephoned our board of directors and we agreed simply on the strength of the violation of our conflict of interest policy alone that we had absolutely no choice but to accept Jack's offer to resign, which he had made in March 2004 and again made in October 2004.

Consequently in October 2004, I accepted Jack's resignation from the board and I have not spoken with him since.

[Prepared statement of Ms. Ridenour appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Ms. Halpern.

STATEMENT OF GAIL HALPERN, FORMER TAX PREPARER, ADVISER TO JACK ABRAMOFF

Ms. HALPERN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice Chairman and members of the committee. My name is Gail Halpern. I am a

part-time accountant. I am a certified public accountant and personal financial planner.

Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff were my clients from early 1997 until September 2004. I knew Mrs. Abramoff on a social basis and she asked me sometime in early 1997 to be her and Mr. Abramoff's accountant and prepare their personal income tax returns.

The following is a general description of the services I performed for the Abramoffs.

I prepared Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff's personal income tax returns from the 1996 tax year until the 2002 tax year inclusive. I prepared gift tax returns for Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff when required during this time as well. I prepared their children's income tax returns and I prepared trust income tax returns for the Jack and Pamela Abramoff family up to and including the 2003 tax year as required.

I prepared personal and trust tax returns based on information provided by Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff or by those authorized to provide such information on their behalf, namely Mr. Abramoff's office at Preston Gates or later at Greenberg Traurig, or Mr. Abramoff's business office.

I did not prepare any corporate, partnership or tax exempt entity returns, as I am not an expert in those areas of the tax law. Those returns were prepared by other competent accountants.

Upon their request, I provided some tax planning advice to Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff within my limited areas of expertise. I also provided some estate planning advice and some financial planning advice to Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff as requested by them. I also answered general accounting and tax questions from the Abramoffs or from other authorized people in Mr. Abramoff's offices, as mentioned earlier.

Any questions that I was not able to answer, such as questions that were specific to a certain area of accounting or law, I referred to attorneys or accountants who practiced in that area of accounting or law. Mr. or Mrs. Abramoff made all of the decisions.

For Mr. Abramoff's daily checking account and for some of his business entities, I worked with Mr. Abramoff's business office to help implement a bookkeeping software package that required them to input all the information required for me or for others to prepare tax returns. I did not keep the book or prepare the books for Mr. Abramoff's daily checking account, business entities or for any of the non-profit entities that he started. Rather, my role was to answer questions or refer him to specialists who could answer questions when such questions were posed by Mr. Abramoff or by the bookkeeping personnel or staff.

The day-to-day bookkeeping work was done by others. I was not an employee, officer, director or member of any of Mr. Abramoff's entities. Instead, I am an independent accountant and I service other clients besides the Abramoffs. The tax returns that I prepared and any tax, estate and financial planning services that I rendered were based on information provided to me by Mr. or Mrs. Abramoff or by personnel in Mr. Abramoff's offices mentioned earlier.

To the best of my knowledge and based upon the information that they provided to me, all income received by the Abramoffs or

their children or their family trusts for which I prepared income tax returns, was reported and included in the relevant tax returns.

Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Ms. Halpern appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Mann.

STATEMENT OF BRIAN MANN, FORMER DIRECTOR, AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, I have no opening statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Grosh.

STATEMENT OF DAVID GROSH, FORMER DIRECTOR, AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

Mr. GROSH. I am embarrassed and disgusted to be part of this whole thing. The Lakota Indians have a word, "wasichu," which aptly describes all of us right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Stetter.

STATEMENT OF AARON STETTER, FORMER ASSOCIATE, CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

Mr. STETTER. Mr. Chairman, I have no opening statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Grosh and Mr. Mann, I thank you for being here today. I know of no problem that we have with you personally. It is a situation that we are trying to get to the bottom of and we thank you for appearing here today.

Mr. Grosh, you and Mr. Mann were designated as directors of the AIC, which was described in its own website as an "international think tank." It is very interesting on its website. It is described as, the American International Center is a public policy research foundation founded in 2001 under the high-powered directorship of David A. Grosh and Brian J. Mann.

While only recently incorporated, the AIC has been striving to advance the cause of greater international empowerment for many years. Based on sunny Rehoboth Beach, DE, the AIC staff is using 21st century technology and decades of experience to make the world a smaller place. In summary, the AIC is bringing great minds together from all over the globe.

It goes on in that vein.

Mr. Grosh, I will begin with you. What did the AIC do?

Mr. GROSH. I was only involved maybe 5 months, 4 or 5 months. The whole time I was involved, we rented the first floor of a house and installed some computers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mann, do you know what AIC did?

Mr. MANN. Mr. Chairman, upon the advice of counsel I must respectfully decline to answer your questions based on my rights under the 5th amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mann, did you know that you were designated a director until you recently interviewed with the Justice Department?

Mr. MANN. Again, I must respectfully decline to answer your question based on my rights under the 5th amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Grosh, did you give Mr. Scanlon permission to put your name up on the AIC website?

Mr. GROSH. On the website, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you give Mr. Scanlon permission to hold you out as a director for the AIC?

Mr. GROSH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Grosh, I would like to show you an exhibit which is 195. Can you provide that to the witness? Look in there at 195. It is a letter from the AIC that is under your signature. Here we are. This letter signed by David Grosh as president:

Thank you very much for your recent contribution to the American International Center. Your donation of $200,000 will go a long way in assisting the AIC in its efforts to carry out its public policy agenda. As you know, the AIC is committed to influencing key policymakers on issues important to you and your constituents.

On and on.

The American International Center is a non-profit corporation dedicated to educating the public on important issues such as our national relationship with commonwealths, foreign governments and sovereign territories. As we discussed, we are not a tax-exempt organization, as your contribution is subject to tax. Again, we appreciate your generous support.

Do you recall writing that letter, Mr. Grosh?

Mr. GROSH. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you ever remember seeing it?

Mr. GROSH. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Grosh, did the AIC conduct any board meetings?

Mr. GROSH. I recall one.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did that last?

Mr. GROSH. 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any business that was discussed at these board meetings?

Mr. GROSH. Off the top of my head, no. I am sure we discussed something, not to be glib.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mann, I think it says when these meetings took place, the extent of your role in the AIC at that time was cleaning the downstairs office space. Is that correct?

Oh, Mr. Mann does not want to answer.

As far as you were concerned, Mr. Grosh, was this basically another Scanlon entity?

Mr. GROSH. Well, legally, no. It was Mr. Mann and I, but he was calling the shots, sure.

The CHAIRMAN. So were you a little surprised when all this information started coming out that you were a director of an internationally respected think tank?

Mr. GROSH. Surprised, not really. The reason I got out of it when I found out it involved the Federal Government, Indian tribes and gambling, I knew that was a tad down the wrong road.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to point out again, Mr. Grosh. I appreciate your cooperation. I am disappointed in your lack of it, Mr. Mann, but this committee holds no brief against you on this issue. We are trying to get to the bottom of things. We know of no allegation of wrongdoing on your part, at least that I know of.

Tell me how this all began, Mr. Grosh. Were you friends with Mr. Scanlon?

Mr. GROSH. Yes; I have known Mr. Scanlon since I was about 14.

The CHAIRMAN. And what happened? He approached you in some way?

Mr. GROSH. A phone call.

The CHAIRMAN. And said?

Mr. GROSH. Do you want to be head of an international corporation. [Laughter.]

It is a hard one to turn down. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. And at the time were you living in Rehoboth Beach?

Mr. GROSH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Mr. Scanlon then informed you that your home would be the headquarters?

Mr. GROSH. Actually, at that point, no. There were no headquarters.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you tell me just the sequence of events that took place after that?

Mr. GROSH. I asked him what I had to do, and he said nothing. So that sounded pretty good to me. [Laughter.]

I am trying to think how it all happened. He came by; we spoke about it. At the time, I was, like, yes, sure, but not really taking it seriously. And then he had me sign some papers. I met him here in Washington, DC and we took over the bottom of the house I was living in.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive compensation for this role?

Mr. GROSH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And your background is a very honorable one, I understand, as a lifeguard. Is that correct?

Mr. GROSH. Among other things. I am not a lifeguard anymore, no.

The CHAIRMAN. And could you give us a little resume of some of your background?

Mr. GROSH. Right now, I am an excavator, a machine operator, construction workers, mentor in preschools, bartender. Typical beach employment.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Do you remember the extent of the compensation that you received from Mr. Scanlon, roughly?

Mr. GROSH. No more than $2,000 or $2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. A month?

Mr. GROSH. No; total.

The CHAIRMAN. Total.

Did Mr. Scanlon promise you any fringe benefits?

Mr. GROSH. Well, I do not know if this is related to the AIC, but we went to a Washington Capitals-Pittsburgh Penguins hockey game.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to St. Bart's with him?

Mr. GROSH. No; by that time I was no longer.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Well, I want to be very clear, Mr. Mann, and I am not asking you to change your position, but we view this as just a gigantic scam and you two individuals were used clearly by Mr. Scanlon. We feel very strongly that your testimony could help us. I hope you will maybe reconsider that or get a new lawyer, Mr. Mann, but I hope you will reconsider it.

You obviously had nothing to do with posting this description of AID on the Web site, did you, Mr. Grosh?

Mr. GROSH. No, sir; if I may?

The CHAIRMAN. Please.

Mr. GROSH. I am an adult. He did not use me. I have sense.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a pretty good deal, huh?

Mr. GROSH. Well, obviously not.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time, it seemed like a good deal.

Mr. GROSH. Well, you know, I didn't just crawl out of a cotton patch. Anything that sounds too good to be true usually is.

The CHAIRMAN. And they used the bottom floor of your house?

Mr. GROSH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. GROSH. We did.

The CHAIRMAN. They did. I see. Thank you.

Ms. Ridenour, since 1982 you have served as president of the National Center for Public Policy Research. Is that true?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In October 2002 in your capacity as president of the NCPPR, as you testified, you received $1 million from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Correct?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's talk about how you came to receive the $1 million from the Choctaw Tribe. In June and July 2002, you told Mr. Abramoff that the NCPPR wanted to keep its "program numbers" up for marketing purposes. That is according to e-mails that we have.

Ms. RIDENOUR. In general, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So you told Mr. Abramoff NCPPR would be willing to participate in any program consistent with the NCPPR's tax-exempt purpose that Mr. Abramoff was working on.

Ms. RIDENOUR. In general, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Abramoff told you he and his firm invented for the Choctaw Tribe a "new kind of lobbying," as you have testified. And you concluded such an educational purpose was consistent with NCPPR's charitable mission?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In October 2002, Mr. Abramoff told you the Choctaw Tribe had $1 million to do this educational project, as you have testified. Ms. Ridenour, before you allowed Mr. Abramoff to use the NCPPR as a pass-through, you repeatedly warned him that whatever the $1 million was used for needed to be appropriate for a non-profit charitable foundation.

Ms. RIDENOUR. I certainly did.

The CHAIRMAN. After you received the $1 million, Mr. Abramoff instructed you to cut three checks: one $450,000 to Mr. Abramoff's private charity, the Capital Athletic Foundation; $500,000 to Mr. Scanlon's outfit, Capitol Campaign Strategies; and $50,000 to a small lobbying firm called Nurnberger and Associates. Correct?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Yes; except that in some cases, they were wire transfers.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

What, if anything, did Mr. Abramoff tell you about the $450,000 payment to Capital Athletic Foundation?

Ms. RIDENOUR. It was to be a grant to the Capital Athletic Foundation for its purposes, consistent with the wishes of the ultimate donor, the Mississippi Choctaw.

The CHAIRMAN. As you testified, you did not know that the Capital Athletic Foundation was Mr. Abramoff's private charity.

Ms. RIDENOUR. Actually, I did not know Kaygold was owned by Mr. Abramoff. I did know that he had an association with the Capital Athletic Foundation. I simply found it consistent with what I knew to be a warm relationship between him and the Choctaws.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know the primary beneficiary of the Capital Athletic Foundation was first and foremost a Jewish boys school in Maryland founded by Mr. Abramoff?

Ms. RIDENOUR. No; I was aware of the school, but I believed, based on private conversations I had with Jack, that it was financed through tuition from the parents.

The CHAIRMAN. We heard testimony that Mr. Abramoff told the Choctaw Tribe that this $1 million would be used for "grassroots activities to influence legislation." Did he tell you this?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Not only did he not tell me that, he repeatedly told me that legislation would not be involved. I would not have approved our participation at all had I even known there was legislation. I had several things that needed to be specified before I went okay with it. The absence of legislation was something he had to assure me about.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, did Mr. Abramoff tell you about the $500,000 payment to Mr. Scanlon's business, CCS?

Ms. RIDENOUR. That it was to be used for educational program services, particularly polling and telephone banks, but not necessarily exclusively; research, potentially paid advertising; I was told later petition drives, that sort of thing, but 100 percent educational program services.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, did Mr. Abramoff tell you about the $50,000 payment to Nurnberger and Associates?

Ms. RIDENOUR. At first he told me nothing, meaning in the conversation, so I immediately inquired. He told me then that Mr. Nurnberger was going to coordinate the project.

The CHAIRMAN. In the invoices that you received from CCS, CAF and Nurnberger and Associates, the Capital Athletic Foundation was seeking payment for "sports and politics projects."

Ms. RIDENOUR. That is what they wrote, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe that happened?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Looking at the tax returns, it apparently did not.

The CHAIRMAN. For a second, the invoice reportedly issued by Nurnberger and Associates for $45,000 was for a supposed research grant. In an interview with the committee staff, Mr. Nurnberger, senior partner of the lobbying firm Nurnberger and Associates, stated that neither he nor his firm issued this invoice to the NCPPR. In fact, the firm never issued an invoice regarding the $50,000 it received from the NCPPR. In addition, Mr. Nurnberger attested that Mr. Abramoff told him that the $50,000 he was having the NCPPR pay him was repayment on a personal loan that Mr. Nurnberger had made to Mr. Abramoff some years ago.

Did Mr. Abramoff ever tell you that the $50,000 you were sending to Nurnberger and Associates was in fact repayment to Mr. Nurnberger on a personal loan?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. I think I know your response if he had told you that.

Ms. RIDENOUR. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if anything, did you do to try to verify that the $1 million was being put to use in the manner Mr. Abramoff stated?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Unfortunately, I mostly asked Jack Abramoff for documentation. One of the things that we are now doing at the National Center is putting into place a series of checks and balances so that in the future this sort of thing will not happen to us again. I trusted Jack. I believed not only that he had the fiduciary responsibility to us, but in fact was attempting to serve his clients, the Choctaws, a non-profit entity, to the best of his ability as well.

So what I did do was talk to him; not enough.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Ms. Ridenour. I want to thank you for your candor and your willingness to appear here. I do believe that your organization has done excellent work over the years. I have been familiar with much of it. I thank you for your testimony today.

Ms. Ridenour, with respect to the $1 million transaction, do you believe Mr. Abramoff lied to you?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Certainly. I do not know how I could reach any other conclusion at this point in time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe that he may have defrauded the tribe?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Certainly I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think he may have defrauded the NCPPR?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Certainly I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Ms. Ridenour. I thank you for being here today. Your involvement has been sad, but helpful to us, and I thank you.

Mr. Stetter, could you take the microphone please from Ms. Ridenour? You are a former employee of CCS. Right?

Mr. STETTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the things that you do is set up groups that Mr. Scanlon or Mr. Cathcart used to have you conduct grassroots activities. Is that correct?

Mr. STETTER. I would not say set up groups, no. I would not say that.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you say?

Mr. STETTER. I wrote phone scripts with groups that were already provided to me, but I have never set up a group before, never.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. Is the Christian Research Network a real organization, to your knowledge?

Mr. STETTER. To my knowledge, no.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the Global Christian Outreach Network?

Mr. STETTER. To my knowledge, no.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion?

Mr. STETTER. To my knowledge, no.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Citizens Against Gaming, Michiganders Against Gaming? In other words, these organizations were used when your organization made phone calls, right, to various constituents on issues?

Mr. STETTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Particularly gaming.

Mr. STETTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And these names of these organizations were just provided to you?

Mr. STETTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And again, Mr. Scanlon or Mr. Cathcart would instruct you to draft a phone script opposing some gaming initiative that might harm one of CCS's tribal clients. Is that correct?

Mr. STETTER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And they would give you some guidance on what the draft should actually say?

Mr. STETTER. Yes; I would follow along from old drafts.

The CHAIRMAN. And you returned the draft for their approval with the name of the organization left out. Is that correct?

Mr. STETTER. It would be left out or provided later. It would be put in later.

The CHAIRMAN. And usually that would be Chris Cathcart, Mr. Scanlon's primary assistant would plug in the name of a grassroots group.

Mr. STETTER. I believe so, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. For example, the Christian Research Network. In fact, an example of one such script that was drafted under that very name, it is number 124. This is a phone script and it says:

Hello, my name is John. I am calling from the Christian Research Network. We need your help to stop the spread of gambling in Louisiana. The situation is very critical.

Do you consider yourself pro-gaming or anti-gaming? Record response. If pro, disconnect. As you have seen in the newspaper, the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians is trying to bring yet another casino to Louisiana, this time to DeSoto Parish, about 70 miles from where they are based. What is more is that the people of this Parish have never been given a say in this matter. As a concerned citizen who opposes gambling, would you be willing to call Senators Breaux/Landrieu and tell him or her to stop the spread of gambling in Louisiana. If no, disconnect; if yes, we can connect you to the Senator's office. When they pick up, tell them to take a stand against gaming in Louisiana. Tell them to oppose the new Indian casino, patch through and collect data.

Are you familiar with that one?

Mr. STETTER. Yes; I am.

The CHAIRMAN. And to your knowledge, you do not know who the Christian Research Network is?

Mr. STETTER. To my knowledge, no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As a Senator, personally I am interested in this ability to patch right through to the Senator's office, something I always suspected, but it is certainly an effective tool.

I guess what I am trying to get at, Mr. Stetter, and I understand the business that you are in, but should somebody have maybe checked to see whether these organizations were legitimate organizations? Or was it just your job to plug in the script?

Mr. STETTER. Mr. Chairman, as an entry-level employee, I did not have particular questions about what these groups were. I was just provided the names and then I provided the scripts.

The CHAIRMAN. I see. All right, sir. We have more questions. I have another round, but I would like to yield to Senator Dorgan at this time and then I will come back for the others.

Thank you. I thank the witnesses.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

It is hard to know where to start with all of this material. I know that you were asking Mr. Grosh about his employment and his opportunity to become a part of that organization. Some found it funny. There is very little that is funny about this issue. Going through the e-mails, I might just observe that this was not only fraud on a pretty grand scale, but let me just describe the smaller fraud here.

Exhibit 31 has a memorandum from Mr. Abramoff to a Rabbi Lapin. He said:

> I hate to ask you for your help with something so silly, but I have been nominated for membership in the Cosmos Club, which is a very distinguished club composed of Nobel Prize winners and so on. The problem for me is most prospective members have received awards and I have received none. I was wondering if you thought it possible that I could receive an award from your organization. Probably you could call it something like scholar of Talmudic studies or distinguished biblical scholar award. It would even be better if it were possible that I received these in the years past, if you know what I mean.

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. That is to whom?

Senator DORGAN. It is exhibit 31. It is from Mr. Abramoff to a Rabbi Daniel Lapin.

My point is that this was not just cheating on a grand scale. In fact, I believe that goes on and on and actually they describe the type of——

The CHAIRMAN. And Rabbi Lapin's response is?

Senator DORGAN. Abramoff said I am trying to do here, it would only be used for this situation at the Cosmos Club, but there is a chance they would have to call someone to verify; probably just a few clever titles, awards and dates, as long as you can be the person to verify them.

The response from the recipient, Mr. Lapin, is yes, I just need to know what needs to be produced—letters? Plaques? Neither? Anyway, the memorandum goes on.

Look, the point of all of this, there is a lot of deception going on and there are victims of this deception. Let me go through a couple of areas, if I might.

Mr. Stetter, if I might ask you first, it appears that what we had was the establishment of a good many bogus groups isn't that correct? Bogus organizations?

Mr. STETTER. Yes; if that is the term you want to use for it, yes.

Senator DORGAN. Was it a case where these organizations, in many cases, actually just had a telephone. Those telephones were all in a drawer and when the telephone would ring, you would just go to the drawer and pick out which telephone it was for whichever organization?

Mr. STETTER. To my knowledge, there was that drawer. It was not my job to pick up the phones, but to my knowledge that is how it worked.

Senator DORGAN. These were organizations that were created with names, some of which perhaps my colleague, Senator McCain just read, and it was not as if they did not have any connection to anything. They obviously had a telephone line with a telephone number, but you could just put all those organizations in a little drawer and when the phone rings, you open up the drawer and figure out which phone rang and then answer with the name of that organization. So that is what I refer to when I talk about bogus organizations. I believe there is a trail with respect to some memoranda on that as well.

I would like to ask a couple of questions, Mr. Stetter, about Mr. Cathcart, because his name was just used a moment ago and I will go through this very quickly. You took a position with Michael Scanlon and his companies, Scanlon-Gould and Campaign Strategies, correct?

Mr. STETTER. Scanlon Gould Public Affairs or Capitol Campaign Strategies.

Senator DORGAN. And you did some administrative duties and some research for clients?

Mr. STETTER. Yes, sir.

Senator DORGAN. You always maintained a support role behind the scenes, you told us?

Mr. STETTER. Yes.

Senator DORGAN. After you left the Scanlon companies, you were hired by the National Restaurant Association as manager of a grassroots program. Is that right?

Mr. SETTER. Yes, sir.

Senator DORGAN. Given your background prior to working for Mr. Scanlon, exactly what did you do at the Scanlon companies that qualify you for a job as manager of grassroots programs at this point?

Mr. SETTER. I would say the main qualification was actually working on some of the phone scripts and working on some of the campaigns. I actually went to some of the gaming facilities and assisted with letter-writing campaigns. So I did do some grassroots functions.

Senator DORGAN. Every organization has a kind of right-hand man, somebody that is in charge. Who was Mr. Scanlon's right-hand man?

Mr. SETTER. From my experience, it would be Chris Cathcart.

Senator DORGAN. Did he run the Washington, DC office?

Mr. SETTER. When Mike was out of town, without him having a title or anything, it was understood that Mr. Cathcart ran the Washington, DC office.

Senator DORGAN. I believe Mr. Cathcart has asserted publicly that he was just a mere gofer in the operation. Do you disagree with that?

Mr. SETTER. I guess in some degree we were all gofers for Mr. Scanlon. I was probably described as a gofer for probably everyone in the operation.

Senator DORGAN. Who was in charge when Mr. Scanlon was not there in the Washington, DC office?

Mr. SETTER. I answered directly to Mr. Cathcart.

Senator DORGAN. So Mr. Cathcart was in charge. Thank you.

Let me ask Ms. Ridenour a couple of questions about the pass-through. We know of the $1 million that has been discussed. Is this the first time money in that quantity has been passed through your organization in order to obscure its identity?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Well, I do not believe it was. Well, from our perspective, it was not being done to obscure its identity. The grant to Capital Athletic Foundation we perceived to be a legitimate grant, and the rest of it we perceived to be ongoing program work that we intended at some point to brag about on our Web site. So obscurity was never a goal.

Senator DORGAN. Except that, and you may be right with respect to that. You have heard me describe the other attempts to deceive and obscure. But when Mr. Abramoff told your organization, which is a research organization, is it a (c)(4)?

Ms. RIDENOUR. It is a (c)(3).

Senator DORGAN. When he told your organization that he wanted a $500,000 check written for a grant, was there actually a grant request that came in for the grant that described what the grant money will be used for, the purpose of the grant, and on what basis the grant will be awarded?

Ms. RIDENOUR. What happened was we received an invoice through Greenberg Traurig in October 2002 and I discussed with Jack on the telephone the activities of the Capital Athletic Foundation. I was aware of his affiliation with it. I also had had a prior knowledge of what the Capital Athletic Foundation at least officially was supposedly doing. One of the things that I worked to do at that time was ascertain that the Capital Athletic Foundation's mission not only was as a legitimate 501(c)(3), which it apparently was, but also that its mission was consistent with our own in terms of educational program services. Those tests seemed to be met, so I agreed to do the grant, believing that that was the wish of the Choctaws.

I also said, however, specifically to Jack at that time that if I am not convinced that all of the legal tests are met, and in this case I was thinking of (c)(3) regulations, I was not even thinking about larceny or anything of that sort, that I would simply make the offer to the Choctaws to return their money.

Senator DORGAN. This is the first time that $1 million has been moved through your organization for the purpose of moving it elsewhere?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Certainly, yes. It is the largest grant we had ever received.

Senator DORGAN. Okay. And you did not receive a grant request from the Capital Athletic Foundation saying we are requesting a $500,000 grant with a 1-page or 2-page or 10-page description of what we want to do.

Ms. RIDENOUR. Correct. We did not receive the formal grant proposal, and I assure you in the future we certainly will.

Senator DORGAN. That is highly unusual, right?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Well, since I had never done it before, "unusual" would not be the term. Let's put it this way: It will never be anything we ever do again.

Senator DORGAN. My understanding is that the small bit of trail that exists here described it as the sports and politics project.

Ms. RIDENOUR. That is what Greenberg Traurig wrote on the invoice, or whoever wrote that invoice, frankly. Frankly, what I was told, and this is consistent with what was on the Capital Athletic Foundation's tax returns and also their website, was that they were doing actual educational programs, creating programs through which teachers and mentors could teach young people about the importance of good citizenship values. So this was exceedingly consistent with an educational mission.

Senator DORGAN. I understand. Let me just say, as Senator McCain has, I appreciate your appearing here and your speaking about this issue. It is probably not comfortable for you to do it because you, too, were likely deceived. But what I am trying to get at is if in fact Greenberg Traurig's memorandum correctly describes the $500,000 grant to the Capital Athletic Foundation as a sports and politics project, the "politics" part would probably run afoul of your (c)(3), would it not?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Well, yes, if I thought that was what they meant. I just thought it was a person who does not understand and wrote that, and because I had had conversations directly with Jack Abramoff representing the foundation and had looked into the foundation enough to know what it really did, I just thought it was an error by the copywriter or whoever actually created it.

Certainly, if I had thought "politics" in the sense that we usually use it had anything to do with that foundation, there is no way I would have approved it.

Senator DORGAN. Do you have some sense or do you understand, I hope you do, why those of us who look at this trail, take a look at this movement of substantial money through organizations, and then say wait a second; there is something fundamentally wrong with (c)(3)s or (c)(4)s being used as conduits to move tribal money through your organization to benefit Mr. Abramoff. And so we look at that and say how can this happen so easily with money that just slides through a (c)(3) or (c)(4) without even a 2- or 3-page grant request.

Ms. RIDENOUR. It is not so easily, though. One of the things you have to keep in mind, Senator, is the relationship that we had going back by that time was just sort of 22 years. When you have worked with someone for 22 years; when they have been a member of your board of directors by October 2002 for 5 years; when you have worked on projects together; when you know someone personally; when you believe, even though technically it is irrelevant, that you are close personal friends; when you believe all of these things and you also know that it is in, and I still believe to this day it is in a person's best interest to do a job right, your natural assumption is that the things they say to you are correct and true.

In my future career, I will never make pretty much assumptions on anything again. But up until that time, believing that it was in Jack Abramoff's personal as well as professional interests to be honest, to serve his client the Choctaws as well as he possibly

could, and in our interest as an educational institution to participate in bona fide educational activities that educate the national audience about important issues, it seemed perfectly consistent with our mission and it seemed like good, solid work.

As you know from my testimony, by July 2003, even though I did not suspect anything resembling larceny, I pulled us out simply because we were not seeing documentation. So we did have what we felt at the time were fairly high standards for documentation. They were not high enough. They are higher now, but we did pull out long before there was any news media coverage of Jack Abramoff.

Senator DORGAN. Do you feel this happened because he lied to you? Mr. Abramoff lied to you?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Unless he walks into this room today and shows a heck of a lot of program service work, I would have to say yes.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask you for a moment about the 2000 golf trip to Scotland for which, I believe, an amount of money came from your organization to help defray the costs of that golf trip. Is that correct?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Yes.

Senator DORGAN. Can you describe how that happened, because again you might well imagine when we take a look at money moving through (c)(3)s or (c)(4)s, we say wait 1 second; what is going on here. The same would be the case with respect to what has been described in some e-mails as the golf trip. Actually, there have been two golf trips, and on the 2000 golf trip was Congressman DeLay and a group of others, with Mr. Abramoff.

So tell me if you will and tell the committee how your organization got involved in putting some money up for that golf trip.

Ms. RIDENOUR. Certainly. First of all, while I am aware that is referred to as the golf trip, almost universally that is not a term that I use. We were contacted by Jack Abramoff in his capacity, I believed, as a member of our board of directors in approximately March 2000. I say "approximately." It might have been February. It could have been April 1, but frankly about that time.

He suggested to me in his capacity I believed as a director that it might be a nice project to have an educational trip to Britain, not Scotland, but Britain to meet with Parliamentarians. My mind went to London because to the best of my knowledge, Parliament is in London. I thought that is not a bad idea. I further thought that given what we expected to be at that time either Mr. Gore, with apologies Mr. Chairman, or Mr. Bush would be elected President, that in coming years, and this of course is pre-9-11, we would either be looking at additional expansions of health care reform, meaning Government-controlled health care reform, or potential privatization of Social Security.

This is literally what was going through my head. I thought given that both of these roads are places that Britain has gone, one to good effect, in my opinion, one to the other, it is not a bad idea for a congressional leader to go over, make some acquaintances with members of Parliament and come home.

The trip I believed I was approving, and indeed the trip that I invited the member of Congress on through his chief of staff, was simply to be a trip to London, meet with some members of Parliament, and fly home.

I will say unfortunately, except I do not mean this except in the sense of this controversy, at the time I was pregnant with twins and we had recently adopted a newborn baby. I was not prepared to go to London myself. So I expressed to Jack that I like the idea of this project for educational reasons, but I was not going to be prepared to go myself, and frankly quite selfishly, I was not going to let, and this is in the husband-wife sense, my husband go with him.

So I said we cannot do this unless there is someone responsible who can handle logistics. We then discussed it. He volunteered. We then discussed the propriety of the ethics laws, which I was assured, and I know this is a point, too, of media coverage, that it was perfectly appropriate for him based on his knowledge of the law to lay out some expenditures as long as he was promptly reimbursed by us. We discussed that in some further detail.

I then approved him handling the project as a director of the National Center. I also said, make sure on your invoices, they come through your home address because I do not want there to be any question in anyone's mind should anyone ever look into this, not actually expecting anyone would, that you are operating as a member of the board of directors of a think tank and not as a lobbyist, which he agreed and in fact did.

At that point, then, the invitation was expressed to the Congressman's office and I primarily bowed out of the project believing it to be in secure hands.

Senator DORGAN. Did the project turn out differently than you have described it to us? You have just described to us the type of project that you approved. Obviously, the descriptions of that trip are very different. So tell me about that.

Ms. RIDENOUR. I did become aware at approximately that same time of the trip, and I do not know exactly when Scotland was also included in the itinerary. I believed that, however, to be to meet with some additional members of Parliament in that area.

Since then, and I refer primarily to things that happened in the news media in 2005 and some things we have been told by others, the trip seems to be very different from what I expected. I wish to state, however, that although the news media has an interest in this particular Congressman's personal behavior, the fact is that I know of nothing that the congressional office did that was inappropriate.

Now, I was not on the trip. I do not want to expand beyond my knowledge, but from what I know, and I actually should volunteer, but when I extended the offer, the invitation to the Congressman's office, his chief of staff said to me that they were interested, but their concern would be would the trip be substantive enough. That is an exact quote. So I had no sense from them that they thought they were being invited on anything other than a bona fide educational opportunity.

Senator DORGAN. I will not go further into this because it is not part of the Choctaw issue itself, although I think Choctaw money was actually used to pay for a portion of the second golf trip. I might say I believe that in some e-mails that these are both just referred to as the golf outings and how much fun they are.

Ms. RIDENOUR. May I interject?

Senator DORGAN. Yes.

Ms. RIDENOUR. Senator, the second golf trip is something which I will be able to provide no information other than the fact that we do not know anything about it.

Senator DORGAN. You are correct. Again, let me say that our committee is appreciative of the fact that you come here and visit with us. I still remain hopeful, and it is not for the purpose of suggesting that anything you have told us today is not accurate. Our investigators have visited with you. I have no basis for in any way suggesting that you have not been completely open in your responses.

I think it is quite clear from what you have said, not you feel as do many others who have reached this witness table, you feel deceived by people who used money in a manner completely inconsistent with what you had felt you had approved.

But I do think, because we have a number of (c)(3)s and (c)(4)s, and you have actually described, Ms. Ridenour, the importance of making sure that you are well within the bounds. We have certain guidelines of what the use of (c)(3)s and (c)(4)s are for. So my hope remains, and the chairman and I will talk about this, that we will consider talking to the Finance Committee about looking into that portion of it.

Having said all that, I think that the contribution of this panel is to describe further the root of the money, the use of the money, in some cases with respect to a couple of the organizations here, what appears to be almost complete obvious fraud to everyone. Again, that is not part of what this committee will be deciding. This committee is about following the money and getting the facts. If you dyed that money purple, there would be a lot of purple pants pockets around this town and the country because they were moving it into so many different organizations.

Mr. Stetter, when the chairman and I were asking you about organizations that are only names this is part of what is wrong with American politics today. This is probably not the only circumstance where that happens. We get calls, Mr. Chairman, you were referring to this, we get in our office from with people who have been contacted by a grassroots organization, apparently one that actually exists. These organization get somebody from back home on the phone and say, okay, now we are going to connect you with Senator Dorgan's office or perhaps Senator McCain's office.

In most cases, they do not want to be connected because they are not interested in the subject and they do not know why they are connected. They are not on-message, certainly. So I do not think that approach works in any event.

But let me thank all of these witnesses for being with us and for cooperating. Mr. Mann, I regret you have not. You certainly have the right to exercise your constitutional protections.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Dorgan.

Ms. Halpern, where did Kaygold operate from?

Ms. HALPERN. To the best of my knowledge, Kaygold operated from Mr. Abramoff's home.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly what is it?

Ms. HALPERN. Kaygold is a sole member LLC. Mr. Abramoff is the sole member. For tax purposes, it is reported on Mr. Abramoff's Form 1040, Schedule C, Self Employment Income Schedule.

The CHAIRMAN. In 2002, Kaygold's sole source of income was $13.5 million in supposed "referral fees." It came in from Mr. Scanlon's company, Capitol Campaign Strategies. Is that correct?

Ms. HALPERN. Sir, I would need to go back to check the tax records, but in general it sounds correct. Kaygold had income from Capitol Campaign Strategies.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are the tax consultant and you see an organization based in an individual's home that receives $13.5 million in 1 year from one source, does that ring any alarm bells with you as a tax consultant?

Ms. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, Kaygold's business as indicated on the schedule C of the tax return was political consulting. I am not aware of what kind of revenues a political consulting practice is supposed to generate.

The CHAIRMAN. You had access to records that showed that $13.5 million came in from one organization, that was Mr. Scanlon's company, Capitol Campaign Strategies.

Ms. HALPERN. Yes; a 1099 was received, two 1099's I believe that year were received.

The CHAIRMAN. That did not raise any red flags with you?

Ms. HALPERN. Sir, again, my job was to prepare his tax return and in my engagement letter with Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff, I state in the engagement letter it is the client's responsibility to provide all the information to me so that I can prepare the tax return.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you had the information that $13.5 million came in 1 year from one source, Mr. Scanlon's organization, Capitol Campaign Strategies. Now, I ask you again, yes or no, did this raise a red flag with you that this was certainly highly unusual?

Ms. HALPERN. Again, Mr. Chairman, I do not know if a political consulting practice, if that would be highly unusual in a political consulting practice. I cannot answer that. I was not involved in Mr. Abramoff's inner workings.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not care if it came from the moon. If it is $13.5 million into an organization the only amount of money that they get in supposed referral fees, wouldn't anybody upholding their oath of office say wait 1 minute, it is 13.5 million bucks coming in from one source in 1 year; what is going on here?

Ms. HALPERN. Sir, to the best of my knowledge, all information that Mr. Abramoff gave me was reported on his income tax return. Let me just state further, if you do not mind, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

Ms. HALPERN. Mr. Abramoff in no way at any time tried to hide this income. Now, if you tell me, did he try to hide the income, would that raise a red flag kind of question, that is a different question. You are asking me if $13 million came in from one entity, I am telling you that is what he presented to me and that was reported on his tax return.

The CHAIRMAN. And obviously it did not arouse any curiosity on your part. Most people it would, Ms. Halpern.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, would you just yield on that point?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator DORGAN. Ms. Halpern, were you in the room when I read the e-mail earlier today about moving money in order to avoid paying taxes?

Ms. HALPERN. I went out of the room for some time. It is possible. I am not sure. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Ridenour, you had discussions with Mr. Abramoff that obviously as we have discussed induced you into passing on to Kaygold two payments, $500,000 and $750,000 in May and June 2003. Do you recall that?

Ms. RIDENOUR. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. From those conversations with Mr. Abramoff, what were you led to believe that Kaygold was?

Ms. RIDENOUR. I believed it was a public affairs firm run by Michael Scanlon that was very similar to Capitol Campaign Strategies. They simply had different companies to do different functions.

The CHAIRMAN. And these two payments originally came from the International Interactive Alliance?

Ms. RIDENOUR. They came from Greenberg Traurig. Jack Abramoff later told me the original source was the Interactive Alliance, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know what was actually done with those payments?

Ms. RIDENOUR. No.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you did not.

Ms. RIDENOUR. I mean, I thought they were going to be used for educational program work. To this day, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. According to Kaygold's general ledger, the $500,000 payment by NCPPR to Kaygold was credited on May 18, 2003, but within 3 weeks of arriving in to Mr. Abramoff's Kaygold account, it appears that what was not tucked away for taxes went straight to Mr. Abramoff's personal account. It seems to have occurred with the $750,000 that the NCPPR paid to Kaygold on May 30, 2003. I think your reaction to that from your previous testimony is fairly predictable.

Ms. RIDENOUR. It is predictable and frankly I am appalled.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Halpern, you look like you want to say something else.

Ms. HALPERN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry.

Well, I want to thank the witnesses for being here. The story speaks for itself. I hope that we will get this unraveled sooner rather than later, and this committee can issue a full report. We will have one more hearing dealing with another tribe, then we will issue a report. This committee expects to come up with recommendations to do whatever is necessary from the Committee on Indian Affairs standpoint to see that this kind of gross injustice is not inflicted on any more Native American tribes.

Senator Dorgan, do you have anything to say?

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I do not. You indicated another hearing. Let me again suggest at least that we hold open the prospect of visiting about the issue of (c)(3)s and (c)(4)s, perhaps with the folks on the Finance Committee because I think additional questions are raised there.

Again, let me thank the witnesses and let me thank also the investigators who have put in a substantial quantity of time. This has not been easy to piece all this together, and we appreciate very much their work as well.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank the witnesses.

This hearing is adjourned.

[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 GAIL HALPERN, PART-TIME ACCOUNTANT

Thank you Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice Chairman, and members of the committee.

My name is Gail Halpern. I am a part-time accountant. I am a certified public accountant and a personal financial planner.

Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff were my clients from early 1997 until September 2004. I knew Mrs. Abramoff on a social basis, and she asked me sometime in early 1997 to be her and Mr. Abramoff's accountant and prepare their personal income tax returns. The following is a general description of the services I performed for the Abramoffs:

I prepared Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff's personal income tax returns from the 1996 tax year until the 2002 tax year, inclusive. I prepared gift tax returns for Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff when required during this time as well. I prepared their children's income tax returns, and I prepared trust income tax returns for the Jack and Pamela Abramoff family up to and including the 2003 tax year as required.

