AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
GPO

S. HRG. 109–135, Pt. 2

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

NOVEMBER 2, 2005
WASHINGTON, DC

PART 2

TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS—PART 2

S. HRG. 109–135, Pt. 2

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

NOVEMBER 2, 2005
WASHINGTON, DC

PART 2

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

24–471 PDF WASHINGTON : 2005

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Internet: bookstore.gpo.gov Phone: toll free (866) 512–1800; DC area (202) 512–1800
Fax: (202) 512–2250 Mail: Stop SSOP, Washington, DC 20402–0001

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

JOHN McCAIN, Arizona, *Chairman*
BYRON L. DORGAN, North Dakota, *Vice Chairman*

PETE V. DOMENICI, New Mexico
CRAIG THOMAS, Wyoming
GORDON SMITH, Oregon
LISA MURKOWSKI, Alaska
MICHAEL D. CRAPO, Idaho
RICHARD BURR, North Carolina
TOM COBURN, M.D., Oklahoma

DANIEL K. INOUYE, Hawaii
KENT CONRAD, North Dakota
DANIEL K. AKAKA, Hawaii
TIM JOHNSON, South Dakota
MARIA CANTWELL, Washington

JEANNE BUMPUS, *Majority Staff Director*
SARA G. GARLAND, *Minority Staff Director*

CONTENTS

Page

Statements:
- Baggett, Fred, managing shareholder; chairman, National Government Affairs Practice, Greenberg Traurig, Tallahassee, FL 20
- Cathcart, Christopher, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies 57
- Dorgan, Hon. Byron L., U.S. Senator from North Dakota, vice chairman, Committee on Indian Affairs 6
- Griles, J. Steven, former deputy secretary, Department of Interior 88
- Halpern, Gail, Jack Abramoff's former tax advisor 59
- Leeper, Charlie, esq., Spriggs and Hollingsworth 57
- McCain, Hon. John, U.S. Senator from Arizona, chairman, Committee on Indian Affairs 1
- McConnon, B.R., president, Democracy Data and Communications 57
- Rossetti, Michael, former counsel to the Secretary of the Interior, Department of the Interior 89
- Sickey, David, council member, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana 13
- Sickey, Kevin, chairman, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana 10
- Thomas, Hon Craig, U.S. Senator from Wyoming 9
- Van Hoof, Kathryn, former outside counsel, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana 19
- Worfel, William, former tribal council member, Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana 17

APPENDIX

Prepared statements:
- Baggett, Fred 109
- Sickey, David 112
- Sickey, Kevin 110
- Thomas, Ronnie, chairman, Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas (with attachment) 443

Additional material submitted for the record:
- Hartman, Barry M., Kirkpatrick & Lockhart Nicholson Graham LLP, letter to Senator McCain on behalf of Steven Griles 116
- Murphy, Kevin M, Carr Maloney P.C., letter to Senator Dorgan on behalf of Gail Halpern 123
- Additional e-mails 125

TRIBAL LOBBYING MATTERS

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 2005

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

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

Present: Senators McCain, Akaka, Burr, Cantwell, Coburn, Conrad, Crapo, Domenici, Dorgan, Inouye, Johnson, Murkowski, Smith, and Thomas.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Good morning.

Last year, this committee launched its investigation into serious allegations of misconduct levied by a number of Indian tribes against their former lobbyist, Jack Abramoff and political consultant Michael Scanlon. The picture painted by an earlier Washington Post article about the duo had given cause for grave concern.

Little did we know then what a complex and tangled web we would begin to unravel. Some may have known. According to one e-mail sent by former Abramoff associate Kevin Ring on February 22, 2004 to a colleague, "I know more than the article and the truth is worse." Indeed, the truth has proven much, much worse.

The story is alarming in its depth and breadth of potential wrongdoing. It is breathtaking in its reach. It has spanned across the United States, sweeping up a number of tribes, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, the Agua Caliente Band in Palm Springs, the Tigua Indians of El Paso, and the Pueblo Sandia Tribe of New Mexico.

It has taken us from tribal reservations across the land to luxury sports boxes here in town; from a sham international think tank in Rehoboth Beach, DE, to a sniper workshop in Israel, and then beyond. But let us not forget that the unifying threads of this entire investigation have been the astronomical fees the tribes paid Michael Scanlon, where those fees ultimately went, and why.

Recall that between 2001 and 2004, six tribes paid more than $66 million to Michael Scanlon's company, Capitol Campaign Strategies, and its affiliates. Remember, too, what the $66 million figure does not include. The $66 million does not include payments made by the tribes for lobbying services provided by Greenberg Traurig.

The $66 million does not include the substantial payments made by the tribes directly to other entities owned or controlled by Abramoff, such as the Capital Athletic Foundation. The $66 million does not include the substantial political and dubious charitable contributions that the tribes made at Mr. Abramoff's direction. The $66 million only includes the payments by the tribes to Mr. Scanlon's companies.

The revelations in the Washington Post's February 22, 2004 article sparked many reactions. Upon its publication, Mr. Ring wrote again to his colleague: "Now what do you think of my partner Jack? Not too shady, huh?" Mr. Ring's colleague could only reply, "That is a lot of cake." It was. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon considered the Coushatta to be the biggest slice.

In a September 10, 2001 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff asked Mr. Scanlon, "Can you let me know how much more, than the current $660,000, we would each score should Coushatta come through for this phase and Choctaw continue to make the transfers. I need to assess where I am at for the school's sake." Mr. Scanlon replied, "Coushatta is an absolute cakewalk. Your cut on the project as proposed is at least $800,000."

All in all, Mr. Scanlon reported that Mr. Abramoff would get at that time $1.5 million on top of the $660,000, for a total of $2.1 million. Mr. Abramoff heaped praise on his partner: "How can I say this strongly enough? You iz da man!"

Mr. Scanlon, however, was not content with the $2.1 million. He exhorted Mr. Abramoff in that same e-mail, "Let's grow that $2.1 million to $5 million. We need the true 'gimme five'." "Gimme five," as we learned from the last hearing, was Mr. Abramoff's and Mr. Scanlon's code phrase for their alleged money-making scheme. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon apparently convinced the tribes to pay grossly inflated fees to Mr. Scanlon's companies.

How did they do this? According to Mr. Ring's February 22, 2004 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff, "talks tribes into hiring Scanlon." Ultimately, the two men each reaped at least $21 million in profit.

Almost 6 months after the "cake walk" exchange, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon tried to achieve the true "gimme five" with the Coushatta. While Mr. Scanlon was drafting a grassroots proposal for the tribe, Mr. Abramoff guided him in a March 12, 2002 e-mail: "It is great, but don't give the option of shaving costs. Of course, they should do all at once, and there are no savings!!!, otherwise we will sacrifice $2 million that they would otherwise gladly pay."

Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon saw the Coushatta as their "money train." Mr. Abramoff summed it up in his June 2, 2002 e-mail to Mr. Scanlon, "They are ripe for more pickings. We have to figure out how."

The committee has tried to determine how expensive the money train was. Preliminarily, the committee has determined that in less than 3 years, the tribe paid Capital Campaign Strategies over $26.6 million; American International Center another $3.6 million; and the Capital Athletic Foundation $1 million, for a grand total of almost $32 million.

Again, that does not include lobbying fees paid to Greenberg Traurig at a rate of $125,000 per month. Thirty-two million dollars is an astounding number over such a short period of time. When

one examines what benefits the tribe actually derived, some may say the payments were almost criminal.

Today, we have with us Kevin Sickey, the current chairman of the tribe, and David Sickey, a current council member. We also have with us William Worfel, the tribe's former vice chairman, and Kathryn Van Hoof, the tribe's former general counsel. I want to thank them and the tribe for their continuing cooperation with the committee's investigation. I am interested to hear their reaction to the evidence presented today.

Although the questionable transactions in which Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon engaged are too numerous to cover in this hearing, I want to focus on an illustrative few. Take, for example, $3.17 million that Mr. Scanlon requested from the Coushatta for the Louisiana Battleground Program.

In an October 24, 2001 e-mail, Mr. Abramoff wrote to Mr. Scanlon, "I want to see if we can pump up our LDA for the second-half to make sure we do not fall out of the top 10. I can achieve this if I can run some of the money for the Coushattas through the firm, then get it to CCS." Concerned, Mr. Scanlon asked, "Are you sure Baggett will let you rip it back out?" Mr Abramoff responded, "If not, it will be a cold day in hell that they get this check from my grubby hands."

To get the money into Greenberg Traurig, Scanlon made the pitch to Kathryn Van Hoof, outside counsel to the Coushatta at the time. "We broke this into two invoices, one to be paid to Greenberg Traurig for $1 million and one paid to Capitol Campaign Strategies, GT's public affairs entity, for the balance. We usually just invoice through Capitol Campaign Strategies, so the lawyers at the firm rest easy, while we are out burning the countryside. In this instance, however, we plan to do some things through the law firm umbrella due to their highly sensitive nature and confidentiality reasons. I hate hiding behind lawyers, but we are going to do some crazy stuff on this one so I guess it is okay."

The attached invoice Mr. Scanlon submitted under Greenberg Traurig's name identified the purpose of the payment as "public affairs services." It appears that at no point did Mr. Scanlon or Mr. Abramoff tell the Coushatta that their money would be used for anything other than political activities.

But that $1 million never went to the tribe's political activities. At Mr. Abramoff's direction, it instead padded the coffers of the Capital Athletic Foundation, Jack Abramoff's private charity. Greenberg Traurig, too, was deceived in this transaction. To extract the money from Greenberg Traurig's trust accounts, Mr. Abramoff told the firm that the Coushatta knew about the payment to the Foundation and had authorized it.

Let me be clear. The tribe did not know about and had not approved the transaction. Certainly, the tribe had no intention of providing what turned out to be the seed money for Abramoff's private charity. I think the Department of Justice and the Internal Revenue Service will be interested in this apparently fraudulent and tax-evasive transaction.

I want to stop for a moment and recognize Greenberg Traurig and its able lawyers at Williams and Connolly. I know this chapter in the firm's history is embarrassing and painful in many ways,

but I want the record to reflect that consistent with their professional obligations, Greenberg Traurig and its counsel have always been responsive to the committee's requests; always made themselves available to answer questions; and have always conducted themselves with dignity and professionalism in these trying circumstances. I thank them for their assistance in this investigation.

Now, if you look back at Mr. Scanlon's e-mail to Ms. Van Hoof, we need to ask: How did Capitol Campaign Strategies spend the other $2.17 million it requested? According to Capitol Campaign Strategies' internal records, a small part was paid to outside vendors for actual work before Mr. Scanlon began to raid it. On November 2, 2001, Mr. Scanlon took $1.4 million as a shareholder draw. Later entries in the CCS accounting ledger show at least $115,000 apparently going for Mr. Scanlon's wedding which did not happen. Of course, Mr. Scanlon ultimately paid some to Mr. Abramoff.

What happened to the more than $4 million the tribe paid to CCS on January 18, 2002 for another of Mr. Scanlon's "high-octane" programs? Mr. Scanlon withdrew the first $1.9 million as a shareholder draw. He paid another $20,000 to Jon van Horn, who was at that time an employee of Greenberg Traurig. Mr. Scanlon then paid $2.7 million to Kaygold, Mr. Abramoff's alter-ego.

And where did the $2.3 million that the Coushatta paid into the American International Center on April 9, 2003 go? Four days after its receipt, $991,000 went to Kaygold, Jack Abramoff's company. Another $1.3 million went to Capitol Campaign Strategies on April 22. From there, $15,000 was paid to a research company for work performed. Michael Scanlon drew down $1.4 million, apparently for work on his house, personal expenses and as a general shareholder draw.

Where it went after that, the committee cannot yet say. What it can say, however, is that the Coushatta apparently received little of the intended benefit for the vast sums it paid. During his pitch to the tribes, Mr. Scanlon made much of the databases he sold them. He called them customized and state of the art. They were technological wonders that contained everything from voter preferences to opposition research. He claimed that his company constructed, maintained and updated them.

But "high-technology" came at a steep price, according to Mr. Scanlon. In his October 23, 2001 memorandum to the tribe about their Battleground Program, Mr. Scanlon claimed that modifying the tribe's already existing database would cost $1,345,000. In the Coushatta political program, Mr. Scanlon pitched in 2003, for which the tribe paid millions of dollars, he claimed that "we are well underway in what is the most significant part of the 2003 program, and quite frankly the most expensive part of the program thus far." Yet Mr. Scanlon paid no more than $105,000 for the Coushatta database. His company did not construct it. He outsourced the database to another company.

We are fortunate to have with us today B.R. McConnon, the president of Democracy Data and Communications, the vendor that actually provided the software program and constructed the database. I think his testimony will be instructive on this issue and I thank him for his appearance and cooperation.

I could continue identifying other individual transactions, but our time today is limited. Suffice it to say that Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Abramoff made much money off the Coushatta.

Today, the committee will also examine certain issues related to a nonprofit called the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, commonly known as CREA. Information in the committee's possession indicates that Mr. Abramoff directed at least four of his tribal clients to contribute no less than $250,000 to this organization from 2001–03. The question is why. The committee can point to nothing that the CREA did for the tribes in particular, or on Native American issues in general, that merited such generosity.

In fact, documents obtained in the course of the investigation suggest that Mr. Abramoff might have had his tribal clients pay so much because he perceived that CREA's president, Italia Federici, would help him get inside information about, and possibly influence, tribal issues pending at the Department of the Interior. Internal business communications between Mr. Abramoff and his associates reflect that Mr. Abramoff believed that Ms. Federici had "juice" at the Department of the Interior and deemed her "critical" to his tribal lobbying practice. Whether she actually did have access and influence or whether she was just saying so to have Mr. Abramoff's tribes continue their donations is a question I hope is answered today.

Whatever the answer, one point should be made clear, and I believe all the witnesses on the fourth panel will agree. There has been no evidence to suggest that Secretary Norton knew of, much less sanctioned, Mr. Abramoff or anyone else using her name in seeking fees and donations from Native Americans. To suggest otherwise based on the current record would do a great disservice to the Secretary.

This hearing brings the committee one step closer to concluding its investigation. Over the next few months, the committee will continue its work and early next year it will prepare an appropriate report. Of course, should the evidence warrant, the committee will conduct further hearings.

As I sit here today, I cannot say what specific legislative remedies will result from this investigation. Clearly, lobbying reform is one of the issues that will be addressed. Whatever those remedies, I sincerely hope that the sanitizing light of public scrutiny shed on these lobbying practices has benefitted not just the affected tribes, not just Indian country, but all who participate in and are part of our great democratic process.

Finally, in preparation for this hearing, Vice Chairman Dorgan has asked that certain documents produced in response to committee subpoenas in this matter that he is keenly interested in be made part of the record. I have likewise asked that certain documents be made part of the record. I now ask for unanimous concurrence that both sets of documents, which were exchanged and agreed upon before today's hearing, be made part of the record.

Finally, I believe that Ms. Federici is not here. Is that correct? As far as we know, Ms. Federici has not chosen to respond to subpoena or we have been unable to subpoena her. As I wrote to her lawyer, we will have another hearing with her as the witness at

whatever time we are able to track her down. It is very unfortunate that she has chosen not to cooperate in this hearing.

Senator Dorgan.

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

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I will not repeat much of what you have added. However, I do have a statement of some length.

Let me say that when this committee began this odyssey some long while ago, I doubt if any of us would have imagined the tangled web that we would have uncovered. Schemes and personalities; it is a little like a bad novel with many characters and subplots. Each additional hearing has raised even more questions and added to the bizarre twists of the story. Each successive hearing has also increased my concern about a political system that in these circumstances seemed to encourage and reward unethical behavior.

While the committee has focused on the corruption and greed of two individuals, in particular Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, I think in some ways they are symptomatic of larger problems. We only need to open the newspaper each morning to read of the latest scandals.

One person has been indicted, in fact, in part for giving false information to this committee during this investigation. Our staff has received information indicating there have been other attempts to obstruct this investigation. Our staff has received reports and questions of senior Government officials interceding on behalf of friends in Government decisionmaking.

It is my hope that when the final report is written on this investigation, it not only recounts the facts and recognizes the illegal and unethical conduct that has occurred, but that it will address what is at the heart of why we sit on this dais today. We cannot change the ethics or the moral conduct of those who decide for their own reasons to break the law or make a living deceiving people, but this Congress can tighten up on the laws to ensure full disclosure and transparency, that it becomes a practice, not just a concept.

I thank the Chairman and his staff for their persistence in seeking the truth and making sense of the morass of information that we have received. I particularly appreciate the respectful manner in which the committee has worked with the tribes during the course of the investigation. Our focus has been on fraud and deception committed against the tribes as the committee's congressional mandate encompasses all issues affecting Native Americans and the unique trust relationship that they share with the Federal Government. But it needs to be emphasized that the fraud and deception committed by Mr. Abramoff and his cohorts reached well beyond the tribes.

At the committee's hearing in June of this year, we heard from witnesses about the fraud that was committed against the Choctaw Tribe in Mississippi. In preparation for that hearing, we uncovered a number of questionable transactions involving tax-exempt charitable organizations.

Subsequent to that hearing, the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Senate Finance Committee have written us requesting that this committee provide them with documents that fall within the jurisdiction of the Finance Committee about the use or potential misuse of 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations. It is my understanding that we will provide those documents and pertinent correspondence following today's hearing to the Senate Finance Committee.