I prepared personal and trust tax returns based on information provided by Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff, or by those authorized to provide such information on their behalf, namely Mr. Abramoff's office at Preston Gates, or later at Greenberg Traurig, or Mr. Abramoff's business office.

I did not prepare any corporate, partnership, or tax-exempt entity returns, as I am not an expert in those areas of the tax law. Those returns were prepared by other competent accountants.

Upon their request, I provided some tax planning advice to Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff within my limited areas of expertise. I also provided some estate planning advice, and some financial planning advice to Mr. and Mrs. Abramoff as requested by them. I also answered general accounting and tax questions from the Abramoffs or from other authorized people in Mr. Abramoff's offices, as mentioned earlier. Any questions that I was not able to answer, such as questions that were specific to a certain area of accounting or law, I referred to attorneys or accountants who practiced in that area of accounting or law. Mr. or Mrs. Abramoff made all of the decisions.

For Mr. Abramoff's daily checking account and for some of his business entities, I worked with Mr. Abramoff's business office to help implement a bookkeeping software package that required them to input all the information required for me or for others to prepare tax returns.

I did not keep the books or prepare the books for Mr. Abramoff's daily checking account, business entities, or for any of the non-profit entities that he started. Rather, my role was to answer questions, or refer him to specialists who could answer questions, when such questions were posed by Mr. Abramoff or by the bookkeeping personnel or staff. The day-to-day bookkeeping work was done by others. I was not an employee, officer, director, or member of any of Mr. Abramoff's entities. Instead, I am an independent accountant, and I service other clients besides the Abramoffs.

The tax returns that I prepared, and any tax, estate, and financial planning services that I rendered, were based on information provided to me by Mr. or Mrs.

Abramoff or by personnel in Mr. Abramoff's offices mentioned earlier. To the best of my knowledge, and based upon the information that they provided to me, all income received by the Abramoffs or their children or their family trusts for which I prepared income tax returns, was reported and included in the relevant tax returns.

Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PHILLIP MARTIN, CHIEF, MISSISSIPPI BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS

Thank you for this opportunity to present the views of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians through written testimony as regards the committee's ongoing investigation into the misconduct of Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon.

The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians is a federally recognized Indian tribe of nearly 10,000, most of whose members reside in eight reservation communities located on trust lands scattered over a five-county area in east central Mississippi. The majority of our tribal members are full-blood, Choctaw language speaking. We are descendants of those Choctaw people who resisted repeated efforts by the Federal Government to force their relocation to Oklahoma. This continued from 1830 through the early 1900's. The tribe's reservation lands are poor and unproductive and the tribe is without any natural resources which could be used to generate income. The Mississippi Choctaws were ignored and abandoned by the Congress and the Federal Executive branch for almost a century, finally securing our initial Indian reservation lands in, 1944 and Federal recognition as a separate tribe in 1945. Our members were then essentially destitute and without any resources and our tribal government was basically powerless to help them. Unemployment was so prevalent among our tribal members that we knew we had to find another path and we did. We made the choice to pursue self-determination as the best means to meet the growing needs of the tribe and to pursue manufacturing jobs as the best means of employing large numbers of our people.

Beginning with one tribal employee in 1963, the Mississippi Choctaws have grown to become the 3d largest employer in Mississippi, employing some 9,200 people. We operate about 25 different commercial enterprises. The tribe has developed a strong and stable government providing the full array of governmental services. This includes the operation of a large school system, police and fire protection services, courts, a hospital and clinics, social, housing, realty, and economic development agencies. These were key ingredients of our later success in building a reservation economy and attracting private investment which led to commercial developments, at first primarily in manufacturing, which created reservation-based jobs.

The passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and the introduction of class III gaming in 1989 in Mississippi led to the development of the tribe's current Pearl River Resort comprised of two high rise hotel casinos, a nationally acclaimed 36 hole golf club, a 12-acre water theme park, South Sea island beach, the soon to be opened 300 acre Lake Pushmataha and its large entertainment and fitness facility. We have invested over $1 billion in this development which has created jobs and generated income. Rather than make large distribution payments to tribal members, we chose to invest in their future in a different way.

The success of the resort has allowed the tribe to begin catching up from generations of poverty and neglect. There has been extraordinary progress: Our unemployment rate has dropped from nearly 80 percent to less than 5; our life expectancy has risen from under 50 to 70; we have been able to provide long overdue healthcare to our members through-the construction of-new clinics, the employment of medical specialists, and the provision of such basics as hearing aids and eyeglasses. In education, our gains have been great as well: We operate a system of six elementary schools and boarding middle and high schools; for the first time in our history, any Choctaw student who wants to attend college can do so through our scholarship program which, to date, has provided scholarships totaling over $17 million to 1,387 tribal members. We have replaced frame school buildings built in the 1920's and we have built roads, water and sewer lines, wastewater treatment plants, and day care centers. Still, significant needs remain particularly in the areas of health, education, and housing; and, since all of our enterprise growth has been debt-financed, we still have a $300-million debt load to retire.

Because of the tribe's government-to-government relationship with the United States and because of the need to protect tribal investments (and our ability to repay business debt), the Mississippi Choctaw have engaged in extremely active and aggressive efforts to monitor and affect the Federal decisionmaking process and to shape public opinion on matters affecting the tribe's political and economic interests.

To achieve this we have long engaged experienced professionals including lobbyists with prestigious law firms who know and understand how Federal lobbying and grassroots advocacy works. Our efforts in this regard have historically been successful and we have relied upon the professional expertise and integrity of those law firms and their lobbyists, to ensure that this work is handled for us in a lawful and appropriate manner.

So, when the initial press reports emerged last year regarding the large fees paid to Jack Abramoff at Greenberg Traurig or to Michael Scanlon by a number of tribes for lobbying work and grassroots advocacy, we had no reason to believe that anything questionable had occurred concerning those payments or their work for us and we were pleased with the results they had achieved. Later, we did come to learn that Mr. Abramoff, along with Mr. Scanlon, had engaged in what appears to be a consistent pattern of kickbacks, misappropriated funds, payments induced under false pretenses, and padded billings, all orchestrated by Mr. Abramoff from his position as Senior Director of Governmental Affairs for Greenberg Traurig, LLP, the law firm which the tribe had retained to handle its public affairs needs starting in January 2001. Most of this misconduct occurred in furtherance of what we now refer to as their "gimme five" scheme.

In pursuing this matter over the past 1½ years, the tribe has worked hard through outside counsel and the tribe's attorney general's office to identify the full extent of this misconduct, the full extent of financial injury we have suffered as a result and to seek appropriate civil and criminal remedies. Although we have made substantial progress in pinning this down, we still don't have final numbers for all that occurred. At this time, however, I want to repeat what I said in my letter of August 5, 2004 to Senator McCain, "Without your efforts it is unlike that this misconduct would ever have come to light. Thus, despite my prior concerns, I appreciate your committee's work on this matter."

From the outset of this matter, the tribe has fully cooperated with the FBI and the Justice Department. And since July 2004—almost 1 year ago, shortly after we first saw real evidence of wrongdoing on the part of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, we have worked closely with the committee to further its investigation.

Early on in this process, however, the tribe raised with the committee its concern that sensitive information regarding its lawful lobbying and public affairs activities not be unduly disclosed through the committee's investigation of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon and of the tribe's 1st amendment right to protect against such involuntary disclosure. The tribe appreciates that the committee has respected the tribe's 1st amendment rights throughout this process and I want to personally thank Senator McCain for that. Consistent with this position, the tribe has shared all requested documents and information with committee staff, but has declined to place in the record information regarding the tribe's 1st amendment protected activities when disclosure of such information is not required in furtherance of a "compelling governmental interest," for example, to expose criminal conduct or other financial wrongdoing. That remains the tribe's position today.

In anticipation of this hearing, the tribe has worked with the committee staff and has identified in consultation with Senator McCain [three] witnesses who will speak on behalf of the tribe in person at the June 22 hearing.

The first is Charlie Benn, director of administration in my office. Mr. Benn has served in that capacity since 1998 and is a member of the tribe. Charlie previously worked for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for approximately 20 years and in his present capacity oversees the daily operation of numerous administrative functions of the tribal government. The second, witness is Nell Rogers, a member of the tribe's planning staff who handles legislative affairs for my office. She has worked in that capacity for the past 20 years. Ms. Rogers has worked for the tribe (with the exception of 5 years) since 1971. Finally, Donald Kilgore, the tribe's attorney general, will participate on the panel. Don was only recently appointed to his position as tribal attorney general but has a life long association with the tribe and has practiced law in the tribal courts for many years. He has over 30 years experience in the private practice of law. I have authorized Mr. Kilgore to provide testimony at the hearing summarizing what we have learned about the misconduct of Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon which has given rise to this proceeding.

Prior to 1994, I [as Chief] was the tribe's primary lobbyist. Partly, this was because we had no tribal funds to pay for any lobbyists. Later, as the scale and reach of the Federal regulatory and legislative process affecting Indian tribes expanded and as our tribal businesses and revenues grew, attending to those enterprises required more and more of my time, leaving less time to devote to the legislative process. It became prudent to hire outside legal counsel to assist in addressing the

tribe's Federal advocacy needs both with the Federal agencies and with the Congress.

As the tribe grew, tribal staff with program and legislative experience began to do much of this work. Prior to this, the law firm of Hobbs, Straus, Dean, and Walker had provided some legal services and public affairs work on our behalf, primarily on self-determination, health and education issues. We continue to work with Hobbs Straus and with other law firms—firms who have represented us for many years—Wise, Carter and Caroway, and the Scott, Sullivan, Streetman and Fox firms in Mississippi and Roth, VanAmberg, Rogers, Ortiz & Yepa in New Mexico. All have provided a high caliber of legal representation for the tribe and have done so with honesty and scrupulous adherence to their duties to us as a client. We expected no less from the other firms and their lobbyists we hired in Washington, DC, starting in 1995.

In 1994, two simultaneous events occurred which required an expansion and a change in direction in the tribe's public affairs work. First, of course, was a total change in the leadership of the Congress as a result of Republicans gaining majority control in the House through the 1994 elections. Second, was the opening of the Silver Star Hotel and Casino in July 1994 giving rise to an array of new issues and concerns that had to be tracked and dealt with at the national level.

The tribe also wanted to tell its economic story—of how it was possible to use the tax and regulatory structures unique to Indian reservations and economies operating under tribal jurisdiction to achieve on-reservation economic development. This was not just a theory, the tribe had successfully done this for 15 years before opening our first casino. We did this by finding products that we could make and sell, hiring good managers, setting up a judicial system that provided fair treatment for outside parties, building a stable, constitutional tribal government involving a separation of powers, and honoring our business contracts. When we opened our first casino [financed with 100 percent borrowed money] we realized we had to be proactive in protecting our casino operations and our ability to pay off our casino financing debt. Thus, in 1995, the announcement by the then Ways and Means Committee Chairman of a plan to subject tribal income to Federal income taxes set off extraordinary alarms because that meant that the tribe's gaming and other business revenue could be taxed at 34 percent—threatening the tribe's ability to pay off its debt, and undermining its capacity to provide essential governmental services to our 10,000 tribal members, and putting us at risk of losing everything. It was in this climate that the Tribe recognized the need to reach out to the new Republican majority and to redouble our efforts to share our tribal needs and our reservation development experiences with all Members of Congress.

Jack Abramoff was identified to us in 1995 as a lobbyist in the Washington, DC office of a major law firm [then known as Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meed] who was said to have strong relationships to leadership in the House. I arranged a meeting with former Congressman Lloyd Meeds of Preston Gates, with Mr. Abramoff and others in the firm, from which followed a retainer agreement. What followed was a very positive relationship with Preston Gates from 1995 through 2000. They did very effective lobbying work for us, both at the Federal level and through various grassroots projects. Then, Mr. Abramoff and most of his team left Preston Gates to join Greenberg Traurig in 2001. Since the bulk of the work done by Preston Gates for the tribe was in the area of public affairs and not ordinary legal work, and since Mr. Abramoff and most of his team which had handled that work at Preston Gates moved over to Greenberg Traurig in 2001, the tribe then retained Greenberg Traurig. Later, Mr. Abramoff introduced us to Mike Scanlon and his various companies.

When Mr. Abramoff left Preston Gates to move to Greenberg Traurig, we had no reason to believe that anything improper or unlawful had occurred in connection with his prior work for us. So, when the team moved to Greenberg Traurig, there was no reason to question his integrity or otherwise doubt that the representation we would receive through Greenberg Traurig would be handled in any less professional and honest a way than we believed had occurred at Preston Gates or through the other law firms we had retained. Unfortunately, those expectations were not met.

The kickback scheme, we have learned that Mr. Abramoff caused Mr. Scanlon, represented to us to be an independent contractor, to quote prices for the services of his several companies which, built in an undisclosed and exorbitant add-on amount which they then would split, one-half coming back to Mr. Abramoff as a kickback, one-half being retained by Mr. Scanlon as moneys obtained under false pretenses. We did not know of this and we did not approve it.

Regarding grass roots advocacy projects, some of the actual work was always going to be performed by various third parties after passing through the Scanlon

companies, for example, American International Center, Capitol Campaign Strategies, Scanlon Gould Public Affairs or through other entities, such as the National Center for Public Policy Research [NCPPW] or the Capitol Athletic Foundation [CAF], and some was to be performed by Capitol Campaign Strategies or its subcontractors. The tribe never agreed that any of those moneys were to be retained by Mr. Scanlon personally or kicked back to Mr. Abramoff. When the tribe was quoted a price for a given project the tribe expected that its payments to fund that work would be expended for that purpose and [where pass throughs were involved], that the money would be passed through to the appropriate entity for that purpose.

Unlike many or all of the other tribal clients who retained Greenberg Traurig [and Jack Abramoff], Choctaw's retainer agreement with the firm was on a regular hourly billing basis. The tribe never agreed to pay a "flat fee" per month. However, our outside counsel, C. Bryant Rogers has now confirmed that Mr. Abramoff consistently manipulated the bills at Greenberg Traurig in order to have them approach a minimum billing target of fees and expenses of between $135,000 and $150,000 per month, and included unauthorized expense charges. When the actual hours of work completed were insufficient to approach that target; Mr. Abramoff routinely directed that the bills be padded with "pumped-up" time entries or made up hours to increase the monthly bill. Neither those unauthorized expense charges, nor the padded time entries, were detectable from the billings we received.

After we learned what happened, we were astounded that a senior director at a major law firm would or could engage in misconduct of this sort—whether as regards billing fabrication or as regards the more egregious "gimme five" scheme—and that he was able to get away with it for so long.

What we have learned regarding Mr. Abramoff's misconduct at Greenberg Traurig has caused us to take a closer look at his work for us at Preston Gates. Those inquiries have just begun. It presently appears that some similar financial misconduct also occurred while Mr. Abramoff was at Preston Gates, though on a vastly smaller scale, both as to billing improprieties and as to Mr. Abramoff's unlawful diversion of money we paid for one purpose which was used to pay for other things we had not authorized. We have initiated discussion with Preston Gates on these matters; however, those discussions are in a very preliminary stage.

In regard to Greenberg Traurig, we wish to acknowledge that positive settlement discussions with that firm are now underway and we have been assured that Greenberg Traurig will take appropriate action "to address and remedy any concerns and issues" we may identify "as to any aspect of our relationship." They have responded to this situation in a professional and honorable way, which we very much appreciate. Thus, we are confident that a mutually agreeable settlement of our claims respecting these issues will be reached with Greenberg Traurig.

In closing, we want to thank the committee for its efforts in this investigation. We are, however, ready to move forward with our on-going efforts to build our reservation economy [this also benefits our non-Indian neighbors as well] and to strengthen our government-to-government relationship with the United States to enhance our capacity to improve health care, education and employment opportunities for our members. We will take the lessons learned from this experience and will endeavor to ensure that we not experience anything like this in the future.

Thank you, this concludes my written testimony.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 3:24 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

If Choctaw is under control the answer is absolutely!!!! A road trip with you is not only profitable, it is fun!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 2:55 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Thanks - I'm having a great time running the give me fives! If you need me to tag along in october just let me know!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]
Sent: Sun Sep 02 14:25:56 2001
Subject: RE: [redacted]

By the way, you are a total stud on this effort. I might have a gimme five situation flying with[redacted] We have to kick some real ass in the next few weeks, but I think I have it near the hook. I return there in late October to line it up. Could be huge!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 9:35 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

It depends, Nell Said two fridays ago that we can get another 1.5 in "13" days. I think that puts us into this week. If you think they are good for it, then I can slide you 350 with no sweat. Plus you have 313 sitting here - so if you want, $663,000 is yours on Tuesday. When the next clip comes in another 350, which will put you over 1. But thats not all, there will be more when the dust settles, and if we get the full 4.6, much much more. I think the 350 stratgey is the best way to go, its good on the give me five front but it leaves plenty around to kick ass on the battlefield as well. Not bad:):):)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 4:51 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Coocha!! So, let me see, that's 700K for each of us and 100K for the effort? Seriously, what do you think we can score?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, September 01, 2001 10:36 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Its pretty good 1.5 mil.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sat Sep 01 15:16:51 2001
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I'll find out and come back to you. How much came in? Tons I hope! :)

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, September 01, 2001 2:44 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Althought we had a small mix up with the wire transfer, the first wave of money is in. Any instructions?

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 postmaster[redacted]

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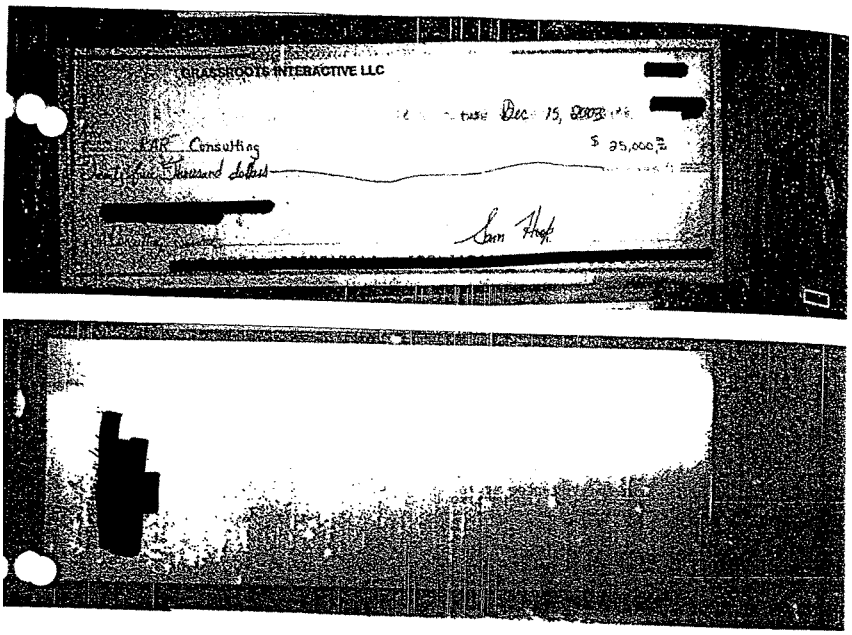

GRASSROOTS INTERACTIVE LLC

Dec 15, 2003

$ 25,000.00

LAR Consulting

Twenty five thousand dollars

PREPARED STATEMENT OF AMY MORITZ RIDENOUR

Thank you for inviting me to appear before the committee and for giving me the opportunity to discuss the funds the National Center for Public Policy Research received from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. Specifically, I wish to discuss the large sums we received during the period of October 2002 through June 2003. I intend to share what I believed were the reasons why the National Center received these funds and how and why we dispersed these funds to for-profit entities we subsequently learned were associated with or owned by Jack Abramoff.

Before addressing these particular points, I believe that it will be helpful to the committee if I share some background on the National Center.

The National Center is a conservative/free market non-profit public charity that opened in February 1982. I have had the privilege to be the first and only chief executive officer of the National Center and have made it my life's work.

The National Center's focus during approximately its first decade was on issues related to the Soviet Union. However, with the fall of the Iron Curtain, the National Center's focus turned to other conservative programs and issues.

One such program is project 21, which highlights the views of conservative and moderate African-Americans by helping them get op-eds published in newspapers, arranging interviews on talk radio and other media, and issuing press releases based on information provided by this previously under-represented group. Since project 21's inception in 1992, the news media has quoted its members approximately 10,000 times.

Researching environmental issues and educating the public regarding them is another National Center program. One research project includes the publication of several editions of a book that highlights 100 personal stories of Americans, who are neither wealthy nor powerful, who have been harmed by regulations that are excessive or improperly applied. In addition, the National Center has begun to examine the extent to which low-income and minority populations disproportionately bear the cost of some Government regulations.

As the years went on, in an effort to make the National Center a better non-profit organization, we implemented several changes, including, in 1997, an increase of the number of board members from three to seven to improve oversight. When we began our search, we decided to bring in individuals who we believed would improve the National Center. One of the individuals we chose was Jack Abramoff. At that time, I had known Jack for nearly 17 years, he was a dedicated free-market conservative, a successful lobbyist and businessman, he had connections to corporate America and his managerial skills; it seemed to me at the time, exceeded my own. We believed we could learn from his experience. He seemed like the perfect choice. Consequently, we extended an offer to him and, in October 1997, he joined the National Center's board of directors.

Our desire to improve the National Center did not stop in 1997 and over the years we made additional policy changes. In 2000, the National Center adopted a formal conflict of interest policy. This policy requires standing directors to reveal to the board all direct or indirect financial interests in any entity with which The National Center is negotiating a transaction or arrangement. We required every member of the board to sip the resolution so that no one could later claim that they were unaware of the policy. Every director, including Jack, did so.

It was through Jack Abramoff that I first had the honor of meeting Chief Philip Martin of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. In February 1997, I participated in a trip to the reservation where I saw first-hand the benefits that casino gambling had for the Mississippi Choctaw Tribe.

Through Chief Martin, I learned that the Mississippi Choctaw had once relied substantially on government handouts and that, in the past, members of the tribe typically had to leave the reservation in order to be financially successful. Thanks in significant part to the capital inflow made possible by their Silver Star casino, they were able to revitalize the tribe and better convince their young members that they did not need to move away in order to pursue and enjoy challenging and satisfying careers.

Chief Martin struck me as one of the most impressive people I have met in my life. After I returned from that trip, I recall telling my husband that had Chief Martin not dedicated his life and his career to his tribe, he might well have become famous as a CEO of a top Fortune 500 corporation.

Approximately 1 month after my trip to the Choctaw Indian Reservation, the National Center received a $2,500-donation from the tribe. This donation was unsolicited and the National Center used this money for general support.

In 1999, the National Center began soliciting funds for a program, which included a study commissioned from an econometrics firm, to determine the impact of so-

called "smart growth" policies on minority home ownership rates. The National Center undertook this study in furtherance of our burgeoning interest in the economic prosperity of minorities in the United States.

The program was to cost $50,000. We found ourselves $5,000 short. I turned to Jack for help. He told me he would get us a donation and even offered to get a donation in excess of $5,000, if we needed it. We, told him we only needed $5,000. Soon thereafter, we received a contribution for that amount from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians and were able to fund the program. In 2000, we received a total of $65,000 in contributions from the Mississippi Choctaws. These contributions were not solicited by me or The National Center's staff, but were arranged by Jack Abramoff. I understood them to be general support contributions. We recorded them accordingly and, as part of the independent annual audit we have had conducted every year of our operation, confirmed this understanding with the Mississippi Choctaws through an audit letter.

I am, of course, aware of news media coverage connecting part of these contributions to a trip we sponsored in 2000 for a Member of Congress. At the time I extended an invitation to this Member of Congress, through his chief of staff, I did not know we would be receiving contributions from the Mississippi Choctaws that year. At no time did I convey to the Congressman or his staff that we had received these contributions, and I was never told, nor I was I under the impression, that the Mississippi Choctaws even knew we had sponsored a Congressional trip to Britain.

In October 2002, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians donated $1 million to the National Center. At that time, I believed that the Choctaws gave the National Center this donation to support an educational project related to the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians and casinos. In particular, to educate the public on the positive impact casino gaming had for the Mississippi Choctaws, both economically and culturally. In order to tell the story fully, however, some background information is necessary.

Approximately 4 months before we received this donation, my husband, who is vice president of The National Center, and I had lunch with Jack Abramoff, The lunch was social but, as was our habit when meeting with members of the board of directors, we briefed him on information pertinent to members of the board, including such mundane things as the fact that we were current in meeting our payroll tax and other financial obligations and the status of projects undertaken by the National Center. I also described the negative financial impact of 9–11 and stock market contractions on the philanthropic community. I told him that new donors would be especially valued that year, as would the opportunity to sponsor projects consistent with our mission for which funding was available.

Once our report was over, Jack shared with us details of his professional career. I remember him telling us that he was doing "a new kind of lobbying." He said he and his colleagues, working with the Mississippi Choctaws, had noted that for-profit, non-Indian gaining establishments were pushing to establish themselves in areas of the country not noted for their admiration of gaming. They believed that a public backlash against gaming was brewing and that before things came to a head, perhaps 4–5 years down the road, they would protect the Choctaw by educating the public in the surrounding States about the benefits of Casino gaming for the Mississippi Choctaws. To educate the public, they relied on phone banks and other tools to tell the Choctaw success story.

I was very interested in what I was hearing. Although my visit to the Choctaw reservation had been more than 5 years earlier, I retained my enthusiasm for what the tribe had been able to accomplish. I noted that this "new kind of lobbying" was not lobbying at all, but educational work and I expressed an interest in the National Center sponsoring it. Jack seemed mildly agreeable but noncommittal. I did not press the matter, assuming the Choctaws were financing the project and would have to approve our involvement.

Approximately 4 months later, Jack contacted me to see if the National Center was still interested in the project. We were because it was consistent with our longstanding interest in promoting minority economic opportunity and was especially welcome because we had postponed the launch of a Hispanic counterpart to project 21 because of a lack of funding. There were also other benefits, including an expansion of our program expenditures and the opportunity to gain experience with educational tools, such as telephone campaigns, with which I had no experience.

There was also one particular opportunity that I was excited about on a personal level. I was excited by the prospect of working with Jack on a large project because I admired him for what I believed to be his amazing managerial skills. At that time, he not only had a lobbying practice successful enough to earn rave reviews in the mainstream press, but he was opening restaurants and starting a school. I believed

that he could only accomplish these feats with a superb ability to delegate authority and manage people, and I hoped to make myself a better manager by seeing him in action.

Jack seemed enthusiastic about having The National-Center on board with the project, and instructed me to send a $1-million invoice to the Mississippi Choctaws, which I did. When the funds arrived, he told me how they should be disbursed: $450,000 to the Capital Athletic Foundation, $500,000 to Capital Campaign Strategies and $50,000 to a company called Numberger and Associates, run by a Ralph Numberger. I believed Capital Campaign Strategies was to be paid for educational program services, such as polling, telephone calls and printing brochures and petitions while Mr. Numberger was going to help coordinate the project. In an e-mail, Jack referred to his receiving "instructions" for the disbursements, which I took to mean recommendations from the donor. This was consistent with my belief that the Mississippi Choctaws were actively involved in the project.

Believing I was joining a project-in-progress, knowing that Jack was the legal representative of the Mississippi Choctaw, was part of a major law firm and, as a member of The National Center's board, had a fiduciary responsibility to the welfare of The National Center, I disbursed the funds in accordance with Jack's instructions. As excited as I was, I still had some concerns about inadvertently violating 501(c)(3) regulations governing organizations such as The National Center. Consequently, I reviewed the laws governing charities with Jack, including, restrictions on lobbying for or against legislation and those banning expenditures relating to elections. I received Jack's repeated assurances, both by e-mail and verbally, that he, in assuming managerial authority for the project on The National Center's behalf, would adhere to them. In addition, prior to transferring funds to the Capital Athletic Foundation as a grant in accordance with what I believed was the donor's recommendation, I reviewed with Jack the laws governing grants between 501(c)(3) organizations, and told him that if the test could not be met we would simply return the money to the donor. The proposed grant, however, seemed to be appropriate and, as such, I made the grant.

It was about this time that a staff member at Greenberg Traurig, other than Jack, sent the National Center a fax of three invoices matching Jack's instructions. It all seemed very official. My only concern at that time was the possibility that Jack, being a lobbyist, would forget to strictly adhere to the laws governing tax-exempt charities. Nevertheless, as nearly one-half of the funds were being sent to the tax-exempt Capital Athletic Foundation as a grant, the remainder was to be used for a program for which there was no related legislation, and because I had received repeated assurances from Jack that he took the tax laws seriously, I believed everything was legitimate and legal.

At the time, I expected that I would personally become involved with the project. That did not happen. Various explanations, all of which seemed reasonable at the time, occurred to me. In addition, in the few months following our involvement in the program my time and attention were diverted to other unrelated, business and personal events that prevented me from aggressively injecting myself into the management of a project I believed was in good hands.

I often requested from Jack that he provide documentation about the educational activities we were supporting. He always said it would be no problem, and I believed him; so much so, that I agreed to continue the program in May and June 2003 when Greenberg Traurig sent $1.5 million to the National Center. At that time, Jack told me this money was part of the program, which I believed was the educational program about the progress being made by the Choctaw Tribe.

Jack told me $250,000 had been designated for the Capital Athletic Foundation as a grant and $1,250,000 was to be paid to Kaygold, a company I believed was owned by Mike Scanlon. It was not until 2004 that I learned that this money did not come from the Choctaw, but rather from an Internet gambling company apparently unrelated to the Choctaw Tribe.

As these events were transpiring, I resolved that if I did not promptly receive sufficient proof of good solid work performance, I would withdraw the National Center from the project. I discussed the matter with the CPA firm we used and, at far greater length, with our tax attorney. I then requested specific pieces of documentation from Jack related to these transactions. When I did not get them, I told Jack, in July 2003, that we would cease participation and he did not object. I did not, however, stop asking him for documentation for work performed for the payments we already had made.

I always trusted Jack and believed that we would ultimately receive the documentation that we requested. Of the various theories I had in my mind as to why we were not receiving the documentation, such, as Jack was simply too busy, none. of them involved a suspicion of the misuse of lands. I completely trusted Jack. So

much so, that I still trusted him after the negative press stories appeared in 2004. For months after 5 the stories appeared, I continued to believe him. It was not until September 2004, when the Washington Post published that Jack owned Kaygold, that I knew in my heart that something was seriously wrong.

You see, the entire time these transactions were going on I believed that Mike Scanlon owned Kaygold. I know that Jack knew I believed this because I made statements pertaining to this issue and he did not dispute them. I would have never issued any money to Kaygold if I had known that Jack was the owner because this was a clear violation of the National Center's conflict of interest policy, which Jack had signed.

I also will note that as I was absorbing the news that Jack owned Kaygold I read the e-mails written by Jack that this committee published last September. These e-mails revealed a side of Jack I did not recognize as the friend and associate I had known for almost a quarter century. It has been over 2 years since we received the $1 million and began what I believed was an educational project to tell the American people what I still believe is the very impressive story of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians. We have continuously requested documentation about the work done on the project and have never received any proof that work was completed or even started.

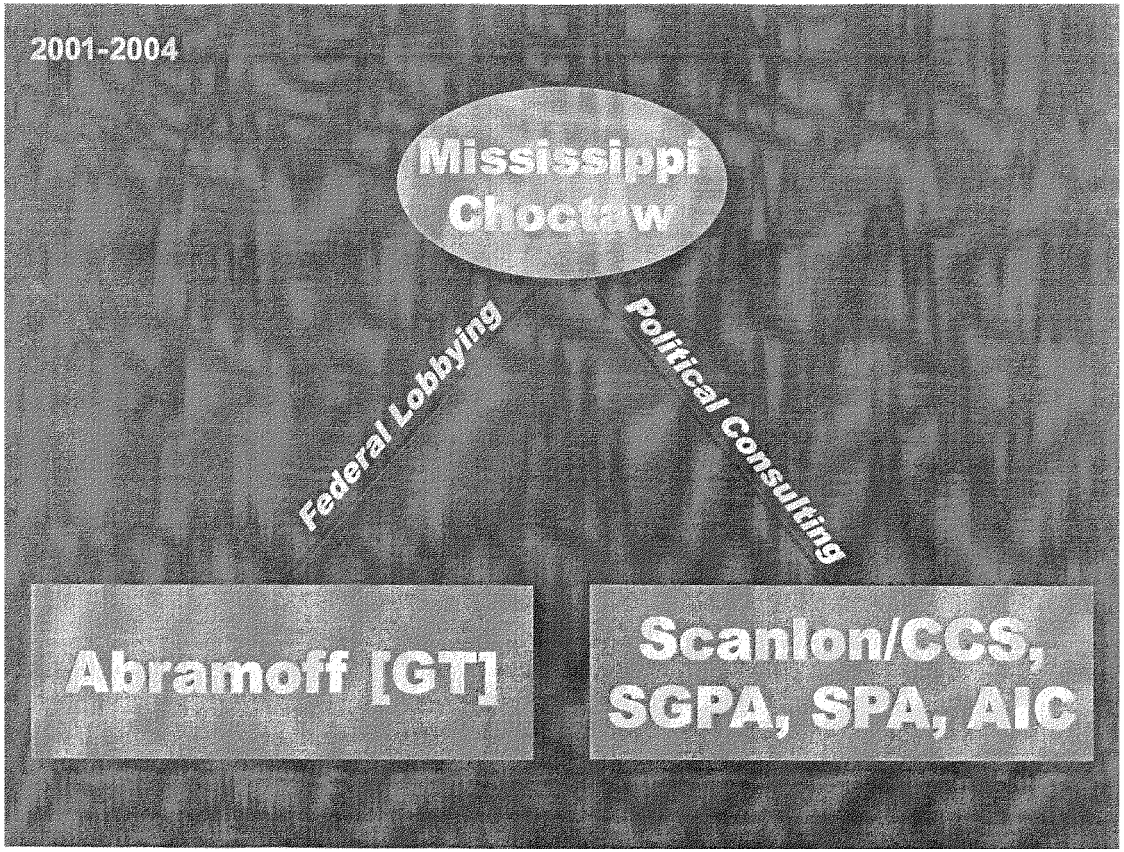
As for Jack Abramoff, I telephoned the rest of our board and we agreed on strength of the violation of the conflict of interest policy alone that we had no choice but to accept his offer to resign that he had made in March 2004 and then again in October of that same year. Consequently, in October 2004; I accepted Jack's resignation from the board and I have not spoken with him since.