The fraudulent activities that the investigation has discovered really almost know no boundaries, not by committee jurisdiction, geography, greed or deception. Our staffs working together have reviewed over 500,000 documents, documents that tell a complicated and tortured tale of influence-peddling, friends betraying friends for political and monetary gain, and sadly, of many innocent victims who were unwittingly snared into a web of deceit.

Our focus today is on the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, a tribe that spent a stunning $37 million on Mr. Abramoff and many of his schemes. Documents suggest that while some of this money was spent on legitimate lobbying activities, an alarming amount can be tracked to the pockets and personal interests of Mr. Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. During the period from February 2001 to March 2004 when the tribe was represented by Greenberg Traurig, the Coushattas have two major goals: First, to renew its compact with the State of Louisiana; and second, to protect its financial turf by keeping out gaming competitors.

To be fair, Mr. Chairman, in the beginning the overall goals of the tribe were for the most part achieved. However, along the way it appears that about two-thirds or something nearing that of the money paid by the tribe was skimmed off the top by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, through Mr. Scanlon's company called Capitol Campaign Strategies. These millions could have been directed in other ways, creating new jobs, providing health care for tribal members and so on, but instead it appears it helped pay for a very expensive wedding, seaside mansion, a charitable foundation; charitable, I might add, only to Mr. Abramoff. I think that once again it calls into question judgment and ethics and the morals of those who have been involved in this.

I want to note that the Indian tribes were not Mr. Abramoff's only targets. His pitch to potential clients was in fact global. For him, it was a simple proposition. If they had money, he offered access and influence.

In 2003, he offered to arrange for the President of Gabon a visit with President Bush, Members of Congress, and other policy opinion-makers in the United States in exchange for $1 million. To close the deal, he told the President of Gabon that he was "willing to travel to Western Africa at the conclusion of his visit to Scotland with Congressmen and Senators I take there each year. It is possible they will want to join me in Gabon, which would be an extra bonus." That arrangement was not concluded, but it shows the global reach and the interests of influence.

The experience of the Coushatta Tribe continues themes we have seen in previous hearings. There is substantial evidence the tribe received value for some of the lobbying fees but a lot of it, we may never know exactly how much, was siphoned off by Mr. Abramoff

and Mr. Scanlon. The excessive amount of money involved, a staggering $37 million, magnifies the situation. Influence-peddling appears to have reached new heights. The use of shell companies, so-called charitable organizations, to hide the sources of money has been found to be even more robust.

In two instances, Mr. Abramoff asked the Coushattas to contribute to the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy, or CREA, a business-backed 501(c)(4) environmental group. The executive director of CREA is the person that Senator McCain indicated has failed to show for today's hearing under subpoena, and will be asked to appear by herself, I understand, at the next hearing, and we will have a hearing that devotes itself exclusively to her recollection of events. But the e-mail traffic suggests that Mr. Abramoff expected the executive director of CREA to do his own bidding with a close friend of hers a top official at the Department of the Interior who is testifying today.

According to the former tribal Vice Chairman William Worfel, the tribe was asked by Abramoff to contribute $50,000 to CREA to pay for a Department of the Interior study on the national park system that allegedly the department could not afford. The contribution was made to CREA, which by the way is not affiliated with the Department of the Interior except by friendships. We have so far found no evidence that a study was ever conducted. Later, the tribe gave $100,000 to CREA and Italia Federici, the head of CREA she thanked Abramoff for the generosity, saying that without contributions that Abramoff arranged, CREA would not have been able to pay for the half-page ad in the Washington Post supporting President Bush's energy plan.

As Mr. Abramoff had learned with other clients, mobilizing and manipulating the Christian Coalition was also an effective way to turn back potential gaming competitors. The e-mail traffic in previous hearings and this hearing that will be released shows that with the Coushatta situation, it was no different than the other tribes that we discussed previously, but the stakes were even higher.

No surprise then that Mr. Abramoff called his friend at Century Strategies, Ralph Reed, for assistance. No surprise, either, that a decision was made to send Mr. Reed's compensation through a number of entities to hide its origin. At the request of Mr. Reed, the Coushatta, like the Choctaw before them, routed their funds to him through a variety of entities because of his concern about being publicly associated with gaming money.

The tribe's outside counsel in an interview with committee staff described how in one instance $400,000 flowed from casino revenues to Southern Underwriters, a company owned by tribal contractor Aubrey Temple, to the American International Center, and then on to Mr. Reed's company, Century Strategies. The counsel indicated it was no secret about who the intended ultimate recipient was. She also said the only revenues available to the Coushatta were from their gaming enterprise, so anyone paid by the tribe was being paid by gaming revenue.

Mr. Abramoff gained the trust of the Coushattas. He not only portrayed himself as a friend of some of the most powerful people in the world, he actually delivered them. Letters from Members of

Congress, many of whom were not from Louisiana, appeared at the Department of the Interior opposing gaming expansion in Louisiana, which would have had the practical effect of protecting the Coushatta gaming turf.

Through Abramoff's connections, the Coushatta were invited to the White House to have a photo taken with the President. The Coushatta trusted Abramoff so much that when he asked them to send $1 million to his firm, they assumed it was a legitimate business expense.

Abramoff's firm trusted him, too, and when the $1 million check arrived, they followed his directions and ran it through their corporate trust account and rewrote it to the Capital Athletic Foundation. Little did the tribe or the law firm know this particular $1 million provided the seed money for the Capital Athletic Fund, which we discovered in the last hearing was operated as Mr. Abramoff's personal charity, among other things used to start a school for his children and others and to pay for sniper education in Israel.

Mr. Chairman, finally, we have a number of witnesses with us today who can speak to many transactions and schemes that I have described and you have described. As human beings, we are often exposed to the same set of facts and circumstances, yet perceive them differently. The task of this committee is to sort through the facts and perceptions to gain clarity into what happened, where clarity sometimes might seem out of reach. In this case, Mr. Chairman, clarity at least shows me, and I think shows you, a pretty seamy side of American politics and influence-peddling.

I look forward today to hearing from the witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas.

STATEMENT OF HON. CRAIG THOMAS, U.S. SENATOR FROM WYOMING

Senator THOMAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be very brief so we can get on with the hearing.

I want to thank you, of course, for all the interest you have taken in this. It is a tough issue and certainly it is one that is important to this country and to this committee. We have heard a great deal about it and the public needs to know more about it. It is my understanding that the Justice Department really has the role in doing this, and I think we ought to limit ourselves to what our role ought to be as a legislative committee.

I also think, frankly, we are talking about these dollars, maybe it would be interesting to know that the tribes that are usually short of money are giving $35 million or $40 million for lobbying. I think that is kind of an interesting technique that I have not heard much about. So I think you ought to expand your scope a little bit on that.

We learn from experience, but I hope pretty soon, Mr. Chairman, we can wind this up and move on with some of the other issues that affect the tribes in this country.

I want to welcome my friend Steve Griles here, the Deputy Interior Secretary in the past, who has done a great job, and thank you for being able to be here.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Senator Thomas.

Our first panel is Kevin Sickey, the chairman of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana; and David Sickey, the council member of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. Welcome to both witnesses. We will begin with you, Chairman Kevin Sickey. Please proceed.

STATEMENT OF KEVIN SICKEY, CHAIRMAN, COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. KEVIN SICKEY. Good morning, Chairman McCain, Senator Dorgan, and distinguished members of this committee.

I am Kevin Sickey, chairman of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. With me at the table is my brother and council member David Sickey and the tribal attorney Jimmy Faircloth.

I would also like to recognize tribal council member Tee LaBuff and the members of our tribe who made this trip to attend this hearing. Many of these tribal members were the first to suspect that something had gone terribly wrong with the lobbyist Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon, so it is appropriate that these tribal members are present for this proceeding. At one time, they were referred to as dissidents for questioning the lobbyists' actions, a label provided by the lobbyists to divert suspicion from their own activities.

We are grateful for the opportunity to appear before this important committee. Your staff has been cooperative and respectful and we appreciate their hard work.

We will divide our opening statement into two parts. First, I will provide a brief history of our tribe and I will explain our government and the political environment that lobbyists used to their advantage. And I will comment briefly on the harm caused by their fraud. Obviously, the information the committee is making public today is both shocking and is deeply disturbing to me, both as chairman of the tribe and as a tribal member.

Following my brief comments, Councilman Sickey will provide a broad overview of some of the things we discovered in our own review. Before we proceed, however, I must respectfully qualify our testimony. Neither Councilman Sickey nor I had any direct dealings with Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon.

We were not involved in the decision to hire these lobbyists, nor were we involved in any aspect of coordinating their work. We are both reluctant to speculate about the conduct and motives of the lobbyists. I suspect that any such speculation or conjecture will not aid the work of this committee.

Finally, because we are currently involved in litigation about these events, we must be cautious in our comments concerning the actions of others.

We are descendants of the Creek Confederacy from the Muskogee family of tribes. Our ancestors were stripped of 22 million acres of land by the United States following the Creek War in 1814. Approximately 50 years later, a small band of Coushattas settled in the Calcasieu River area near Kinder, LA.

In 1884, they were forced to move again when homesteaders began claiming their land. They then purchased a small tract of land 3 miles north of Elton, LA. In 1898, the United States placed 160 acres of land into trust for the tribe. Unfortunately, the trust

was revoked in 1953, which began a 20-year struggle for re-recognition.

In 1973, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana was again recognized, and 7 years later our reservation was again formally established. In 1985, we held our first election of leaders by popular vote. We then established our own judicial system, police department, housing authority and many other social programs.

Today, our tribe consists of over 850 members, approximately 400 of whom live in the Coushatta community. We are proud of our culture and heritage, and we are dedicated to maintaining the sovereignty that generations of our ancestors sacrificed and even died to protect.

Our casino and resort opened in January 1995, and since then we have been blessed with economic prosperity. We employ approximately 2,800 people, with a total annual payroll in the range of $80 million. We purchase goods and services from Louisiana vendors in the range of $40 million per year. And we contribute approximately $7 million per year to State and local governments. We are proud to be a vital part of the economy of southwest Louisiana.

This brief period of prosperity follows hundreds of years of unjust treatment by outsiders, which resulted in abject poverty and hardship within the tribe. This is why it is particularly painful that, after all those terrible years, our tribe again has been preyed upon by outsiders.

But on this occasion, at least we are in good company. Certainly within the modern era, no victimization of Native Americans has received so much attention, no doubt because the underlying scandal has touched so many influential people. Nevertheless, we deeply appreciate the actions of this committee in bringing this matter to light.

Our tribe is governed by an elected council consisting of a chairman and four council members. None of the current council members were in office when Mr. Abramoff was hired in early 2001. Councilman Sickey took office in 2003. He had no direct contact with either Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon and very little knowledge of their activities. In fact, he became a vocal spokesperson against them.

Council members LaBuff, Verlis Williams, and I took office this past June. One of our council seats is currently vacant. This wholesale change in leadership was in large part a result of the mess created by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon.

While Indian county has seen so many con-men throughout history, few, if any, were as skilled as Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon at creating and then preying on our insecurities. They preyed upon our political insecurities, they preyed upon our economic insecurities, and they preyed upon our insecurities about each other.

Our political system is no more turbulent than any other. We, too, have cycles in leadership and influence, and it occasionally turns partisan. The lobbyists came to our tribe during one of these transition periods, and they viewed this as an opportunity for exploitation.

To any decent person, vulnerability in others provides an opportunity to help, but to con-men like Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, our vulnerability simply provided an opportunity to steal. And they

hit the jackpot with us, a Native American tribe with a fairly new casino in the midst of a political transition, and naive to the underworld of governmental affairs.

They inserted themselves into our internal tribal politics, excluded and attempted to discredited those who questioned or opposed them, and deliberately created paranoia on both sides by exaggerating threats from inside and outside the tribe. They exaggerated political threats and they exaggerated economic threats. Then they exaggerated their ability to deal with these exaggerated threats. And in the midst of this, they incited political upheaval to provide cover for their scheme to steal millions of dollars.

We are pleased to report that the political storm within the tribe has calmed. And we are taking steps to recover the money that was stolen and to correct our system of checks and balances to ensure that this will never happen again.

It is important to understand that the harm caused by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon is much greater than the money they stole. Even though this amount is shockingly large, the scar of victimization runs even deeper, particularly because it has touched our leadership.

Moreover, the misconduct of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon has harmed all Native Americans in a way that deserves the particular attention of this committee. The lobbyists' actions have created a perception that there is something improper about officials working closely with Indian tribes. This stereotype threatens to chill tribal communications with officials who can profoundly influence the well-being of tribes.

Even worse, it unfairly shifts the blame from where it belongs to the victims. Jack Abramoff is not a product of Indian country. On the contrary, he is the golden boy gone bad of the American political system. Our tribe and others were victimized when we attempted to fit into the American political system and we were led to believe that Mr. Abramoff was the gatekeeper.

We have begun the process of repairing the political damage to our tribe's reputation. We have met with several of our State and Federal officials, and they seem genuinely committed to providing our tribe with the same access and the same channels of communication open to all individuals, businesses and special interest groups, nothing more, nothing less, and without favors or contributions. That is the way the system should work, and that is certainly the way we would like to participate.

There have been a lot of adjectives used to describe Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. Greedy and corrupt come to mind. But those are common terms, often used to describe people who forfeit judgment for money. Abramoff's and Scanlon's actions were hardly common. They set a new high-water mark for greed and corruption.

I have read that Mr. Abramoff considers himself a religious man. If that is the case, then I do not understand the basis of his faith, and it is certainly different than ours. Most religions promote compassion and concern for others, and it is clear that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had no concern whatsoever for the welfare of our people.

Your committee has done a great service for all Americans by exposing this sad affair. There are lessons here for everyone. I am

grateful for the opportunity to address this committee on behalf of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. Council member David Sickey will now provide a brief overview of our factual findings.

Thank you.

[Prepared Statement of Kevin Sickey appears in appendix.]

STATEMENT OF DAVID SICKEY, COUNCIL MEMBER, COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. DAVID SICKEY. Good morning, Chairman McCain, Senator Dorgan, and distinguished members of this committee.

I am David Sickey, a member of the tribal council of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. I took office in June 2003.

As Chairman Sickey has noted, I was not in office when Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were hired, and I did not participate in the decisions by the tribal council to authorize their projects or pay them. I would respectfully submit that it will not aid the committee's efforts for me to speculate about the events at issue.

My brief comments today will therefore be limited to certain facts established by the documents we have seen. As you are aware, many of the documents reviewed by this committee were not available to us. However, my observations today are also based on information provided by your staff, for which we are grateful.

My intention is to provide a broad overview of the environment in which this fraud was committed. As your investigation must have revealed, while the scheme of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon was reprehensible, it was also very clever and well-timed. Like Chairman Sickey, I should note that our tribe is currently involved in litigation about these lobbying activities, so I am limited in what I can say today.

I have attempted to organize my observations in chronological order because the way that this scheme evolved over time was critical to its success.

Mr. Abramoff was hired in March 2001. The tribe entered a contract with his firm, Greenberg Traurig, to provide lobbying services related to our tribe's compact negotiation and important regional gaming issues. According to the contract, Greenberg Traurig was to receive $125,000 a month plus reasonable expenses. The contract did not mention Mr. Scanlon nor any of the entities that he used to charge the tribe an additional $30 million.

During the first 6 months or so of the lobbyists' employment, they appeared to deliver on their promises, and so the lobbying costs appeared justified. During that initial period, the tribe paid roughly $3.5 million for assistance with our tribal compact, which was successfully negotiated, and to achieve several legislative objectives. I say that they appeared to deliver on their promises because it is difficult to assess how much impact the lobbyists actually had in accomplishing these tribal objectives. Of course, they took credit for everything.

If it had ended at that point, around September 2001, then this would be nothing more than another story about high-priced lobbyists taking credit for results that they may or may not have influenced. But it did not stop there. They leveraged their initial success as a platform for fraud, and by the spring of 2002 had extracted another $17 million from our tribe. By the time it was over

in 2004, the tribe had spent approximately $36 million. Ironically, as the scheme progressed and the bills and rhetoric increased, the lobbyists' actual work for the tribe clearly decreased.

The Texas threat. On October 5, 2001, the tribe paid $870,000 to Mr. Scanlon's company, Capitol Campaign Strategies to create a "grassroots political structure" in Texas. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were insistent that Texas was on the verge of legalizing gambling and that this would devastate the Coushatta casino. The majority of our casino customers travel from Texas, particularly the Houston area, and we have long understood that legalized gambling in Texas would erode our customer base and our casino revenues.

Recognizing this potential threat and our fear of the consequences, the lobbyists claimed to have critical influence with the Texas officials who could defeat Texas gambling. This appears to be the starting point for their most egregious exaggerations and fabrications. This also appears to be the timeframe when they committed to gouging the tribe for as much money as they could and to say or do anything that was necessary to prolong the payout.

The $1 million payment funneled to one of Abramoff's causes. On October 30, 2001, the tribe paid $3.17 million for the "Louisiana program." This payment marks a high point in the lobbyists' creative billing. They split the bill by requesting that $2.17 million be sent to Capitol Campaign Strategies and $1 million to Greenberg Traurig.

According to information shared by the staff, the $1 million payment to Greenberg Traurig was not for any services provided by the firm. Instead, this $1 million payment was used to pump the firm's reported lobbying revenues, thereby maintaining Greenberg Traurig's public status as one of the top 10 providers of legal and lobbying services to Native American tribes.