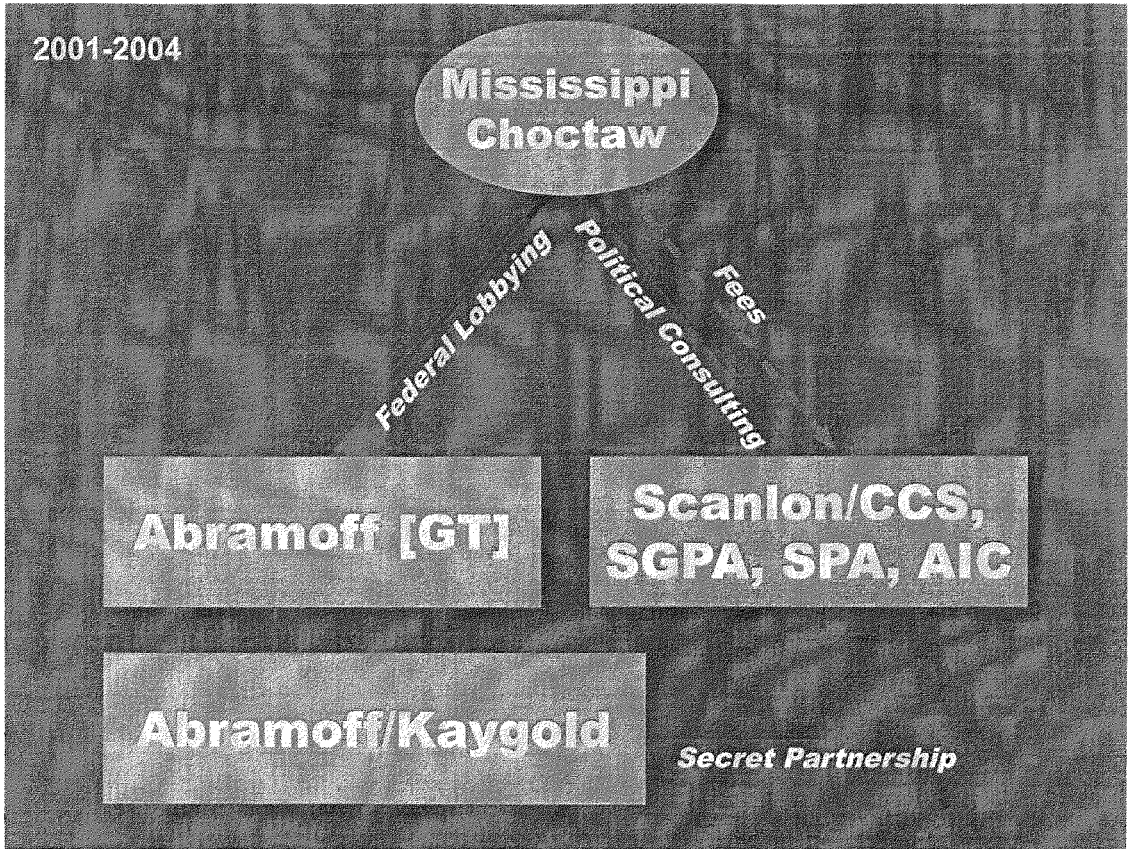
1995-2000

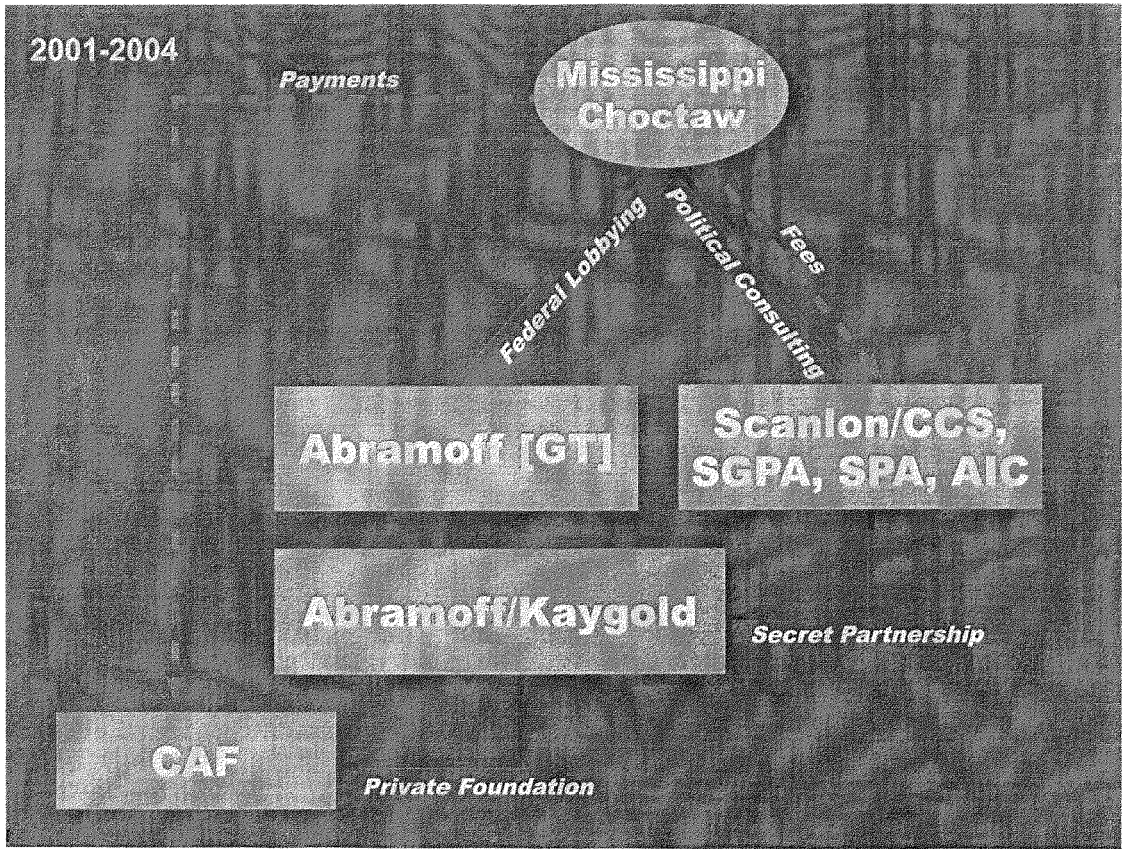
Mississippi Choctaw

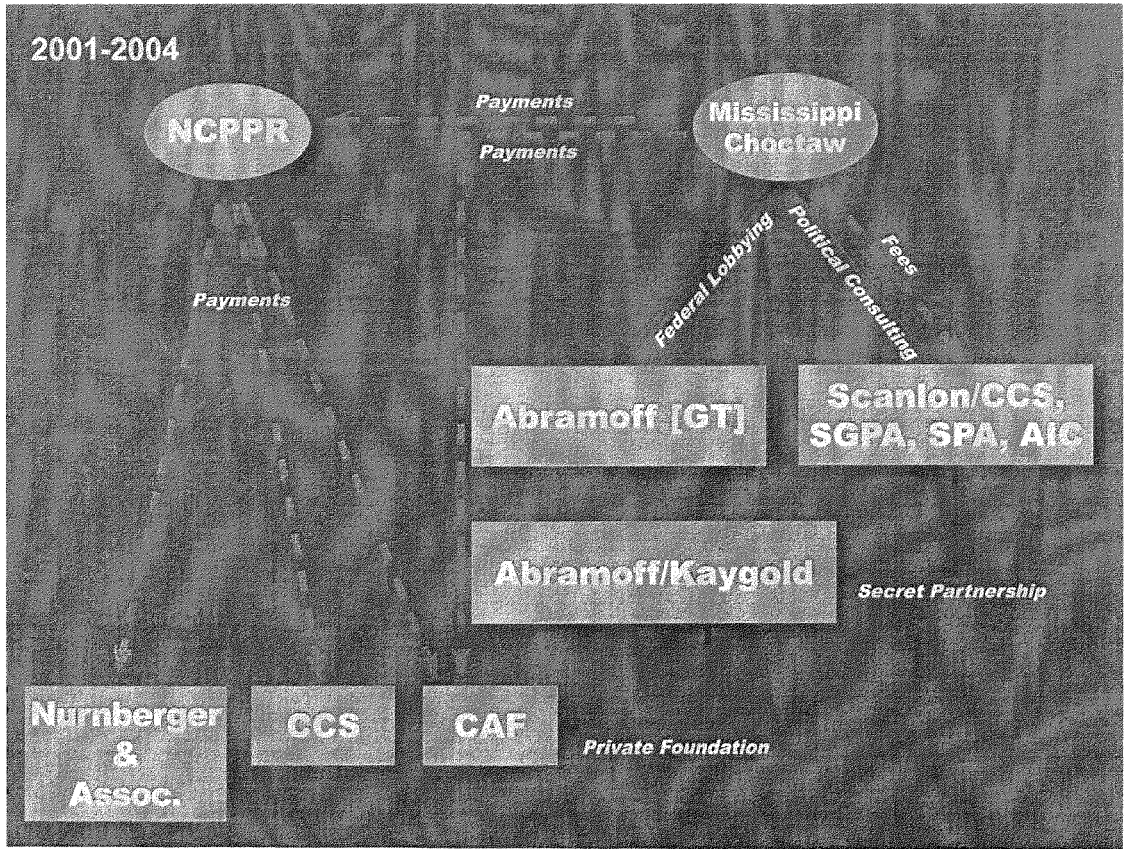
Federal Lobbying

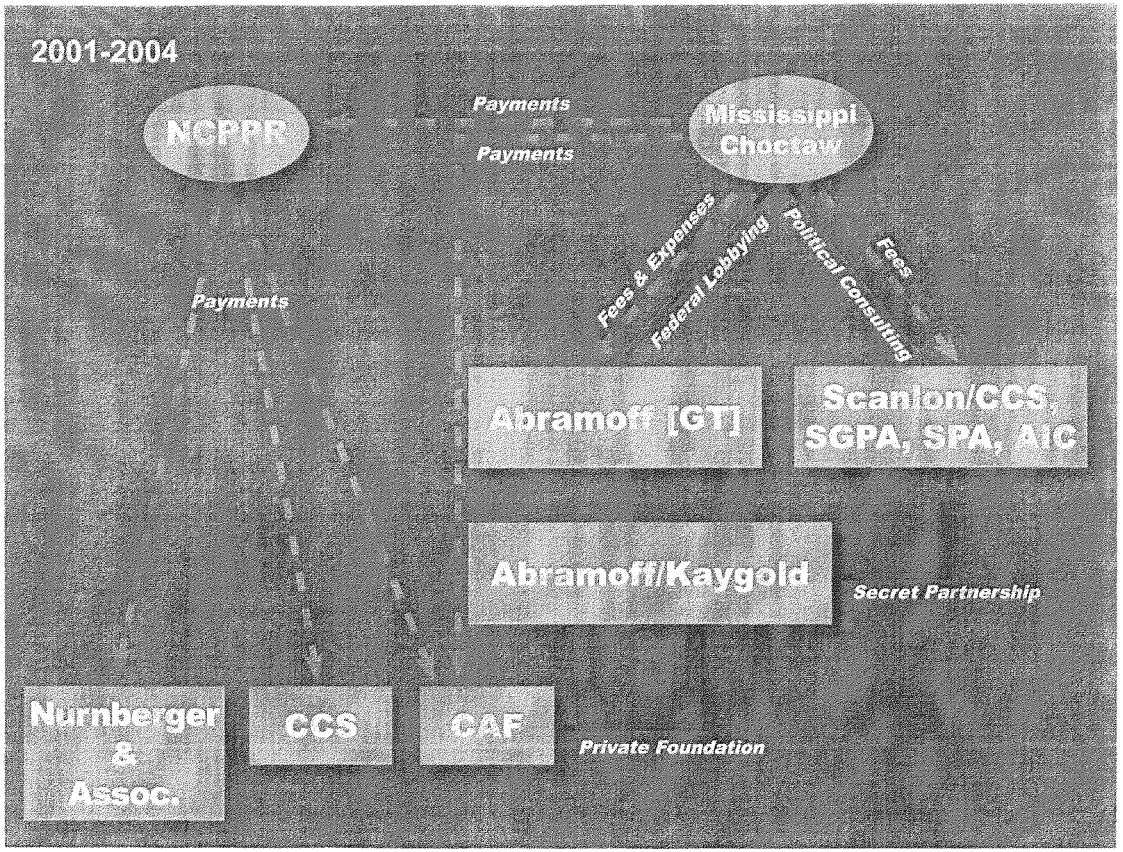
Abramoff [PG]


2001-2004
Mississippi Choctaw
Federal Lobbying
Political Consulting
Abramoff [GT]
Scanlon/CCS, SGPA, SPA, AIC


2001-2004
Mississippi Choctaw
Federal Lobbying
Political Consulting
Fees
Abramoff [GT]
Scanlon/CCS, SGPA, SPA, AIC
Abramoff/Kaygold
Secret Partnership


2001-2004
Payments
Mississippi Choctaw
Federal Lobbying
Political Consulting
Fees
Abramoff [GT]
Scanlon/CCS, SGPA, SPA, AIC
Abramoff/Kaygold
Secret Partnership
CAF
Private Foundation


2001-2004
NCPPR
Payments
Payments
Mississippi Choctaw
Payments
Federal Lobbying
Political Consulting
Fees
Abramoff [GT]
Scanlon/CCS, SGPA, SPA, AIC
Abramoff/Kaygold
Secret Partnership
Nurnberger & Assoc.
CCS
CAF
Private Foundation


2001-2004
NCPPR
Payments
Payments
Mississippi Choctaw
Payments
Fees & Expenses
Federal Lobbying
Political Consulting
Fees
Abramoff [GT]
Scanlon/CCS, SGPA, SPA, AIC
Abramoff/Kaygold
Secret Partnership
Nurnberger & Assoc.
CCS
CAF
Private Foundation

Background

Who We Are

In an age of global discussion about economic and cultural issues, communication between a greater cross section of vested individuals has never been more crucial. The American International Center's (AIC) global outlook helps clients to see the big picture while focusing on their local needs. In short, AIC is determined to influence global paradigms in an increasingly complex world.

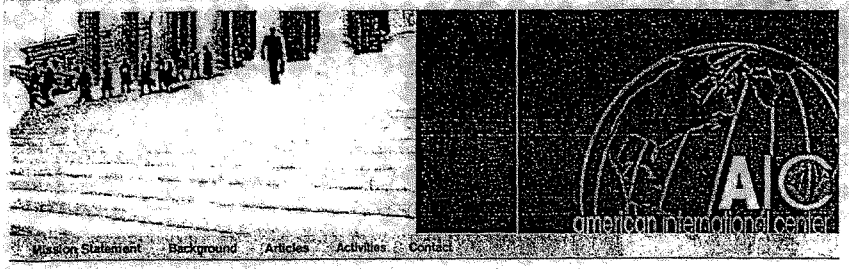
The American International Center is a public policy research foundation founded in 2001 under the high-powered directorship of David A. Grosh and Brian J. Mann. While only recently incorporated, the AIC has been striving to advance the cause of greater international empowerment for many years. Based in sunny Rehoboth Beach, Delaware, the AIC staff is using 21st century technology and decades of experience to make the world a smaller place. In summary, the AIC is bringing great minds together from all over the globe.

Our Work

The AIC seeks to expand the parameters of international discourse in an effort to leverage the combined power of world intellect. To that end, the Center strives to achieve greater involvement of community leaders around the globe. As a premiere international think tank, AIC works with companies, countries and small communities to bring like-minded and geographically diverse entities together.

Fresh perspectives and integrity are the driving force behind AIC's work. AIC uses its public relations and advertising expertise to empower clients to achieve their myriad objectives successfully. The Center also incorporates a number of additional practice areas including media relations, media training and event planning. Whether working one-on-one, organizing town hall meetings or planning elaborate events and press conferences, the AIC will endeavor to meet even the most unusual client demands.

Furthermore, the AIC's close ties with influential business leaders affords clients a direct dialogue with targeted decision-makers. The Center's relationships facilitate unparalleled interaction between key players in domestic and international arenas, and its expert team is integral in brokering mutually-beneficial outcomes. Creative thinking, strong communication plans and strategic execution provide clients with every resource needed to attain their goals.



The American International Center began an intensive reorganization process in mid 2002. At that time the AIC suspended activities pending adoption of a new mission statement and organizational changes.

Included in these changes is a physical move of our offices. The AIC will be relocated to Washington D.C. and will announce this information, along with our new mission statement, new issues focus and other organizational changes, sometime in early 2004.

We look forward to a new beginning; please feel free to check the web site from time to time for more information on the American International Center.

website by mackdesign studios

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Mission Statement

American International Center is a Delaware based Corporation with the global minded purpose of enhancing the methods of empowerment for territories, commonwealths, and sovereign nations in possession of and within the United States.

123

Global Christian Outreach Network

Dear Elected Official,

As a leader in the great state of [redacted] we would like you to take a moment to fill out the enclosed questionnaire.

We are eager to learn your positions on these very important issues. Your time and prayerful responses are greatly appreciated.

When you have finished, please return the questionnaire by using the self-mailer on the back.

God Bless,
Amy Bieberman, National Director

The Hon. «Name»
[redacted]
«CapitolOffice»
[redacted]

Place
Postage
Here

Global Christian Outreach
Network
Post Office Box [redacted]

Global Christian Outreach
Network
Post Office Box [redacted]

G.C.O.N. ISSUE FOCUS 2002

Please review the following questions and check the appropriate box reflecting your position.

1) Do you support the teaching of evolution in [redacted] public schools?

YES NO

2) Do you support prayer in the classrooms of [redacted] public schools?

YES NO

3) Do you support the right of public officials to display religious symbols such as the 10 Commandments in state buildings?

YES NO

4) Do you support the gaming industry in [redacted]

YES NO

5) [redacted]

YES NO

6) Do you support the prohibition of internet gambling?

YES NO

7) Do you support a ban on partial birth abortion?

YES NO

8) Do you support government-funded research using embryonic stem cells?

YES NO

9) Do you support the prohibition of human cloning?

YES NO

10) Do you support government funding of medical clinics that perform abortions?

YES NO

Please return to G.C.O. N. at [redacted]

BB/MBCI 00400

Application Cards

Tear off this page, fill it out, and turn it in to your post office.

Application for Post Office Box or Caller Service – Part 1

Customer: Complete Items 1, 3-6, 14-16, and 18-19

1. Name(s) to which box number(s) is (are) assigned
Christain Action Network (CAN)
Aaron Stetter

3. Name of person applying, title (if representing an organization), and name of organization *(If different from Item 1)*

4a. Will this box be used for:
X Personal Use
X Business Use
(Optional)

4b. Email Address *(Optional)*

5. Address *(Number, street, apt./ste. no., city, state, and ZIP Code)*.
When address changes, cross out address here and put new address on back.
~~[illegible]~~ 611 Pennsylvania Ave, SE
#375 Washington DC 20003

6. Telephone number *(Include area code)*
[redacted]

[redacted]

14. List name(s) and age(s) of minors or names of other persons receiving mail in individual box. Other persons must present two forms of valid ID. If applicant is a firm, name each member receiving mail. Each member must have verifiable ID upon request. *(Continue on reverse side)*
N/A

Warning: The furnishing of false or misleading information on this form or omission of material information may result in criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including multiple damages and civil penalties). (18 U.S.C. 1001)

16. Signature of applicant *(Same as Item 3)* I agree to comply with all postal rules regarding post office box or caller service.
▶ Aaron Stetter

Use a separate form for each box number of consecutive group of numbers, and type of service. File part 1 alphabetically by customer's name.

PS Form 1093, August 2001 *(Page 1 of 2)*

Application for Post Office Box or Caller Service – Part 2

Special Orders

16. Postmaster: The following named persons or representatives of the organization listed below are authorized to accept mail addressed to this (these) post office box(es) or caller number(s). All names listed must have verifiable ID. *(Continue on reverse side)*

a. Name(s) of applicant(s) *(Same as Item 3)*

b. Name of box customer *(Same as Item 1)*

c. Other authorized representative

d. Other authorized representative

Customer note: The Postal Service may consider it valid evidence that a person is authorized to remove mail from the box if that person possesses a key or combination to the box.

18. Will this box be used for Express Mail redelivery? *(Check one)*

a. Yes ☐ b. No ☐

Warning: The furnishing of false or misleading information on this form or omission of material information may result in criminal sanctions (including fines and imprisonment) and/or civil sanctions (including multiple damages and civil penalties). (18 U.S.C. 1001)

19. Signature of applicant *(Same as Item 3)* I agree to comply with all postal rules regarding post office box or caller service.
▶

Use a separate form for each box number of consecutive group of numbers, and type of service. File part 2 by box or caller number.

PS Form 1093, August 2001 *(Page 2 of 2)*

Phone Script
Name:
Start Date:

Hello,

My name is John and I am calling from Citizens Against Gambling, we urgently need your help to stop the spread of gambling in Michigan.

Right now, some politicians in Lansing are trying to pass a law that would allow slot machines at horse tracks.

This is an outrage!

Would you be willing to call (Name) office to tell him/her to stop the spread of gambling?

If no, disconnect.

If yes,

We can connect you at no charge. When they pick up, tell them that ENOUGH IS ENOUGH; vote no on slots at horse tracks.

Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Contact: Amy Biederman
Phone: (301) 785-6364

Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion Blast

[redacted]

CITY, ST (Date) – Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion (CCAGE) launched a statewide radio ad campaign today denouncing the [redacted] casino in [redacted]

"The [redacted] casino is illegal and just another gambling den contributing to the destruction of our moral society," said Erin Yeatman, president and founder of CCAGE.

CCAGE's ads specifically target [redacted] and [redacted] criticizing them for allowing illegal gaming in [redacted]

"Public officials like [redacted] neglected their job as watchmen over the citizens of [redacted] while a casino to set up shop right under their noses," stated Yeatman.

[redacted] on [redacted] The establishment promotes itself as [redacted] CCAGE decided to run the ads to raise awareness among [redacted] of the illegal casino and pinpoint those government officials that are not enforcing [redacted]

"These ads are meant to be a wakeup call to the [redacted] that such disregard for the law will not be left unchecked," said Yeatman adding, "The citizens of [redacted] need to call these officials and let them know that illegal gambling will not be condoned and tell them to shut down the [redacted] casino."

Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion is a non-for-profit, nonpartisan grassroots organization.

###

8612 Falls Road, #244 • Potomac, Maryland 20854

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, November 12, 1998 7:02 AM
To: Buckham, Edwin A.; 'Ed Buckham'
Subject: FW: Hi Ralph

I guess he was reading your mind. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: ralphreed@[redacted] [mailto:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, November 12, 1998 12:19 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Hi Ralph

Hey, now that I'm done with the electoral politics, I need to start humping in corporate accounts! I'm counting on you to help me with some contacts. Have you talked to Grover since the Newt development. I'm afraid he took a hit on the consulting side with that since so much of it was Newt maintenance but I hope I'm wrong. I'm getting ready to do some work with some mutual friends that we probably ought to discuss. Let's chat.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 09, 1998 10:08 PM
To: 'ralphreed@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Hi Ralph

Great news on your victories! Look forward to chatting soon. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: ralphreed@[redacted] [mailto:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 09, 1998 4:39 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Hi Ralph

We won 7 and lost 5. Among our winners were Senator Coverdell, Senator Richard Shelby, Congressman Jay Dickey, Congressman Bob Goodlatte, Governor Tom Ridge, and Steve Windom, who is now the first Republican Lt. Governor in the history of Alabama. We lost Gex and Hofmeister and Fob James, as you know. Given the national tide, those were probably not in the cards, but we fought like dogs. I can't thank you enough for your help this cycle, and I hope we can work together on more things now that the elections are over. See you at Jack Kent Cooke soon! Give me a buzz and let's discuss the world post-Newt.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, November 05, 1998 12:43 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: Hi Ralph

How did things go for you and your candidates? I know that Gex and Hofmeister didn't get in, but did you otherwise do OK? When are you next in DC? If on a Sunday, please be sure to join me for the Redskins' quest for imperfection. Regards.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, March 29, 1999 10:14 PM
To: ralph[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Ralph, I spoke with Neil this evening. She wants much more specifics. They are not scared by the number, but want to know precisely what you are planning to do for this amount. They are very sophisticated, by the way. Let's chat on the phone so we can put together what she wants. They are hot to trot and we can land this, but we are going to have to get more specific. If you want to take a stab at this before I am back on line (mid to late afternoon), that would be fine.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [mailto:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 26, 1999 2:57 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Here it is:

March 26, 1999

Jack Abramoff
Preston, Gates
1735 New York Avenue, N.W.
Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20006

Dear Jack:

It was good to talk to you and Shawn Vasell regarding the situation in [redacted]. On behalf of Century Strategies, I am pleased to present this letter in the form of a proposal to outline our initial understanding of your needs, specify the services of our firm, and provide a basis for professional fees and expenses.

Our understanding of the current situation

The [redacted] states, which have been financially struggling for some time. While the ostensible purpose of the legislation is to rescue the [redacted] bill has wide-ranging public policy implications.

[redacted] that determined that this bill would authorize many other [redacted]
Added to the bonkers aspect of this development is the fact that the [redacted] the centerpiece of his [redacted] Therefore, he is [redacted] that jeopardizes his own legislation [redacted]
This makes the stakes in this battle even higher, and underscores the need

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, April 04, 1999 11:09 PM
To: ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

OK, Ralph. Thanks. I am going to be off line from 7 AM to Noon. Please page me with a page of no more than 90 words (by emailing me at [redacted], informing me of your completion of the budget and giving me a total budget figure with category breakdowns. Once I get this, I will call Nell at Choctaw and get it approved. You can reach me via pager only tomorrow (I'll be on the course). I did not see the [redacted] victory, but he is truly awesome. I hope he can keep it up for the Masters.

I had a great day today, finally getting my form back in flashes. I hit a number of pars and finally hit a bird. The course is a tough one (the Green Monster!), so this is a good challenge. I have a long way to go, but it is clear that only playing (and lessons) will get me there. Hope I can continue to find the time to do it. Look forward to our next match, but only after I drive my scores way down!

---Original Message---
From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [mailto:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, April 04, 1999 9:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: [redacted]

Jack, we have discovered since we got into the [redacted] project that the train has about to leave the station in the [redacted]. We can still win, but it does mean that if we are serious about winning it will take a significant commitment. I have about half my staff on this project for the next two weeks. We have been on the phone virtually nonstop, have mail and phones ready to go Monday, have an operative on the ground, and a local lobbyist ready to be retained. We have a shot, but I need a green light Monday first thing on our program.

I will e-mail you a budget in the a.m. and then we need to discuss quickly.

Hope you had a blessed Passover.

How did you like Duvall at the BellSouth today. Won it on the last four holes.

Linda Ingram
From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 06, 1999 6:51 PM
To: 'joanne@[redacted]
Cc: 'lindai@[redacted] 'barry@[redacted]
Subject: FW:[redacted]

Please prepare an invoice for $101,000 based on the description below and label it "Payment for [redacted] project, initial radio, phone, and mail expenses." Make sure you put down on the bottom of the invoice a disclaimer that [redacted] will provide. I need this to go to Jack's assistant at Preston Gates ASAP...as in tomorrow a.m. We are already fronting a lot of money and we need Preston Gates to advance us now so our balance does not get too low and we are not over-extended.

---Original Message---

From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [SMTP:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 06, 1999 9:40 PM
To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Jack, here is what we are out already:

Radio	$23,500
Postcards	$15,500
Phones	$62,000

This is what we are fronting to get up phones, radio, and mail. This is a large sum for our firm, and we need to be reimbursed ASAP. I am getting you an invoice very soon by fax and e-mail.

---Original Message---

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 06, 1999 6:18 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: [redacted]

Ralph, I spoke with our managing partner and he has approved the subcontractor arrangement, but does not want the firm to be out big bucks on this, even as a cash flow, for long. So, it would be really helpful if you could get me invoices as soon as possible so I can get Choctaw to get us checks asap. You told me that you have already incurred some biggies, so let me know that those are, and if you can project ahead a week or so, even better, though I need exact figures. Please copy Susan on this so I can get this information and call Nell on Thursday night when I am back on line. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, April 09, 1999 11:01 AM
To: ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Ralph, I am not sure that I can get this wire moving fast enough today. Give me your wire info and I'll do what I can. Any chance that a wire from Choctaw directly would be OK?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [mailto:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, April 09, 1999 10:44 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I need it today, Friday, and it is being wired. We have fronted $100K, which is a lot for us.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, April 09, 1999 2:04 AM
To: ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Great. Please get me as many updates as regularly as you can, which I can pass on to Neil Rogers. Tomorrow, we'll process the invoice for you. I hope we'll have you a check next week. If you need me tomorrow, page me. I
return to DC Sunday.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 5:56 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: FW: Disbursement on behalf of Choctaw Indians

It's on the way to you and should be there in the morning. Let me know if you get it. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted](DC)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 6:17 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); [redacted] (DC)
Subject: FW: Disbursement on behalf of Choctaw Indians

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted](SEA)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 6:07 PM
To: [redacted](DC); [redacted](DC)
Cc: [redacted](SEA)
Subject: RE: Disbursement on behalf of Choctaw Indians

The invoice has been sent this afternoon by Federal Express with morning delivery.

FedEx Airbill [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted](SEA)
Sent: Monday, April 12, 1999 1:14 PM
To: [redacted](DC)
Cc: [redacted](DC); [redacted](SEA); [redacted](SEA)
Subject: Disbursement on behalf of Choctaw Indians

[redacted] Thanks for the return message confirming [redacted] approval of the payment of the invoice. (I saw the initials on the check request, but did not recognize them as [redacted]. [redacted] since [redacted] is out, this check will probably come to you for signature. We have been requested to pay a $121,000 invoice on behalf of the Choctaw Indians.....client number 34952-00001. [redacted] has approved this unusually large disbursement. The check must go out in Fedex today. Please let me know if there are any issues or if we need to phone [redacted]

[redacted]
Preston Gates & Ellis LLP
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, April 22, 1999 10:25 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Yeaaaa baaabbyy!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [SMTP:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 22, 1999 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Alright. We have fronted the money so we need it by Friday at the latest. All systems are go on our end and nothing is being held back.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [SMTP:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 1999 10:58 PM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I have all invoices and spoke with Nell this evening. I will be getting these to her tomorrow and will be pushing to get the check out the door by COB. Go go go! We have to win no matter what.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph E. Reed, Jr. [mailto:ralphreed@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 21, 1999 9:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: [redacted]

Jack, I sent you an invoice yesterday for $122,000 that covers voter contact, television and radio production, the remainder of phones, the statewide fly-around, the pastor's and activist rally, the church bulletin inserts, and other items from the last phase of this project. We have already paid most of this to vendors out of our own pocket to keep our credit good and insure prompt service, so we need that check ASAP.

You will be receiving an invoice tonight for $250,000 to $300,000 that includes the second phase of the project, including phones (which are already turned on), a week-long television buy that begins Friday (in the first phase we were only on TV for 2 days), and a saturation statewide radio buy with a new ad by Jim Dobson that he will record tomorrow. The television campaign is critical because we have heard that the other side is looking to go up over the weekend and if we beat them to

the punch on Friday we take a lot of avails off the table. Also, we are targeting our television and radio by bumping the gross rating points in [redacted] media markets, where five of the swing votes are located. The other side is not doing that. With the other side already planning to blitz TV this weekend, we cannot wait to get on the air or we will lose.

Therefore, I need a check or wire transfer for the media buy as soon as possible, and no later than Friday because we are fronting some of this money.

We are opening the bomb bays and holding nothing back. If victory is possible, we will achieve it.

GTG-E000112007

From: [redacted](DC)
Sent: Monday, May 10, 1999 12:53 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Choctaw/Century Strategies

Date	Invoice #	Amount
4/01/99	98812	$20,000.00
4/07/99	98821	$121,000.00
4/13/99	98827	$125,000.00
4/20/99	98833	$121,931.88
4/21/99	98848	$359,500.00
4/27/99		$17,759.98
4/30/99	98849	$235,522.40
5/05/99	99515	$1,500.00
5/04/99	99516	$40,000.00
5/06/99	99520	$261,689.00
TOTAL		$1,303,903.26

PENDING
4/20/99 98835 $25,000
4/20/99 98834 $25,000

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 07, 1999 5:47 PM
To: [redacted] (DC)
Subject: RE: Choctaw/Century Strategies

Could you let me know how much we have sent him since the start of this? You can do this next week if you want. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (DC)
Sent: Friday, May 07, 1999 12:06 PM
To: [redacted] (DC); [redacted] (DC)
Cc: [redacted] (DC); Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Choctaw/Century Strategies

I just talked w/ [redacted] at MS Choctaw and she confirmed that the checks will be sent via FedEx today for Monday delivery.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, May 06, 1999 7:33 PM
To: [redacted] (DC)
Subject: RE: 5/6 Daily work activities

Neil is going to send out the check tomorrow. We'll get it in Monday's Federal Express. When you have confirmation from her for tomorrow (call around noon), please inform [redacted] that we have confirmation that the fed ex is on the way and we need to get the check out to Ralph. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 6:09 PM
To: Groveratr@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Hi Grover

Thanks Grove. Let's chat. I won't give him anything before we chat. Regards.

---Original Message---
From: Groveratr@[redacted] [mailto:Groveratr@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 20, 1999 4:29 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Re: Hi Grover

jack,
got your email.
I do want to talk about [redacted]
I want to speak with you before anything else is done there.

What is the status of the Choctaw stuff. I have a $75K hole in my budget
from last year. ouch.
grover

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, September 24, 1999 4:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: call Ralph re Grover doing pass through

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, October 03, 1999 8:42 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC); 'aa-Abramoff, Jack (Sky)'

Grover and Ralph, we need a check to Ralph by Wednesday

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, December 13, 1999 10:20 AM
To: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
Subject: RE: Louisiana

Good. The most important thing is finding out what they want and cannot get.

---Original Message---
From: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
Sent: Monday, December 13, 1999 9:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Louisiana

working on it. Todd is determing who the state's lobbyist are and will pull their LDAs. this should give us a good initial start to figuring out what issues are most important to them. I will also do state and congressional district profiles.

---Original Message---
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Sunday, December 12, 1999 11:09 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (DC)
Subject: Louisiana

Terry Martin wants us to look into what the state of Louisiana is trying to get in DC so we can find a list of things we might be able to do for them, and he can offer that to the governor. Can you get a small team working on this? Bill Choctaw.

From: Ralph Reed [ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 7:30 AM
To: jacka@[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Here is the program we are recommending to our folks in [redacted] and they agree:

Mail One self-mailer x 85,000 @ .52
One postcard x 85,000 @ .39
$77,350

Television
10 days, 750 gross rating points statewide @ $261 per grp. $391,500

Radio
2 weeks, statewide 5 frequency $142,536

Radio/Televison Production
5 spots $28,500

List Rental
85,000 x .08 x 2
45,000 x .08 x 2 20,800

Grassroots Phone Banks
Live Operator 45,000 @ .62
Taped Message 45,000 @ .42
46,825

Legislative Counsel 40,000

Management Fee
$40,000 per mo. 120,000

TOTAL: 867,511

Remember that the session begins on Tuesday and the bills are expected to pass the state House as early as Friday unless we move now.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:04 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

OK, let me know on the other one as soon as you can.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:37 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Amy, Grover, Lapin, and one other I will get to you.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:34 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

OK, thanks. Please get me the groups we are using, since I want to give this to her all at once.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 27, 2000 8:30 AM
To: jacka@[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Here is the program we are recommending to our folks in [redacted] and they agree:

Mail One self-mailer x 85,000 @ .52
One postcard x 85,000 @ .39
$77,350

Television
10 days, 750 gross rating points statewide @ $261 per grp. $391,500

Radio
2 weeks, statewide 5 frequency
$142,536

Radio/Televison Production
5 spots
$28,500

List Rental
65,000 x .08 x 2
45,000 x .08 x 2
20,800

Grassroots Phone Banks
Live Operator 45,000 @ .62
Taped Message 45,000 @ .42
46,825

Legislative Counsel
40,000

Management Fee
$40,000 per mo.
120,000

TOTAL: $67,511

Remember that the session begins on Tuesday and the bills are expected to pass the state House as early as Friday unless we move now.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:18 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Great. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [SMTP:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 12:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: [redacted]

The [redacted] is what we need right now. We would only need more if the bill passes the House. This is a House only program----the Senate becomes a target only if it passes the House.

Will get you a group.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 28, 2000 11:09 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: [redacted]

Rabbi Lapin does not have a c4. Please give me the name of the c4 you want to use (include address) and we'll divide it among the three groups. Can I assume that we only need $867,511, or is that what we need right now? Please let me know. Also, if we will need more soon, please let me know when and how much as best you can. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 10:35 AM
To: ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE:[redacted]

We'll have $300K for Monday and more shortly thereafter. Because the amount is so big, she needed a couple of days to set the process.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 9:25 AM
To: jacka[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Did you get the address for the [redacted]? Is a check coming?

85,000 mailers to conservative evangelicals dropping today.

Phone banks went on last night. We will be making 5,000 or more calls a day. Expect to jam switchboards by next week.

I had two people in [redacted] yesterday. They are working it hard with the grassroots.

Ralph Reed

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 11:59 AM
To: ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

Super. Thanks Ralph.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 03, 2000 9:27 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

I believe so. If we can kill it in the House definitely. If it goes to the Senate, the worst case scenario is what the pro-family groups spent to defeat video poker and the lottery—each about $1.3 million. Again, if it dies in the House, $1 million max, and maybe less. If it goes to the Senate, probably $1.3 million max. We will keep doing all we can to raise money from national anti-gambling groups, Christian CEO's, and national pro-family groups.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 11:12 PM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

Spoke with Neil. They have a budget issue. They want to know if we can get through to October on $1 million. Can we? If not, let me know.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 5:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: amy Ridenour

Yes, it will.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
[mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 02, 2000 5:45 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: amy Ridenour

She does not have a c4, only a c3, so we are back to ATR only. I have to go out, but let's chat later tonight. Let me know if it will work just to do this through ATR until we can find another group.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 8:21 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Yes. I need to give Grover something for helping, so the first transfer will be a bit lighter. No fear, though, since I have already started the next transfer.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 9:16 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Remember radio goes up today and the first mail piece in [redacted] dropped on Friday. So we are off to the races.

I assume we are all still go on the contributions from the DC anti-tax groups to [redacted] reaching them when—tomorrow or Wednesday?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 9:12 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Be Prepared

Just want Pam hopes for! More kids! :)

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted] <mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 9:10 AM
To: jacka@[redacted] <mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Subject: FW: Be Prepared

I figured you could use this.

-----Original Message-----
From: yvette2@[redacted] [mailto:yvette2@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 07, 2000 5:08 AM
To: friend@[redacted]
Subject: Be Prepared

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 9:50 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]
Subject: RE:[redacted]

Thanks. Keep me posted. ATR will be sending a second $300K today. How much more do we need? We can't lose this. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 17, 2000 10:49 AM
To: jacka@prestongates.com
Subject: [redacted]

The [redacted], pro-gambling forces went up yesterday with a statewide saturation radio buy, matching our buy through March 3. Spot is high quality, says MS casinos trying to buy up high-price lobbyists to deny people their right to vote on video poker. We are getting a script.

They are now introducing a different local bill each day, trying to keep us on the defensive.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 11:34 AM
To: [redacted] (DC)
Subject: RE: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way

Thanks for clearing this up. Be more guarded about people getting to speak with me on the phone for the next week.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (DC)
Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 12:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way

ATR is sending check FedEx today to the [redacted]. Little confusion over there because Jane is on vacation (I didn't know that when I left a message yesterday), but they are OK now. Grover wants you to call him on his cell at (202) [redacted]. He's getting on a plane in an hour. If he misses you, he will call you Sunday. I'm calling Ralph now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, February 18, 2000 12:24 PM
To: [redacted] (DC)
Subject: Ralph Reed is on his cell by the way
Importance: High

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 8:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another $25K!

GTG-E000078903

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 8:50 PM
To: [redacted]DC)
Subject: FW: grover kept another $25K!

Please put Grover on the call sheet re choctaw contribution[redacted]pdated call sheet. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, February 22, 2000 9:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: grover kept another $25K!

GTG-E000110879

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 6:28 AM
To: [redacted] (DC)
Subject: RE: Alabama 17-17-1

Yes, but last time they sent $275K, so I want to make sure that, before we send it to ATR I speak with Grover to confirm.

---Original Message---
From: [redacted] (DC)
Sent: Friday, March 03, 2000 7:28 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: Alabama 17-17-1

Once ATR gets their check, should the entire $300k be sent to the Alabama Christian Coalition again?

---Original Message---
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 9:48 PM
To: [redacted] (DC)
Subject: FW: alabama 17-17-1

Please see if you can track down Nell to ask if she got this one. If not, offer to fax it to her. Tell her it's important and about Alabama.

---Original Message---
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 6:52 PM
To: Nell Rogers
Subject: FW: alabama 17-17-1

We have to get him more money asap, but he thinks that, after this transfer we should be OK for a while. Can you get me a check for $300K for Americans for Tax Reform asap?
---Original Message---
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]<mailto:[mailto:ralph@[redacted]>
Sent: Thursday, March 02, 2000 10:23 AM
To: jacka@[redacted]
Subject: FW: alabama 17-17-1

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 9:27 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: FW: [redacted]

Please check to see if we get the check for Atr today and if not, let me know asap.
Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 07, 2000 10:19 AM
To: jacka@[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Do you know if the [redacted] has received additional contributions and when?

GTG-E000020584

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, August 04, 2000 3:51 PM
To: Scanlon, Michael (DC)
Subject: RE:

Don't skimp too much. I want everyone to have a good time.

-----Original Message-----
From: Scanlon, Michael (DC)
Sent: Friday, August 04, 2000 4:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE:

Ok - I will keep it as low as possible. Thanks!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Friday, August 04, 2000 2:19 PM
To: Scanlon, Michael (DC)
Subject: RE:

Yes, Choctaw, but keep it low if you can.

-----Original Message-----
From: Scanlon, Michael (DC)
Sent: Friday, August 04, 2000 2:13 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject:
Importance: High

Jack - Can I Take Tony His Wife , Maryellen Her boyfriend and Emily out to dinner tonight and expense it? They are all my guests this weekend. Sorry to bother you with this but I thought I better run it past your first.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2000 2:35 PM
To: 'Daniel Lapin'
Subject: RE: HELP!

Probably just a few clever titles of awards, dates and that's it. As long as you can be the person to verify them (or we can have someone else verify one and you the other), we should be set. Do you have any creative titles, or should I dip into my bag of tricks?

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, September 19, 2000 9:58 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: HELP!

Yes, I just need to know what needs to be produced....letters? plaques? Neither?

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
[redacted],
[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]
Tel: 206-[redacted]
Fax: 206-[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, September 18, 2000 11:25 PM
To: Daniel Lapin
Subject: RE: HELP!

Thanks. Glad to hear I am not the only one who has to go to these banquets! I was with DeLay tonight who told me that he really enjoyed the TT event. Hope we can chat tomorrow to get the awards moving. Thanks again.

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, September 18, 2000 11:17 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: HELP!

Sorry I didn't get back till late since right after my radio show I had to put in an appearance at my shul's banquet. Let's organize your many prestigious awards so they're ready to 'hang on the wall'.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
[redacted],
[redacted] [redacted] [redacted].
Tel: 206-[redacted]
Fax: 206-[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, September 17, 2000 3:59 PM
To: 'Daniel Lapin'
Subject: RE: HELP!

Just tried you, and got a busy signal. I'll try again in a few moments.

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, September 17, 2000 2:54 PM

To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: HELP!

Do let me know if you want to work on this today. I am home till I leave for KVI to do the show, at about 4pm.
Best.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
[redacted],
[redacted], [redacted].
Tel: 206-[redacted]
Fax: 206-[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2000 1:55 PM
To: 'Daniel Lapin'
Subject: RE: HELP!

Thanks so much for everything. Good Shabbos.

-----Original Message-----
From: Daniel Lapin [mailto:dlapin@[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2000 2:12 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: RE: HELP!

Mazel tov, the Cosmos Club is a big deal.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin
[redacted],
[redacted], [redacted].
Tel: 206-[redacted]
Fax: 206-[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, September 15, 2000 10:19 AM
To: Rabbi Daniel Lapin
Subject: HELP!

I hate to ask your help with something so silly, but I have been nominated for membership in the Cosmos Club, which is a very distinguished club in Washington, DC, comprised of Nobel Prize winners, etc. Problem for me is that most prospective members have received awards and I have received none.

I was wondering if you thought it possible that I could put that I have received an award from Toward Tradition with a sufficiently academic title,

perhaps something like Scholar of Talmudic Studies? I wish you were still heading PJC (for this reason only!) so I could get one from them too, perhaps something like Distinguished Biblical Scholar Award. Indeed, it would be even better if it were possible that I received these in years past, if you know what I mean. Anyway, I think you see what I am trying to finagle here! Do you think this is possible? It would only be used from this situation, but there is a chance that they would have to call someone to verify.