E-mails involving Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon and others at Greenberg Traurig revealed that this $1 million payment was funneled through the firm and then used to finance one of Mr. Abramoff's favorite causes. The suspect nature and purpose of this payment structure is reflected in an e-mail from Mr. Scanlon to the tribe's former attorney dated October 25, 2001, where he wrote, "we broke this into two invoices, one to be paid to Greenberg Traurig for $1 million and one paid to Capitol Campaign Strategies, GT's public affairs entity, for the balance. We usually just invoice you through Capitol Campaign Strategies so the lawyers at the firm rest easy while we are out burning the countryside. In this instance, however, we plan to do some things through the law firm umbrella due to their highly sensitive nature and confidentiality reasons. I hate hiding behind lawyers, but we are going to do some crazy stuff on this one, so I guess it is okay."

Mr. Abramoff, who was a partner at Greenberg Traurig, directed this creating billing arrangement. In my personal view, this payment reveals the extent of Abramoff's shamelessness. Not only was he stealing the tribe's money, but he was also using the theft to improve his professional reputation and the reputation of the firm.

Hyping the Texas threat. In a memorandum dated November 6, 2001, Mr. Scanlon reports that he had just returned from Texas, and States, "We believe now that the Alabama Coushatta will open

soon if we do not intercede. This would like be a small facility and not the class III facility the council is worried about, but we believe you should shut it down regardless."

This exemplifies the lobbyists' strategy of identifying an exaggerated threat to the tribe's casino revenues, as does the following assertion in a report from Mr. Scanlon to the tribe dated December 21, 2001: "Despite our best efforts, the voting public in Texas remains very pro-gaming. The State economy is lagging and with the Enron and Continental Airlines debacles hitting the Houston area back-to-back, they are desperate for revenue.

As we said when we came to you with the original Texas proposal, things are really bad over there. We have never before seen such a pro-gaming atmosphere in Texas or anywhere else in the country. In our collective political careers, and although we have it contained for the time being, this environment is a very serious threat to the Grand Casino's future."

Threats of infiltration. According to a memorandum from Mr. Scanlon dated January 3, 2002, the company that owned one of our competitors was "well known for their ability to infiltrate the electorates of Indian tribes and this will undoubtedly happen there, if they get a foothold in your region."

After hammering this point and others, Mr. Scanlon states——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sickey, would you try to summarize as much as you can, since we have to move forward. Go ahead.

Mr. DAVID SICKEY. Okay.

At about this time, perhaps sensing some opposition to their proposals and programs within the tribe and likely planning to increase their fees and profits, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon began excluding and attempting to discredit their political opposition on the council and within the tribe.

On October 31, 2002, the tribal CFO sent an e-mail to Mr. Abramoff stating the tribal auditors would requesting confirmation that the tribe had paid a total of $18,559,700 for "demographic surveys and studies and professional consulting services." Mr. Abramoff worded the e-mail to Mr. Scanlon asking, "what should I say, especially about the last part, the request concerning no contracts?"

In response to several frantic comments from Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon states, "f-ing weird, really f-ing weird. I hope that this is a standard operating procedure." He then recommends that Mr. Abramoff talk to the tribe's vice chairman before writing anything. There was never a formal reply. The confirmation requested by the auditors was not provided. Instead, a decision apparently was made to lay low until the storm passed.

There is no doubt by this point the lobbyists knew that questions were being raised about their fees. As is clear from subsequent events, they obviously did not care. Apparently, they felt confident that even this type of blatant misconduct was fair game in the world of big-time lobbying.

At this time, I will go into my closing comments.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. DAVID SICKEY. In conclusion, as Chairman Sickey and I have both noted, since we were not involved in any direct dealings with Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon, there is very little we can say here

today about the events at issue that would not involve speculation and conjecture. Therefore, until our own investigation is complete, both of us are reluctant to comment further on the lobbying activities in question. Moreover, any speculative comments on our part could jeopardize our legal efforts to recover the tribe's money.

But what we can state with firm conviction, based on our own review and the findings of this committee, is that our tribe was defrauded out of most of the money we paid. And no matter who the lobbyists used or who they try to blame, this fraud was orchestrated and carried out by Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. From the tribe's perspective, the fraud was orchestrated under the banner of Greenberg Traurig.

Your committee has performed an important service by exposing this fraud and I am grateful for the opportunity to address the committee today. As Chairman Sickey has noted, there are lessons in this sad episode for everyone.

Thank you.

[Prepared Statement of David Sickey appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Dorgan.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, in the interest of time, I will not ask questions. I would thank the tribal representatives for being here to present testimony. I would also say that my colleague from Wyoming asked an important question on all of this. I think there was fraud and deception and so on, but it is also the case that the decision to spend that quantity of money is quite an extraordinary matter of strange judgment nonetheless, so I agree with my colleague from Wyoming about that.

I thank you for at least filling in some pieces of the puzzle from your perspective and I hope the committee will be able to fit the rest of the pieces together as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Thomas.

Senator THOMAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I had to go to the floor so I did not really hear the testimony, so I have no questions. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Councilman Sickey, your complete statement will be made part of the record. I had a chance to read it last night, and I thank you.

I thank you both and I wish you luck. I appreciate your candid testimony today. Thank you very much.

Mr. KEVIN SICKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DAVID SICKEY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next panel is William Worfel, who is the former tribal council member of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana; Kathryn Van Hoof, former outside counsel to the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana; and Fred Baggett, the managing shareholder and chairman of National Governmental Affairs Practice of Greenberg Traurig, Tallahassee, FL.

Please come forward.

Since we have four panels, I would appreciate your witnesses keeping their opening statements as brief as possible. We will begin with Mr. Worfel. Welcome and please proceed.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM WORFEL, FORMER TRIBAL COUNCIL MEMBER, COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA

Mr. WORFEL. Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. It is an honor to appear before you today. My name is William Worfel. I live in Oberlin, LA. I am a former member of the governing council of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. My mother is a full-blooded Coushatta member. I am a happily married man with three daughters that keep me and my wife Tammy very busy.

I again thank you for the opportunity to address you today regarding some very important matters that have impacted not only my tribe, but also Native Americans as a whole.

My first contact with this committee in April 2004, I am sorry to say, was under much less informed circumstances. My first contact with this committee was in the form of a letter, first and foremost. Please understand that the letter does not in any way reflect how I feel about the honorable members of this committee or the committee's honorable purpose.

This letter was written for me by Michael Scanlon and addressed to Senator McCain. Both Abramoff and Scanlon told me that this committee's investigation would not amount to anything and that if we sent in the letter he drafted, Jack would personally deliver the letter to the committee and the investigation would end.

Since at that time we knew nothing of the rip-off that Mike Scanlon and Jack Abramoff had undertaken against our tribe and many other tribes, I trusted Mike Scanlon at his word. I regret the letter sent to this committee with my signature on it. I view that letter as the last fraud committed against me and my tribe by Abramoff and Scanlon.

I sit here today very satisfied that I have since then fully and actively cooperated with the committee's investigation into the wrongdoings of Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. The letter drafted for me by Michael Scanlon to this committee was addressed to Senator McCain. As this process has moved forward, I have learned that Senator John McCain is a national hero. I can assure you that my father, a Vietnam veteran and a Korean War veteran, would whip my butt if he knew I had any role in disrespecting Senator McCain. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Because of the fine work done by this committee and the Department of Justice, we now know that these two men committed a consistent pattern of fraud and deception, not only against our tribe, but against many tribes. I have no friendship for these men. In my mind they are educated thieves that must be brought to justice so this will not happen again in Indian country.

I was first elected to the Coushatta Council in 1999. Lovelin Poncho was our chairman. When Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon were hired in March 2001, we were involved in a very vigorous fight over the renewal of our gaming compact with the Governor of Louisiana and the local governments surrounding our casino.

Terry Martin, a member of the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana, recommended Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon to our council. Mr. Martin told us that Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon worked for Chief Phillip Martin of the Choctaw Tribe of Mississippi. As you know, the Choctaw Tribe and Chief Martin are viewed in Indian country as very respected and as a sophisticated business-oriented

tribe. From following your investigation, I know that Abramoff and Scanlon also defrauded the Choctaw Tribe.

Chairman Poncho had delegated the responsibility of checking out Abramoff and Scanlon to our legal counsel, Kathryn Van Hoof, and former council member, Bertney Langley. I have no doubt that these folks looked hard at Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon and their law firm, Greenberg Traurig. That Jack worked for a Washington, DC mega-law firm like Greenberg Traurig was very impressive to us all.

As I sit here today, knowing all the real facts, I consider Greenberg Traurig as guilty as Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. During 2001, I was not responsible for working with Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon. Our attorney, Kathryn Van Hoof, council member, Bertney Langley, and Chairman Poncho worked with them at that time. As council members, we all know that competitive threats of expanded gaming were happening all the time. State-sponsored gambling, slot machines at the horse racetrack, and the possibility of Texas legalizing gaming and the casinos being built by other tribes were consistent threats to our market share.

In early 2002, Kathy Van Hoof resigned. After her resignation, Chairman Poncho assigned me to keep tabs on competitive threats to our casino and to handle Government relations efforts for our tribe. I became the contact person for Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon in March 2002.