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, September 26, 2000 6:22 AM
To: [redacted] (DC)
Subject: RE: Trip Receipts

Actually, we should be reimbursed by Suncruz for it. Let's submit and see how long it takes them. If it takes longer than a week, let's submit as Choctaw.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, September 26, 2000 7:18 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: Trip Receipts

I have the airline receipts for your trip to Ft. Lauderdale. Is this billable to Choctaw?

GTG-E000113711

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, November 07, 2000 7:07 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Subject: FW: austin

Call Ralph reed

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 07, 2000 8:03 AM
To: 'Abramoff, Jack (DC)'
Subject: RE: austin

thanks. call me later today in austin and i'll tell you what i know. -----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (DC) [mailto:jacka@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 07, 2000 8:03 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: austin

Thanks Ralph. The firm has held back all payments pending receipt of a check from Choctaw which was held up because of a paperwork glitch none of us knew about. We should have received their check already, so I will push to get us the funds now. I'll check on the other project. Should be no problem getting all these done. Let's try to chat later, but if we can't, we can chat later in the week.
-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 07, 2000 7:58 AM
To: 'jacka@[redacted]
Subject: austin

I arrive in austin this afternoon. call me between 4 and 7 p.m. central on my cell. i should have exit polling in that period for you. just a reminder, we're owed about $60-75K for the [redacted] project and are still owed $40-60K on another project going back to the summer through September. would like to get the cleared out now that the election is over. thanks. we'll discuss if need be.

From: Ralph Reed [ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 23, 2001 1:43 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted] (20 KB)

here's a working budget, approximately $550K with radio/media, and roughly $400K without radio. I highly recommend moving immediately.

<< [redacted] >>

[redacted]

February-March, 2001

Mail

Activist Postcard Mailing
(80,000 quantity x 2 x .38 ea.) $ 60,800

List Rental
180,000 x 3 x .06 ea $ 32,400

Church Membership Mailing
(95,500 x .38 ea) $ 36,290

Phones

Computerized Calls
80,000 @ .15/call x 2 contacts $ 24,000

Patch-through calls
$36/hr x 10 communicators x 200 hrs. $ 70,200

Coalitions
Contributions $ 25,500
Rallies, Event Coordination $ 8,000

Legislative Strategy/Coordination
($30,000/mo x 2 months) $ 60,000

Media Campaign-- OPTIONAL
Radio
5 freqency x 2 weeks statewide $ 142,000

Management Fee
($45,000/mo. x 2 mos.) $ 90,000

TOTAL: $ 549,190

[redacted]

February-March, 2001

Mail	
Activist Postcard Mailing (80,000 quantity x 2 x .38 ea.)	$ 60,800
List Rental 180,000 x 3 x .06 ea	$ 32,400
Church Membership Mailing (95,500 x .38 ea)	$ 36,290
Phones	
Computerized Calls 80,000 @ .15/call x 2 contacts	$ 24,000
Patch-through calls $36/hr x 10 communicators x 200 hrs.	$ 70,200
Coalitions	
Contributions	$ 25,500
Rallies, Event Coordination	$ 8,000
Legislative Strategy/Coordination ($30,000/mo x 2 months)	$ 60,000
Media Campaign-- OPTIONAL	
Radio 5 freqency x 2 weeks statewide	$ 142,000
Management Fee ($45,000/mo. x 2 mos.)	$ 90,000
TOTAL:	$ 549,190

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 27, 2001 9:43 PM
To: Mpsscanlon[redacted]
Subject: RE: can we use American International Center for a Choctaw projec t?

This is not acceptable at all! We must get this turned around in less than a day or max two. If we cannot convince the bank to turn it around as soon as it clears, then this is not going to work.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mpsscanlon[redacted] [mailto:Mpsscanlon[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 27, 2001 4:38 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: can we use American International Center for a Choctaw projec t?

There will be a dealy in turn around time - but not long. The bank requires holds on all checks for the first 6 months of any new account. It will only be like 5 days or so.

In a message dated 2/27/2001 8:07:06 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj[redacted]

<< Subj: RE: can we use American International Center for a Choctaw projec t?
Date: 2/27/2001 8:07:06 AM Eastern Standard Time
From: abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mpsscanlon[redacted]

It will for sure be a check, but the key will be getting turn around on it. we cannot have too much drag. We need to write a check and send it as soon as we get the money, and then just let me know how fast we can get it cleared. The check should be made to Century Strategies. Can't wait to kick your butt on the racquetball court today! Whah Whah Whah (that's the sound of your agony!). >>

Michael Scanlon

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 28, 2001 7:49 AM
To: Mpsscanlon@[redacted]
Subject: RE: can we use American International Center for a Choctaw projec t?

What's the absolute fastest they are willing to turn it around?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mpsscanlon[redacted] [mailto:Mpsscanlon[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 28, 2001 8:12 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: can we use American International Center for a Choctaw projec t?

Im sorry Jack, It cannot be turned around that quick. What you are asking is impossible, the only way you can turn around an out of state check for 200 is if the entity has 200 already in the bank.

In a message dated 2/27/2001 11:15:25 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj[redacted]

<< Subj: RE: can we use American International Center for a Choctaw projec t?
Date: 2/27/2001 11:15:25 PM Eastern Standard Time
From: abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mpsscanlon[redacted]

This is not acceptable at all! We must get this turned around in less than a day or max two. If we cannot convince the bank to turn it around as soon as it clears, then this is not going to work. >>

Michael Scanlon

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 14, 2001 5:57 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Jack's time

Agreed on all items

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 14, 2001 6:32 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Jack's time

I'm working on this. Here's the breakdown thus far:

Choctaw- Shawn was thinking 30-40 hours (I asked him to e-mail me)

Kevin is going to help me with the language and I'll ask the same of Shawn so that I can put things together month-to-month.
He also thinks that this should be an agenda item in your meeting tomorrow (Client Manager meeting).

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 14, 2001 1:49 AM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Jack's time

Give me a list of clients and I'll give you the hours. Before you give to me, though, check with the managers and ask them how many hours they want me to bill per client per month to give us a guide.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 13, 2001 5:48 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Jack's time

Since Susan is gone, let's discuss how many hours you want to bill to whom and we'll get this taken care of.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (Mgr-DC-Gen Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, March 13, 2001 1:14 PM
To: [redacted] AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: Jack's time

I have nothing entered or released for March

1

REDACTED

GTG-E000121681

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 12:01 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Contribution - ATR anti tax effort

Nell approved this. Please get from [redacted] and get to Grover asap with a cover note:

Grover,

Here is the first of the checks for the tax event at the White House. I'll have another $25K shortly.

Regards,

Jack

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 04, 2001 12:35 PM
To: Nell Rogers
Subject: Contribution - ATR anti tax effort

They are launching a new anti-tax campaign, which will include a good component about taxation of tribes. They are trying to raise funds and have asked whether Choctaw could underwrite $25K of this. Please let me know if this is possible.

Americans for Tax Reform
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]

From: Ralph Reed [ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, April 09, 2001 3:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Radio Script

Here's the radio script, which goes up tomorrow statewide:

:60 Radio
"Teacher"
April 9, 2001

[Female voice over sounds of children on playground]

TEACHER: Once again the gambling lobby is trying to exploit our children to legalize casino-style gambling in [redacted]. And some of our legislators in [redacted] are pushing legislation that would expand gambling in our state by legalizing casino-style video gambling. And they're doing it all claiming that they will improve our schools.

This is wrong. I don't like [redacted] school children used as pawns to legalize gambling so casinos can reap profits while our families and communities pay the price.

Legalized casino-style gambling is not good for education OR our children. Please call your legislator today at [redacted] and tell them to vote against [redacted], the casino-style gambling bill. Again the phone number is [redacted]. Please call your legislator today and tell them to oppose legalized gambling and [redacted]. Because our children deserve better.

ANNCR: Paid for by [redacted].

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 10:31 AM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Choctaw check for 150k for AIC

Yes thanks

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov) <lener[redacted]
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wed Apr 11 11:29:27 2001
Subject: Choctaw check for 150k for AIC

Should I get this to Mike?

GTG-E000114685

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2001 9:05 AM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: [redacted]

When you give Scanlon the $150K from Choctaw, tell him that part of the "$30K" is to be a $10K check to this committee, which should then be federal expressed by you.

Reed for Chairman, Suite 575, 3235 Satellite Boulevard, Duluth, GA 30096.

GTG-E000114572

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 18, 2001 2:35 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw bill

Add 60 hours for me and pump up Scanlon, Todd and you. Give Amy some hours if you have to.

—Original Message—
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 18, 2001 3:22 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw bill

You only had 2 hours. We are not even close to this number. You need to put in about 65-70 hours for us to get over $140K. I cut Drapeaux hours and rightfully so and have plus upped others where I could, but there is only so much you can do.

—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 18, 2001 3:17 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Choctaw bill

Please make sure you are able to track the time on the bill during the month to be sure we hit the $150K minimum. If you need to add time for me, let me know.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 10:43 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: help

Either way. Let's get it done.

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tue Apr 24 23:40:11 2001
Subject: RE: help

Thanks. I appreciate it. Why don't you hold on your check and let's see what the receipt from the club looks like.
Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
Sent: Tue Apr 24 23:35:07 2001
Subject: RE: help

Perhaps, but I want to make sure you get this. don't worry about it. It's not a ton of money and you more than deserve it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 11:26 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: help

Really? There is no way to bury this in Choctaw or SGMA bill? Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov) <laner[redacted]; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
Sent: Tue Apr 24 23:23:28 2001
Subject: RE: help

Rodney, please cut Kevin a check from me for $800.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, April 24, 2001 3:20 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: help

Remember I talked to you about getting some help from a client to subsidize me joining a club. Well, I looked around and want to do the University Club. I already know some people there and they all think it is good for business.

I know I can bill expenses I incur there, etc, but how can I get help with the $800 initiation fee? We are trying to join asap. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 02, 2001 9:44 AM
To: Scanlon, Michael (GTCist-DC-GovAff)
Subject: Choctaw $175K set

Check on the way.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 02, 2001 12:05 PM
To: Scanlon, Michael (GTClst-DC-GovAff)
Subject: RE: Choctaw money coming to AIC

Send it to me. I'll get it to Howard Philips.

-----Original Message-----
From: Scanlon, Michael (GTClst-DC-GovAff)
Sent: Wednesday, May 02, 2001 9:46 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Choctaw money coming to AIC

Tell me where to send the check for conservative caucus- and for this I might actually let you win at rball today!

Michael Scanlon

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoff[redacted]
To: Scanlon, Michael (GTClst-DC-GovAff) <scanlonm[redacted]
Sent: Wed May 02 09:05:46 2001
Subject: Choctaw money coming to AIC

[redacted] is active again. I am going to try to get us $175K. $100K to Ralph; $25K to contributions ($5K immediately to Conservative Caucus); rest gimme five.

American International Center
53 Baltimore Avenue
Rehobeth Beach, DE 19971
Phone: 302-226-4900
Fax: 302-226-8159

INVOICE

DATE: June 15, 2001

To:
Dr. Fauziah Mohamad Taib
Embassy of Malaysia
2401 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
06/15	Services for June 19 – August 19, 2001	$ 300,000.00
	TOTAL	$300,000.00

Make all checks payable to: American International Center

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 19, 2001 12:33 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Scanlon and Choctaw

sure

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 19, 2001 1:24 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Scanlon and Choctaw

Can we discuss later today?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 19, 2001 1:17 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Scanlon and Choctaw

He is a consultant to the firm and needs to bill hours. He should primarily bill , but if he can help us with Choctaw's bill, then he should, but you should direct him on how to bill.

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 19, 2001 1:15 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Scanlon and Choctaw

Quick questions: Why is he billing time to clients? What purpose does this serve? And if he is going to continue to do so, especially on Choctaw, he needs to describe the work he is performing and let us know exactly what he is doing. I cannot make up hours for him and what he inputs in very in adequate. Thanks.

REDACTED

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 3:56 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Fine.

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 4:55 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

This is a very bad system that I am very uncomfortable with that we need to discuss next week.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 2:07 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Slash what you want to slash and then tell me how much you need me to cover to get the bill up to around $150K.

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 9:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Estimated total is $120K. I don't know for certain because time has been entered after the closing deadline for the month. Also, I would love to slash hours inputted.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 6:06 AM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

I'll see what the deal with my time is. What's the total on the bill right now? How much time do you need from me $-wise?

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 21, 2001 11:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Choctaw still has not gone out. The bill is a disaster (again) and I simply don't have the time to sit down and work on it from start to finish. I am almost done with it but it this month's edits have taken way too much time and people's entries compared to time inputted and work performed is a joke. And you have no time entered to date for the month either and I am still working to resolve this issue as well. Not fun!!! And a big problem for me!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 21, 2001 11:08 PM
To: [redacted] (Shld-DC-Legis); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (AdmAsl-DC-Gov)
Cc: [redacted]

Subject: May bills
Importance: High

I am told that we have $300K in bills from May which have not yet been sent out. If this is the case, then that is a real problem. If you have not sent out a bill for any reason, please let me know immediately.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 5:46 PM
To: 'William Jarrell'
Subject: RE: Choctaw

I'm just surprised I am not under "dead, disgraced or in jail".

-----Original Message-----
From: William Jarrell [mailto:WilliamJ[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 6:36 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw

Tuesday afternoon funny.....Preston Gates sent around their "Alumni Directory." Don't know what's funnier, the fact that half the book has people listed at GT or the fact that Mike Scanlon is listed as "Lost Alumni."

And Mike thought he found the light. :)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 10:16 AM
To: William Jarrell
Subject: RE: Choctaw

14? You should have seen the front!

-----Original Message-----
From: William Jarrell [mailto:WilliamJ[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 10:07 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw

Sounds like you are down to a 14.....

we sent the contract to Shawn last week so we could get started on July 1st....he sounded enthused. Looking forward to the meetings at GT.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 10:13 AM
To: William Jarrell
Subject: RE: Choctaw

Hi Bill. I'll check with Shawn. Played yesterday at Woodmore. Made 6 pars on the back nine. Of course, I also made 2 triples! Oh well.

-----Original Message-----
From: William Jarrell [mailto:WilliamJ[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 9:18 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw

How's the contract with Choctaw going?

Hope things settle down next week. Will you have time for a little golf?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 8:44 AM
To: 'mscanlon1@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

Send it to me.

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@[redacted] [mailto:mscanlon1@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 9:24 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

Great! Just let me know waht you need and when. I am having the wire info sent to rodney now.

----Original Message----

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman
Apparently it's a huge project for Ralph. It'll give us $500K to start to pass through CCS and as much as $4 million over the year. This should really help us get the sales price up.

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@[redacted] [mailto:mscanlon1@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 9:14 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

No problem! Also, do you have any instructions on the project you need to run trhorugh CCS?

----Original Message----

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman
Great. Please call me in the car at about 1:30. 202-316-4123

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@[redacted] [mailto:mscanlon1@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 29, 2001 7:31 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman

I am tied up this mroning, but we can meet after 1 or talk on the phone if you are out and about.

----Original Message----

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: Friedman
Great. Please let's chat tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: mscanlon1@[redacted] [mailto:mscanlon1@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 28, 2001 7:56 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Friedman

Ok, we will work throught it. I have a strategy. We can go over it tommorow.

----Original Message----

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: FW: Friedman
This is a disaster. What can we do? He is going to ream me in a national publication. I am really worried about this. HELP!

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 28, 2001 5:35 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Friedman

He's right. He called me three times today. I've given him the numbers but he's persistent.

<... MESSAGE TRUNCATED ...>

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, August 02, 2001 4:42 PM
To: mike@[redacted]
Subject: RE:[redacted]

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, August 02, 2001 5:33 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE:[redacted]

He has the money.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, August 02, 2001 2:19 PM
To: mike[redacted]
Subject: FW:[redacted]

Didn't you get him the check?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, August 02, 2001 9:14 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE:[redacted]

shall do.
also, don't forget the remainder of [redacted] scanlon says he still does not have the funds.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, August 02, 2001 12:21 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW:[redacted]

We might have to saddle up in [redacted]. Can you get a feel for the place?

-----Original Message-----
From: Nell Rogers [mailto:NellRogers[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, August 01, 2001 6:37 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, August 16, 2001 7:02 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Nell

Absolutely. Don't forget the gimme five aspects!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, August 16, 2001 6:38 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Nell

It sounds like Nell really liked the plan. We chatted briefly today about it. She asked If I could do a quick poll for them on the [redacted] overall political issues they face. I said yes, can get in the field by tommorow - and have results by Monday. She seemed extreelmy excited but I wanted to make sure you were in the loop. Was this ok to do?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2001 9:01 AM
To: [redacted] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Your Choctaw time

Having a great restaurant is the priority. Don't feel even a morsel of guilt on the hours. Train Laura. We ARE going to have to figure out what to do with the team, in terms of someone being the team manager. I am nervous on that one, since if you are not doing that, they might give me hell about your salary. We have to figure it out. Dov needs to start being creative and handling his problems by himself where possible. Perhaps Gila could be enlisted for some of that work?

—Original Message—
From: [redacted] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 29, 2001 9:49 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Your Choctaw time

I'm creatively entering your July and August time in now (with the help of some great language that Shawn and Kevin have provided). I'm telling you this because I'm completely at fault for why the July bill has not gone out the door yet. The restaurant always defaults to number 1 on my list and with your work requests, Dov hounding me, the team needing things here and there, and the girls (Courtney and Laura) needing supervision and assistance, some things have taken a back seat.

Putting in your time is a creative process that takes me time. After I enter the July/August time I'm going to give Laura a list of usable language and show her how to use CMS and, hopefully, this problem will be solved.

Again, this is a great instance of my feeling like a complete loser because I can't do a hundred things at once (although I do feel confident that I can do 50). You're going to have the most unique restaurant in town, I can assure you, and it will be very successful....but it's going to take a lot of my time.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 3:24 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

If Choctaw is under control the answer is absolutely!!!! A road trip with you is not only profitable, it is fun!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 2:55 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Thanks - I'm having a great time running the give me fives! If you need me to tag along in october just let me know!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sun Sep 02 14:25:56 2001
Subject: RE: [redacted]

By the way, you are a total stud on this effort. I might have a gimme five situation flying with[redacted]. We have to kick some real ass in the next few weeks, but I think I have it near the hook. I return there in late October to line it up. Could be huge!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 9:35 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

It depends, Nell Said two fridays ago that we can get another 1.5 in "13" days. I think that puts us into this week. If you think they are good for it, then I can slide you 350 with no sweat. Plus you have 313 sitting here - so if you want, $663,000 is yours on Tuesday. When the next clip comes in another 350, which will put you over 1. But thats not all, there will be more when the dust settles, and if we get the full 4.6, much much more. I think the 350 stratgey is the best way to go, its good on the give me five front but it leaves plenty around to kick ass on the battlefield as well. Not bad:):):)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, September 02, 2001 4:51 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Ooocha!! So, let me see, that's 700K for each of us and 100K for the effort? Seriously, what do you think we can score?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, September 01, 2001 10:36 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Its pretty good 1.5 mil.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sat Sep 01 15:16:51 2001
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I'll find out and come back to you. How much came in? Tons I hope! :)

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, September 01, 2001 2:44 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Althought we had a small mix up with the wire transfer, the first wave of money is in. Any instructions?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 4:37 PM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Is this viable?

Let's discuss next week.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 5:34 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Is this viable?

But how would coushatta know? :)
Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Sep 21 17:27:17 2001
Subject: RE: Is this viable?

Smith's people didn't get us the approps for Choctaw, but good try! :)

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 5:17 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Is this viable?

Thank you trip for the approps we got.
Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Sep 21 17:13:57 2001
Subject: RE: Is this viable?

I don't see how we can sell them on funding that.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 2:32 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Is this viable?

There is a hunting and fishing resort 3 hours south of texas that smith's people expressed an interst in.
Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Sep 21 14:25:07 2001
Subject: RE: Is this viable?

A trip where?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, September 21, 2001 1:48 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Is this viable?

There are a few senate staffers I would like to help reward. Would the choctaws or coushatta donate like 10k to pay for a trip? Tony Rudy

GTG-E000113965

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 10:18 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted].

I love life!! We need to get you down there to get them moving on the political phase. How about if we both try to go soon. We should try to do both [redacted] and Choctaw and take a plane. Let's discuss when you are back in town.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 8:00 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

The political machine (data base etc) attacking the gulf coast, and hitting the attorney who filed, falls under the aproved funding schedule of 1.5 - 1.5 - 1.6. Of which we have recieved the first two waves of funding but need the third. The [redacted] effort, [redacted], and the positive effort IS NOT covered under the aproved funding schedule - and will be very pricey.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:55 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

But these things have not yet been funded by them, right? So there is more gimme five coming on these as well, right?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:44 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Absolutley - The political monster is part of this camaign, BUT there is alot more work to do. We need to completely take over [redacted], use the political army we built in this camapign to take over the [redacted], and launch the positive camapign to get the facility in [redacted]. There is much work to be done!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:44 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

By the way, even with this done, don't we have a large longer term project to do for them there? Remember we promised when we had dinner with the Chief that we would make them the most powerful folks in the state. I thought that was waylaid because of the attack on their compact, but we should renew that one, no? more moolah, and gimme five.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 2:24 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Nell knows this but you may want to call her and spin how effective I am. The [redacted] as is his chief of staff and several others.
Late friday the gov reached out to the tribe to tell them he is on their side. It may be a good idea to call Nell and take full credit for this. Tell her we have been pounding him, and it looks like victory is not far away. We have been racking up letters from poweful folks, working with his pollster to cook the books, and push polling our tales off. I think we may close this out soon. But we have another wave of funding we need to get in. Its a big one too. We should try to get it in before the end of the month. I can't controll how quickly the gove comes on board, so its a good idea to get the money in soon. Make sense?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 7:38 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

We need more trips!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 17, 2001 8:20 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Any time - any time- any time!!! We ususally come back from these trips rich men!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 11:20 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I love life!! We need to get you down there to get them moving on the political phase. How about if we both try to go soon. We should try to do both [redacted] and Choctaw and take a plane. Let's discuss when you are back in town.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 8:00 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

The political machine (data base etc) attacking [redacted], and hitting the [redacted], falls under the aproved funding schedule of 1.5 - 1.5 - 1.6. Of which we have recieved the first two waves of funding but need the third. The [redacted] effort, [redacted], and the positive effort IS NOT covered under the aproved funding schedule - and will be very pricey.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:55 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

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-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:44 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Absolutley - The political monster is part of this camaign, BUT there is alot more wor[illegible] do. We need to completely take over [redacted]se the political [illegible] we built in this camapign to take over [redacted], and launch the posi[illegible] camapign to get the facility in [redacted]. There is much work to be done!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 7:44 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

By the way, even with this done, don't we have a large longer term project to do for them there? Remember we promised when we had dinner with the Chief that we would make them the most powerful folks in the state. I thought that was waylaid because of the attack on their compact, but we should renew that one, no? more moolah, and gimme five.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 16, 2001 2:24 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

Nell knows this but you may want to call her and spin how effective I am. [redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, October 19, 2001 3:29 PM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: Haskacha Pratis!

Oh boy. Get me the letter from the army! Good Shabbos.

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon18[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 19, 2001 3:45 AM
To: abramoffj8[redacted]
Subject: Haskacha Pratis!

BH

Woah!!
Hashkacha pratis comes through again!

I just got this letter from Vadim.

> Dear Schmuel,
>
> Judging from the customer's experience we can conclude that delivery
> period (thermal visor TN-4604MT) is about half a year (March-April)
> after awarding a contract. With regards,
>
> VADIM
> Assistant to Mrs. Nevskaya

Everytime something doesn't work out the way "I" think it should, I say to Hashem, Beseder, Abba, I know everything will work out the way you want it to.

So it will take the same amount of time either way.

I will fax you a letter stating that I am purchasing this equipment for the IDF, and at the same time get a signed letter from the commander of Paratroop brigade 890 to" who this may concern" Mr Shmuel Ben Zvi Is purchasing this thermal device for us.... And we can go both to RAYTHEON and FLIR (near boston) who sells the better MILCAMEXP.

Then we just need "end user" clearence from the State Department.

Baruch Hashem.

About the passages,
1) Daf vav in the hagdama of the Zohar mentions Beladin.
2) And parchas Balak in the Zohar says that before Moshiach comes three towers will burn in the gate of Rome (edom), I freaked out when I saw how the schematic drawing in newsweek refered to the smaller (45 story) world trade center building is refered to as the "third tower"

There are others going around my kollel, I'll write them down and send them to you Besrat Hashem.

If levi is back online, Chaim would like to type him a few words. Or have Levi begin, if he's up to it. Chaim is a little younger, eleven. chaimbenzvi[redacted]

Have a great shabbos.

> I have no doubt it is safer over there. At least you guys are doing
> something about this stuff. On the thermal imager, I think we should
> try both routes at the same time. Can you get me a letter to Raytheon
> from the army? If so, we can work directly with them on this. We'll
> still pursue Marina. Believe it or not, I have not seen the Zohar and
> Navi passages you mention. Perhaps I'm on the wrong email lists! If
> you have them, please forward.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@[redacted]
> Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2001 11:18 PM
> To: abramoffj@[redacted]
> Subject: weekend forcast: wild
>
> BH
>
> B'Hatzlacha.
>
> I didn't get a wink last night. I came in at
> three-thirty this morning checked my email.
> Made a coffee and went back out till sun-up.
>
> We went back into Beit Jalla, my boys that you
> see in my class set up sniper positions and covered
> the rest of the g'dud (battalian) going in.
>
> Two in the morning I'm getting calls on my cell phone, "Shmuel, heard
> that? it came right over my head." I'm looking at tzuriel right now,
> and I can't see him!" Bragging how well they learned to use the
> camouflage suits (ghili suits) they learned how to make in my
> workshop.
>
> I hope that we don't back out again so fast. We're
> probably going to go back into abu s'nenna, in
> Hevron. All of this is happening in a square radius
> smaller than Beverly Hills, which is around five
> square miles.
>
> The paratroop officer in charge of the area, that you see
> in the photo with me that I sent you is very happy that we'll have the
> thermal imager.
>
> When I told him about all the possibilities that we looked into, He
> told me that if it looks like it will take a long time to get the
> Russian model, then we can actually use our army address to buy the
> U.S. made thermal imager and have a colonel or higher sign for it, but
> I told him that it is taking so long for us to arrange this, and I
> need it so badly that instead of rocking the boat we'll just go with
> Marina.
>
> Everything will be B'sader. B'esrat Hashem.
>
> Have a good and peacefull Shabbos.
>
> Jack, I don't want to sound like a nut, but with all that is happening
> here, it still might be safer than over there. I'm sure that you too,
> are getting all the predictions over there that are being taken out of

> the zohar and Navi.
>
> Still, on a security level, it might be wise to curtail the hours the
> family goes to the shopping malls and such.
>
> Hashem will protect us and give us a little peace.
>
>
>
>> OK, I'll do my best to get it together. I have to organize some
>> money,
> but
>> hopefully will have a good shot at it.
>>
>> -----Original Message-----
>> From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1[redacted]
>> Sent: Thursday, October 18, 2001 3:24 PM
>> To: abramoffj[redacted]
>> Subject: thermal vision
>>
>> Lets see,
>>
>> I say that we should go with the larger objective lens,
>> the 50. If it's standard Russian optics, well need the added light
>> coming into the objective lens. This is a probblem even with the best
>> of optics.
>>
>> I think that we should get an extra accumulator.
>>
>> the stand and case sound like needed items.
>>
>> I'm not certain we'll need an additional lense.
>>
>> I say, lets wait with that and see. We can always
>> add a lense later if needed.
>>
>> Hashem should just give us bracha with it.
>>
>>
>>
>>
>>> -----Original Message-----
>>> From: [redacted]naftasib.com [mailto:[redacted]naftasib.com]
>>> Sent: Monday, October 15, 2001 3:36 AM
>>> To: abramoffj[redacted]
>>> Subject:
>>>
>>> Dear Mr. Abramoff,
>>>
>>> The unit TN-4604MT will cost 28000 US dollars and higher that
>>> depends on the number of functions and options:
>>>
>>> 1) The basic set of units with the objective:
>>> Focus = 18 - $28635
>>> Focus = 25 - $28204
>>> Focus = 50 - $31051
>>>
>>> 2) Additional (changeable) objectives:
>>> Focus = 18 - $4115
>>> Focus = 30 - $4274
>>> Focus = 50 - $5862
>>> Focus = 75 - $7046
>>> Focus = 100 - $8230
>>> Focus = 18...100 = $15511
>>>

>>> 3) Stand - $176
>>>
>>> 4) Case - $200
>>>
>>> 5) Additional Accumulator - $212
>>>
>>> Besides, delivery on terms of customs, delivery, insurance increases
>>> the cost by 30-35%.
>>>
>>> With regards,
>>>
>>> VADIM
>>> Assistant to Mrs. Nevskaya
>>>
>>>
>>> _____
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>>> privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for
>>> the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended
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>>> To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email
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>
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> _____
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> postmaster[redacted]
>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2001 10:24 AM
To: Amy Moritz Ridenour
Subject: invoice

Please make out an invoice for $132,500 made out to Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Choctaw, Mississippi and email it to me. It should be for "contribution". That will get the process going. I might have another $100K after today. Thanks Amy.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2001 1:34 PM
To: Amy Moritz Ridenour
Subject: FW: [redacted] invoice

INVOICE 2.doc (20 KB)

Once you get the check from Choctaw on the first amount, please cut a check to Century Strategies. Here is an invoice for your records, though perhaps we should have the invoice just say "Services". If you so desire, please feel free to edit it and print. Thanks again Amy. I'll try to find as many of these as possible.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 23, 2001 11:17 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: [redacted] invoice

here it is. address did not work in the attachment, but we put NCPPR.

Choctaw & → NCPPR → Reed

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 29, 2001 5:46 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: FW: Invoice copy, plus a few details

Importance: High

ChoctawInvTXT (1 KB) ChoctawInvoice100 1.pdf (21 KB)...

Can you convert this invoice to Word? If you can't do so easily, can you just retype? Thanks. I need this asap. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 2:19 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: FW: Invoice copy, plus a few details

See if you can get an invoice printed from these files. Please let me see it when I return to the office.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:ARidenour[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 12:48 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Invoice copy, plus a few details

Here are two copies of the Choctaw invoice, one plain text and, in case that does not cross our apparent platform gap, one as an Internet pdf file. The pdf file should cross all platforms. I would also be happy to fax this anywhere. Sorry to be a burden with this extra request but would it be possible for me to get file copies of some of the ad scripts, direct mail letters, etc. that these funds are purchasing? I would be happy to talk to the vendor myself if that is the easiet way to do it. I would not share them -- they would just be supportive documentation for future audits to show that the funds were used on public policy projects. Having been twice audited by the IRS in 5 years, I know it is handy to do all the recordkeeping properly. But I do apologize for the hassle it causes others. The post office was not delivering to our office area yesterday and although we are told future mail will be delivered this is not certain. For fastest turnaround, a wise precaution might be to send the check via a different carrier or simply to my home office, which receives mail fine. The home address is: [redacted] Our computer systems don't seem very compatible-your [redacted] invoice attachment was gibberish, too, although managed to find the words within the gibberish so I don't need a new copy. I think your computer and mine do better with the text within the messages, when possible. When I get a little time I may make some software changes here to see if that improves things for the future. Finally, I am sorry you dod not get this first thing this morning. Computer crash, since rectified. Still, sorry! And thanks again for everything!

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH
777 N. Capitol St. NE, Suite 803
Washington, DC 20002
(202) [redacted] ¥ Fax (202) [redacted]
www.nationalcenter.org ¥ info[redacted]

INVOICE

TO: Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Choctaw, Mississippi

DATE: October 23, 2001

FROM: THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

REQUEST:

REQUEST FOR CONTRIBUTION OF $132,500 TO SUPPORT PUBLIC PROGRAMS.

THANK YOU.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 4:06 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: Choctaw payments

They put in fed ex today a large check for the firm. Do you think they sent the gimme five funds?

Choctaw [redacted]	$4,700,000	$4,000,000
Choctaw [redacted]	$5,000,000	$4,000,000
Choctaw [redacted]	$5,000,000	$3,000,000
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
	$43,800,000	$30,000,002
		the gimme 5

1144566

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:45 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Choctaw payments

Fantastic!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:46 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw payments

No they are wiring them to CCS - Nell said she talked to the guy today - and that they would be here today or tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:46 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Choctaw payments

They put in fed ex today a large check for the firm. Do you think they sent the gimme five funds?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 8:30 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Give me five

Yes, as far as I know it does not matter. In essence you are an agent for the tribe and these funds were never yours (the company's).

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 9:21 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Give me five

That would be huge! The only thing is that I am set up as a sub-s -not an LLC can I still do it?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 7:21 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Give me five

By the way, on the payment to Cap Athletic, you can make the case that the gave you the funds to make the contribution for them, and there is no tax event. That's what the firm is doing.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:03 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Give me five

<< File: Letter to Abramoff - Amount he is owed.doc >> << File: JA Political Nets Updated 2.xls >> << File: JA 2001 Distribution Schedule.xls
>> Jack - there are three attachments here:
A letter from me on the amount CCS owes - just in case.

A breakdown (Political Nets) of where you are currently -and

A distribution Schedule for 2001 that shows what you made or directed to other parties - Not bad!!!!!!

A few things though:

1) The TX figures are the net funds as of today - if we spend more there - this number will drop.
2) Although the [redacted] money will come in very soon - its counted as a projection until its in the bank.
3) The overall numbers in the amounts I owe you are exactly $1 million smaller that what we projected last month because your section of the Louisiana Battleground program was paid directly to GT-so I took the whole thing of the chart. I did leave it on the distribution chart so you can see what the "value" of your share to date - approximately 5.4 mill. has gone to you or third party entities at your direction.

4) These breakdowns are all we have on our plate for 2001.
5) Lets get back on the plane!!! We need more!

REDACTED

GTG-E000012276

<<Letter to Abramoff - Amount he is owed.doc>> <<JA Political Nets Updated 2.xls>> <<JA 2001 Distribution Schedule.xls>>

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24192

November 08, 2001

CHECK REQUEST

REGULAR ACCOUNT: ☐ RETAINER ACCOUNT: ☐ TRUST ACCOUNT: ☒

	FILE NUMBER	CLIENT-FILE NAME	PAYMENT DESCRIPTION**	AMOUNT	CODE*	ACCOUNTING ONLY
1	475370	Choctaw	Public Relations	132,500—		(1)
2						(2)
3						(3)
4						(4)
5						(5)
	**This description will print on client invoice when using Code 18		TOTAL	132,500 ~~$ 0.00~~		

Payee: Century Strategies
[redacted]
Duluth, GA 30096
(Fill in address if window envelope will be used)
[redacted]

Mail to Payee: Yes ☐ No ☒

Special Instructions and/or Remarks:

Return to: Jack Abramoff

Attorney's/Secretary's Initials

Signature

*DISBURSEMENT CODES

(1) Telephone charges	(8) Court Fees\Filing fees	(15) Publication charges	(22) Transcript charges	(29) Federal Express
(2) Messenger	(9) Recording charges	(16) Legal expert & profess		
(3) Reproduction charges	(10) Minute books, seal & stock cert	(17) Special Clerical Servi		
(4) Word Processing	(11) Travel & Lodging-Out of Town	(18) Other Disbursements		
(5) Witness fees	(12) Printing charges	(19) Certified Copies		
(6) Info & Research	(13) Transportation-Local Travel	(20) Service Company chr		
(7) Title policies	(14) Postage	(21) Court reporter/Depo		

ACCOUNTING ONLY

Christine — (JAA)
Please put into trust acct.
& make check for same to
Century Strategies.
475370.010100
thank you - Laura

Social
Tax id
541855671

1100

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 26, 2001 7:45 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: FW: [redacted]

We wont' be able to get anything back from him, but we could put in for more for [redacted] in his name and just keep it for the effort. Should we, or would that seem too weird to Nell?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mik[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, November 26, 2001 8:38 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: [redacted]

We can use the money I have set aside -but that's all we have left. If [redacted] blows up, or anything else, its all out of pocket. Can we get any of the 500k we gave [redacted] back? We are dipping into our pockets in TX- which was his project, now using reserves for [redacted] which was his project- we could really use that dough. possibile or am I on crack?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]>
Sent: Sun Nov 25 22:58:43 2001
Subject: RE: FW: [redacted]

Yes, do it. What will it cost from our gimme five, or is this all moolah you had already set aside (I hope so!! :)).

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 10:19 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: [redacted]

Ok, I put a call into some folks I know and here are the broad strokes of what I am going to do.
I am putting our own field operation in [redacted] to cover all three sites, I am turining on phones hitting reps and dems, I am launcing a negative campaing against the [redacted], including radio and TV, I am launching a negative ad camapign against [redacted] and [redacted], and others. This will be big, and now that the slots are in, its gonna take some time to be effective. I will give [redacted] 48 hours before committing any dollars, but [redacted] by Tuesday, I need carte blanche to go after this thing.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]>; Mpsscanlon[redacted] <Mpsscanlon[redacted]>
Sent: Sun Nov 25 21:43:49 2001
Subject: FW: [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 8:46 PM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

agreed. we will push this hard from the grassroots, legislators, and from [redacted]. -----

Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 8:45 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: [redacted]

OK, let's get them public asap. [redacted]s. We need t[redacted] to crush this thing. Not only should the [redacted] but [redacted].

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 8:38 PM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

i'm telling [redacted] to get out front on this and demand that the [redacted] immediately.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 8:39 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: [redacted]

This is horrible. What can we do?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, November 25, 2001 8:27 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: [redacted]

this is from the [redacted] today. keep this in the strictest confidence:

[redacted]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

From: Ralph Reed [ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 03, 2001 5:27 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: [redacted]

from an [redacted] operative. This is a scream:

[redacted] just received a call from [redacted], the [redacted]. He was hyperventilating on the phone, asking if the [redacted] is doing patch-through phone calls to his office. He complained that they could not get anything done because the lines were jammed with people protesting the casino/bingo hall and asking why the Mayor was not moving in with police to shut it down. It is an interesting call because we are not presently doing patch-thoughs to his office. We did do a recorded message to 51,000 evangelical households in that part of [redacted]. The volume must be off the charts to have jammed their switchboard. Plus the [redacted] radio started today.

GTG-E000019056

From: Ralph Reed [ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, December 09, 2001 9:36 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted] update

We have built up plenty, as demonstrated by what the LG and dozens of legislators are doing for us. Also, point out that the budget crisis is making this tougher than ever...they either vote for this or a general tax increase. Finally, remind them that our original plan included media. They did not agree to fund it at first, but now the other side is on tv and radio.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Dec 10 00:34:24 2001
Subject: RE: [redacted] update

Ralph, they are going to faint when they see these numbers. They will want to know why we have not built up any residual strength for the tons of money we have already spent. Give me some ammo on that and I'll do my best.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, December 09, 2001 5:03 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted] update

$70K for radio; $140K for two weeks of radio.

$225K a week for TV; $450K for two weeks of TV.

they are on TV and radio. we need both; minimum of one or mixture thereof.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, December 08, 2001 7:21 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: [redacted] update

Give me a number.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, December 07, 2001 5:32 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Fw: [redacted] update

I think we better move

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

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

From: Glen Wilkins <glen@[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
CC: Eric Criss <eric@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Dec 07 21:56:35 2001
Subject: [redacted] update

I called our media vendor to get rates for studio time and [redacted] told me that the pro-gambling side has bought time starting on Monday.