The most critical issue during this time was a possible casino by the Jena Band of Choctaw Tribe. The Jena Band had tried to work with our tribe and Chairman Poncho for many years to get their own casino. At one point in the negotiations, our tribe was going to loan the necessary funds to the Jena Band and we would get a measuring contract in return.

The discussion had always been that the Jena Band would put their casino in Northern Louisiana, and it would not in any way compete with our casino. However, when we learned that Jena was trying to locate a casino on the Louisiana-Texas border off Interstate 10, we began to work hard to stop them. Michael Scanlon was working for us to develop a grassroots campaign against expansion of gambling, including the Jena Band's efforts. Scanlon's efforts included using Christian groups that oppose gambling.

Scanlon and Ralph Reed also worked in 2001 on our compact renewal. We never met with Ralph Reed, nor did we tell Mike Scanlon to use Ralph Reed. I believe that Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon did assist us during our efforts to renew our compact and in the fight against the Jena Band. However, there are other projects that I now believe were not helpful and never intended to be.

For example, our tribe was billed millions of dollars for the development of a database of information that Abramoff and Scanlon said would be a great help in grassroots campaigns and political lobbying in the future. I have learned from your investigation that the database that Scanlon supposedly was using on our behalf was really not something that would cost the money they said it did. We did not know that Abramoff and Michael Scanlon had a secret

agreement to split the fees that we paid Michael Scanlon for the products that he pitched to us.

We were told that we were paying for the cost of letter-writing campaigns, media campaigns, and political research. We now know that Scanlon was overcharging us and paying out one-half or more of the money to Jack Abramoff's personal pet projects. I now know that Abramoff and Scanlon actually did not do much of the work they took credit for.

Abramoff and Scanlon were always coming to us with the next project that they thought we should do. It was always one crisis after another. There were real threats and some not so real, looking back with hindsight. Texas gaming was one of those oversold crises.

In 2001, we were told by Abramoff that Texas was one vote away from allowing casino gambling. I have since learned that legalized casino gambling was far from being approved by the Texas Legislature. In addition, we have learned that Jack and Mike were working for other tribes in Texas that were trying to get gaming, when they were supposed to be watching out for us.

Once again, these thieves took every opportunity from us and other tribes. What should you spend to save a $300-million a year business when the lawyers who work for you tell you that it could be all gone if we do not act right now? Our tribe has one and only one business. We made tough decisions and we acted always in the best interests of our tribe.

I understand and acknowledge that our council's hiring of Abramoff, Scanlon, and Greenberg Traurig was a mistake. No one chooses to be defrauded, especially by professionals who you have been told you could trust. However, the fact that we hired government relations professionals was not a mistake.

As I know this committee understands, Native American gaming is highly political. It is an $18-billion industry. Not only do you have to have your Governor's approval, but also the Department of the Interior. Congress and State legislatures passing or not passing gaming laws directly impact the competitive environment in which you operate. Then there are the local governments that are always trying to gain something off your casino revenues.

Let me tell you, there is a lot of redtape that comes along with gaming. I am not saying that is bad. It is just the way it is. Successful tribes such as ours must have the help of qualified, honest professionals that understand the business and politics of Native American gaming. I hope that your efforts result in keeping those professionals more honest and trustworthy in the future.

I again thank this committee for the opportunity to speak to you today. I applaud you and your efforts. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Van Hoof.

STATEMENT OF KATHRYN VAN HOOF, FORMER OUTSIDE COUNSEL, COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA

Ms. VAN HOOF. Mr. Chairman, I have no prepared statement. I am former counsel for the tribe and I have been authorized to speak to the committee today subject to attorney-client privilege. So long as that privilege is not implicated or the attorney-client

work product doctrine, it is my plan to cooperate fully with the committee and answer your questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Baggett.

STATEMENT OF FRED BAGGETT, MANAGING SHAREHOLDER; CHAIRMN, NATIONAL GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS PRACTICE, GREENBERG TRAURIG, TALLAHASSEE, FL

Mr. BAGGETT. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice Chairman, Senator Thomas, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. My name is Fred Baggett. I am a shareholder in the Tallahassee Florida office of Greenberg Traurig.

I have spent my entire professional career as a lawyer and lobbyist in the State of Florida. I am currently a managing shareholder of the Tallahassee office of Greenberg Traurig and head of its national governmental affairs practice. I also maintain a full-time administrative law and lobby practice with the firm. It is comprised almost exclusively of work in Florida with the State Legislature and executive branch of Government.

Turning to the subject of today's hearing, in 2001–04, Jack Abramoff worked as a non-attorney lobbyist for the Washington, DC office of our firm. Up until the end of Mr. Abramoff's tenure with Greenberg Traurig, we believed that Mr. Abramoff was rendering high-quality professional services to his clients. Late in 2003 and early 2004, reports began to emerge questioning the amounts of money paid by various Indian tribes to Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon in connection with services the two had rendered.

During this timeframe, Mr. Abramoff was questioned about his financial relationships with Mr. Scanlon. Records available to the committee, including a February 3, 2004 interview of Mr. Abramoff conducted by Susan Schmidt of the Washington Post reflect that in front of firm personnel, Mr. Abramoff denied having any financial relationship with Mr. Scanlon or engaging in any improprieties in connection with his lobby work for the tribes.

Nevertheless, because concerns had been raised, Greenberg Traurig sought to ensure that there was no impropriety on the part of Mr. Abramoff. In mid-February we hired Henry F. Schulke of the Washington, DC firm of Janis, Schulke, and Wexler to conduct an internal investigation focusing on the existence of any financial relationship between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. Mr. Schulke is a former Federal prosecutor who served as Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Columbia from 1972–79 and is a highly regarded member of the District of Columbia Bar.

He and others with his firm have extensive experience in this type of internal investigation. As Mr. Schulke began his investigation, the Washington Post published the article, "A Jackpot from Indian Gaming Tribes," raising questions about fees charged by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon for lobbying and grassroots work.

Around the same time, this committee announced that it would be looking into Mr. Abramoff's activities. Facing the prospect of Mr. Schulke's investigation, Mr. Abramoff for the first time disclosed to our firm that he had received money from Mr. Scanlon in connection with the work the two men were doing on behalf of the Indian tribes. Upon learning of this arrangement, the firm immediately re-

quested and obtained Mr. Abramoff's resignation. The firm issued a statement to that effect on March 2, 2004.

Notwithstanding Mr. Abramoff's departure, Greenberg Traurig asked Mr. Schulke to continue his investigation. Based on Mr. Schulke's investigation, the firm has made disclosures to its clients who were affected by Mr. Abramoff's activities, worked out resolutions with a number of affected clients, and hopes to work out resolutions with still other affected parties.

The facts surrounding Mr. Abramoff's employment by our firm are unhappy ones. We at Greenberg Traurig regret the improprieties which occurred during Mr. Abramoff's 3 years with us. We share the chairman's and the rest of the committee's dismay at Mr. Abramoff's activities and behavior. We appreciate the work of the committee and its staff in thoroughly investigating this matter and we continue to cooperate with you.

Again, I thank you for the opportunity to appear.

[Prepared Statement of Mr. Baggett appears in appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Baggett.

I would like to note for the record and for Mr. Worfel's father that William Worfel has been fully cooperating with the committee and the committee greatly appreciates his cooperation. Thank you. Please relay that to your father for me. I thank you.

Ms. Van Hoof, I understand that the tribe became acquainted with Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon at a USET conference and then Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon met with the tribal council in Louisiana to make a proposal. Am I correct in understanding that Mr. Abramoff was clear that Mr. Scanlon was "part of the package" in that briefing?

Ms. VAN HOOF. Yes, sir; that was the tribe's understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. During what time period were you the primary point of contact between the tribe, Mr. Abramoff, and Mr. Scanlon?

Ms. VAN HOOF. I believe that would have been from around March 2001 until the compact was signed in July 2001, and continuing for some short period after that, perhaps into October or November, but not beyond that point, I do not believe.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first learn of the American International Center? In 2001?

Ms. VAN HOOF. It would have had to have been during 2001, during that period.

The CHAIRMAN. Based on your conversations with Mr. Abramoff, what did you understand the American International Center to be?

Ms. VAN HOOF. I understood it as represented to the tribal council to be an organization, a conservative organization that did not support the expansion of gaming in Louisiana. It was an organization whose cause the tribe could certainly support.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Abramoff recommend that the Coushatta pay money into the American International Center to support its anti-gambling activities?

Ms. VAN HOOF. Yes; Mr. Abramoff raised that as an opportunity for a contribution by the tribe to help support any effort that would not expand gaming in Louisiana.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon ever tell you that the American International Center was owned or operated by Michael Scanlon?

Ms. VAN HOOF. Absolutely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon ever tell you that the American International Center was paying money to Mr. Abramoff from the Coushatta payments it received?