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CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION
611 Pennsylvania Ave., SE
Suite #375
Washington, DC 20003

54510004

Bill Date : December 19, 2001

Ms. Nell Rogers
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
[redacted]
Choctaw, MS 39350

INVOICE

For Professional Services Rendered

Total Current Invoice: $ $500,000.00

Balance Due: $ $500,000.00

Wiring Instructions for Capital Athletic Foundation:
[redacted]
Account #[redacted]
ABA#[redacted]

OFFICIAL CHECK

[redacted]

FIRST UNION

12/19/2000

Pay To The Order Of MISSISS 1 BAND OF CHOCTAW INDIANS $ 350 00.00

FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS Dollars

DRAWER: FIRST UNION NATIONAL BANK

Authorized Signature

Issued By Integrated Payment Systems Inc., Englewood, Colorado
For First National Association, Denver, Colorado

[redacted]

THE VARIABLE TONE BACKGROUND AREA OF THIS DOCUMENT CHANGES COLOR GRADUALLY AND SMOOTHLY FROM DARKER TONES AT BOTH TOP AND BOTTOM TO THE LIGHTEST TONE IN THE MIDDLE.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 23, 2001 10:51 AM
To: [redacted] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: big check from CCS and investment in Altoona Curve

FYI

—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 23, 2001 11:41 AM
To: GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: big check from CCS and investment in Altoona Curve

Given KayGold is really me and wouldn't take long for an attorney to get through, wouldn't it be smarter to have the CCS money paid to and earned by the business trust (or even one or all of the trusts set up for the kids), and then have that/those trust/s invest in and own the restaurant?

—Original Message—
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, December 23, 2001 10:13 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: big check from CCS and investment in Altoona Curve

1. Because of the PG situation, the ideal is to have the check payable to KayGold, LLC. However, there is no bank account with that name. Should I contact [redacted] to open one up, or did Rodney take care of that already?

We also have the issue of the a/c only being FDIC insured to 100K, but I can ask George about that. (like put the excess of 100K in a one month T-bill or 3 month T-bill through [redacted] bank and just roll is over every month until you need it).

2. Since you need to guarantee a loan to Altoona, it is probably best NOT to put it into another entity and have that entity guarantee such a loan.

From what I briefly read, Altoona might not let you keep it in a trust unless it has certain large amount of assets, and we don't want to expose a large amount of assets to Altoona. Like I said, I need time to review the details in the offering that discuss this, and then get with [redacted] on this portion of the estate plan. I hope to do this in the first or second week of Jan.

Therefore, for now keep in your name.

As far as your exposure with assets in your personal name, you really have very little assets in your name except for Sports Suite and ML account, and I really would like to have that changed to KayGold, LLC. But I need to work with Rodney on that, and he is very busy with the restaurant.

However, if there is a successful lawsuit against you, your wages can also be subject to payment of a liability. Therefore, CCS paying you in the name KayGold helps. But your GT salary is still subject.

In a message dated 12/23/2001 8:21:16 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

Do I want to take that check to me in my name, or to a trust entity? I ask this because of the pg situation. Also, do I want to have the Curve investment in my name or in the name of one of the trusts? Same reason. Please let me know. thanks.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
Business: (301) [redacted]
Fax: (301) [redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 30, 2001 7:47 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we ever get teh $500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

Thanks. It's important. You should introduce lisa to her so[redacted]can start to take over this chore.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, December 30, 2001 12:30 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we ever get teh $500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

I called [redacted] on Friday and he confirmed that the money had NOT been wired into the CAF account. I'll call [redacted]on Monday.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, December 27, 2001 1:20 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: [redacted] did we ever get teh $500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

If not, can you call Nell[redacted]to find out what the story is? Thanks.

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2001

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
January								
01/08/01	Dinner @ Sushi Taro w/ [redacted]		384.90					
01/18/01	Choctaw Transportation			360.00				
01/19/01	CNMI Transportation			810.00				
Totals			384.90	1,170.00				
February								
02/24/01	Pager Invoice						48.00	
02/28/01	Dinner @ Sushi Taro w/ F. Baggett		189.73					
Totals			189.73				48.00	
March								
03/02/01	Lunch @ Oval Room	74.10						
03/12/01	Lunch @ Sushi taro	127.59						
03/16/01	Ritz Carlton in Atlanta					272.13		Lodging
03/16/01	Verizon Wireless Bill				809.49			
03/20/01	Verizon Wireless Bill				78.12			

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2001

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
03/21/01	Lunch @ Sushi Taro w/ Ed. Buckham	118.84						
03/22/01	Lunch @ Capital Grill w/ [redacted]	134.09						
03/28/01	Dinner @ Sushi Taro w/ T. Rudy		220.03					
Totals		**454.62**	**220.03**		**887.61**	**272.13**		
April								
04/02/01	Meals @ L'Etoile w/ [redacted]		73.47					
04/23/01	Meals @ Sushi Taro w/ Mr & Mrs [redacted]		277.72					
04/30/01	Lunch @ Sam & Harry's w/T. [redacted]	53.38						
Totals		**53.38**	**351.19**					
May								
05/07/01	Dinner @ Kawasaki w/ G. Norquist +2		365.10					
05/11/01	Airfare to Atlanta			1,458.50				
Totals			**365.10**	**1,458.50**				

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2001

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
June								
06/11/01	Airfare to Jackson, MS			984.00				
06/16/01	Verizon Wireless Bill				250.94			
06/21/01	Sedan Service-Chief Phillip Martin			550.00				
06/22/01	Golf @ Avenel w/Think Tank Activists					326.60		
06/25/01	Dinner @ Oval Room w/[redacted] Staff		665.23					
06/30/01	Golf @ Woodmore w/Think Tank Activists					354.31		
Totals			665.23	1,534.00	250.94	680.91		
July								
07/25/01	Lunch @ Sushi Taro w/[redacted]	106.85						
07/31/01	Golf @ Woodmore w/Think Tank Activists					368.42		
Totals		106.85				368.42		
August								
08/02/01	Dinner @ Sushi Taro w/Think Tank Activists		269.20					
08/07/01	Lunch @ Capitol Grill w/I. Federici	83.63						

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2001

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
08/09/01	Lunch @ Sushi Taro w/ Tax Reform Staff	199.79						
08/13/01	Dinner @ Royal Dragon w/ATR Staff		112.13					
08/14/01	Meeting at Mortons w/ Team Members		532.62					
Totals		**283.42**	**913.95**					
September								
09/10/01	Robertson Monagle & Eastaugh Invoice						875.00	
09/25/01	Lunch @Sam & Harry's w/ATR activists	121.46						
09/25/01	Dinner @Royal Dragon w/ATR activists		145.75					
Totals		**121.46**	**145.75**				**875.00**	
October								
10/08/01	Lunch @Capital Grill w/Tax Reform Activists	165.11						
10/08/01	Sprint Cell bill				186.99			
10/11/01	Dinner @Sushi Taro w/Tax Reform Activists		100.00					
10/11/01	Dinner @Sushi Taro w/Tax Reform Activists		250.00					
10/16/01	Lunch @Sam & Harry's	80.66						
10/16/01	Verizon Wireless Bill				65.69			

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2001

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
10/17/01	Lunch @Sushi Taro w/[redacted]	160.00						
10/24/01	Voice Stream Wireless				28.73			
10/26/01	Dinner @Royal Dragon w/Rabbi D. Lapin		42.40					
Totals		405.77	392.40		281.41			
Novemeber								
11/08/01	Lunch @Capital Grill w/[redacted]	41.76						
11/09/01	Lunch @Sushi Taro w/Tax Reform Activists	314.45						
11/30/01	Lunch @Oceanaire w/Tax Reform Activists	388.50						
Totals		744.71						
Decemeber								
12/08/01	Lunch @Muraski w/Tax Reform Activists	150.82						
12/14/01	Lunch @Oceanaire w/I. Federici	91.83						
12/16/01	Verizon Wireless Bill				67.49			Jacks cell Phone
12/18/01	Dinner @The Brasserie w/ATR		144.42					
12/20/01	Verizon Wireless Bill				43.75			Jacks Personal Car Phone
12/31/01	Lunch @Sushi Taro w[redacted]	168.67						

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2001

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
Totals		**411.32**	**144.42**		**111.24**			

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2001

YEARLY TOTALS	
Lunch	*2,581.53*
Dinner	*3,772.70*
Transportation	*4,162.50*
Phone	*1,531.20*
Entertainment	*1,321.46*
Other	*923.00*

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 7:44 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Nell

Don't do so before we meet tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 02, 2002 8:14 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Nell

I can make it work- ill check with [redacted] on time with the council, and all presenations will be ready!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wed Jan 02 20:09:41 2002
Subject: Nell

Just spoke with her. She wants us to come there in January for a meeting. We should do [redacted] as well. I am going to [redacted] on the 20th for a meeting with [redacted] (which we will steal for gimme five!!!) and am going to try to line up other tribes for the two of us to meet. Can you do this that week? Then we might be able to hit Choctaw [redacted] on the way back. I'll have Ilisa look into some planes.

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 postmaster@[redacted].

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 11:28 PM
To: [redacted] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we ever get teh $500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

agree

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 11:56 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: did we ever get teh $500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?
Importance: High

I think we should keep some of your money at Harbor and then open the rest with Bill at SunTrust. [redacted] really saved us today with a 5 minute transfer from CAF to Livsar and the promise that he would turn around deposit checks right away (within 24 hours or less).

It can't hurt to have two banks contacts willing to do anything you want. We may need that.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Sent: Thursday, January 03, 2002 4:53 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: [redacted] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we ever get teh $500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?
Importance: High

It went into CAF Harbor account today.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-AdGov); [redacted] (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: 12/27/2001 1:20 PM
Subject: did we ever get teh $500K for Cap Athletic from Choctaw per Scanlon?

If not, can you call Nell[redacted] to find out what the story is? Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 10:43 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I agree. He is a bad version of us! no more money for him.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@scanlongould.com]
Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:12 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: [redacted]

No - but Id like to know what the hell he spent it on - he didn't even know the dam thing was there - and didn't do shit to shit to shut it down!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:11 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

That's a silly question! He "spent" it all the moment it arrived in his account. He would NEVER admit he has money left over. Would we?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:03 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: [redacted]

[redacted]

On the political front, Did Ralph spend all them money he was given to fight this - or does he have some left? -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@gtlaw.com]
Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 10:39 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: [redacted]

What is our response to this one?!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 9:25 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, January 04, 2002 11:08 AM
To: Mike Scanlon

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 11:32 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

Sounds good.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 11:43 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

Not sure on the incorporation - I am checking it out. I have leads on buying the operations - It takes a while so lets just keep rolling as is. On another note - we have to weigh the money we would save vs. how much more work we would have to do, and the time of ROI.
If we buy a mail house outright, we will loose money in the first year probably just on staffing, supplies and logistics. If we buy a big shop we will lose money a longer - we have to find the right balance - which I will. Once we do that then we can answer the incorporation questions.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 11:11 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

Let's do it fast so we can stop throwing away money. Can I help get it lined up? Do you want me to incorporate a company for us to do it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 8:32 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: January 2002 gimme five

I love the numbers - but your right - we have to move fast to lock in phones and- mail. I think we can cut 5mil right off the top of our outgoing expenses that way just to start.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 08, 2002 6:59 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: January 2002 gimme five

Choctaw[redacted]	$4.7	($4 net)
Choctaw[redacted]	3	(2.5)
[redacted]	[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]	
[redacted]	[redacted]	

(moral of the story: we are spending over $10M with other people! We have to buy mail house, phone house, etc. so we get part of that one too!!)

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, January 14, 2002 8:38 AM
To: 'mike@[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Hey

Shit. We'll discuss on the plane. Shit shit shit
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]
To: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Mon Jan 14 09:32:28 2002
Subject: FW: Hey

Oh crap! I asked my office to send Nell the Poll numbers, and they sent the Program as well. Here is her e-mail responding to and email from em to go over the poll numbers on Saturday. You are going to have to give them the courage on this. I hope today's articles about the [redacted] help sooth the sticker shock.

-----Original Message-----
From: Nell Rogers [mailto:NellRogers[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, January 13, 2002 9:56 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Hey

Hey yourself, sorry i didn't check e-mail until today. I got data. Re polls --great and much to ponder. Re project: horrible and much to ponder. For that amount, we could build a couple of clinics or day cares and operate them. But, we must do what we have to. I really honestly don't know what the $ situation is [redacted] but will get with [redacted] before you get here. Do you know how much we've spent there total? I can't remember the names of all the vehicles we've used over the last few years. Jack may have an idea. You did a good job putting this together. We have hard, hard questions re [redacted] particularly given the [redacted] efforts to continue try to get into [redacted]. We learned Friday that the DOI sent its letter to [redacted] to get his comments on [redacted] proposal to put land into trust. Of course, [redacted] is behind and/or involved in that. Also, [redacted] has mixed feelings about [redacted] commitment. Have a safe trip. Best, Nell

GTG-E000107618

American International Center
53 Baltimore Avenue
Rehobeth Beach, DE 19971
302-226-4900
F:302-226-8159

INVOICE

DATE: January 30, 2002

Payable Upon Receipt

To:
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]
Philadelphia, MS 39350

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
1/30	Professional Services	$ 1,000,000.00
	TOTAL	$1,000,000.00

Wire all funds to: [redacted] Bank
Washington, DC
Routing number: [redacted]
Acct. Name: American International Center
Acct #: [redacted]

0042

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 11:56 AM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Work with Shawn, Todd, and Stephanie on this. I want these hours included, and they can figure out the verbiage .

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 12:39 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

I finally spoke to Mike Scanlon who said that I should make up the time - as long as it was between 38.5 and 42 hours PER WEEK. He told me to spit it up as I saw fit between Choctaw [redacted]

I can do this, but want to clear the amount of hours with you. Are these hours you want on the client bill? Should I work with Kevin and Shawn to detail those hours or should I just put 'PR consulting' as the description?

[redacted]
Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[redacted]
Washington, D.C.
ph: 202 [redacted]

GTG-E000107837

REDACTI

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 1:33 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

That's too much. Half that is fine. Tell Mike, if he asks, that this is enough, according to me.

---Original Message---
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:10 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Just so we are clear...that is roughly 80 hours per client, per month. Basically full time.

---Original Message---
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 1:01 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Work with Shawn, Todd, and Stephanie on this. I want these hours included, and they can figure out the verbiage .

---Original Message---
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 12:39 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

I finally spoke to Mike Scanlon who said that I should make up the time - as long as it was between 38.5 and 42 hours PER WEEK. He told me to spit it up as I saw fit between Choctaw and Coushatta.

I can do this, but want to clear the amount of hours with you. Are these hours you want on the client bill? Should I work with Kevin and Shawn to detail those hours or should I just put 'PR consulting' as the description?

[redacted]
Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[redacted]
Washington, D.C. [redacted]
ph: 202.[redacted]

From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 1:59 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Jack wants to include between 38 and 42 hour a week for Mike Scanlon in the CMS time-keeping system. We need to split these hours up between Choctaw [redacted]. Could you please help me detail the projects Mike is involved in and provide me 'verbiage' I can use when entering his time? I need this as soon as possible for the month of January. Thanks,

[redacted]
Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
800 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
ph: 202.[redacted]

REDACTED

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 1:49 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Actually, I did not notice that he has listed Choctaw. He should not bill Choctaw, he should bill SagChip and Coushatta only and the descriptions should be very innocuous.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:46 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Well, he knows better what he does, but I know the Choctaw hate any mention of the ground wars we wage on the bill. The ground wars need to be kept off the bills for obvious reasons.

I would get a general list of people he met with and incorporate it with this phrase: "regional gaming issues."

For example: "Met with Louisiana governor's Indian affairs staff (name) to discuss regional gaming issues as they pertain to the Coushatta tribe." .....yaddda, yadday.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:41 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Surprised me too - so I double checked with Jack. Jacks says to half that...so 10 hours a week per client should be fine.

Thanks,
[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:03 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

He wants $0 per client per month?

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted], Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 01 13:59:22 2002
Subject: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Jack wants to include between 38 and 42 hour a week for Mike Scanlon in the CMS time-keeping system. We need to split these hours up between Choctaw and Coushatta. Could you please help me detail the projects Mike is involved in and provide me 'verbiage' I can use when entering his time?

I need this as soon as possible for the month of January.

Thanks,

[redacted]
Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[redacted]
Washington, D.C. [redacted]
ph: 202.[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:00 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] ssoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

I DON'T want him to bill Choctaw, regardless of what he said.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:57 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

He probably meant to say Choctaw - I caught him as he was running out the door.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:53 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Actually, I did not notice that he has listed Choctaw. He should not bill Choctaw, he should bill SagChip and Coushatta only and the descriptions should be very innocuous.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:46 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Well, he knows better what he does, but I know the Choctaw hate any mention of the ground wars we wage on the bill. The ground wars need to be kept off the bills for obvious reasons.

I would get a general list of people he met with and incorporate it with this phrase: "regional gaming issues."

For example: "Met with Louisiana governor's Indian affairs staff (name) to discuss regional gaming issues as they pertain to the Coushatta tribe." .....yadddda, yadday.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:41 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Surprised me too - so I double checked with Jack. Jacks says to half that...so 10 hours a week per client should be fine.

Thanks,
[redacted]

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:02 PM
To: [redacted]dmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Todd needs to just make up a bunch of standard entries for him.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Hmmm, should I arm-twist Mike to tell me who all he's met with or get Todd to get me names.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:46 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Well, he knows better what he does, but I know the Choctaw hate any mention of the ground wars we wage on the hill. The ground wars need to be kept off the bills for obvious reasons.

I would get a general list of people he met with and incorporate it with this phrase: "regional gaming issues."

For example: "Met with Louisiana governor's Indian affairs staff [name] to discuss regional gaming issues as they pertain to [redacted] .....yaddda, yadday.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:41 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted]; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Surprised me too - so I double checked with Jack. Jacks says to half that...so 10 hours a week per client should be fine.

Thanks,
[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 2:03 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

He wants 80 per client per month?

Todd Anthony Boulanger

GTG-E000107829

REDACT

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm) [redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) [redacted] Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 01 13:59:22 2002
Subject: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Jack wants to include between 38 and 42 hour a week for Mike Scanlon in the CMS time-keeping system. We need to split these hours up between Choctaw [redacted] Could you please help me detail the projects Mike is involved in and provide me 'verbiage' I can use when entering his time?

I need this as soon as possible for the month of January.

Thanks,

[redacted]
Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[redacted]
Washington [redacted]
ph: 202 [redacted]

2

REDACTED

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 3:10 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

He does not know how to do this. Can one of you just create a template for him to do it and we'll let the secretaries fill it in. it's more for us than for him.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 4:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Surely Mike can write up his own descriptions. I do mine. Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasells[redacted]
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
CC: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerd[redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 01 15:17:46 2002
Subject: FW: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Hate to put this on your plate.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 1:59 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Jack wants to include between 38 and 42 hour a week for Mike Scanlon in the CMS time-keeping system. We need to split these hours up between Choctaw [redacted] Could you please help me detail the projects Mike is involved in and provide me 'verbiage' I can use when entering his time?

I need this as soon as possible for the month of January.

Thanks,

[redacted]
Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[redacted]
Washington, D.C. [redacted]
ph: 202 [redacted]

1

E000107828

REDACTED

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 3:33 PM
To: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: LDAs

Probably need to be a bit more gentle than "make time for it". just a suggestion.

-----Original Message-----
From: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 9:27 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Legis)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: LDAs

OK, Todd. I will prepare the general form for you. But this is important. Make time for it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 9:25 AM
To: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: LDAs

She can prepare yhe general form for me. I have no time to do that. Ia can add the information later.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis) <slomowitzaa[redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[redacted]; [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Legis) <PennE[redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 01 09:23:10 2002
Subject: RE: LDAs

Todd, she can't prepare it. There are questions relating to issues lobbied and who are the lobbyists. Please use the registration as a guide and put together a draft. I will then go through it. Thanks. -----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 9:21 AM
To: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis); [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Legis)
Subject: Re: LDAs

If eldeanpreparea it I'll go over it

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis) [redacted]
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Legis) [redacted]
CC: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 01 09:20:15 2002
Subject: LDAs

Can you get to me this morning the LDAs for Jack's clients that I dropped off (Primedia,

GTG-E000117381

AIC, Voor Huisen and the numbers changes for Coushatta Choctaw etc).

Also, we will be bringing you today the Saignaw LDA. I would like to turn all of this around today.

I am meeting with Jack this morning and this is one of the items on our agenda. Thanks.

GTG-E000117382

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 3:55 PM
To: [redacted] dmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Work off that one.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 4:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Here's a one day example for me:

[redacted]

Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 4:39 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

He does not know how to do this. Can one of you just create a template for him to do it and we'll let the secretaries fill it in. it's more for us than for him.
-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 4:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Surely Mike can write up his own descriptions. I do mine. Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasell[redacted]
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
CC: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 01 15:17:46 2002
Subject: FW: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Hate to put this on your plate.
-----Original Message-----

REDACT

From: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 01, 2002 1:59 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Entering time for Mike Scanlon

Jack wants to include between 38 and 42 hour a week for Mike Scanlon in the CMS time-keeping system. We need to split these hours up between Choctaw [redacted]. Could you please help me detail the projects Mike is involved in and provide me 'verbiage' I can use when entering his time? I need this as soon as possible for the month of January. Thanks,

[redacted]
Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
800 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
ph: 202.[redacted]

REDACTED

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 04, 2002 11:26 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw

The loaf should cost no less than $1.50.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 04, 2002 10:35 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Choctaw

How much does GT bread cost Choctaw? $1.50 per loaf plus or minus a few cents. This loaf cost $1.19 and I was wondering if I should increase price or leave as is. Know what I mean? Kevin Ring

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

You iz da man.

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

Ok on this, Ill take care of it and get all the payouts rolling.

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

Choctaw did not yet pay us for[redacted]? Shoot! Should I call Nell 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 [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 9:29 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: [redacted]

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] <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wed Feb 06 22:16:49 2002
Subject: FW: [redacted]

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

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 12:36 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: [redacted]

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 (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 8:08 PM
To: GRHalpern@[redacted]
Cc: ghalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Lexington

My replies below after yours in regular type.

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 11:10 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Cc: ghalpern@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Lexington

MY REPLY BELOW.

In a message dated 2/26/2002 10:55:50 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

ent="Microsoft Word 9"> Responses below

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 9:04 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Lexington

1. pls. ask your GT office to fed ex me what they have. If it was around in 2001, depending which state it was set up in we need to do the annual filing so we don't forfeit the LLC status. I ALREADY ASKED THEM TO DO THIS. DID THEY NOT DO IT YET? JUST GOT THE FAX NOW WHEN I CAME BACK FROM MEGILLAH.

2. Is someone drawing up the Operating agreement showing your 50%? NO, BUT WE HAVE TO GET TO THAT.OKAY. I'LL PUT ON MY LIST TO DO. WOULD YOU MIND IF I ASK [redacted] TO HELP US OUT W/THE LEGAL STUFF. NO OFFENSE TO [redacted] BUT I WASTE TOO MUCH TIME(AND YOUR MONEY) ASKING [redacted] WHAT THE STATUS IS, IN GENERAL. (JUST B/T US PLEASE). I could not agree more. Yale is a disaster. I like him, but he is a terrible lawyer

3. If the business operates out of VA then we have VA filings. If the income that your earn is from another state, that's what I mean by SOURCED, we deal w/the state or states as well. WHAT SHOULD IT BE? I SEE DC FILNGS ON THE FAX FROM YOUR OFFICE. I WILL ASK YALE WHY HE DID DC. MOST OF THE TIME WE SET UP AS MD LLC SINCE THE LLC RULES ARE BETTER IN MD THAN DC. BUT I'M SURE HE HAS HIS REASONS. IF YOUR PARTNER WORKS OUT OF VA THEN I NEED TO CHECK VA RULES AND FILING REQUIREMENTS. I DON'T KNOW OFF HAND. Ok, there is no reason to be in DC.

IS THE VA ADDRESS THE OFFICIAL ADDRESS YOU GUYS ARE USING ON YOUR INVOICES ETC? I'LL CHECK THE WEB SITE. Not sure either way

4. what states are the clients in that will be paying you? VARIOUS AND OVERSEAS. SINCE YOU RENDER THE SERVICE HERE IN DC/VA/MD WHICHEVER, I DON'T THINK WE NEED TO WORRY BUT AGAIN THIS WILL DEPEND ON S CORP AND LLC STATUS . DIFFERENT RULES FOR DIFFERENT STATES FOR DIFFERENT ENTITIES. I DON'T KNOW THESE RULES OFF HAND BUT I'LL ASK JEFF MAY TOMORROW.

5. do you have a web site on this business? YES, WWW.LEXINGTONGROUPUSA.COM

PLEASE GIVE ME AN IDEA OF THE MONEY YOU THINK WILL COME IN OVER 2002. ARE WE TALKING 50K , 100K, 1M? JUST BALL PARK SO I COULD TRY TO PLAN THE BEST WAY. maybe $500K max, but could easily be $10K

In a message dated 2/26/2002 8:39:00 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

BELOW IN CAPS

----Original Message----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 12:18 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Lexington

I just found out from Laura about Lexington. She told me that she opened up a bank a/c for this LLC. she thinks Yale did the filings. she didn't have any copies in her files. Can I check with Yale? I THINK WE HAVE THEM IN OUR OFFICE AT GT

so I would just like to confirm that it is taken care of. Is it a MD LLC? I THINK IT'S A DC LLC Laura tells me there is a VA location for this entity? do you have an operating agreement? what % is yours. NO OPERATING AGREEMNT YET, BUT I OWN 50%

In the 1099 file I saw a check to Ben Mackler. Laura thought maybe it was for Eshkol even though it was with a Lexington email. Pls. let me know so we can 1099 him and deduct from Kaygold since Lexington wasn't around in 2001. or was it? I CAN'T RECALL, BUT I THINK IT WAS. YOU'LL GET THE PAPERS THIS MORNING AND SEE

Also, for tax purposes, maybe we could do some planning. what does this entity do? POLITICAL CONSULTING how much do you expect it to earn? NO IDEA /tal FAMILY=SANSSERIF>Is it DC source income? HOW DO YOU MEAN SOURCE? If not, maybe we should have an S corp and save money on the SE tax (like I wanted to do with KayGold but Can't b/c CCS is DC and we would get killed with the DC bus. tax).

If your partner is willing to set up a pension plan, both you guys can shelter some income in there. LET'S DO IT

when you have a chance please tell me about this entity so I can try to do some tax planning. JUST SOMETHING I HAVE SET UP WITH A GUY WHO GT WOULD NOT HIRE BUT WHO WILL DO A LOT OF BUSINESS

Also, since I didn't know about it, I didn't tell Bruce about it. I think we should. FINE

Please don't keep these things from me. I hate to be the last one to know! :) ly:Arial">I AM NOT KEEPING THINGS FROM YOU. AS PAM WILL TELL YOU, IF I DON'T THINK ABOUT SOMETHING OR AM NOT DEALING WITH IT, THE WAY MY MIND WORKS I MIGHT AS WELL NOT BE INVOLVED. THUS, IT HAS NOT COME TO MIND WHEN WE HAVE BEEN CHATTING. I HAVE NOT REASON TO HIDE ANYTHING FROM YOU. :-)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 2:32 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: GMF

Don't cut me a check yet on the Choctaw money, if that's OK. I might need to have some expenses paid through you [redacted] as we discussed).

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 10:14 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: GMF

Yes - But only 2.6 mil out of the 4 that was scheduled - The money that came in is on the sheet I gave you.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 10:16 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: GMF

Fantastic. Did Choctaw $ arrive?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 9:26 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: GMF

<< File: 2002 GMF Breakdowns.xls >> Hey here is the overall numbers - I will send the individual payouts in a bit <<2002 GMF Breakdowns.xls>>

Michael Scanlon
[redacted]
(202) [redacted]
(202) [redacted]
(202) [redacted]
mike@[redacted]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 2:32 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: GMF

Don't cut me a check yet on the Choctaw money, if that's OK. I might need to have some expenses paid through you (Puerto Rico as we discussed).

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 10:14 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: GMF

Yes - But only 2.6 mil out of the 4 that was scheduled - The money that came in is on the sheet I gave you.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 10:16 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: GMF

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-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 01, 2002 9:26 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: GMF

<< File: 2002 GMF Breakdowns.xls >> Hey here is the overall numbers - I will send the individual payouts in a bit <<2002 GMF Breakdowns.xls>>

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]
(202)[redacted]
(202)[redacted] (fax)
(202)[redacted] (cell)
mike@[redacted]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 6:15 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Pesach

You iz dat man!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 7:07 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Pesach

Ill think of something on this - Ill get back to you by COB

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 9:26 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Pesach

Can you get me a check to Presidential Kosher Holidays from my Choctaw share? Do you think we could figure a way to expense it? any ideas? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Passover Vacations [mailto:info[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 8:42 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Pesach

By any chance have you sent us the balance of $61,150. It's due by now. Thanks.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 8:05 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

We're almost at where we were last year! Let's keep it going baby!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 7:05 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

No problem - Next payment comes April 15 and is 1.4 bringing year up to 4 total.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 9:24 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Next Choctaw $

See if you can get her to send my share to Capital Athletic Foundation. She liked using that entity anyway. This is for the next payment, not the past one. how much would that be, do you know?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 8:05 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Next Choctaw $

nu

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 7:05 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

No problem - Next payment comes April 15 and is 1.4 bringing year up to 4 total.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 9:24 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Next Choctaw $

See if you can get her to send my share to Capital Athletic Foundation. She liked using that entity anyway. This is for the next payment, not the past one. how much would that be, do you know?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 5:54 PM
To: 'mike@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

No, too much $. $500k is enough.
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike@scanlongould.com>
To: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wed Mar 13 18:29:14 2002
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Sure - I will do it - there is another payment coming due - I can get 1 mil in there in about two weeks - IS that ok?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 2:54 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Can you have one of the upcoming payments from Choctaw (or one of the others) made to "Capital Athletic Foundation" up to $500K? I need to get more money in there. thanks.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, March 30, 2002 6:25 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Capital Athletic Foundation

Please don't forget this one. $1M in there would be good if that's the amount you can get Nell to send.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 2:54 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Can you have one of the upcoming payments from Choctaw (or one of the others) made to "Capital Athletic Foundation" up to $500K? I need to get more money in there. thanks.

t

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 8:26 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

No problem, no rush.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, April 01, 2002 7:43 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Sure - Ill approach her on this today - My bet is that we wont see any money until the end of the week though.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, March 30, 2002 7:56 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Capital Athletic Foundation

Please don't forget this one. $1M in there would be good if that's the amount you can get Nell to send.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 13, 2002 2:54 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Can you have one of the upcoming payments from Choctaw (or one of the others) made to "Capital Athletic Foundation" up to $500K? I need to get more money in there. thanks.

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, April 16, 2002 9:20 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

We need to get more biz going. I am working to find some CA options.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 16, 2002 10:01 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

Yeah we are supposed to get 2 now - 2 on October 1 - but she wants to do 1 now and 3 on October 1.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 16, 2002 9:50 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

Press her. Do we get more after Oct 1 anyway?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 16, 2002 9:27 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

Not yet. This week - However they are coming gin light again - they owe 2 - but she asked if they could only pay one and defer the rest - till October 1 - I was thinking gof pressing her to 1.5 cause we have to operate on this money - but your call.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 16, 2002 8:43 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Next Choctaw $

Did they pay?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 04, 2002 7:05 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Next Choctaw $

No problem - Next payment comes April 15 and is 1.4 bringing year up to 4 total.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, March 03, 2002 9:24 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Next Choctaw $

See if you can get her to send my share to Capital Athletic Foundation. She liked using

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, May 06, 2002 7:07 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: ATR state resolution project

permanent tax relief resolutio...

Get other tribes.

-----Original Message-----
From: Jennifer Kuhn [mailto:jkuhn@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 06, 2002 2:33 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: ATR state resolution project

Hi Jack
As I believe you are aware, ATR is again doing the state resolution project (support SDI, make the Death Tax permanent, make the tax cut permanent and commending the Prez on the war on terrorism).
Last year your support made it possible. Not only Choctaw, [redacted] and [redacted] as well as [redacted] pass resolutions and come to Washington for a meeting with President Bush. And the nations helped to underwrite our expenses. We expect to have another meeting with President Bush this year.
Do you think the nations and [redacted] would again a) pass resolutions and come to Washington for the meeting and b) be interested in underwriting our campaign to bring everyone in, put them up at nice hotel, nice dinner etc? More than anything we want as many Indian nations as possible to express their support for the President's policies. Please let me know if I can provide you with any additional information - I can have copies of the resolutions forwarded to you. Grover will be traveling but can be reached on his cell [redacted]. Thank you!

Jen
<<permanent tax relief resolution.doc>>
Jennifer Kuhn
Americans for Tax Reform
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]
(o) 202-[redacted]
(f) 202-[redacted]
(m) 202-[redacted]

REDACTED

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph[redacted]
Sent: Wed May 15 21:28:08 2002
Subject: scotland

The package on the ground is $4K per person. that covers rooms, tee times and ground transportation. One idea is that we could use one of my foundations for the trip - Capital Athletic Foundation - and get and make contributions so this is easier. OK?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 9:25 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: scotland

I told him a few weeks ago that we'd try, but we can't. he keeps saying to me that he's sure we'll be coming, and I tell him no. he'll find out on Sunday I guess.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 9:44 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: scotland

He thinks you are. Or claimed to me you were.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 9:32 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: Re: scotland

I'm not going either. He won't be offended.
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]' <abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wed May 15 20:47:34 2002
Subject: RE: scotland

Cannot but do not want to offend [redacted]

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@[redacted]>
To: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]>
Sent: Wed May 15 23:53:42 2002
Subject: RE: scotland

Can you call my cell to discuss? re the bar mitzvah, what's the question? Are you planning on going?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted])
Sent: Wednesday, May 15, 2002 6:51 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]'
Subject: Re: scotland

Ok but we need to discuss. It is an election year.

What do I do about the [redacted] bar mitzvah?

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 24, 2002 5:50 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: choctaw check

done

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 24, 2002 12:46 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: choctaw check

Ill run down the cash issues.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 23, 2002 3:39 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: choctaw check

We did not get the Choctaw money. Can you find out what's up? Also, can you send over the extra money from the $1M ($250K?) to Kaygold? Thanks.
-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 23, 2002 11:51 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: choctaw check

No
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 23, 2002 11:24 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: choctaw check

Did we get a Choctaw check for CAF in the last week or so?

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postmaster@[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 8:31 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Choctaw $

Anything happen with this yet?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2002 9:27 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw $

Ill call nell tonight and find out. Sorry for the delay. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, May 29, 2002 8:27 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: choctaw $

Where are we on this? I did not get the CAF check.

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WS

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted], on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 9:31 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: the extra choctaw money

You lost me on the calculation. Let's just figure it out in person, where you can use blocks and a chalk board for Mr. Slow On the Uptake Abramoff.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 9:57 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: the extra choctaw money

Here is the overall plan. We need about 200k to run the operation - leaving 1.3 to split - or 650 a piece. So to make you whole the idea was to get the 500 to CAF directly - then have AIC cut Kaygold a check for the remaining 150.

The problem is the missing 500k.

with the 500k outstanding we only have 800 (a mil minus the 200 to run the [redacted] effort) to split.

If you like I can cut a check for 400 to kaygold and then we can just work the rest out when the 500k gets here -- meaing CAF would cut a check for 250k when that check comes in.

Make sense? Anyway is cool with me.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 2:25 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: the extra choctaw money

On the AIC money, what's our plan on the extra $500K, after you take your $500K?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 8:34 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: the extra choctaw money

Thi sbatch was supposed to be 1.5. 1 to AIC - 500 to cap athletic. Have you still not recieved the 500at CAF - the were supposed to send it directly.

Also the [redacted] thing [redacted] called about was not me must be williams. How you been my man?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 7:00 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: the extra choctaw money

We have an extra $500K from Choctaw, right? ($500K to CAF and $1M to CCS)?

Also the Dan morgan thing [redacted] called about was not me must be williams. How you been my man?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 7:00 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: the extra choctaw money

We have an extra $500K from Choctaw, right? ($500K to CAF and $1M to CCS)?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 9:35 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: the extra Choctaw money

Did you mean to say you "can" do it next week, in the last sentence, or you "can't" do it next week?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 10:27 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: the extra Choctaw money

I cant play - but get out there and swing them good. Lets do this, lets plan a swing to the big three as soon as is convenient to go over existing operations and hit them for new ones - Ill start working gup the reports (choctas is almost done) and the new proposals. We will take two maybe three days and take no prisoners - we are coming home with a bag of cash.
I can do next week, but I will clear time and make it happen any time after that.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 10:25 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: the extra Choctaw money

Problem is that they want me at this (boring!) all day meeting next Tuesday. The week after looks very hard, but let's discuss. Want to play golf this afternoon?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 10:07 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: the extra Choctaw money

You miss me! I'm coming in later today - what's you late afternoon shaping up like? Also wwhat day is the jackson meeting next week - I'm kinda banged up next week scheduling wise. I do have a massive report I need to give Nell but If possible Id love to do a swing the week after next - hit Choctaw Coushatta and Saginaw if possible.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 31, 2002 2:25 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: the extra choctaw money

Good, but I would much prefer seeing you my man. You in town tomorrow?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted])
Sent: Thursday, May 30, 2002 8:34 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: the extra choctaw money

Thi sbatch was supposed to be 1.5. 1 to AIC - 500 to cap athletic. Have you still not recieved the 500at CAF - the were supposed to send it directly.

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 03, 2002 8:47 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Monday

Hey there- I won't be back till thursday, but don't worry- we have the [redacted] thing in [redacted] hands, we are going to hit [redacted] again, and you have cash coming from this wave and [redacted] wave of choctaw. We do need more, but everything is under controll, all projects are up to date, and more cash will come in. We need to figure out a way to cranks a load of cash out this summer, but everything we have is undercontroll. We are still 500k light on choctaw. That means I currenlty have 400 for you in the aic account right now. Are you around on thursday friday? Also let's talk later today so I can brief you on choctaw tommorow in case you get any questions. Ill handle william - no problem. -----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 2, 2002 7:10p
Subject: Monday

I really need to sit down with you to discuss where we are and what we have prospects of doing. Can we meet for lunch on Monday? I am out of town on Tuesday and possibly Wednesday (at Choctaw). Can you make it work for Monday lunch?

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WS

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 9:19 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Monday

Perfect sense. thanks Mike. Get me the check for the $150K when you can. If you can push Nell on the $500K it would be easier than my doing it. thanks so much.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 3:49 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

Yep - your math is a litttle off.

I owe you 150k above the 500k coming to CAF which I understand is on the way (you are due 650k out of this wave total). Heres the math:

Fee= 1,500,000 Total
Less 200,000 to run operations

leaves 1,300,000 GMF money.

That's 650k per person.

500k goes to CAF directly for you and I cut a 150k check bringing you up to 650k total.

make sense?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 3:49 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Monday

Huh? I thought the $400K was separate from the $500K going to CAF. Did I get that wrong?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 12:07 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

Does this mean that they are not sending the 500k to CAF?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoff[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 11:47 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Monday

Can you bring me the $400K tonight, payable to Kaygold? Thanks. see you tonight.

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

Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 12:07 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

Does this mean that they are not sending the 500k to CAF?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 11:47 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Monday

Can you bring me the $400K tonight, payable to Kaygold? Thanks. see you tonight.

-----Original

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 10:37 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Monday

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 10:53 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

No worries ill have a check over there asap and get on nell right now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 6, 2002 10:29p
Subject: RE: Monday

Perfect sense. thanks Mike. Get me the check for the $150K when you can. If you can push Nell on the $500K it would be easier than my doing it. thanks so much.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 3:49 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

Yep - your math is a litttle off.

I owe you 150k above the 500k coming to CAF which I understand is on the way (you are due 650k out of this wave total). Heres the math:

Fee= 1,500,000 Total
Less 200,000 to run operations

leaves 1,300,000 GMF money.

That's 650k per person.

500k goes to CAF directly for you and I cut a 150k check bringing you up to 650k total.

make sense?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 3:49 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Monday

Huh? I thought the $400K was separate from the $500K going to CAF. Did I get that wrong?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]

Can you bring me the $400K tonight, payable to Kaygold? Thanks. see you tonight.
-----Original

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, June 12, 2002 7:25 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Monday

Hi there. see you in 1.5 hours. Can you call Nell today and push her on the $500K for CAF? tell her that they spent the money already with the trust that they'd get it, and that they are all over you now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 07, 2002 10:53 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

No worries ill have a check over there asap and get on nell right now. -----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff
To: Mike Scanlon
Sent: Jun 6, 2002 10:29p
Subject: RE: Monday

Perfect sense. thanks Mike. Get me the check for the $150K when you can. If you can push Nell on the $500K it would be easier than my doing it. thanks so much.
-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 3:49 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

Yep - your math is a litttle off.
I owe you 150k above the 500k coming to CAF which I understand is on the way (you are due 650k out of this wave total). Heres the math: Fee= 1,500,000 Total
Less 200,000 to run operations

leaves 1,300,000 GMF money.
That's 650k per person.
500k goes to CAF directly for you and I cut a 150k check bringing you up to 650k total.
make sense? -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 3:49 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Monday

Huh? I thought the $400K was separate from the $500K going to CAF. Did I get that wrong?
-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 12:07 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Monday

Does this mean that they are not sending the 500k to CAF? -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 11:47 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Monday

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:15 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

Shit! I did not want you to bring Todd into this!!! you should have just gotten to directly.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:14 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Capitol athletic foundation

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:13 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

What is it? I've never heard of it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:11 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

Jack wants this

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:10 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

What is this? I can put this on your request list that I'm putting together during the July 4th recess... or I can split it up 1/2 to and 1/2 to Choctaw so it doesn't dillute your other requests.

may kick in...25K is steep for them. I bet they'd do $5K, however.

We'll get it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:20 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Capitol athletic foundation

Can u ask chris whether they can make a contribution. We asked for 25k Tony Rudy

REDACTED

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:18 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

Don't you see that we have a problem now?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:17 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

Todd said he would do it

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:17 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

We probably have to forget the now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:16 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

I saw your email and said todd was with him, and I misunderstood. I apologize.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:16 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

Tony, you should not have involved him. You should have followed my request to get in touch with directly. Dammit. Now this is out.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Capitol athletic foundation

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:15 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

I'm sensing shadiness. I'll stop asking. I'll break it up over the various requests to a total of $25K.

I just don't think the will do a large check like that becasue they just gave $50K for the President's dinner. I can ask, but I'm doubtful.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:14 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

It is something our friends are raising money for

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:13 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

What is it? I've never heard of it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:11 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

Jack wants this

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:10 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

What is this? I can put this on your request list that I'm putting together during the July 4th recess... or I can split it up 1/2 to and 1/2 to Choctaw so it doesn't dillute your other requests.

may kick in...25K is steep for them. I bet they'd do $5K, however.

We'll get it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:20 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Capitol athletic foundation

Can u ask whether they can make a contribution. We asked for 25k Tony Rudy

Subject: May bills
Importance: High

I am told that we have $300K in bills from May which have not yet been sent out. If this is the case, then that is a real problem. If you have not sent out a bill for any reason, please let me know immediately.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 3:56 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Fine.

—Original Message—
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 4:55 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

This is a very bad system that I am very uncomfortable with that we need to discuss next week.

—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 2:07 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Slash what you want to slash and then tell me how much you need me to cover to get the bill up to around $150K.

—Original Message—
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 9:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Estimated total is $120K. I don't know for certain because time has been entered after the closing deadline for the month. Also, I would love to slash hours inputted.

—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, June 22, 2001 8:06 AM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

I'll see what the deal with my time is. What's the total on the bill right now? How much time do you need from me $-wise?

—Original Message—
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 21, 2001 11:30 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: May bills

Choctaw still has not gone out. The bill is a disaster (again) and I simply don't have the time to sit down and work on it from start to finish. I am almost done with it but it this month's edits have taken way too much time and people's entries compared to time inputted and work performed is a joke. And you have no time entered to date for the month either and I am still working to resolve this issue as well. Not fun!!! And a big problem for me!!!

—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 21, 2001 11:08 PM
To: [redacted] (Shld-DC-Legis); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Cc: [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 4:11 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma

Great. Thanks.

----Original Message----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 4:06 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Miami Tribe of Oklahoma

Hey- We fianllycaught up with Nell on the 500k to CAF - she was very apologetic and said it will be here shortly.
----Original Message----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 2:43 PM
To: Mike Scanlon

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 2:30 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]

Sent: Monday, June 24, 2002 8:36 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]

---- Original Message ----

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 5:46 PM
To: 'William Jarrell'
Subject: RE: Choctaw

I'm just surprised I am not under "dead, disgraced or in jail".

-----Original Message-----
From: William Jarrell [mailto:WilliamJ[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 6:36 PM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw

Tuesday afternoon funny.....Preston Gates sent around their "Alumni Directory." Don't know what's funnier, the fact that half the book has people listed at GT or the fact that Mike Scanlon is listed as "Lost Alumni."

And Mike thought he found the light. :)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 10:16 AM
To: William Jarrell
Subject: RE: Choctaw

14? You should have seen the front!

-----Original Message-----
From: William Jarrell [mailto:WilliamJ[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 10:07 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw

Sounds like you are down to a 14.....

we sent the contract to Shawn last week so we could get started on July 1st....he sounded enthused. Looking forward to the meetings at GT.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted]mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 10:13 AM
To: William Jarrell
Subject: RE: Choctaw

Hi Bill. I'll check with Shawn. Played yesterday at Woodmore. Made 6 pars on the back nine. Of course, I also made 2 triples! Oh well.

-----Original Message-----
From: William Jarrell [mailto:WilliamJ[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, June 26, 2001 9:18 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw

How's the contract with Choctaw going?

Hope things settle down next week. Will you have time for a little golf?

[redacted]

From: Aaron Stetter
Sent: Monday, July 08, 2002 6:06 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: Michigan Trip

Hey man, the petition drive is going well. We all have an effective sell and most people are receptive. The only problem is that as soon as we get a rthymn going we usually get the boot. We're working on about 250 for today though.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 16, 2002 7:26 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAF!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, July 13, 2002 10:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAF!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, July 11, 2002 10:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAF!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 8:06 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Choctaw CAF!

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 10, 2002 8:06 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: Choctaw CAF!

Can you call her again today? Thanks buddy.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 01, 2002 9:20 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Choctaw CAF!

Mike, what do we have to do to get this money in?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 11:27 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: TX

Forget about Ralph, but you should call Lovelin and William (call them both, and maybe call Aubrey too) and claim victory on this one, but warn that the AC are not going away. They have a ton of money from oil and are really working the state very hard. That's from Schwartz. He said that their DC lobbyist is also pushing for them to get a federal fix, but the moron is doing it publicly, so forget that (of course don't tell William/Aubrey/Lovelin!). we need more $$$$. Call them and let me know how it goes.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, July 24, 2002 9:24 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

this is total victory and should lead friends in TX to now want to launch the grassroots effort to insure that those elected officials who stood up for families and against casino gambling have support this fall. It is critical. The Governor's race is too close to call and the Senate race is within the margin of error---and the Lt. Governor's race will literally decide this issue legislatively.
>
>
> House of cards July 19, 2002 The Beaumont Enterprise SHANE GRABER
>
> U.S. District Judge John Hannah Jr. in Lufkin ordered the
> Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas casino shut down by midnight July 25.
> LIVINGSTON - Jodie Kubena sits in silence as bells jingle and clang
> around him. He is fixed on a stool here, working two slot machines at
> the same time. He can't hear the quarters fill his tray, but he sees
> them fall. Kubena, an 84-year-old Caldwell man who can't hear or
> speak, has been travelling the 40 miles to the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe
> of Texas' casino since it opened nearly nine months ago. He is wearing
> Velcro sneakers, a snap-button shirt and a hat his nephew made that
> says, "World's Greatest Gambler, Marksville, La." He spells his name
> in sign language but doesn't chat much otherwise. He and the slots are
> one. His sister, Eunice Dotson, 78, brings him here twice a week. They
> pull in at 9:30 a.m. and stay until 4 p.m., 6 p.m. if Kubena's slots
> are hitting. In less than a week, though, they'll have to find another
> diversion. This tribe's cash cow might be heading out to pasture -
> and maybe for good. "I hate to hear that," Dotson said. She then
> looked at her brother. "And he's so upset about it." U.S. District
> Judge John Hannah Jr. in Lufkin ruled last month that the casino is
> illegal under the 1987 Native American Restoration Act. That act bars
> on reservations any type of gambling that isn't legal in the state.
> Hannah ordered the casino shut down by midnight July 25. The tribe
> Thursday filed an appeal in the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, said
> Tribal Council Chairman Kevin Battise. That court, however, already
> shut down another Texas tribe's casino earlier this year in a nearly
> identical case. As an option, Hannah said the Alabama-Coushatta should
> lobby Congress and the Texas Legislature to change the laws rather
> than appeal to the 5th Circuit. But lawmakers don't appear eager to
> roll the dice on reservation gambling. A bill that would legalize
> casinos on Indian land died before it could get to the floor for
> debate last legislative session. Local leaders like Rep. Dan Ellis,
> D-Livingston, and Sen. Todd Staples, R-Palestine, have both said
> they're against the casino. The tribe is already making plans for

> severance packages for the 285 employees at the 24-hour-a-day,
> no-booze entertainment center, Battise said. The tribe had big plans
> for the money, too, the chairman said. New homes. A new youth
> recreation center. Better services for tribal members. "But as of this
> date, a lot of that stuff has been put on hold," Battise said. The
> Alabama-Coushatta casino brings in about $1 million a month, Battise
> testified in federal court. The money now sits in a bank, he said. It
> will be the tribe's reserve fund if the casino doesn't reopen. Texas'
> three federally recognized reservations have opened casinos, but the
> Alabama-Coushatta's is the last one standing. For now. The Tiguas in
> El Paso closed a mammoth casino in February after a 5th Circuit Court
> of Appeals ruling. The Tiguas became a federally recognized tribe
> under the same Restoration Act as the Alabama-Coushatta. Both tribes
> have argued unsuccessfully that the federal government forced them
> into signing the Restoration Act. The tribes also say that
> state-sanctioned bingo and lottery should allow them to have casinos.
> Attorney General John Cornyn, the Republican candidate for U.S.
> Senate, has been a vehement opponent of the casinos and has won every
> case against them so far. John Mitchell, a transportation employee
> here and the unofficial head cheerleader for the casino, started
> working here Jan. 28. "One thing I'd like to have mentioned is that
> people complain that welfare is high and unemployment is up," said
> Mitchell, 62. "These people, here, though, as well as myself, they
> just want to work. "I sent a letter to G.W. Bush about this. I don't
> know if I'll get a reply, though. At 10:45 a.m., the casino is filling
> with people. Bob Marley's "Could You Be Loved" is blasting through the
> speakers. "It looks a little empty right now, but it will pick up,"
> said Sharon Miller, a tribe spokeswoman. Three women behind the snack
> bar counter wait for that to happen. Lanita Wyatt, 21, January
> Gregory, 22, and Stacy Haralson, 31, have worked here since the first
> day. They know a casino end might be near, as well as the health
> benefits and life insurance that will go with it. "I just got a car,"
> Haralson said. "I might have to give it up." "I just hope it opens
> again," Gregory said. "Wishful thinking, I guess." Last week, Kubena
> won $1,500 on one slot. He picks one or two slot machines when he gets
> here and plays them all day. Dotson, his sister, tries different
> slots. "I get nervous," she said, her slot machine tray empty. "If I'm
> not hitting, I've got to move on." Dotson rarely comes out ahead. "Are
> you kidding?" she said. "I'm in the hole every time I come." But
> Kubena hits. Often. The money he wins goes toward repairs on the home
> he and his sister have shared since Dotson's husband died a few years ago. Kubena is
playing two machines Thursday morning. Both machines have $250 wins on them, and both
trays are filled with quarters. Every time he wins, Dotson, who is sitting with her back
to her brother, turns around to see how many coins fall. Kubena keeps sliding quarters in
to the slots. Every now and again, he pauses just long
> enough to give his sister a thumbs-up.
> (c)The Beaumont Enterprise 2002
>

Phone Script
Camp: Midland: 517[redacted], 202-[redacted]
Rogers: 517-[redacted]
Governor Engler: (517)[redacted]
Start Date 8/5/02

Hello,

My name is John and I am calling from the Concerned Citizens Against the Expansion of Gaming, we need your help to stop the spread of gambling in Michigan.

This situation is very critical.

Do you consider yourself pro-gaming or anti-gaming? (record response, if pro, disconnect)

As you have probably heard, the Huron Pot-a-watomy Indians are going to build another new casino in Central Michigan.

What's more is that the Federal government may allow them to build this casino without even hearing from the local residents of this state.

As a concerned citizen who opposes gambling, would you be willing to call (Congressman Camp, Rogers, Governor Engler) and tell him to keep additional casinos out of Michigan?

If no, disconnect.

If yes,

We can connect you to the Congressman's/Governor's office. When they pick up, tell them to stand up for the people of Michigan. Tell them that Michigan already has enough casinos.

Patch through and collect data.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, August 06, 2002 9:28 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: $500K check for CAF

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, August 06, 2002 10:19 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: $500K check for CAF

This arrived this morning via fed-ex from Phillip Martin. I will deposit today.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Saturday, August 03, 2002 9:55 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: $500K check for CAF

This is supposed to come in soon. Please let me know daily if it comes. Please call Mike Scanlon on Monday 4 PM if it has not come by then to find out whether he has a sense of it. thanks.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:45 AM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: ATR

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 9:37 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: ATR

The Council has not voted on the Capital Athletic Foundation item. They have not had a quorum to do so (vacations, etc.). Hopefully this week. With regard to ATR just let me know the amount and I will bring it to Council. Our department budget may have the funds for the event. Are you available to talk now?
----- Original Message -----
From: <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: <cpetras@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, August 12, 2002 8:33 AM
Subject: ATR

> Last year Grover set a meeting for certain select tribal leaders (Coushatta
> and Chitimacha were the only ones) and the speakers of the House of several
> legislatures to meet with the President in a small meeting for photos, etc.
> the tribes paid for the event (total cost was $100K for the entire
> thing, and each tribe put in $50K). Grover has asked me to line up a
> few tribes to
> do so again. I am sure Choctaw would be willing to do so, and I know
> that Coushatta will do it. Agua Caliente might also want in, but I am
> not sure yet. let me know if you guys want in. it would be either a
> $25K or $50K contribution to ATR for this. let me know as soon as
> possible. thanks Chris.
>
> Also, please get me that $25K to Capital Athletic Foundation for the
> [redacted] thing. Than ks.
>
>
> _____
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>
> To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to
> postmaster@[redacted].
>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 10:03 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Ralph Reed's office called

Hmm. Not sure what to say here. Tell them that the cost was what I told Ralph and if he wants he is perfectly welcome to make a contribution to CAF or not. Totally up to him.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 8:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Ralph Reed's office called

wanting to know how much he owes for the Scotland trip.

Holly Bowers
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
ph: 202.[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, August 14, 2002 6:07 AM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: Sniper workshop for the 202

Thanks Brother. If only there were another dozen of you the dirty rats would be finished.

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, August 13, 2002 8:55 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: Sniper workshop for the 202

BH

WOW! My brother,

I know the great feeling one has when you see tangible results. And the greater feeling when you have someonne who believes in you, the way you believe in me. It just makes me want to work all that harder and to go vieter!

From the beginning I saw the value of recording in photos, all the work I'm doing because it really lets you see everything thats been done. The reason I got the digital camera in the first place was to be able to take a photo of the arabs shooting at us or cutting into the security fence and then send the photo off to the police right away. It worked but the police and army wouldn't really look at it until it was too late.

But then it helped for collecting intel. I could take a photo of a wide area and check it against previous photos to see if there were changes, like hideouts or shooting fortifications made by the dirty little rats over on the hills opposite the fences. That worked GREAT.

And now that I'll have wheels, I'll be so much more effective. You did this for me my brother. It realy breathes new life in me.

I feel like the tank commanders in the Yom Kippur war, who when hearing over the radio that reenforcements were coming, felt so great that they raised their seats higher out of the tank hatch and went foward.

Last night was tense because the Shabbak is warning us about SIX upcoming, Chas V'shalom, MEGA, attacks. I got to bed at sunup, its nearly ten in the morning now.

I'm off to daven and then to the morning kollel before I go back to the base.

A friend of Hillel Broder, from Baltimore, Ya'ir Bennet, showed up at the kollel before he starts at Or Sameach this year. Hillel mentioned that his folks were a little worried about him coming to Jerusalem to study because of all the trouble. I live here and I understand them!

Talk to you later my brother.

> This is great. I just shared this with Holly in the office. It makes
> them appreciate what they are doing to help us.

Phone Script
Breaux: (202)[redacted]
Landrieu: (202)[redacted]
Start Date 8/29/02

Hello,

My name is John and I am calling from the Christian Research Network, we need your help to stop the spread of gambling in Louisiana.

This situation is very critical.

Do you consider yourself pro-gaming or anti-gaming? (record response, if pro, disconnect)

As you have seen in the newspaper, the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians is trying to bring yet another casino to Louisiana – this time to DeSoto Parish – about 70 miles from where they are based.

What's more is that the people of this parish have never been given a say in the matter.

As a concerned citizen who opposes gambling, would you be willing to call (Senator Breaux/Landrieu) and tell him/her to stop the spread of gambling in Louisiana?

If no, disconnect.

If yes,

We can connect you to the Senator's office. When they pick up, tell them to take a stand against gaming in Louisiana. Tell them to oppose a new Indian casino.

Patch through and collect data.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, September 04, 2002 4:43 PM
To: 'Gail Halpern'
Subject: CAF

I have some money due to me from CCS. If I have them write it to CAF for services rendered, can CAF just take it and not pay taxes, if the services are in the realm of what CAF does (advice on athletics or something like that). That way CCS could expense it (consultants) and CAF could take it in tax free. Could that work?

Business: (301) [redacted]
Fax: (301) [redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)

Sent: Sunday, September 15, 2002 11:42 AM

To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]

Subject: RE: Tax Projection on CCS check of $2.2M

My strong preference is that you figure out how we can get CCS to just issue a check directly to CAF for that full amount and not have to worry about taxes. We need that money for CAF.

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, September 13, 2002 4:43 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Tax Projection on CCS check of $2.2M

for now we need to put this amt. on reserves. when we do your return for 2002, we will have SC loss, MVS loss, and hopefully no restuarant losses, to offset your income.

please give your OK to Laura, if you haven't yet, for setting aside 1,070,000 to taxes and 200K to long term savings. thanks.

In a message dated 9/13/2002 6:52:17 AM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

Do we really have to pay this much into taxes?

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2002 11:35 PM
To: lauralippy@[redacted] abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Tax Projection on CCS check of $2.2M

Laura,

Subject to Jack's approval please set aside $1,070,000 for the Tax Savings Account at Legg Mason, and $200,000 for the Long Term Savings account at [redacted] Both checks should be made payable to [redacted]. Thanks.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301)[redacted]
Fax: (301)[redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 17, 2002 10:33 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Tax Projection on CCS check of $2.2M

Home, 301[redacted]

----Original Message----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, September 17, 2002 11:09 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Tax Projection on CCS check of $2.2M

Is it too late to call you to discuss this? which number should I call you on?

In a message dated 9/13/2002 5:16:23 PM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

Yes, I do mean CAF. yes, call me whenever. Sat night, Sunday, next week.

----Original Message----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, September 13, 2002 2:49 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Tax Projection on CCS check of $2.2M

I think you mean CAF. I will chat with you briefly on the phone. it is not something I can email. can I call you one evening next week after yom kippur?

In a message dated 9/13/2002 6:52:17 AM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

Gila, I really want us to find a way to get this issued directly to CCS so I don't lose this amount in taxes. If I were to donate it, what would be the write off? I am really unhappy about this and want you to please find a way to make it work.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 7:46 AM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: CAF Consulting Income

What I have in mind is to have the CAF researchers do some research related to their mission (sportsmanship) and deliver it to CCS. CCS will then pay CAF. we can make this on going if we need to do so.

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 7:50 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: CAF Consulting income

<< Message: Re: Important-[redacted] can you email me. or we'll talk when I come in. thanks. >>
Jack, this isn't going to be so simple. Please help me out. Tell me how you worked it out in the prior Foundation. I want to present it to [redacted] correctly.

is there some sort of ongoing project, not just a one time thing that CAF could do for CCS.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301) [redacted]
Fax: (301) [redacted]
Email: grhalpern[redacted]

Information intended only for the use of the individual or entity named as the recipient of this e-mail. If the reader is not the intended recipient, notice is hereby given that the dissemination, storage, unauthorized forwarding or copying of this information is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please return the original message to me at the e-mail address above, removing and destroying the original from your e-mail. The sender has not waived any applicable privilege by sending this transmission.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)

Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 11:49 AM

To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]

Subject: RE: CAF Consulting income

Yes, they will be doing the research and presenting it. I'll take care of it. CCS is all set to do this.

---Original Message---
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 10:46 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: CAF Consulting income

sounds like you would then need to have "researchers" on the payroll. wouldn't you?Rabbi Lapin is on the payroll. and colin as well. can you utilize them in some way?

In a message dated 9/18/2002 8:50:43 AM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

What I have in mind is to have the CAF researchers do some research related to their mission (sportsmanship) and deliver it to CCS. CCS will then pay CAF. we can make this on going if we need to do so.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301) [redacted]
Fax: (301) [redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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> To: abramoffj@[redacted]
> Subject: Re: CAF Consulting income
>
>
>
> sounds
> like you would then need to have "researchers" on the payroll.
> wouldn't you?Rabbi Lapin is on the payroll. and colin as well. can you
> utilize them in some way?
>
> In a message dated 9/18/2002 8:50:43 AM Eastern Daylight Time,
> abramoffj@[redacted] writes:
>
>
>
>
>
>
>
> What I have in mind is
> to have the CAF researchers do some research related
> to their mission (sportsmanship) and deliver it to CCS. CCS will then
> pay CAF. we can make this on going if we need to do so.
>
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>
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> ---
> Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
> Estate and Financial Planning Services
> [redacted]
> [redacted]
> Business: (301) [redacted]
> Fax: (301) [redacted]
> Email: grhalpern@[redacted]
>
> Information intended only for the use of the individual or entity
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> error, please return the original message to me at the e-mail address
> above, removing and destroying the original from your e-mail. The
> sender has not waived any applicable privilege by sending this
> transmission.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 1:21 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: CAF Consulting Income

If it will only cost me $40K to get this $2.2M to CAF, let's do it. that's not too much.

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, September 18, 2002 2:01 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: CAF Consulting income

I just got out of my meeting [redacted] may. he said a one time thing (as opposed to ongoing is better). ongoing means you are engaged in a trade or bus. and that would be a UBIT problem.

He recommends that a 2.2M transaction be set up and reviewed by Foundation attorneys (like the [redacted] people).

To [redacted] it sounded like a sham transaction. he asked me how many employees the Foundation has. I told him 2 now but it would hire more if it needs to. I was unable to "convince" him that any type of reseach to be done in a year or so was worth 2.2 M unless you had all these sophisticated specialists.

---

if you want to pursue, I need to talk w/the Mac/Mark to set it up.

Jack, if you took 2M into income from CCS. and you turned around and gave it to CAF. since your income in 2002 is about 12M, you can easily get the deduction of 30% of Adjusted gross income, and fully deduct this 2M plus the other donations you make during the year. The only tax you would be is the Self Employment tax. let's say after the SE deduction you are talking about 2%. or 40K.

(deduction to Eshkol is limited to 50% of Adjusted gross income. but I have the feeling it is better to use CAF as a conduit for the time being).

In my opinion, it is not worth the risk of having the IRS call the CCS transaction a tax avoidance measure and then we have problems w/CAF tax exempt status. just to save 40K.

Please advise. If you want to go the tax deduction route, then I will review your 2002 numbers in more detail and tell you up to how much you can deduct in 2002.

In a message dated Wed, 18 Sep 2002 12:22:00 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

> Yes, they
> will be doing the research and presenting it. I'll take care of it.
> CCS is all set to do this.
>
>
>
> -----Original
> Message-----
> From: GRHalpern@[redacted]
> [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
> Sent: Wednesday, September 18,
> 2002 10:46 AM

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 7:34 PM
To: [redacted] (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm); 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Shmuel (Jack's friend in Israel) 'charity' status

No, don't do that. I don't want a sniper letterhead.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, September 19, 2002 6:41 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: Shmuel (Jack's friend in Israel) 'charity' status

Jack, Gail -

I spoke with Shmuel and he is a little afraid to begin changing things with the bank since they set up the loan for the jeep based on the 2K payments each month for the last year. They regarded the 2k as a sign that the transfers were stable and felt that these consistent payments, plus the letter from Jack made the loan a good risk.

He studies half a day at a place called "Kollel" but he doesn't think that they even have a bank account as it really doesn't pay it's members. He also has no way to set this up with a Yeshiva at the moment.

He did suggest that he could write some kind of letter with his Sniper Workshop Logo and letter head. It is an "educational" entity of sorts.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 30, 2002 9:26 PM
To: 'Chris Petras -- Saginaw Chippewa'
Subject: tying up loose ends

I am getting serious pressure on the Capital Athletic Foundation grant. Please let me know if this is going to happen, and if not, I need to try to find a replacement. I am really out of time on this and am getting called daily. Thanks Chris.

I also need to know about the ATR thing for sure asap. I have you guys down for two slots, but if there is going to be a delay much longer, I have to find another tribe. Grover is really pressing me for the names of the tribes who are coming. Thanks.

Capital Athletic Foundation
1101 Pennsylvania Avenue
Suite 600
Washington DC 20004

Jack Abramoff
(202)[redacted]

Invoice No. : October 2002

The National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington DC[redacted]

INVOICE

Re: "Sports and Politics" Project

Balance Due: $450,000.00

grant for programs teaching citizenship skills to young people

10/22/2002 16:22 NO.148 003

Nurnberger and Associates
[redacted]
Arlington, VA 22204

Ralph Nurnberger
[redacted]

Invoice No. : October 2002

The National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington DC 20002

INVOICE

Re: Research Grant

Balance Due: $50,000.00

general program

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 01, 2002 9:29 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: choctaw pass through

Amy Ridenour has asked if we can run any funds through them to pump up their non email donations (they will give us back 100%). Let's run some of the non-caf Choctaw money through them to the camans.

EXPENSE REPORT

Employee: Kevin Ring Date: 9/27/2002

Date	Client Number	Description	Meals/Tips Entertainment	Meals/Tips Employee	Meals/Tips Meals	Meals/Tips Lodging	Meals/Tips Misc.	Meals/Tips Other	Total
9/25/2002	47537.010100	Signatures w/HI Staff		$ 35.70					$ 35.70
9/25/2002	50505.010100	Signatures w/Rep. [redacted] and Staff		$ 200.00					$ 200.00
	54047.010000	Signatures w/Rep. [redacted] and Staff		$ 200.00					$ 200.00
	47537.010100	Signatures w/Rep. [redacted] and Staff		$ 200.00					$ 200.00
	57044.010100	Signatures w/Rep. [redacted] and Staff		$ 100.00					$ 100.00
	55367.010100	Signatures w/Rep. [redacted] and Staff		$ 100.00					$ 100.00
	55044.010100	Signatures w/Rep. [redacted] and Staff		$ 73.05					$ 73.05
9/28/2002	47537.010100	Taxi - from Signatures to GT				$ 6.00			$ 6.00
9/26/2002	47537.010100	Signatures w/editorial writer		$ 28.43					$ 28.43
	46974.010100	Signatures w/editorial writer		$ 28.42					$ 28.42
9/16/2002	47537.010100	University Club Dues						$ 190.19	$ 190.19
9/26/2002	47537.010100	Verizon Wireless (cell phone)						$ 96.72	$ 96.72
	54047.010000	Verizon Wireless (cell phone)						$ 96.71	$ 96.71
	46974.010100	Verizon Wireless (cell phone)						$ 96.71	$ 96.71
									$ -
									$ -
									$ -
									$ -
									$ -
									$ -
									$ -
								Total	$ 1,451.93

290.14

Employee Signature

Authorization/Office Manager

RECEIVED
OCT 2 2002
GREENBERG & TRAURIG
ACCOUNTING DEPARTMENT

[redacted]

Choctaw $1,000,000 → NCPPR

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted], on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:06 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: bank wiring information/invoice

Choctaw101002 (33 KB)

Here you go for National Center for Public Policy Research.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:37 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: bank wiring information/invoice

Here is all the bank wiring information (and the invoice is attached as a Word file):
Bank:
The National Capital Bank of Washington
ABA Number [redacted]
[redacted]
Washington, D.C. [redacted]
Telephone (202) [redacted]

Our account:
Checking account number [redacted]
The National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, D.C. [redacted]
(202) [redacted]

A contact name, although one should not be needed, is Amy Ridenour. Thanks!!!!!!!

INVOICE

FM: The National Center for Public Policy Research
777 N. Capitol St. NE, Suite 803
Washington, DC 20002-4294
(202)[redacted]
Fax (202)[redacted]
E-mail: accounting@[redacted]

TO: Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]
Highway 16 West
Philadelphia, MS 39350

Date: 10/10/02
Amount: $1,000,000
Purpose: Contribution to The National Center for educational and research programs and activities

For any questions regarding this invoice, please contact Amy Ridenour at (301)[redacted]or aridenour@[redacted]

The National Center for Public Policy Research is a tax-exempt (501)(c)(3) foundation. Contributions to it are tax-deductible. Our tax I.D. number is [redacted]

164005

National Center for Public
Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC 20002-4294
Phone: 202-[redacted]

INVOICE

DATE: October 10, 2002

To:
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
[redacted]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10-10-02	Professional Services	$1,000,000.00
	TOTAL	$1,000,000.00

Wire all funds to:

The National Capitol Bank of Washington
Washington, DC

Acct #[redacted]
Routing number:[redacted]
Acct. Name: The National Center for Public Policy Research

~~RDW~~ Approved for Wire Transfer. 101

INVOICE

FM: **The National Center for Public Policy Research**
777 N. Capitol St. NE, Suite 803
Washington, DC 20002-4294
(202)[redacted]
Fax (202)[redacted]
E-mail:[redacted]

TO: **Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians**
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]
Highway 16 West
Philadelphia, MS 39350

Date: 10/10/02
Amount: $1,000,000
Purpose: Contribution to The National Center for educational and research programs and activities

For any questions regarding this invoice, please contact Amy Ridenour at (301)[redacted] or aridenour@[redacted].

The National Center for Public Policy Research is a tax-exempt (501)(c)(3) foundation. Contributions to it are tax-deductible. Our tax I.D. number is [redacted].

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:08 PM
To: 'Amy Ridenour'
Subject: RE: can you accept wire transfers?

No problem. It will be payments either to companies for research or to other c3's.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 10, 2002 1:31 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: can you accept wire transfers?

A sum of that size *very* definitely will assist us in having better ratios. So I am grateful for the opportunity you have given us here (and very happy to entertain any other similar projects.

I am sending the bank wiring info and the invoice by separate e-mails to make them easy for you to forward.

FAST but important double-check before we complete this transaction: the funds we disburse must be for projects legal for a 501(c)(3), i.e., research, education, etc. More important are the MUST NOTs: must not try to influence specific pieces of legislation or election campaigns.

We ARE ALLOWED to work on issues that happen to be the focus of legislation, but we can't fund campaigns explicitly saying "vote for HR 6," foe example.

I hate to mention this at all but it is better that we stop now than have to stop half-way through and return the money -- just unnecessary extra work for you and your client.

Give me a call at 301-[redacted] if you have any questions about where the line is.

Again, don't let my inconvenient niggling about the law make it seem as though I am not grateful for this opportunity -- I very much am!

Many thanks!

> If so, please get me all banking information. Also, can you get me an
> invoice ("contribution") for $1M made out to the following:
>
> Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
> Tribal Office Building
> [redacted]
> [redacted]
> Philadelphia, MS [redacted]
>
> Please email it to me as a Word attachment.
>
> I'll let you know where to send the money once it comes in. Amy, this
> is a huge help to us. I hope it also, in some small way, helps you
> with the donor ratios. Let me know if you want more as well and I'll
> see what I can send over.
>
> Thanks so much!!

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Re: can you accept wire transfers?**
Date: October 10, 2002 2:31:10 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoffj@[redacted]

A sum of that size *very* definitely will assist us in having better ratios.
So I am grateful for the opportunity you have given us here (and very happy
to entertain any other similar projects.

I am sending the bank wiring info and the invoice by separate e-mails to make them easy for you to forward.

FAST but important double-check before we complete this transaction: the funds we disburse must be for projects legal for a 501(c)(3), i.e., research, education, etc. More important are the MUST NOTs: must not try to
influence specific pieces of legislation or election campaigns.

We ARE ALLOWED to work on issues that happen to be the focus of legislation,
but we can't fund campaigns explicitly saying "vote for HR 6," foe example.

I hate to mention this at all but it is better that we stop now than have to
stop half-way through and return the money -- just unnecessary extra work for you and your client.

Give me a call at 301-498-1196 if you have any questions about where the line is.

Again, don't let my inconvenient niggling about the law make it seem as though I am not grateful for this opportunity -- I very much am!

Many thanks!

| If so, please get me all banking information. Also, can you get me an

invoice ("contribution") for $1M made out to the following:

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]
Highway 16 West
Philadelphia, MS 39350

Please email it to me as a Word attachment.

I'll let you know where to send the money once it comes in. Amy, this is a
huge help to us. I hope it also, in some small way, helps you with the
donor ratios. Let me know if you want more as well and I'll see what I can
send over.

Thanks so much!!

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Financial Institution Fund Transfer Form

04242

Type of Transfer: [X] Wire [ ] Interfund Transfer [ ] ACH [ ] Other

Date: October 15, 2002

For Cash Management Use Only:
Type of Trade:
Ref #:
Contact:
Instructions:

TRANSFER FROM:

Financial Institution: [redacted]

Address: [redacted]

Name on Account	Acct Code	Account Number	Amount	Fees:
MBCI-Supplemental	[redacted]	[redacted]	$1,000,000.00	
		Total Transfer:	$1,000,000.00	

Explanation: Public Relations

TRANSFER TO:

Financial Institution: The National Capital Bank of Washington

Address: Washington DC

ABA #: [redacted]

For the Benefit of: The National Center for Public Policy Research

Name on Account	Acct Code	Account Number	Amount	Fees:
Nat Ctr Pub Pol Rsrch		[redacted]	$1,000,000.00	
		Total Transfer:	$1,000,000.00	

[redacted]

Explanation:

Confirmation required via facsimile or phone.
Receipt of confirmation:
Date: 10/17/02 Time: 3:13 AM / PM Contact: [illegible] Received by: [illegible]

Prepared by: [signature] Date: 10/15/02

Approved by: [signature] Date: 10-15-02
Comptroller, Asst. Comptroller or Cash Manager

Additional authorization is required for any wire transfer not for the benefit of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, it's departments, agencies, enterprises or employee benefit plans.

White - Cash Manager Copy Canary - Accounting Copy Pink - Reconciliation Copy

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Re: funds**
Date: October 17, 2002 12:52:49 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoffj@[redacted]

First order of business: the 1 million was wired into our account; our bank
has confirmed it.

Business done, David and I obviously do not belong in any sort of career where powers of observation are important! However, left-wing crap notwithstanding (my idea of entertainment is not pretending that the U.S. Is
in a crisis situation with Martin Sheen as president), it is darn good publicity for the restaurant.

> Actually it was there, about 40 minutes into the show. Fortunately, I saw
> it at the bar at the restaurant so I didn't have to listen to that left wing
> crap. Wish we had kicked them out!

Where should she send $?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 7:11 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Sweeeet! Our Choctaw money is here also $$$ - check with Amy she should have 1 mill in her account.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 6:46 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: [redacted]

Met with the chief today. they are coming around.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

The information contained in this transmission may contain

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 3:57 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 3:30 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Ill send over the wire stuff in a few.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 12:17 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

She got it. I'll have her send $500K to you and I'll figure out what to do with mine. sure would love to not have to spend it on the $(*&$#*&$ school!!! what entity (wire info?) do you want her to send it to for you?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 11:54 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

that's right.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 11:55 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

She got $1M, right?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 11:14 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Well - she can send it over to my shop - or you could have her foundation send it to yours so you don't have a taxable event - there are a bunch of different ways. We could do this.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:[redacted]amoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 16, 2002 10:12 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: [redacted]

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: **FW: funds**
Date: October 19, 2002 9:26:50 PM EDT
To: ARidenour@[redacted]
1 Attachment, 2.6 KB

Hi Amy. I don't have all the disbursement of funds instructions yet, but for now, please make out two checks as follows, and forward to me at the office.

Capital Athletic Foundation: $450,000
Nurnberger & Associates, Inc.: $50,000
Thanks so much Amy!

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, October 17, 2002 11:53 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

First order of business: the 1 million was wired into our account; our bank
has confirmed it.
Business done, David and I obviously do not belong in any sort of career where powers of observation are important! However, left-wing crap notwithstanding (my idea of entertainment is not pretending that the U.S. Is
in a crisis situation with Martin Sheen as president), it is darn good publicity for the restaurant.

| Actually it was there, about 40 minutes into the show. Fortunately, I saw
| it at the bar at the restaurant so I didn't have to listen to that left wing
| crap. Wish we had kicked them out!

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 8:31 AM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: KayGold Accounting as of 9/30/02

So I could take money out of the tax account ($6M+!!) and give it to Eshkol?

—Original Message—
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 9:56 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: KayGold Accounting as of 9/30/02

yes, in the next day or so I will prepare the tax projection and show you exactly how much you will save by donating 1 or 2 M to CAF.

In addition, I hope we can take the Lexington and Sun Cruz losses in 2002 which will save some taxes as well.

In a message dated 10/20/2002 2:41:11 PM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

Gila, It is killing me that we have so much going to taxes. Is there anyway to convert that money to a contribution to CAF, or part of it? In other words, is there a way to take a couple of million out of that account and transfer to CAF, with my paying in an extra several $10,000s?

—Original Message—
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 12:31 AM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Cc: rodneylane@[redacted] lauralippy@[redacted]
Subject: KayGold Accounting as of 9/30/02

The bookkeeper at [redacted] finished the Quickbooks accounting for the 2002 year up until 9/30/02. We are reconciled and can account for every penny. There are some expenses that are not finalized as to what catagory they will eventually be in since we are waiting to get receipts from your GT office. In the meanwhile, these expenses are booked where we think they should be. I will have the accounting updated after we get new info in from your office.

The KG bank account only started in Feb. Therefore this accounting does NOT include the 1.7M that came from CCS on a check dated 12/31/01 but was not deposited until Jan 02. This was deposited in your personal Sun T. account. The expenses paid out of the personal ST account, are not accounted for, in this accounting either.

(all number rounded to the nearest $1,000):

Total Income from CCS: 12,279,000

Expenses:
Transfers to JA personal a/c: $840,000
Transfers to Long Term Savings account at [redacted] $800,000
Transfer to Tax Savings account at [redacted] $6,671,000
Investment in Archives: $725,000
Investment in Livsar: $751,000
Investment in Lexington: $30,000
Ben Waldman Loans: $75,000
College Republican National -Loan $10,000 (this was just paid back on Friday)
Pesach Family Vacation $69,000
Credit Card Expenses Non KayGold-$103,000 (Personal, CAF, Sports Suites)
Computer Services-[redacted] $1,000
[redacted] - $10,000
BMW $134,000
BMW Insurance $5,000
Lexus-$3,000
Internet/DSL - $3,000
Memberships - $2,000
Accounting and Business Consulting-$38,000
Legal-[redacted]-$10,000
Legal-[redacted] $5,000
Computer Purchases $19,000
Supplies (for computer, Barnes &Nobles)-$1,000
Joseph-$69,000
Other Drivers-$26,000 (some of which might have been reimbursed by GT and I am waiting for the expense reports from Alison so I can determine)

Travel (mostly for the charter) $232,000
Political contributions $28,000

All this adds up to $10,660,000. The Sept 30 bank balance was $1,619,000. This totals $12,279,000, which is the total income KayGold received.