Ms. VAN HOOF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baggett, when did you first learn of the American International Center?

Mr. BAGGETT. It would have been in the fall of 2001.

The CHAIRMAN. And it had something to do with Malaysian-related issues?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir; we were asked to represent, Mr. Abramoff brought to the firm AIC, American International Center, as a client for the firm to represent on various Malaysian business interests.

The CHAIRMAN. For example, that it was like a think-tank?

Mr. BAGGETT. We were told by Mr. Abramoff that AIC was an established think-tank that represented a number of interests both in the area of public relations and policy advocacy.

The CHAIRMAN. And some of the issues that you were supposed to handle for the AIC were enhanced business and economic development opportunities for Malaysian business interests?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir; we were told AIC represented a group of Malaysian business interests who were seeking to improve the economic opportunities of their interests in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time, what was your understanding of Michael Scanlon's relationship with AIC?

Mr. BAGGETT. We were told that AIC had retained, or I would assume retained, Michael Scanlon to assist in the public relations efforts on behalf of the Malaysian business interests and would be our contact for working with AIC.

The CHAIRMAN. Did either Abramoff of Scanlon ever tell you that AIC was owned or operated by Michael Scanlon?

Mr. BAGGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever tell you that American International Center was paying money to Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. BAGGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the firm now understand the American International Center to be?

Mr. BAGGETT. A sham. To explain that, it is our understanding now from information we have received and from our e-mails of the firm and from other investigative sources that AIC was a front for Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to collect money.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Van Hoof, I take it that Mr. Scanlon proposed constructing a computer program and database for the tribe.

Ms. VAN HOOF. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. And how did he describe it and what benefits did he say the tribe would get from it?

Ms. VAN HOOF. Well, at that time the tribe was deeply involved in negotiations with the State for renewal of the compact. So as part of its public affairs and grassroots campaign which would support the tribe's efforts, Mr. Scanlon proposed the development of a database which would identify those who would support the tribe's efforts at that time involving the compact, so that it could be tweaked to support other efforts on behalf of the tribe as well at later dates.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it your expectation that the actual cost of the database would be a fraction of what you actually paid?

Ms. VAN HOOF. No, Senator; it was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Worfel, I understand you met with Scanlon and Chris Cathcart in Washington to review the multi-million dollar database. What did they show you?

Mr. WORFEL. Senator, they showed me a computer screen with names of Coushatta tribal vendors for our casino operations. They showed me on the screen the people, how many employees they had, how many people would vote, what parties they were affiliated with, Republican or Democrat. That was just on a computer screen right there.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Mr. Scanlon say he would do with this database?

Mr. WORFEL. That is a good one. He said this here can help control the political future of the Coushatta Tribe in Louisiana. He said you give us a body, we can elect a State Representative, a State Senator, a Governor, because it had the precincts of each voter base in the surrounding Parishes statewide, and he said we had the voting results of the previous elections for the last 10 or 12 years.

He said you give us a body, and we can elect a Governor, a Senator, using your vendors, getting your vendors mobilized to call these people and say, look, we do business with the Coushatta Tribe; this is vendor business and they need your support; they need somebody that would help them with their causes, with a new compact coming up, those kinds of things.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baggett, I understand that Greenberg Traurig has a policy that employees should not receive income from outside sources. Is that correct?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And obviously Mr. Abramoff violated this prohibition by receiving money from Scanlon?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anybody else violate the policy?

Mr. BAGGETT. Our investigation has found, and as we have informed Federal authorities and I believe this committee, we found a number of other instances where members of Mr. Abramoff's team had received compensation outside of the firm.

The CHAIRMAN. What names?

Mr. BAGGETT. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. And they were?

Mr. BAGGETT. We received, to my knowledge, and my knowledge is not necessarily conclusive because I do not have Mr. Schulke's investigation report, Kevin Ring, Jon Van Horn, Michael Smith, and I believe Stephanie Leger.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Van Horn was a shareholder in your firm?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baggett, would you take a look at exhibit 128. Exhibit 128 is an e-mail exchange dated January 17, 2002 between Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon, subject "Van Horn". Mr. Abramoff writes, "I told him," meaning Van Horn, "we would kick him $20,000 from CCS when we score next. Let's do so." Mr. Scanlon replies, "Cool. No problem here."

[Exhibit follows:]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 11:35 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Van Horne

Do this

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 11:42 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Van Horne

Cool - no problem here.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 9:09 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Van Horne

I told him we'd kick him $20K from CCS. When we score next, let's do so.

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]

11:35 PM
09/10/03
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	12/5/2002	1095	Alison Bozniak	Lights & alarms exps	SunTrust Bank	826.00	92,948.09
Check	12/26/2002	WIR...	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	96,508.09
General Jou...	12/31/2002	DON...		Cabela's purchases for Schmuel-Kay...	Jack Abramoff	491.88	96,999.97
Total Kollel Ohel Tiferet Sec Enhance						96,999.97	96,999.97
Scotland Fundraiser							0.00
Travel							0.00
Check	7/8/2002		American Express	Acct # 3713 892917 14002	SunTrust Bank	42,276.01	42,276.01
Check	7/25/2002	Wire	Air Travel Network, LLC		SunTrust Bank	91,465.00	133,741.01
Check	9/6/2002	1040	American Express	Various Business Expenses	SunTrust Bank	14,383.54	148,124.55
Check	10/10/2002	1057	American Express		SunTrust Bank	1,334.80	149,459.35
Check	11/5/2002	1072	American Express	Air Charter expenses	SunTrust Bank	1,571.55	151,030.90
Total Travel						151,030.90	151,030.90
Expenses							0.00
Check	7/26/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdock 1	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	2,833.95	2,833.95
Check	8/15/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdock 1	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	1,066.01	3,899.96
Check	8/22/2002	1028	Neil Volz	VOID;-Scotland Expenses	SunTrust Bank	0.00	3,899.96
Check	8/23/2002	1029	Neil Volz	Scotland Expenses	SunTrust Bank	4,226.79	8,126.75
Check	8/29/2002	1035	Mike Williams	Scotland Reimbursement Expenses	SunTrust Bank	5,486.23	13,612.98
Check	10/16/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdock	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	793.00	14,405.98
Check	12/3/2002	Trans...	Jason D. Murdock	Scottish Trip Expenses-$750 US$	SunTrust Bank	1,197.38	15,603.36
Total Expenses						15,603.36	15,603.36
Independent Contractors							0.00
Total Independent Contractors							0.00
Scotland Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Scotland Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Scotland Fundraiser						166,634.26	166,634.26
Spy Museum Fundraiser							0.00
Expenses							0.00
Check	12/16/2002	1102	Invitations Plus by Ro...	Deposit	SunTrust Bank	6,825.00	6,825.00
Check	12/16/2002	1103	Advocacy Ink	CAF fundraiser programs	SunTrust Bank	3,000.00	9,825.00
Total Expenses						9,825.00	9,825.00
Independent Contractors							0.00
Check	1/9/2002		Mark D. Zachares		Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	5,000.00
Check	2/7/2002	Wire	Mark D. Zachares		Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	10,000.00
Check	3/7/2002	1001	David Litwack		Harbor Capita...	6,000.00	16,000.00
Check	7/17/2002	1006	Evan Litwack	CAF Photos	SunTrust Bank	360.00	16,360.00
Check	8/8/2002	1019	Connections Consulting	Fundraiser services	SunTrust Bank	10,000.00	26,360.00
Check	9/4/2002	1037	Evan Litwack	CAF Brochure	SunTrust Bank	500.00	26,860.00
Check	10/1/2002	1053	Connections Consulting	Spy Museum Fundraiser	SunTrust Bank	10,000.00	36,860.00
Check	10/1/2002	1054	Monty Warner	Spy Museum Fundraiser	SunTrust Bank	15,000.00	51,860.00
Check	12/4/2002	1092	WMR Consulting, Inc.		SunTrust Bank	6,000.00	57,860.00
Total Independent Contractors						57,860.00	57,860.00
Spy Museum Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Spy Museum Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Spy Museum Fundraiser						67,685.00	67,685.00
Tuition Assistance							0.00
Bill	1/21/2002	Ruge...	Taylor University	Student Rugema fees	Accounts Pay...	6,452.34	6,452.34
Total Tuition Assistance						6,452.34	6,452.34
Charitable Activities - Other							0.00
Total Charitable Activities - Other							0.00
Total Charitable Activities						2,194,475.48	2,194,475.48
Contract Labor							0.00
Total Contract Labor							0.00
Contributions							0.00
Eshkol Academy							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy							0.00
Contributions - Other							0.00
Check	1/3/2002	811	Jewish Federation of ...		Merrill Lynch ...	5,000.00	5,000.00
Check	1/3/2002	812	Committee for Wester...	VOID;	Merrill Lynch ...	0.00	5,000.00
Check	3/5/2002	03-05...	Yoram Ettinger		Accounts Pay...	10,000.00	15,000.00
Check	3/8/2002	1003	GIFT School		Harbor Capita...	14,500.00	29,500.00
Check	3/8/2002	1004	PPF	Savinbi Memorial Dinner	Harbor Capita...	500.00	30,000.00