The area that needs work on is your personal account and your personal credit card charges.

I spoke w/[redacted] and we will go ahead and ask the bookkeeper to put your personal account on Quick Books as well, and then I will give you a summary similar to the one above.

As far as you credit card charges, I get concerned because so many different people can potentially have access to your credit card number. While [redacted] keeps very close tabs on what the office does for you, I think we need to institute some sort of method whereby the GT person who places the AMEX charge, forwards that email to [redacted] so we know you authorized it. The problem with that, [redacted] tells me, is that you make tapes for [redacted] and some of the purchases could be on her tape and there is no email trail. Also, because these charges are done via telephone, we often don't have receipts with the full description, which we do need for tax purposes.

I'm open to suggestions so we can figure out a better "checks and balances" system for the credit card charges.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301) [redacted]
Fax: (301) [redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:21 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: RE: funds

Thanks. please fed ex the check to Ralph Nurnberger, and have the CAF check deposited by Laura.

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:06 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Subject: RE: funds

These two checks came in today via courier. I have faxed copies of the invoices to the house for you to review as Joseph left with the packet before I finished them. Let me know how you would like me to proceed.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack [redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 9:43 AM
To: [redacted]
Subject: FW: funds

Can you make up two invoices for transmission to her? I would like to see them before they go out, so they probably can't go out today to her. The invoices should be generic as follows:

1. From Capital Athletic Foundation for "Sports and Politics" project for $450K 2. Nurnberger and Associates (use Ralph Nurnberger's home address) for "research grant" for $50K. thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, October 20, 2002 10:08 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

Hi Jack,

I cut the checks myself this evening and they will be couriered to your office on Monday. It would be extremely useful to have written invoices from these folks for our records. Basic info is enough: their name and address, amount and a basic statement of what the invoice is for. I regret the hassles involved in careful recordkeeping, but at the end of the day it is worthwhile to have perfect books. Emailed or faxed invoices are fine if that is more convenient, or mail, of course. I put my contact info below to make it easier for you to pass it along. Thanks as always, & let me know if this poses any problems, Amy

Amy Ridenour
National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]
Direct line 301-[redacted]
Direct fax 301-[redacted]
E-mail aridenour@[redacted]

> Hi Amy. I don't have all the disbursement of funds instructions yet,
> but for now, please make out two checks as follows, and forward to me
> at the office.
>
> Capital Athletic Foundation: $450,000
> Nurnberger & Associates, Inc.: $50,000
> Thanks so much Amy!

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:26 PM
To: 'Chris Cathcart'
Subject: RE: Wiring Instructions

Thanks. we might need an invoice for them. can you put together something and email it to me as an attachment, "for polling services" or something like that?

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:23 AM
To: Jack Abramoff [E-mail]
Subject: Wiring Instructions

Mike asked that I pass along our wiring instructions for Amy. Please find them below.

[redacted]
Washington, DC
Routing number: [redacted]
Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies
Acct #: [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:28 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: NCPPR $

Super. I already had her send to CAF so just get me the info for the other $500K. how much is on the way for Kaygold? Gotta buy momma a new coat!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:22 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: NCPPR $

Chris should have sent this over to you. Do you want any of that money to go to your foundation? Otherwise we will have her send the whole thing to us - but if you want a non-taxable event - You may want Amy top send that money to Cap athletic foundation directly --

We have the balance of the money in our accounts now - so we are going to cut a check to Kaygold for that.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 9:43 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: NCPPR $

Don't forget to get me the wire info or payee on a check for the money sitting there. how are we doing on the rest of the funds due to us?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 5:35 PM
To: Bozniak, Allison R. [redacted]
Subject: FW: funds

Please call Amy to get done precisely what she needs done. tell her we need three: CAF, Nurnberger and CCS. Just organize with her whatever we need. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 11:41 AM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: funds

Here's a thought. If possible, why don't you tell me very briefly what they really are doing, and I'll write back with a great-sounding phrase for each. I'll promise not to tell anyone about the projects, save if the IRS ever audits us, in which case, what I say will match exactly with what the recipients say if the IRS asks them, and everything would be on the up and up. In the meantime, we'd have nice-sounding by vague phrases in the written files in the (very unlikely) event anyone reads them. I took the liberty of sticking Nurnberger & Associates in Google and saw that one of the things Mr. Nurnberger does is teach skills in influencing the policy process to American Indians. If this is what this project is it will be very easy to write up-it is like what Morton Blackwell does for young people. By the way, if that is what it is it is really a neat idea to do minority training for Indians. I'm sitting here thinking of a lot of possible implications of a (pardon the expression) "new minority" group becoming more prominent. The grievances of the non-representative black civil rights leadership have dominated the national conversation about minorities for too long, and its bitterness poisons the atmosphere. Indians are the one group that had it worse than blacks in the U.S. Possibly if that community were a little more prominent it would help de-polarize the rest of the country by putting other groups' grievances in more perspective-while helping the Indians as well. I'm not expert on the Indian community, but it strikes me that young Indians would benefit from seeing a few more nationally-prominent successful Indian role models. There are obvious benefits to everyone, but in a depolarized atmosphere conservatives would be in a much better position to make inroads within formerly hostile populations. But I digress. This e-mail is supposed to be about accounting. Amy

> No problem at all Amy, thanks. I'll get you an invoice for Nurnberger
> Assoc as a research grant, and CAF for a project regarding sports and
> politics or something like that. does that work?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, October 22, 2002 10:46 AM
To: [redacted] AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Invoice

Invoice.doc (35 KB)

Please change this to $500K and find out from Amy is this suffices.

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris Cathcart [mailto:chris[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, October 22, 2002 10:17 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: FW: Invoice

I hope this will suffice.
> > <<Invoice.doc>>
>
>

Capitol Campaign Strategies
611 Pennsylvania Ave. SE #375
Washington, DC 20003
[redacted]

INVOICE

DATE: October 22, 2002

To:
National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10-22-02	Professional Services	$1,000,000.00
	TOTAL	$1,000,000.00

Wire all funds to:

First Union National Bank
Washington, DC

Acct #: [redacted]
Routing number: [redacted]
Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies

Capitol Campaign Strategies
611 Pennsylvania Ave. SE #375
Washington, DC 20003
Phone: 202[redacted]
Fax: 202[redacted]

INVOICE

DATE: October 22, 2002

To:
National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC[redacted]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10-22-02	Professional Services	$500,000.00
	TOTAL	$500,000.00

Research – general program

Wire all funds to:

First Union National Bank
Washington, DC

Acct #: [redacted]
Routing number: [redacted]
Acct. Name: Capitol Campaign Strategies

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 9:51 PM
To: 'Laura Lippy'
Subject: RE: CAF check received

Sure, whatever.

—Original Message—
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 3:18 PM
To: Jack Allan Abramoff
Subject: FW: CAF check received

Gail is asking if these funds should be listed as program revenue for the Scotland fundraiser?
—Original Message—
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 23, 2002 2:46 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: CAF check received
thanks. pls write them a thank you letter. pls photocopy check. for the 2002 tax return let's just give the May and B guys a photocopy of the check and copy of thank you letter (so they will have the address) for each contribution.

thanks.

do you know if this is a program revenue for the Scotland fundraiser? if it is, we might need to book it that way on your spreadsheet.

In a message dated 10/23/2002 11:36:09 AM Eastern Daylight Time, laurallippy@[redacted]

$450K from The National Center for Public Policy Research.
I will deposit today.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301)[redacted]
Fax: (301)[redacted]
Email: grhalpern[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 04, 2002 11:47 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I think you should call her and tell her that we have turned the corner but you are pouring it on to make sure we win. Tell her as of now you are finally willing to say that we will win this, but laughingly say "I don't know how I am going to get back all the money I had to dump into this. I hope the Golden Moon turns out to be real golden!". That will set her up for a discussion about payments. [redacted] That is a real problem for us.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 04, 2002 12:39 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: [redacted]

[redacted] Also we need to strategize on the financial side of this - they re all paid up - Last time you said to me to Jus ttell her that we are spending our own money to get it done - and we are going deep into the hole - should I continue with that?

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]
(202)[redacted]
(202)[redacted]
(202)[redacted]
mike@[redacted]

Phone Script
Gene DeRossett: (517)[redacted]
Start Date: 11/06/02

Hello,

My name is John and I am calling from Citizens Against Gambling, we urgently need your help to stop the spread of gambling in Michigan.

Right now, some politicians in Lansing are trying to pass a law that would allow slot machines at horse tracks.

This is an outrage!

Would you be willing to make a free call to (Representative Gene DeRossett's) office to tell him to stop the spread of gambling?

If no, disconnect.

If yes,

We can connect you directly to (Representative DeRossett's) office. When they pick up, tell them that ENOUGH IS ENOUGH; vote **NO** on slots at horse tracks.

[redacted]

From: Aaron Stetter
Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 1:50 PM
To: 'JWeber1962[redacted]
Subject: MI Phones for 11/07/02

MI Phone :ript-DeRossett.doc | MI Phone :ript-Ehardt.doc | MI Phone (19:ript-Johnson.doc | MI Phone (1cript-Julian.doc | MI Phone (19:cript-Patterson.doc | MI Phone :ript-Sheltrown.doc

Here are the additional scripts and volume for calls beginning tomorrow.

Johnson: 15 calls
DeRossett: 10 calls
Julian: 10 calls
Sheltrown: 10 calls
Patterson: 10 calls
Ehardt: 10 calls

59□

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 5:35 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: caf

I just cannot understand what happened here. I told you to give that money to CAF in September, and we would take the $40K hit. I just forwarded you the email. What happened????

—Original Message—
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 6:25 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Re: caf

450K from National Pub Pol came in a couple of weeks ago. since then Eshkol got 200K and then from your email today I see they got another 100K.

you did not make a 2M contribution to CAF. hopefully, you can do a 1M. I just need to work out the finances with [redacted]re the restuarants.

In a message dated 11/6/2002 8:49:49 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

I am really disturbed about hearing that there is only $750K at CAF. are you sure about that? did the deposits I listed before (the $500K from National Center for Public Policy Research and the $2.7M which I gave over a few weeks ago) disappear? Please let me know asap.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301)[redacted]
Fax: (301)[redacted]
Email: grhalpern[redacted]

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The tax benefit you get from giving 1M to CAF is $426,000, ie, you pay that amount less in taxes. so giving 1M only "cost" you $574,000. We still need to "find" that 574K.

Money is tight. CAF has about $750K.HOW IS THIS POSSIBLE? I THOUGHT WE PUT $2.2M IN THERE RECENTLY, AND I HAD ANOTHER $500k SENT OVER A WEEK OR TWO AGO. WHAT'S GOING ON? KayGold and JA personal have about $1.8M approx. Eshkol uses up 200K/mo. just on rent and salaries. The move is going to cost at least 100K. Dov's extra stipend, JP, Rabbi Lapin, and Colin cost the foundation about 20K a month. the ice rink expenses are extremely high. (I put Pam on the case today to keep an eye on this).

I am working w/Rodney to figure out how much he will need for the restuarants b/t now and 6/30/03. I would like you to sock away another 200K to savings (so we can call it 1M to savings, and I won't bother you about savings until next year!I 'm hoping if we have a little extra in the tax account, this can go to savings). In 2003 I would like for you to be able to give the kids trusts $110K . there is the life insurance expense of 10K or so, plus if we get you more life ins. there is that as well. disability ins. is a problem. so far I have been told you have the max. and we can't get you any more. so you basically need to self insure yourself (ie savings).

please don't get to upset w/me asking you this, but is it at all possible for you to suspend your kindness and generousity until we have this Eshkol matter under control, ie, can we cut the Shmuel spy equipment and his monthly stipend ($3560), can we do without Steve Abramoff's monthly stipend ($2K), can we hold off on any other charitable contributions for a while like Ptach and TSGW and any other large amounts. every small bit will help. I WILL HOLD OFF ON ALL NEW CONTRIBUTIONS, THOUGH IF TSGW COMES THROUGH WITH THE REST OF THEIR MATCH, WE NEED TO PAY THAT. I CAN'T SUSPEND SHMUEL ON SHORT NOTICE NOR MY COUSIN, WHICH GOES TO MY UNCLE ULTIMATELY. WE WILL JUST HAVE TO MAKE MORE MONEY.

I think we will pass on doing the 529 college savings plan at this point for 2002 since you use up your freebee gifts of 11K on the kids' trusts (which in your situation makes more sense). and we don't have the extra cash now to have both the trusts funded and the 529 plans funded.

I am concerned that while you are being very good to others and building a school, we are not taking care of your family financial needs. We need to build up your savings so that you will be self insured.

Do you expect any other CCS money b/t now and year end? and if not by year end, in the next few months?
YES. PROBABLY SEVERAL MORE MILLION DOLLARS

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Silver Spring, MD [redacted]
Business: (301)[redacted]
Fax: (301)[redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 5:36 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Important but a bit long-my comments

OK, we better meet. Rodney should be there too.

---Original Message---
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, November 06, 2002 6:23 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Important but a bit long-my comments

what 2.2M? that never happened.

I know you said a few months ago when the CCS check came in that you wanted CCS to give it directly to CAF. but Mike S. didn't want to do that and he didn't want to take the charitable deduction on the CCS books. and also I told you that you are risking the CAF exempt status if it can be construed that you are directing your income to the Foundation.

we had a quick phone conversation one night where we discussed how when the Tribe on their own makes a donation, not related to you. you were going to see if you could do that in the future. remember?

can you suspend shmuel as of Jan 2003 or Mar, tell him you just started a new school and it needs your attention. I don't even know how much his equipment totals. I am having the Accountant/bookkeeper fix the CAF Accounting reports that David did so I can figure it out. Is Shmuel the same as Israel Blackberry project?

even with another few million coming in the next few months we still need to tighten up. Eshkol is a terrible drain.

I also need to talk w/you about Ben/guam and those finances.

In a message dated 11/6/2002 12:27:18 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted] writes:

Comments below in ALL CAPS

---Original Message---
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 05, 2002 11:38 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Important but a bit long

the difference of taking $1M into income and then giving it to CAF, versus not taking the $1M into income and not donating it, is an extra cost of $39,974.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:45 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Choctaw payments

Fantastic!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:46 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Choctaw payments

No they are wiring them to CCS - Nell said she talked to the guy today - and that they would be here today or tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 5:46 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Choctaw payments

They put in fed ex today a large check for the firm. Do you think they sent the gimme five funds?

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very fortunate and gets into a recon unit, like I did.It is not in the interest of any government to create warriors that they feel will one day become a fith columb, and the previous labor governments have allways expressed those sentiments. Shulimit Aloni , the labor blabber mouth, has always expressed fears that the Miszrachi movement will one day make a call to arms and annouce "MEDINAT" Yehuda. So they have always been leary about arming the ishuvim properly, let alone training them in guerilla warfare the way it is taught in the army recon and frogman units. But they don't really understand the Jews. They are really flipped out if think that it is morally correct to leave us to the vicious arab fundamentalist muslim fanatic wolfs. Hashem obviously has a much better plan!
But first I'm off to the Kollel until Mincha!
Have a great day my brother!!

>My dear brother. I am so sorry you are going through all of this. sorry we
>did not get to speak on the phone. perhaps next week. Have a good and
>restful (and peaceful) Shabbos.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301)[redacted]
Fax: (301)[redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 11, 2002 11:23 PM
To: 'Pam Abramoff'
Subject: FW: FW: Boker tov!!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 11, 2002 10:18 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Boker tov!!!!

understood. Baruch Tehiye.

I actually had chills reading the 2 emails you forwarded to me.

However, we need to work this into the tax exempt purpose of the Foundation. More to come on this subject in an email tomorrow or so. May and B. is finishing the 2001 return and read me the riot act on some of the stuff that we are doing. We need to "fix" the holes.

In a message dated 11/11/2002 10:11:35 AM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

This is why it is so hard for me to cut off his funding. Who will fund this? he has no one else.

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, November 10, 2002 8:00 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Boker tov!!!!

BH
Boker tov!!!
My brother I am really happy that the ERT in Efrat has turned to me for there training this coming winter, spring and summer. Last night one of their guys who was in the army when I did the workshop for the snipers in his unit said that they need the workshop badly (duh) and anything else I can do to help them out. So I am now writing out a program for patrolling, dealing with ambushes and containment and neutralization of terrorists both in (once they have infiltrated and are in or inbetween the houses) and out of they Ishuv. When I showed them the didactic materials, manuals and videos They had tears in their eyes from the excitement. There is so much that they have not had the opportunity to learn in the army.
The army for the most part creates soldiers, not WARRIORS. unless one is

[redacted]

From: Rachel Murphree
Sent: Thursday, December 05, 2002 1:49 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Subject: Re: little help

I'm on it!

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris Cathcart <chris@[redacted]
To: Rachel Murphree <rachel@[redacted]
Sent: Thu Dec 05 13:48:24 2002
Subject: little help

can you print off some ivoces to mississpp band oc h for the folowoing:

Scan lon gould pa . . $600,000.00
CCS $330,00.00
AIC $170,000.00
Capital Athletic Foundation $325,000
Scanlon Capital Management, LLC: $261, 431.00

put wireing instructions on the first three (and the cap athletic foundation if we have them?)

Chris Cathcart
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
611 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE
#375
Washington, DC 20003
202[redacted]
f: 202[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 24, 2002 3:50 PM
To: 'Shmuel Ben Zvi'
Subject: kollel

Brother, please set up an account for a kollel and get me the info so we can send the $ there from now on. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 24, 2002 4:24 PM
To: 'GRHalpern[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: financial difficulties

ok

---Original Message---
From: GRHalpern@aol.com [mailto:GRHalpern[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, December 24, 2002 4:53 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: financial difficulties

good. he needs to give us the name and bank account info. and can the jeep payments go to the kollel as well, as well as all the other military expenses that don't look good on the Foundation's books? at the end of the year, he'll need to write us a letter on Kollel stationary thanking the Foundation for the money to promote their educational purpose.

In a message dated 12/24/2002 4:50:33 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

He said he can do the kollel.

---Original Message---
From: GRHalpern[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, December 24, 2002 4:50 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: financial difficulties

I agree w/you. If you know him and trust him, he certainly is a fellow Jew in trouble. and to quote Pam (well, she is referring to Eshkol) "there is a reason why hashem gave Jack the ability to earn so much money."

but let's try to figure it out in a way where we don't screw up the foundation. we need to get the money to a 501c3. or an educational institution. not directly to him. can you ask him if he can work something out w/the kollel so the money goes from the kollel to him?

If he can't, then I need to sit down [redacted] and have him make amendments and Grant procedures and all kinds of other stuff, to make this legit. from a tax point of view. I already need to talk w/Mac about the skating rink, so let me know what shmuel says about getting money to a kollel, and if it won't work, then I'll add this to the [redacted] list.

In a message dated 12/24/2002 4:28:01 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

>pressure (unbelievable pressure, since I have literally 100's of employees,
>and almost 100 kids who need me to support them), but we have to believe in
>Hashem and that He will take care of us. you must have emunah and bitachon.
>You must be confident He will make it work. if you don't sleep, you will
>become unable to function. He will find a solution. Believe.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301)[redacted]
Fax: (301)[redacted]
Email: grhalpern[redacted]

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I cannot cut him off from the stipend and the jeep payment. I just cannot do it.

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, December 24, 2002 7:24 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: financial difficulties

BH

That's a lot of pressure. You too have dedicated your life to helping Yidden.

You are also right brother. I need emuna. We're B'nei Torah. I have pain, and it's just too hard for me to fathom going back to not being able to pay the bills and feed Chaim. The thought is just painfull and dibilitating. Thats the reason for the anxiety.

Listen, my mother died at childbirth and my father shortly after. And have never had any help, which is why I am so grateful to you.

I was raised by my uncle and aunt who I call mom and dad, who is a holocaust survivior. I have never really had anyone but Hashem.

My real mother begged my father to bring me up frum before the complications took her. Which is why my uncle sent me to Hillel Hebrew academy at Beth Jacob on Olympic and why they didn't bat an eye when I told them that I wanted to go to Israel but I never had any family help.

I have had such a difficult Tikun. Today I davened Shachris and Mincha, begging Hashem to save me and forgive me. And to end my poverty tikun. It's especially hard since I have such a good boy like Chaim. I want him to heve all that he needs. A heated home, food, Seforim. Not luxuries, just to have a normal home. And I couldn't support him properly until you began supporting my program.

I know that I sound selfish. I have one child, you have so many more people to take care of and deserve Hashems help so much more than I do brother. Which is why Hashem has built you up to have this responsibility. Which is why you have what you have.

>Brother, I have a couple of deals which are in the works which, if they come
>through, will enable us to continue with the monthly stipend and jeep. Your
>having anxiety is not going to do anything except disable you. I also have

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, December 26, 2002 4:26 PM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: Lila tov!

They are being ridiculous. tell them that all the money will come into the Kollel account, which can be in their bank. Same amount of money, but the CAF cannot make the payments directly to you. must be to the kollel.

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, December 26, 2002 11:19 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Lila tov!

BH

Brother I am trying to arrange the kollel account. They were a little apprehensive when I told them at the bank. They started telling me that they based the loan for the jeep on the past years stipend and foundation letter. I insisted that I have to arrange it somehow, so they said they want the money for the jeep to continue to go through my account and then I can arrange the kollel account for the stipend. Would this be ok.

We got our new winter uniforms from the police PX. I just need the winter jacket really. But now that ramadan is over things at the kottel are a little back to normal.

I haven't sat down all day. But I have to go back out for a couple of hours just to make shure that the patrol doesn't sit around complaining about how cold it is.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, December 27, 2002 7:16 AM
To: 'octagon1'
Subject: RE: CAF/Shmuel payments

Thanks my brother!

-----Original Message-----
From: octagon1 [mailto:octagon1[redacted]
Sent: Friday, December 27, 2002 2:02 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: CAF/Shmuel payments

BH

Baruch Hashem, Hakadosh Baruch Hu made everything go smoothly this morning.The bank manager helped alot. Here is the new account number:

KOLLEL OHEL TIFERET
(For: Shmuel Ben Zvi)
Account number:[redacted]
Main Branch Jerusalem 060

My name must show in parenthesis under or
with KOLLEL OHEL TIFERET.

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2002

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
January								
01/02/02	Lunch @Oceanaire w/Tax Reform Activists	110.69						
01/11/02	Verizon Bill				41.18			
01/11/02	Lunch @Oceanaire w/[redacted]	116.84						
01/15/02	Airfare to MS/LA			2,100.00				
01/15/02	Voice Stream Wireless Bill				76.21			
01/16/02	Lunch @ Oceanaire w/D.Gibson	131.26						
01/21/02	Monthly Native American Newletter						15.00	
01/25/02	Lunch @ Oceanaire w/[redacted]	96.81						
Totals		**455.60**		**2,100.00**	**117.39**		**15.00**	
February								
02/01/02	Lunch @Oceanaire w/[redacted]	118.26						
02/04/02	Lunch @Oceanaire w/[redacted]	173.85						
02/06/02	Lunch @Oceanaire w/[redacted]	123.98						
02/07/02	Transportation for [redacted]			475.00				
02/16/02	Verizon Wireless Bill				225.80			Dated 1/16 in ER
02/23/02	Voice Stream Wireless Bill				10.93			

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2002

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
Totals		**416.09**		**475.00**	**236.73**			
March								
03/04/02	Lunch @Signature w/[redacted]	10.45						
03/07/02	Dinner @Signatures w/Rabbi D. Lapin		244.20					
Totals		**10.45**	**244.20**					
April								
04/09/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		92.00					
04/11/02	Dinner @Oceanaire w/Choctaw		236.27					
04/16/02	Verizon Wireless Bill				172.76			
04/28/02	Verizon Modem Line				40.47			
04/28/02	Verizon Wireless Bill				65.98			
04/29/02	Transportation for [redacted]			725.00				
04/30/02	Lunch @Signatures w/D. Gibson	195.55						
Totals		**195.55**	**328.27**	**725.00**	**279.21**			

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2002

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
May	*May*							
05/01/02	Verizon Modem Line				40.47			
05/13/02	Executive Sedan Service to Rockville			125.00				
05/20/02	Airfare to Las Vegas/Palm Springs			2,000.00				
05/31/02	Club @Woodmore w/Think Tank Activists					200.77		
Totals				**2,125.00**	**40.47**	**200.77**		
June								
06/13/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		494.10					
06/20/02	Verizon Wireless Bill				7.77			
06/23/02	Transportation for [redacted]			420.00				
Totals			**494.10**	**420.00**	**7.77**			
August								
08/02/02	Capitol Hill Membership						170.13	7/02 to 8/02
08/08/02	Transportation Summer Associates			125.00				
08/20/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		184.18					

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2002

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
08/21/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		222.00					
08/22/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		389.75					
08/28/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		201.71					
Totals			**1,007.64**	**125.00**			**170.13**	
September								
09/01/02	Dinner @Signatures w/Tax Reform Activists		338.25					
09/02/02	Verizon Wireless Bill				321.31			
09/09/02	Dinner @Signatures w/Interior Officall		198.28					
09/10/02	Lunch @Signatures w/S. Vassel	180.50						
09/12/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		200.00					
09/19/02	Dinner @Signature w/[redacted]		204.78					
09/22/02	Transportation			990.00				
09/24/02	Lunch @Signatures w/S. Vassel	72.23						
09/25/02	Dinner @Signatures w/[redacted]		269.23					
09/25/02	Lunch @Signatures w/Kevin + Todd	100.65						
09/26/02			257.25					
09/30/02	Capitol Hill Golf Club Fall Classic					275.67		
Totals		**353.38**	**3,288.89**	**990.00**	**321.31**	**275.67**		

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2002

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
October								
10/03/02	Dinner @Signature w/ [redacted]		419.33					
10/08/02	Dinner @Signatures w/Tax Reform Activists		151.25					
10/09/02	Verizon Wireless Bill				130.32			Dated 9/22 In ER
10/10/02	Sedan Service for [redacted]			990.00				
10/10/02	Dinner @Signatures		327.39					
10/16/02	Lunch @Signatures w/Interior Officials	118.50						
10/17/02	Lunch @Signatures w/Kevin + Todd	141.50						
10/20/02	Verizon Wireless Bill				14.48			
10/30/02	Lunch @Signatures	186.20						
10/31/02	Meals @Woodmore Country Club		160.07					
10/31/02	Capitol Hill Club Membership						31.75	
Totals		**446.20**	**1,058.04**	**990.00**	**144.80**		**31.75**	
November								
11/13/02	Lunch @Signatures	190.38						
11/19/02	Lunch @Signatures	39.60						
11/20/02	Lunch @Signatures	256.58						
11/21/02	Lunch @Signatures	70.40						

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2002

Date	Description	Lunch	Dinner	Transportation	Phone	Entertainment	Other	Notes
11/24/02	Lunch @Signatures	120.73						
11/30/02	Woodmore Club Dues					165.26		
Totals		**677.69**				**165.26**		
December								
12/10/02	Business Lunch @Signatures		121.28					
12/16/2002	Verizon Wireless Bill				60.15			
12/22/2002	T-Mobile Bill				123.97			
12/23/02	Business Lunch @Signatures	97.25						
12/28/02	Executive Sedan Service for Business			600.00				
12/31/02	Membership fee at Woodmore					134.71		
12/31/02	Membership fee at Woodmore					134.71		
Totals		**97.25**	**121.28**	**600.00**	**184.12**	**269.42**		

Jack Abramoff
Expense Reports
Choctaw
Year ending 12/31/2002

Yearly Totals	
Lunch	2,652.21
Dinner	6,542.42
Transportation	8,550.00
Phone	1,331.80
Entertainment	911.12
Other	216.88

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: **RE: Event this Thursday for Congressman** [redacted]
Date: January 23, 2003 6:17:15 PM EST
To: aridenour@[redacted]

Absolutely. OK to chat on the phone next week? We'll get it scheduled.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 23, 2003 12:20 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: Re: Event this Thursday for Congressman [redacted]

Sure, they always are helpful and appreciated.

By the way, you and I still need to chat briefly about the past transactions
we did because I need to have information about the educational activities we supported through last year's transactions, in case we are ever audited.
Could we talk on the phone sometime?

We really appreciate your help with all of this!!!!

| You are wonderful! By the way, do you still need transactions like the one
| we did last year?

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 8:08 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: [redacted]

At this point, the only games left are the 18th of March (Pistons) or the 9th of April (Kings). Let me know which one works.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 8:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: [redacted]

Let me know.

Give me some dates on jordan/wizards.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Mar 14 01:10:12 2003
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I spoke with Nell. They are trying to find money. This really sucks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 3:21 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: [redacted]

let me know. you can only imagine how panicked people are down in [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 12:41 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: [redacted]

I have a call into Nell to get some $ on this. They are really hurting for money right now, though. The economy is dead there, and the terrorism upgrade literally shut them down. I hope they have some $ somewhere to stop this.

[redacted]

BB/AIC 000629

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01
[redacted]
REHOBOTH BEACH, DE 19971

1103

[redacted]

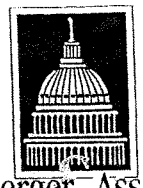
4/13/03 DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold LLC $ 791,000.00

Seven hundred ninety one thousand and 00/100 DOLLARS

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

[redacted]



Nurnberger Associates

Government Relations

May 1, 2003

Mrs. Amy Ridenour
President
National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, D.C. [redacted]

Dear Mrs. Ridenour:

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the payment we received from the Center.

As you know, Nurnberger & Associates provides strategic advice on how to position issues and communicate these key issues with the Congress. We hope that we will have an opportunity in the future to be in contact with you.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Nurnberger
Senior Partner

Email: ralphn@[redacted]
1735 New York Ave. N.W. • Suite 500 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202.[redacted] • FAX 202.[redacted]

KAYGOLD, LLC
800 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006 .

DATE: May 30, 2003

National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC[redacted]

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
5-30-04	Educational program services	$750,000

Wire funds to:
SunTrust
[redacted]
Baltimore, MD 21202

Account # [redacted]
Routing number: [redacted]
Account Name: Kaygold, LLC

KAYGOLD, LLC
800 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006

DATE: June 17, 2003

National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC[redacted]

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
6-17-03	Educational program services	$500,000

Wire funds to:
SunTrust
[redacted]
Baltimore, MD 21202

Account #[redacted]
Routing number:[redacted]
Account Name: Kaygold, LLC

Capitol Campaign Strategies

June 24, 2003

Ms. Amy Ridenour
The National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Laurel, MD [redacted]

Dear Ms. Ridenour:

I want to take this time to thank you for payment to Capital Campaign Strategies. As you know, we provide issue education on a host of important and timely issues, in jurisdictions across the nation. Our tactics include using telephone, e-mail and mail marketing, polling, focus groups and other methods of education. We hope to participate with you in future campaigns related to issues of importance to The National Center.

Sincerely yours,

Mike Scanlon

611 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE * #375 * Washington, DC 20003
202-[redacted] * f: 202-[redacted]

KAYGOLD, LLC
800 Connecticut Avenue NW Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006

DATE: July 2, 2003

National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
7-2-03	Educational program services	$25,000

Wire funds to:
SunTrust
[redacted]
Baltimore, MD 21202

Account # [redacted]
Routing number: [redacted]
Account Name: Kaygold, LLC

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 08, 2003 10:31 PM
To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted] Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Kennedy Assoc

Yes, but tell them that 2000 was a business transition year, where I was building CCS and GRI was being built last year.

---Original Message---
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 08, 2003 11:28 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: Re: Kennedy Assoc

okay. well they are waiting for it. but if I tell them about the 2000 year in the same phone call as the 2003 earnings, it should ease the bad news on 2000. should I go ahead and tell them 2000 and 2003 ?

In a message dated 7/8/2003 11:24:34 PM Eastern Daylight Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

I agree.

---Original Message---
From: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Tuesday, July 08, 2003 11:14 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); 'GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Kennedy Assoc

I am not sure they need it and I am not sure that it is going to help us if we want to be helped. I would not give it to them until we are ready - if we are ready- to walk away

---Original Message---
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 08, 2003 10:08 PM
To: GRHalpern@[redacted]
Cc: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Kennedy Assoc

Fine.

----Original Message----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 08, 2003 4:41 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: Kennedy Assoc

they have requested that I give them your Adjusted gross income figure for 2000 (off of your 2000 tax return).

pls let me know if you authorize me to do so. they also want to know if you have any KG income in 2000. (which you don't). If they ask again, I will tell them that you do not have KG income in 2000.

pls advise. thanks

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[redacted]
Business: (301)[redacted]
Fax: (301)[redacted]
Email: grhalpern@[redacted]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted], on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 11:40 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Black Churches insurance program

Scotland is looking bad. We need to start planning next year now with [redacted] and [redacted] I am not going to let Ralph do what he did this year, and overinvite. In fact, I would prefer that you invite all of the Members. the only addition would be [redacted] and [redacted] So you should invite 4 others for next year (including [redacted] and [redacted]. We need to set a date early.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 10:34 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Black Churches insurance program

Wednesday morning anytime--but just let me know. I will be in the air Tuesday afternoon-evening.

Also--please let me know about Scotland as soon as you can.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 10:03 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Black Churches insurance program

I was hoping we could do it together, but you could do it via phone. I would not reschedule your trip because Ralph is very unreliable (such as in locking Congressmen).

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, July 28, 2003 9:28 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Black Churches insurance program

Is this something that you plan on discussing with him alone, or with me.

I am now scheduled to go to Alaska on Tuesday at 1 pm., but I can try to change it if need be. Just let me know what you prefer.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, July 26, 2003 10:13 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Black Churches insurance program

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted] <mailto:[mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, July 25, 2003 9:11 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Black Churches insurance program

I'm in dc on tuesday night wednesday a.m. of this week and then wednesday next week. have holly call gretchen purser to try to set something up or as a back up, i can do a call.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]<mailto:[mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, July 25, 2003 7:36 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Black Churches insurance program

Yes, let's meet in DC, or we could do a phone call. What do you prefer?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted] <mailto:[mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, July 25, 2003 12:37 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Black Churches insurance program

yes, it looks interesting. i assume you'll set up a meeting in DC as a next step, or whatever we should do next, let me know.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [[redacted]>
Sent: Tuesday, July 22, 2003 1:51 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: Black Churches insurance program

Per our previous discussion. Let me know how we can move forward to chat with folks who can set this up with African American elders. It can be huge. Thanks.

<< File: Charity Elder Program2.doc >>

From: <abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: **RE: Warning & apologies**
Date: July 29, 2003 5:56:16 PM EDT
To: <aridenour@[redacted]

Sorry about all of this. please email me what you need me to do and it'll be done. Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, July 29, 2003 2:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Warning & apologies

Jack-

Just wanted to warn you that I'm going to be giving you a call. Our joint accountants and lawyers (seems we somehow managed to hire the same accountants and lawyers, aka [redacted] and [redacted]) want even more documentation.

I am profoundly apologetic about all of this, which I did not foresee. I think we had better suspend doing this from now on -- your time is too valuable to be having to take all my calls for paperwork and deal with all of it.

I should add that all of this is preventative in case the government ever has questions. I guess everyone is paranoid that someone you are personally
benefiting or that the In. Rev. Service would think so. It frustrates me because this is far above the mount of recordkeeping they ask me for for literally everything else!!!

Many apologies!

Amy

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Paperwork requirements memo**
Date: July 30, 2003 4:11:47 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoffj@[redacted]

Jack-

Thank you again for your help in satisfying our hyper-vigilant corps of accountants and attorneys.

As you know, they want lots of detail, but let me volunteer this: we do not have to keep these documents in the main office if confidentiality is an issue. I can keep them in my home office files, and I can promise not to discuss the work with anyone save the accountants, lawyers and, if we ever were to be audited, the IRS. We have no reason to expect an audit, of course, but one never knows.

The following is what they want:

1) The easy one: see if you remain on the board of directors of the Capital Athletic Foundation and, if not, the date you left the board. [redacted] says she will make a notion on our tax return if there is a common board member between the two foundations. I assume no notation is required if you left the board prior to the date of our grant, which was October 20, 2002.

2) We, meaning The National Center, should get quarterly reports from the Capital Athletic Foundation regarding progress/activities. I believe the easiest way to do this is for me to have a telephone conversation every three months with the person you designate and they can tell me about the various activities, much as they are described on the website. I will take notes and make a formal "note to file." (If preferred, of course, I can simply receive written reports - just trying to make it simpler for your side). These reports would be just like those you would supply to any donor

or prospective donor. (So the main thing I need as a name and phone number.)

3) At the National Center's next board meeting we will go over this grant so
there is a record of the board approving it and the board can vote about it.
Mac says it is better if you do not vote. I'll take care of this, obviously.

4) Finally, we should have formal contracts for the vendor work. These contracts, say Mac, can legally be dated at the dates we paid for the work (list to follow). The contracts should include:

A) name of parties
B) precise nature of work to be completed, including the issues being worked
on, and the amount of it (this should be as specific as possible -- the more
detail, the better. Mac says an IRS auditor would "be all over" a vague vendor contract but a very detailed one would be far less likely to be questioned in the event of an audit, so it is better to bite the bullet and
have a very detailed record, even if it is a pain to write it.)
C) description of work product to be supplied by the vendor -- written reports, briefings to an NCPPR representative, poll results, focus group results, strategic advice. If B is very detailed this will probably be somewhat obvious.
D) date work is to be completed (note: Mac says that given the large size of
the contracts it is great if it happens to be a multi-year contract, because
that means the annualized payments are less, so if the contracts truly are multi-year in scope, we should say so explicitly in the contracts).

Appendix:

These are the transactions for which they want contracts. It is very important that the two larger ones be very detailed; good if the Nurnberger

& Associates one is, but the smaller contracts are less scrutinized so all things equal, it is better to spend time on detail for the larger ones.

(Mac says the companies probably have standard contracts already -- using these with details filled in is good.)

Capitol Campaign Strategies $500,000 (10/29/02)
Nurnberger & Associates $50,000 (10/20/02)
Kaygold $1,250,000 (total of two payments, one 5/30/03 and the other 6/18/03)

Sorry we need so much detail -- even this email is long! Please let me know
how if I can do anything to help minimize the time you need to spend on this.

Once again, thank you for all your help with these records!!!!

Amy

From: <abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: **FW: CAF BOD**
Date: August 4, 2003 4:15:59 PM EDT
To: <ARidenour@[redacted]
1 Attachment, 2.8 KB

FYI - I guess I'm not on the board.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gail Halpern [mailto:GHALPERN@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, August 04, 2003 4:23 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: CAF BOD

From GuideStar on the internet:

CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION
1101 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington, DC 20004

Board of Directors Neil Volz, Director Todd Boulanger, Director
Rodney Lane, Chairman Todd Weiss, Director

Please decide if these are the current board members. If they are, it needs to go on the 2002 tax return as such. If they are not, please tell me, who is on the CAF board, and GuideStart needs to be informed of the change.

Thanks.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
[redacted]
301-[redacted]
Fax #301-[redacted]
ghalpern@[redacted]
Website: [redacted]

From: <abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: **CAF**
Date: August 5, 2003 8:06:56 AM EDT
To: <ARidenour@[redacted]
1 Attachment, 3.1 KB

Turns out I am on the board. apparently the web site was not up to date, or just wrong. Oh well.

winmail.dat (3.1 KB)

From: <abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: **RE: Quick followup**
Date: August 7, 2003 7:41:16 PM EDT
To: <aridenour@[redacted]

Not a problem. Let me sort it out. By the way, even when I am in Scotland, I'll be on line daily.

-----Original Message-----
From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, August 07, 2003 12:58 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Quick followup

Jack-

Before you run off the Scotland I guess I should ask something I should have
asked yesterday, which is, do you have an attorney or someone who is actually going to say definitively if you were on the CAF board in October of 2002? I'm just wondering how we resolve this one way or another -- if there is a person "in the know," perhaps.

Sorry about this,

Amy

[redacted]

From: Aaron Stetter
Sent: Friday, August 08, 2003 3:35 PM
To: Chris Cathcart
Cc: Michelle Whitty
Subject: Final Report

This should do it. I'll get spread sheet from Alan that catalogues all my files and we should be all set.

Aaron Stetter
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
611 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE
#375
Washington, DC 20003
P: (202) [redacted]
F: (202) [redacted]

Final Report

I. Contact Information
II. Client List
III. Passwords
IV. P.O. Box Information
V. Cell Phones
VI. Keys
VII. Garbage & Recycling
VIII. Security Code Information

I. Contact Information:

Jonathan Baron
Red Sea, LLC
Purpose: polling & graphic design
W: (202) [redacted]
M: (202) [redacted]
Email: baron@[redacted]

Blackberry Tech Support
(800) [redacted]

Cingular Wireless (Blackberry)
Tom Kern
Data Sales Specialist
Office: 301.[redacted]
Email: thomas.kern@[redacted]

Maurice Styles
Cingular Wireless
Key Account Executive
Office: 301.[redacted]
Email: maurice.styles@[redacted]

Melanie Torres
Cingular Wireless
Business Support Representative
Office: 301.[redacted]
Email: melanie.torres@[redacted]

Beatrice Sampiano
A Cleaning Service
(703) [redacted]

Blue Cross Blue Shield
Billing and Enrollment
P: (202) [redacted]
F: (301) [redacted]

Richard Billmire
Research Specialist
(703) [redacted]

Elizabeth Blosser
Phone Bank (Associated with Joe Weber)
(602) [redacted]

Jeremy Diehl
Accountant
B: (302) [redacted]
F: (302) [redacted]
M: (302) [redacted]
Email: jjdiehl14@[redacted]

John Dunigan
(Lunde & Burger) Edelman P.R.
P: (202) [redacted]
Email: John.Dunagan@[redacted]

Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
Tribal Headquarters
[redacted]
Elton, LA [redacted]
P: (337) [redacted]
F: 337 [redacted]

Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan
P: (989) [redacted]

Bowman Landscaping
(202) [redacted]

Michigan Legislature
Clerk of the House (517) [redacted]
Secretary of the Senate (517) [redacted]

Texas Legislature
Bill Hotline: (512) [redacted]

House Ways and Means Committee: (512)

Nextera
Business: (703)
Service Department: (800)

Joe Pollichetti
Wilgus Insurance
(302)
Delaware Properties:

II. Client List

Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
Tribal Headquarters:
Elton, LA
P: (337)
F: (337)
Direct Contact: William Worfel
P: (337)
Fax #'s:
Management Office (337)
William W. Home (337)

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
Tribal Headquarters:
Choctaw, Ms USA
P: (601)
Email: info@
Direct Contact: Nell Rogers
Philadelphia, MS
P: (601)

Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians
Tribal Headquarters:
Palm Springs, CA
P: (760)

Direct Contact: Maraino Patencio
P: (760) [redacted]
Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan
Tribal Headquarters:
[redacted]
Mt Pleasant, MI [redacted]
P: (989) [redacted]
Direct Contact: Dr. Chris Petras
P: (989) [redacted]
F: (989) [redacted]
M: (989) [redacted]
Email: cpetras@[redacted]

Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo (Tigua Indian Tribe)
Tribal Headquarters:
[redacted]
El Paso, TX [redacted]
P: (915) [redacted]
Direct Contact: Marc Schwartz
Partners Group Consulting
[redacted]
El Paso, TX [redacted]
P: (915) [redacted]
F: (915) [redacted]
Email: mjschwartz@[redacted]

Pueblo of Sandia
Tribal Headquarters:
[redacted]
Bernallilo, NM [redacted]
P: (505) [redacted]
Direct Contact: David Milke
Sonosky, Chambers, Sachse, Endreson and Mielke
[redacted]
Albuquerque, NM [redacted]
P: (505) [redacted]
F: (505) [redacted]

III. Passwords:

Nexis
Username: [redacted]
Password: [redacted]

Computer Passwords
Administrator: [redacted]
Mike: [redacted]
Pat: [redacted]
Chris: [redacted]
Aaron: [redacted]
Michelle: [redacted]
Intern: [redacted]
David: [redacted]
Amy: [redacted]
Rachel: [redacted]
Erin: [redacted]

IV. P.O. Box Information:

California
Active P.O. Box:
Palm Springs PO Box
[redacted]
Palm Springs, CA [redacted]
Mississippi
Expired P.O. Box
[redacted]
Flowood, MS [redacted]

New Mexico
Expired P.O. Box
[redacted]
Albuquerque, NM [redacted]

V. Cell Phones:

*Found in my office

California (Active)
(760) 641-9436

Mississippi (Active)
(601) 400-4745

New Mexico (Cancelled)
(505) 385-6705

Michigan (Cancelled)
(989) 400-9106
CCAGE (Cancelled)
(301) 785-6364

VI. Keys:

Doors and closet keys in Michelle's desk

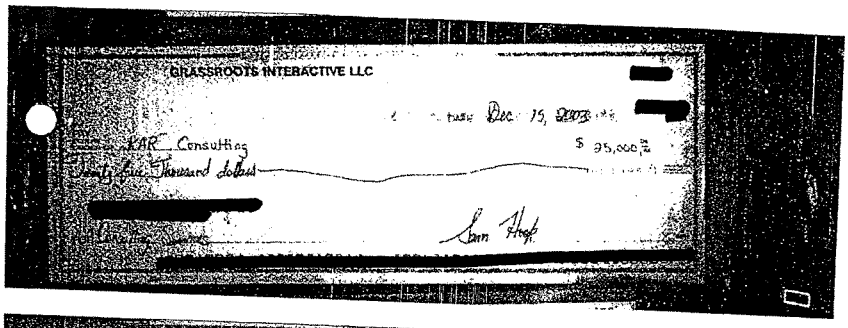
VII. Garbage:

Garbage-Monday Morning
Garbage & Recycling-Thursday Morning

VIII. Security Code Information:

Master Code: [redacted]
Current Code: [redacted]

*Directions found in Michelle's Desk



GRASSROOTS INTERACTIVE LLC

[redacted]

Date Dec. 15, 2003

[redacted]

KAR Consulting

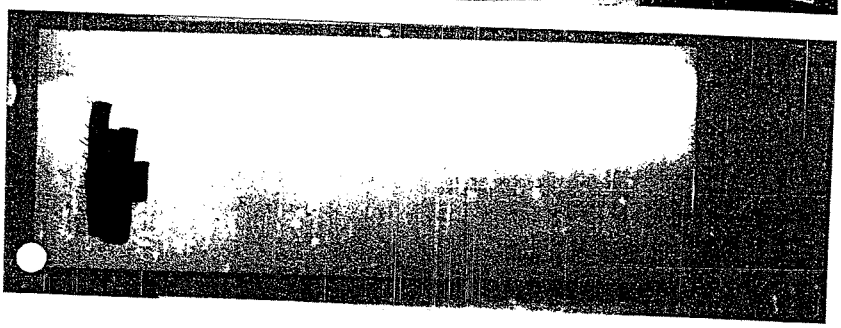
$ 25,000.00

Twenty five thousand dollars

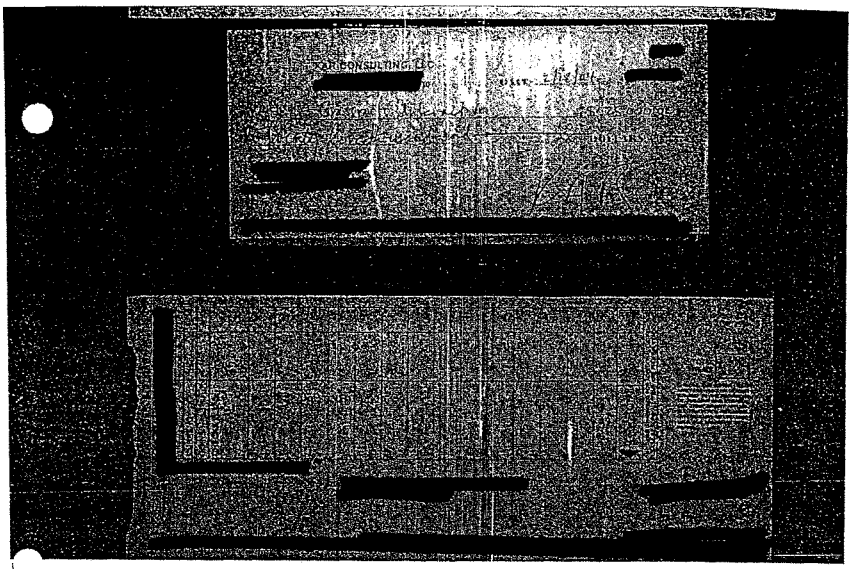
[redacted]

Sam Hoff

[redacted]



[redacted]



From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 16, 2004 7:23 AM
To: jack1abramoff@[redacted]
Subject: FW: A new fax has arrived from [redacted] (Part 1 of 1) on Channel 1

Fax Image.TIF (272 KB)

-----Original Message-----
From: RightFAX E-mail Gateway
Sent: Sunday, February 15, 2004 11:59 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: A new fax has arrived from [redacted] (Part 1 of 1) on Channel 1

2/15/2004 11:50:14 PM Transmission Record
Received from remote ID: [redacted]
Inbound user [redacted] routing code [redacted]
Result: (0/352;0/0) Successful Send
Page record: 1 - 22
Elapsed time: 08:22 on channel 1

Fax Images: [double-click on image to view page(s)]

GTG-E000011320

FAX TRANSMISSION

To:	Jack Abramoff
Fax Number:	202[redacted]
From:	Gail R. Halpern, C.P.A., P.F.S
Phone Number:	(301)[redacted]
Fax Number:	(301)[redacted]
Date:	February 15, 2004
Number of Pages:	22
RE:	CCS Income for 2001, 2002, and 2003 AIC income for 2003

Please note that throughout the years, there might have been some checks that were made out to you personally that were reimbursements of expenses. Those checks are not included in the attached. Only taxable income is included. (I was also not necessarily made aware of those checks).

Also, please note that checks dated 12/31 didn't arrive to your business office until the following calendar year, and therefore reported by you on your tax return in the year you received the checks.

Let me know if there is anything else I can do for you.

Regards,
G.

CCS INCOME
2001

1099		$ 2,883,125.00
check dated	12/31/2001	(1,718,125.00)
	12/10/2001	(300,000.00)
		$ 865,000.00
rodney said he got		(628,000.00)
discrepancy		$ 307,000.00

I have no record of this check. I believe this is what rodney used to start up Livsar.
See email from Scanlon-next page

Subj: FW: GM Five Breakdowns
Date: 4/8/2002 11:28:59 AM Eastern Daylight Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: GRHalpern@[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2002 9:29 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: GM Five Breakdowns

Hey - here is the breakdowns from D1 - we attributed 307 to you for SS and CAF

4/30/01 75k SS Check #1041
5-20-01 182k CAF Check # 1083
6-10-01 50k SS Check # 1094
Total 307k.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]
(202)[redacted]
(202)[redacted] (fax)
(202)[redacted](cell)
mike@[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.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted].

---------- Headers ----------
Return-Path: <abramoffj@[redacted]>
Received: from rly-xd01.mx.[redacted] by air-xd05.mail.[redacted] (v84.10) with ESMTP id MAILINXD53-0408112859; Mon, 08 Apr 2002 11:28:59 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted] (mail.retireeinfo.com [redacted] 1]) by rly-xd01.mx.[redacted] (v84.10) with ESMTP id MAILRELAYINXD12-0408112846; Mon, 08 Apr 2002 11:28:46 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02.[redacted] with Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)

☐ CORRECTED (if checked)

PAYER'S name, street address, city, state, ZIP code, and telephone no.
CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES
SCANLON GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS
25 TIDEWATERS RD
REHOBOTH BEACH DE 19958

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	
8 2853125.00	$
9 Payer made direct sales of $5,000 or more of consumer products to a buyer (recipient) for resale ▶ ☐	
10 Crop insurance proceeds	$
11 Fish purchased for resale	$
12 Section 409A deferrals	$
13 Excess golden parachute payments	$
14 Gross proceeds paid to an attorney	$
15 State tax withheld	$
16 State/Payer's state no.	
17 State income	$

Form 1099-MISC
SKA

Cat. No. 14425H
2001
Miscellaneous Income
Form 1099-MISC
Copy B
To be filed with recipient's state income tax return, when required

Department of the Treasury - Internal Revenue Service

Form 1099-MISC - Instructions for Recipient

Amounts shown on this form may be reported as self-employment tax. If [illegible] and remove your contributions tax on Schedule SE (Form 1040). 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 to your tax and remaining Form payments. See Form 0-ES, Estimated Tax for Individuals.

If you are an individual, report the taxable amount shown on Form 1040. If you are a corporation, partnership, or other business, report this amount on the proper line of your tax return.

Boxes 1 and 2. Report rental income on Schedule E (Form 1040). If you provided significant services to the payer, and rent exceeds $14 a day, or if rented personal property as a business, report on Schedule C or C-EZ (Form 1040). For reporting on other, see Pub. 525, Taxable and Other Exempt Items of Income.

Box 3. Generally, report this amount on the "Other income" line of Form 1040 and identify the payments. If it is trade or business income, report this amount on Schedule C, C-EZ, or F (Form 1040). The amounts shown may be payments you received as the beneficiary of a deceased employee, prizes, awards, debts cancelled, indian gaming 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 exemptions. 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 in the trade or business of selling to the payer, if payer treats you as a direct seller for the sale of fish, if applicable that are reported in this box are income from self-employment, report this amount on Schedule C, C-EZ, or F (Form 1040), and complete Schedule SE (Form 1040). Services you rendered this form rather than Form W-2, the payer may have considered you self-employed and did not withhold social security or Medicare taxes. Consider this 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 compensation" line of Form 1040. See the IRS for information about how to report any uncollected 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 a short sale. Report on the "Other income" line of Form 1040.

Box 9. If marked, notice to payer of consumer products on a buy-sell, deposit-commission, or any other basis for resale commonly used to sell, rent or place. The person filing this return does not have to enter 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 11 is your tax withheld.

Box 14. Shows gross proceeds paid to an attorney in connection with legal settlements. Report only the taxable part as income on your return.

Box 15. Other information may be provided to you in box 15.

Boxes 16-18. If state or local income tax was withheld from the payment, these boxes may be completed.

GTG-E000011323

GTG-E00001132 4

02/15/2004 23:49 GAIL HALPERN PAGE 05

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted]
WASHINGTON, DC [redacted]

[redacted]

1398

12/31/2001

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Jack Abramoff $ **1,718,125.00

One Million Seven Hundred Eighteen Thousand One Hundred Twenty-Five and 00/100********** DOLLARS

Jack Abramoff

MEMO

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

[redacted]

Recd 2002

GTG-E00001132S

12/15/2004 23:49 GAIL HALPERN PAGE 06

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted] 1396

[redacted] WASHINGTON, DC 20003 [redacted]

12/15/2001

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Jack Abramoff $ **300,000.00

Three Hundred Thousand and 00/100********** DOLLARS

Jack Abramoff

MEMO [redacted] AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC 1396

Jack Abramoff 12/15/2001

300,000.00

Checking 300,000.00

CC$ Income for 2002

2/22/2002	2,779,925.60	7,249,449.60
3/21/2002	4,080,997.00	7,249,449.60
4/6/2002	2,138,025.00	
7/12/2002	44,000.00	
7/12/2002	20,000.00	
7/12/2002	800,000.00	
6/11/2002	150,000.00	
9/12/2002	2,266,250.00	
11/8/2002	1,078,649.00	
12/31/2002	1,000,148.00	
Car purchase	140,907.00	
Total	14,498,899.60	

CC$ incorrectly put this on a 1099/we pointed error out to them and per JA Scanlon refuse to amend 1099.

7

GTG-E000011326

02/15/2004 23:49 [redacted] GAIL HALPERN PAGE 08
Feb 28 03 12:43p P.2

Feb 28 03 11:20a Diani Co CPAs 3028444231 p.1

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES
SCANLON GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS
25 WIDEWATERS RD
REHOBOTH BEACH DE 19958

[redacted]

KAY GOLD, LLC
1101 PENN AVE NW SUITE 600
WASHINGTON DC 20004

7242412.80

2002

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES
SCANLON GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS
25 WIDEWATERS RD
REHOBOTH BEACH DE 19958

[redacted]

KAY GOLD, LLC
1101 PENN AVE NW SUITE 600
WASHINGTON DC 20004

7242412.80

2002

Form 1099-MISC - Instructions for Recipient

GTG-E000011327

02/15/2004 23:49 [redacted] GAIL HALPERN PAGE 09

'b 22 02 04:27P Laura Lipp [redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted] 2/22/2002

WASHINGTON, DC [redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC $ **2,779,925.60

Two Million Seven Hundred Seventy-Nine Thousand Nine Hundred Twenty-Five and 60/100********** DOLLAR

Kay Gold, LLC

MEMO [redacted] 1496

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC 2/22/2002 2,779,925.60

Kay Gold, LLC

2,779,925.60

Checking

9

GTG-E000011328

02/15/2004 23:49 [redacted] GAIL HALPERN PAGE 10

Mar 25 02 09:36a Laur Lippa [redacted] p.2

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]
WASHINGTON, DC [redacted]

3/21/2002

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Jack Abramoff $ **4,080,997.00

Four Million Eighty Thousand Nine Hundred Ninety-Seven and 00/100********** DOLLARS

Jack Abramoff

MEMO [redacted]

[redacted]

DATE 3-28-02

CURRENCY	
COIN	
TOTAL CASH	
CHECKS	
TOTAL FROM ATTACHED LIST	
TOTAL DEPOSIT	4080997.00

[redacted]

TOTAL FROM ATTACHED LIST $ 4080997.00

[redacted]

10

GTG-E000011329

GTG-E00001133O

02/15/2004 23:49 GAIL HALPERN PAGE 11

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]
[redacted]SHINGTON, DC[redacted]

[redacted]

04/08/02

$2,138,025

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold LLC DOLLARS

Two million one hundred thirty eight thousand twenty five 00/100

MEMO [redacted]

02/15/2004 23:49 [redacted] GAIL HALPERN PAGE 12

.$ 02 09:38 p.3

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted]

[redacted]

7/12/2002

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC $ **44,000.00

Forty-Four Thousand and 00/100********** DOLLARS

Kay Gold, LLC

MEMO

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted]

Kay Gold, LLC 7/12/2002 44,000.00

Checking 44,000.00

12

GTG-E00001331

02/15/2004 23:49 [redacted] GAIL HALPERN PAGE 13

15 02 09:38a P.2

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted]
WASHINGTON, DC [redacted]

[redacted]

7/12/2002

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC $ **20,000.00

Twenty Thousand and 00/100********** DOLLARS

Kay Gold, LLC

MEMO

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC [redacted]
Kay Gold, LLC 7/12/2002 20,000.00

Checking 20,000.00

13

GTG-F00001222

02/15/2004 23:49 [redacted] GAIL HALPERN PAGE 14

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
[redacted]

7/12/2003

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold, LLC $ **800,000.00

Eight Hundred Thousand and 00/100 DOLLARS

Kay Gold, LLC

MEMO

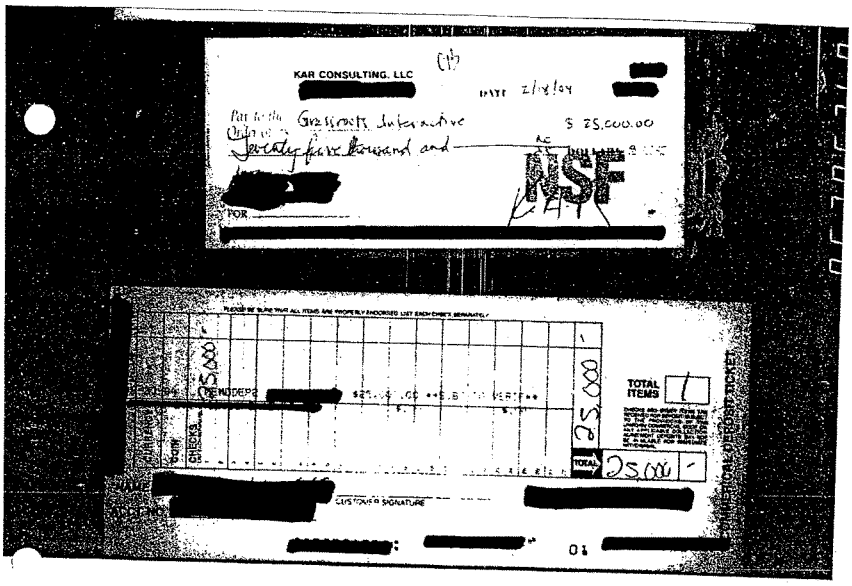
[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC
Kay Gold, LLC 7/12/2003 [redacted] $00,000.00

Checking $00,000.00

14

GTG-E000011333



KAR CONSULTING, LLC

[redacted]

DATE 2/18/04

[redacted]

Pay to the Order of Grassroots Interactive $ 25,000.00

Twenty five thousand and

NSF

[redacted]

FOR

[redacted]

PLEASE BE SURE THAT ALL ITEMS ARE PROPERLY ENDORSED. LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY

CHECKS	CREDIT CARD DEPOSIT [redacted]	25,000	1
		TOTAL	25,000

TOTAL ITEMS 1

[redacted]

CUSTOMER SIGNATURE

[redacted]

01

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Follow-up/Invoices**
Date: March 5, 2004 4:44:32 PM EST
To: Jack Abramoff <jack@[redacted]

Jack-

First of all, thank you for calling yesterday at such a busy time for you. It was good to hear not only in your words but also in your voice that you are holding up well and are in good and optimistic spirits (and justly so, I might add).

Do consider our offer to do anything we can to help during your transition a sincere one. We really wish you the very best.

On to more mundane matters, I have a list below for the three expenditures for which we need to obtain the written documentation so our files are perfect for our regular routine audit (with whomever our new auditor turns out to be!) coming later in the spring and, just in case, for any IRS audit that probably won't, but always could, happen. We were audited twice in the 1990s thanks to a Democratic Congressman's false allegations against us, so we have learned to keep things ready for inspection. (But I preach to the choir on that issue!)

Specifically, the three items:

(1) The Capital Athletic Foundation should provide a thank you letter referencing our May 30, 2003 grant of $250,000, and it would be good if they provided a copy of their tax-exemption letter from the IRS with the thank-you (this is a very common thing to supply with every major grant acknowledgement and will be easy for them). My understanding is that you are no longer a member of their board of directors, and will proceed accordingly, but if if I am incorrect and you are, we should be informed and

we will disclose this information in our next audit report, as we did last year regarding your earlier service on their board.

(2) We should receive an invoice for the May 30, 2003 payment of $750,000 to
Kaygold for "public policy education services" (or another accurate phrase they choose). The invoice should include Kaygold's address and phone and include some specific language in list or paragraph form about the activities conducted. Possible examples, based loosely on our conversations
last year, but Kaygold should change them as needed to be accurate: "X letters to general public regarding role of low-tax/low regulation policies
upon job creation in minority communities; "telephone education campaign about role of low-tax/low regulation policies upon job creation in minority
communities conducted in X states," "distribution of X petitions to public in support of low tax/low regulation policies in order to spur job creation," "telephone poll of Americans in X states to determine attitudes about regulatory policies" and/or other similar descriptions of educational
activities actually conducted. If my examples don't seem right, they should
write what they believe best fits.

Although this was not required in our last internal audit, I have been advised that if the IRS were to audit us it would be extremely helpful if we
had some samples of the petitions, or results of any polls conducted, or even something as otherwise mundane as boxes of leftover printed materials used in the campaign that otherwise would be slated for the trash. The purpose of this apparently is to reassure anyone, such as the IRS, who might
wonder if the effort really took place or if we just handed money out for no
appropriate reason. Anything physical points to real work being accomplished, and that's what they want to know.

Especially given the articles in the Post, the list of activities conducted

snould be roughly analogous to the funds transmitted, but we are not here to
argue price, just to demonstrate that meaningful educational work was accomplished.

(3) A second invoice from Kaygold for our payment to them of June 17, 2003 for $500.000, with the same type of information as above (or the supplementary material for the two Kaygold invoices can be supplied together).

--

Before last week, you asked me to get all this through Lindsey. If she's still on staff (or someone else) I'd be very happy to work through a staffer
on this stuff, so as not to have to bother you personally during a busy time.

I'm sorry I didn't get all this last year when things weren't in an uproar.
My fault -- I was caught up in projects and didn't contact Lindsey. Figured
I had until our audit to do it, and then everything suddenly was happening at once. I shouldn't have procrastinated. Lesson learned.

Thanks VERY MUCH for your help and patience, and good luck with everything!

Thanks again,

Amy

Jack-

I hate to be an annoyance, but I thought I would check in regarding the grants documentation. We're looking to start the audit sometime after April
15 and I don't have anything yet. Obviously, that is a few weeks away yet,
but I did not want to wait until the very last minute to check in.

I'd be happy to communicate with a staffer about all this in order to stop
bothering you, or with anyone you designate.

Sorry about all this,

Amy

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Re: Sorry about this...**
Date: March 30, 2004 10:40:01 AM EST
To: Jack Abramoff <Jack@[redacted]

Thanks for being so understanding. I really wish I didn't have to bother you about it, especially when you don't have a staff. If there is anything
I can do to help, or if it would save you some time if I sent another copy of the list of info we need, just let me know.

Predictably, I saw the Post story this morning. It still seems to me as though they are making a mountain out of a molehill. One can't go long listening to WMAL or WTOP without hearing lobbying-type ads. That stuff isn't cheap, but we all seem to take it for granted.

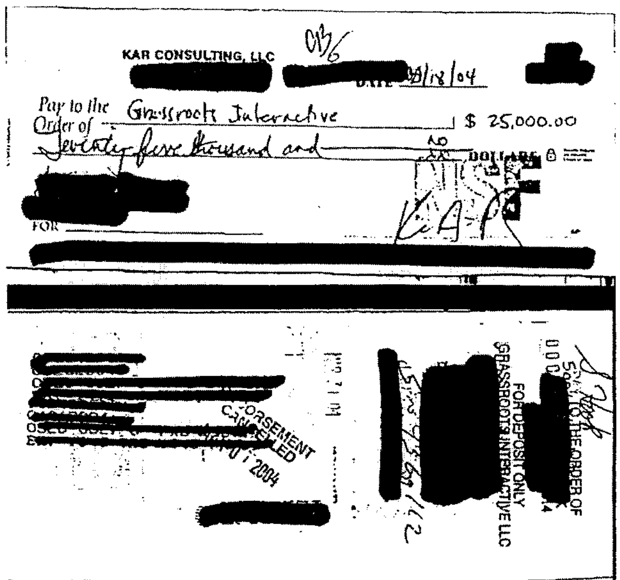
Do you expect that we will hear from the Senate? From where I sit, it is hard to know what is covered by confidentiality rules and also how much of this matter is reflective of internal fights among the Saginaw group. As most of what we received was from the Choctaws, does that leave us mostly out of it, or am I being unrealistically optimistic?

Knowing Chief Martin, I have every confidence he wasn't doing any business deals without good reasons, but I also know most people don't know he's nobody's fool.

Anyway, *many* thanks for your help,

Amy

> You are definitely not bothering me, but I don't actually have a staff right
> now. I'll get this asap. sorry about the delay.
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Amy Ridenour [mailto:aridenour@[redacted]
> Sent: Monday, March 29, 2004 4:32 PM
> To: Jack Abramoff
> Subject: Sorry about this...



KAR CONSULTING, LLC [redacted]

DATE [redacted]/18/04 [redacted]

Pay to the Order of Grassroots Interactive $ 25,000.00

Seventy-five thousand and 00/xx DOLLARS

[redacted]

FOR

[redacted]

[redacted]

ENDORSEMENT CANCELLED

[redacted]

PAY TO THE ORDER OF

FOR DEPOSIT ONLY

GRASSROOTS INTERACTIVE LLC

Client:	[redacted]
Date:	04/01/2004
AUX:	
Account #:	[redacted]
R&T #:	[redacted]
Check #:	[redacted]
Tran Code :	10
Amount:	$25000.00
Bundle #:	[redacted]
Sequence #:	[redacted]
Din:	[redacted]

On Jul 25, 2004, at 11:19 PM, Jack Abramoff wrote:

> Hi Amy. No problem with the questions. The money was not from the choctaws. I'll try to figure out the source of the funds. What is your deadline? As for Kaygold, probably best thing to do is to send it to me at
> 1700 Pennsylvania Ave, NW, suite 400, Washington, DC 20006. I understand
> and appreciate the advice that we not discuss the matters at hand. Hopefully they will all pass soon. Hope to see you soon as well.

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Re: Couple of address questions**
Date: July 26, 2004 12:18:09 AM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <Jack@[redacted]

Jack-

Thank you. I appreciate your help on both counts. As to the source of funds, I am not adverse to listing Greenberg Traurig as the source on our official papers as GT is, in fact, the legal entity from which we received the money. We'd send a confirmation letter to GT in that case, of course. We have the copies of the wire transfers from them so there is no question about the dates and amounts and GT being our direct source; what I don't know is if they would sign a letter or or just throw it away, and who there/which department to direct the letter to. GT is rather large. All they would need to confirm is the accurate amounts and that it was a "grant" (although they have the option of adding details).

Our we can go with the direct source. I have not asked this auditor but when May and Barnhard were our auditors they said that in the case in which a donor sends money through a law firm I could list the law firm as the donor or the original donor.) I was hoping to send the letters to the auditor (I prepare them and they mail them out) tomorrow but I don't have to. I'm just trying to get everything wrapped up for our 8-15 tax return deadline, and I need to leave time for people to get the letters, consult their records and return them.

As for Kaygold, thanks for your help in getting the letter to a responsible party who knows the facts and speaks for them. The last thing I want to do is mail the letter to a closed mailbox or something and have it come back undeliverable six weeks from now, while we thought they had it. I suspected Mike's companies might be in some upheaval but the problem with not talking to anyone is that one does not know what is going on, or how to reach anyone who has moved.

Anyway, thanks again!

Amy

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Re: Couple of address questions**
Date: July 28, 2004 3:31:18 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <Jack@[redacted]

Hi Jack-

Just checking in on the "source of the funds" question. I'm wondering if we should consider GT the donor & send the confirmation letter to their accounting department. They were the direct source of funds. But I wanted to check in with you one more time in case you had checked the records and determined for certain GT was sending the funds on a client's behalf, but just had not had a chance to get back to me yet.

Thanks and sorry for the trouble. I hope we'll be able to gat together soon, in more relaxed circumstances.

Thanks again,

Amy

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **Re: Couple of address questions**
Date: July 28, 2004 7:38:06 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <Jack@[redacted]

Thanks, Jack. And it was great talking with you.

On Jul 28, 2004, at 7:49 PM, Jack Abramoff wrote:

> Here is the address:
>
> James Levy, QC
> International Interactive Alliance
> [redacted]
> [redacted]
> Gibraltar

From: Amy Ridenour <aridenour@[redacted]
Subject: **James levy E-mail**
Date: July 30, 2004 5:15:03 PM EDT
To: Jack Abramoff <jack@[redacted]

Hi Jack,

Me again (the pest! <g>). Our auditor suggested the below, which is obviously optional, but I thought shooting the guy an e-mail over the weekend asking him to FedEx the reply back if possible and offering to be billed for the FedEx charge.

As I figured this might be a good opportunity to remind him who the heck we are, since they sent the money through GT. I thought I would run my e-mail by you before sending it. It is below. I'll send it later this weekend, but if you have any suggestions about its wording to make sure it jogs his memory or anything like that I am open to them. I know you will not be online during the Sabbath (and today is a holiday, too, if I'm not mistaken), so I will hold off on e-mailing this until late Sunday. I wonder also if you think it would be useful to cc: the message to him to you so his memory is jogged that this is a deal he was working with you on (if that is even necessary). I know we have a forgettable name, and he may simply have been told that non-profits were involved; not necessarily which ones.

Sorry for bugging you. At least we get to chat, even if it is about boring stuff.

Hope you have a great weekend, and that things are going as well as possible,

Amy

Auditor message below:

> Hi Amy,
>
> I am fed ex'ing the confirmation to Gibraltar tonight. Do you want to check

with your contact there to see if they will fed ex it back to us?

Have a great weekend.

John

My draft:

Dear Mr. Levy (james.levy@[redacted],

The National Center for Public Policy Research, a non-profit organization, received a grant of $1,500,000 in 2003 from International Interactive Alliance (through Greenberg, Traurig) for educational activities.

In order to ascertain that our records of this transaction do not conflict with those of the International Interactive Alliance, our auditors, [redacted], [redacted], are sending to you a confirmation letter by International Federal Express. They asked me to inquire if it would be possible for you to respond by Federal Express as well. So I am writing now to make that request, if it is at all possible.

We do not, of course, object to being billed for expenses in this matter. Both our FedEx account number and billing address are below.

Thank you,

Amy Ridenour
President
The National Center for Public Policy Research
[redacted]
Washington, DC [redacted]
FedEx account #: [redacted]

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

Thank you very much for your recent contribution to the American International Center (AIC). Your donation of $200,000 will go a long way in assisting the AIC in its efforts to carry out its public policy agenda.

As you know, the AIC is committed to influencing key policy makers on issues important to you and your constituents. Without your generous support, the AIC would be unable to achieve its fundamental objectives.

The American International Center is a non-profit corporation dedicated to educating the public on important issues such as our national relationship with commonwealths, foreign governments and sovereign territories. As we discussed, we are not a tax-exempt organization, so your contribution is subject to Federal tax status.

Again, we appreciate your generous support of the AIC and its mission. We look forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,

David Grosh
President

53 BALTIMORE AVENUE • REHOBETH BEACH, DE • 19971
PHONE: 111-555-1212 • FAX: 111-555-1212

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510–6450
http://indian.senate.gov

FACSIMILE AND FIRST CLASS MAIL

June 6, 2005

Mr. Kevin Ring
c/o Richard Hibey
Miller & Chevalier
655 Fifteenth St., NW Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20005-5701

Dear Mr. Ring:

The U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs has scheduled an oversight hearing regarding allegations of misconduct made by several tribes against their lobbyists and other representatives. The hearing has been scheduled on Wednesday, June 22, 2005 beginning at 9:30 a.m. in Room 216 of the Hart Senate Office Building. I am writing to invite you to present testimony to the Committee at that time.

In the interest of time, and to allow Committee members an opportunity to pose questions to you and other witnesses, the Committee would ask that you summarize your oral testimony and confine your remarks to no more than five minutes. Your written statement may be of any length you deem appropriate and will appear in its entirety in the hearing record.

In accordance with Committee Rules, please submit your written testimony 72 hours in advance of the hearing. You can send an electronic version in WordPerfect format to *testimony@indian.senate.gov*. Written testimony may also be submitted to the Committee by telefax directed to (202) 224-5429, however an electronic version of the testimony will still be required. Written testimony may also be submitted to the Committee by telefax directed to (202) 224-5429, however an electronic version of the testimony will still be required.

If for whatever reason, you decline to appear at this hearing, please advise the Committee in writing no later than Monday, June 13, 2005 and indicate, at that time, who is authorized to accept notice of an appearance subpoena on your behalf.

If you have any questions please contact Bryan D. Parker, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel 202-224-8265. The Committee on Indian Affairs looks forward to your participation in this important hearing.

Sincerely,

John McCain
Chairman

JSM/kbr

MILLER & CHEVALIER
CHARTERED

655 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 900
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-5701
202.626.5800 FAX: 202.628.0858
WWW.MILLERCHEVALIER.COM

RICHARD A. HIBEY
202.626.5886
rhibey@milchev.com

June 13, 2005

BY HAND

Honorable John McCain, Chairman
U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs
836 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Chairman McCain:

The undersigned, as counsel for Kevin Ring, has been authorized to respond to your letter dated June 6, 2005.

In a telephone conversation with Bryan D. Parker, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel of the Committee on Indian Affairs on June 1, 2005, I stated Mr. Ring regrettably and respectfully would decline the Committee's invitation to testify at the hearing scheduled for June 22, 2005. This is to confirm his declination. Indeed, in the event Mr. Ring is subpoenaed to appear for the June 22 hearing, which subpoena the undersigned is authorized to receive, he would decline to testify, asserting his constitutional right to remain silent. This must remain his position while he continues his cooperation with the Executive Branch's investigation of the same subject matter that is being looked into by the Committee.

Under the circumstances, I respectfully request that Mr. Ring not be made to appear at the hearing. We hope you will agree it would not serve any probative purpose to require Mr. Ring to exercise his right to remain silent in this public proceeding when it is known beforehand that he will do so. He currently provides services to a number of tribes, including the Choctaw, whose representatives I understand will appear and testify on June 22. Mr. Ring's appearance would only assure his embarrassment before his client, perhaps cause the client some embarrassment, and unnecessarily stigmatize him before the general public for exercising a constitutional right.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

Richard A. Hibey

Richard A. Hibey

RAH/caj
cc: Bryan Parker, Esq by telefax

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS
WASHINGTON, DC 20510–6450
http://indian.senate.gov

VIA FACSIMILE [202-628-0858]
AND FIRST CLASS MAIL

June 15, 2005

Richard A. Hibey, Esq.
Miller & Chevalier
655 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20005-5701

Dear Mr. Hibey:

I have spoken to both the Chairman and the Vice Chairman about your letter and your concerns regarding the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs' decision to call your client, Kevin Ring, to testify at its June 22, 2005, hearing. Under the circumstances, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman concur on the need to have all client managers of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, including Mr. Ring, testify at the hearing. Also, the Chairman will be unable to meet with you on this matter.

Thank you for agreeing to accept service of an appearance subpoena on Mr. Ring's behalf via facsimile. You should receive the original shortly in the mail.

Cordially yours,

Bryan D. Parker

Bryan D. Parker
Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel

MILLER & CHEVALIER
CHARTERED

655 FIFTEENTH STREET, N.W., SUITE 900
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005-5701
202.626.5800 FAX: 202.626.0858
WWW.MILLERCHEVALIER.COM

RICHARD A. HIBEY
202.626.5888
rhibey@milchev.com

June 17, 2005

VIA FACSIMILE AND REGULAR MAIL

Bryan D. Parker, Esq.
Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel
United States Senate
Committee on Indian Affairs
Washington, DC 20510-6450

Dear Mr. Parker:

Thank you for your letter dated June 15, 2005, in which you indicate that the Chairman and Vice Chairman see a need for Mr. Ring's testimony at the June 22, 2005 hearing even though the Committee has been advised Mr. Ring will invoke his right to remain silent. It is regrettable that the Chairman will be unable to meet with me before the hearing to give me the opportunity to address him directly on the subject of Mr. Ring's appearance.

Senate Rule No. 26-5(b)(3) provides in pertinent part that where hearings are conducted into activities that:

> "tend to charge an individual with crime or a 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."

Respectfully, we request that that portion of the hearing in which Mr. Ring will be appearing as a witness be conducted in closed session as contemplated by this Rule.

Lastly, I request that the record of these proceedings include the correspondence I have had with this Committee.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

Richard A. Hibey

Richard A. Hibey

RAH/caj