MB-001953

11:36 PM
09/10/03
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	6/30/2002	1057	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	June 16-30	Harbor Capita...	2,940.50	25,942.00
Check	7/15/2002	1002	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	July 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	28,282.50
Check	7/31/2002	1009	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	July 16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	31,223.00
Check	8/15/2002	1024	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Aug 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	34,163.50
Check	8/30/2002	1032	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Aug 16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	37,093.00
Check	9/15/2002	1042	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Sept 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	40,022.50
Check	9/30/2002	1050	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services Sept 15-30	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	42,952.00
Check	10/15/2002	1059	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 10/1-15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	45,881.50
Check	10/31/2002	1067	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 10/16-10/31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	48,811.00
Check	11/15/2002	1075	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 11/1-11/15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	51,740.50
Check	11/30/2002	1086	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 11/16-11/30/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	54,670.00
Check	12/15/2002	1099	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/1-12/15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	57,599.50
Check	12/31/2002	1107	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	60,529.00
Total Rabbi D. Lapin						60,529.00	60,529.00
Real Estate Deposit							0.00
Bill	2/12/2002	6325 ...	Eshkol Academy	VOID: Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road	Accounts Pay...	0.00	0.00
Check	2/25/2002		Rifkin, Livingston, Levi...	Deposit on site for school-later forfeit...	Harbor Capita...	40,000.00	40,000.00
Total Real Estate Deposit						40,000.00	40,000.00
Travel							0.00
Check	5/31/2002	1045	Rabbi D Lapin	Travel reimbursement	Harbor Capita...	703.81	703.81
Check	7/15/2002	1004	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Travel	SunTrust Bank	468.50	1,172.31
Check	8/20/2002	1026	American Express	Reimburse Air Tix	SunTrust Bank	742.80	1,915.11
Check	9/15/2002	1041	Rabbi D Lapin		SunTrust Bank	0.00	1,915.11
Check	9/18/2002	1044	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Travel	SunTrust Bank	323.50	2,238.61
Check	10/3/2002	1055	Rabbi D Lapin	Trips to DC from LA	SunTrust Bank	1,192.90	3,431.51
Check	10/15/2002	1061	Rabbi D Lapin	Trips to DC from LA-Oct 2002	SunTrust Bank	3,347.50	6,779.01
Check	11/1/2002	1070	Rabbi Eric Paul	Travel exp-Seattle/DC	SunTrust Bank	463.86	7,242.87
Check	11/19/2002	1082	American Express	VOID: Various Business Expenses	SunTrust Bank	0.00	7,242.87
Check	12/3/2002	1089	Rabbi D Lapin	Travel reimb	SunTrust Bank	416.00	7,658.87
Check	12/5/2002	1093	Ilan Kowalsky	Travel exp & fees	SunTrust Bank	272.00	7,930.87
Check	12/6/2002	Wire	Ilan Kowalsky	Tickets to/from Israel	SunTrust Bank	8,328.00	16,258.87
Check	12/9/2002	1096	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Lapin's AmEx	SunTrust Bank	2,207.59	18,466.46
General Jou...	12/31/2002	DON...		Kaygold paid Lapin's airfare to LA	Jack Abramoff	1,407.00	19,873.46
Total Travel						19,873.46	19,873.46
Eshkol Academy - Other							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy - Other							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy						1,857,703.91	1,857,703.91
Kollel Ohel Tiferet Sec Enhance							0.00
General Jou...	1/1/2002	DON...		Donation of Thermal Imager	-SPLIT-	18,007.00	18,007.00
Check	1/23/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	23,007.00
Check	2/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	25,007.00
Check	3/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	27,007.00
Check	4/5/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	29,007.00
Check	5/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	31,007.00
Check	5/7/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	1,000.00	32,007.00
Check	6/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	34,007.00
Check	6/12/2002	1049	Allison Bozniak	Books & Videos	Harbor Capita...	844.44	34,851.44
Check	6/18/2002	1052	Allison Bozniak	Books & Videos	Harbor Capita...	54.44	34,905.88
Check	6/28/2002	1060	American Express--De...	ReimbA Bozniak-Tapes for IBP	Harbor Capita...	198.45	35,104.33
Check	7/3/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	37,104.33
Check	7/8/2002	1063	American Express--De...	ReimbABozniak-books & tapes for S...	Harbor Capita...	513.75	37,618.08
Check	7/29/2002	1012	Hillel Broder	Expense reimbursement, sundry items	SunTrust Bank	135.51	37,753.59
Check	7/29/2002	1013	Holly Bowers	Reimburse Shmuel orders	SunTrust Bank	1,501.00	39,254.59
Check	7/30/2002	1014	Allison Bozniak	Reimburse CD's	SunTrust Bank	269.80	39,524.39
Check	8/2/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	2,000.00	41,524.39
Check	8/2/2002	1016	Holly Bowers	Books, Videos, Supplies	SunTrust Bank	1,920.70	43,445.09
Check	8/12/2002	1021	Holly Bowers	Reimburse for Books, videos	SunTrust Bank	1,400.87	44,845.96
Check	8/12/2002	1022	Hillel Broder	Reimburse, VCR equip / books	SunTrust Bank	816.67	45,662.63
Check	8/13/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	For new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	14,600.00	60,262.63
Check	8/15/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	3,120.00	63,382.63
Check	8/19/2002	1025	Allison Bozniak	VOID: Reimburse CD's	SunTrust Bank	0.00	63,382.63
Check	8/20/2002	1027	Holly Bowers	Reimburse for Books, videos	SunTrust Bank	1,553.40	64,936.03
Check	8/23/2002	1030	Laura Lippy	Reimburse for Camera	SunTrust Bank	2,146.27	67,082.30
Check	8/26/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	4,919.00	72,001.30
Check	8/29/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	75,561.30
Check	8/29/2002	1034	Laura Lippy	Reimburse for Camera, addl amt	SunTrust Bank	600.00	76,161.30
Check	9/24/2002	1046	Laura Lippy	Light7 Photon supplies	SunTrust Bank	1,241.66	77,402.96
Check	9/26/2002	1048	Allison Bozniak	Flashlights/Alarms/Schmuel	SunTrust Bank	1,315.38	78,718.34
Check	10/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	82,278.34
Check	10/17/2002	1063	Laura Lippy	Custom suit expense	SunTrust Bank	1,349.95	83,628.29
Check	11/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	87,188.29
Check	11/16/2002	1080	Laura Lippy	Custom suit expense	SunTrust Bank	1,373.80	88,562.09
Check	11/27/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	92,122.09

MB-001952

58 AM
01/20/03
Accrual Basis

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
Alexander Strategies Group, Inc.			
Check	Alexander Strategie...		120,000.00
Total Alexander Strategies Group, Inc.			120,000.00
Anton Design			
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	200.00
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	912.52
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	891.87
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	375.00
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	440.00
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	383.75
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	383.75
Total Anton Design			3,586.89
Ayers, MCHenry and Associates			
Check	Ayers, MCHenry an...		50,000.00
Total Ayers, MCHenry and Associates			50,000.00
Basswood Research			
Check	Basswood Research	MS Survey	17,682.00
Check	Basswood Research	DE Survey	15,586.00
Check	Basswood Research	LA Survey	7,560.00
Check	Basswood Research	LA Survey/LA...	28,567.67
Check	Basswood Research	NY/MI	28,369.00
Check	Basswood Research	NM/MS	20,895.00
Check	Basswood Research	NM	7,610.00
Check	Basswood Research	MI	8,128.00
Check	Basswood Research	CA	17,280.00
Total Basswood Research			151,677.67
Baum Communications, LLC			
Check	Baum Communicati...	LA Auto Calls	6,362.72
Check	Baum Communicati...	VOID: LA Aut...	0.00
Check	Baum Communicati...	NM ID and Li...	17,288.27
Check	Baum Communicati...	Sandia	7,710.75
Check	Baum Communicati...	Sag Chip	3,216.56
Check	Baum Communicati...	Sandia	12,650.40
Check	Baum Communicati...	MS	1,450.55
Check	Baum Communicati...	NM	1,350.30
Check	Baum Communicati...	Cali ID	7,803.00
Total Baum Communications, LLC			57,832.55
Brian A. Gould			
Check	Brian A. Gould	Jan. Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	Feb. Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	March Resea...	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	April Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	May Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	June	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	June	500.00
Total Brian A. Gould			3,500.00
Capitol Media			
Check	Capitol Media		51,679.00
Check	Capitol Media	Radio Buy - LA	60,000.00
Check	Capitol Media	LA Proj. Man...	100,000.00
Total Capitol Media			211,679.00
Chris Cathcart			
Check	Chris Cathcart	Expenses	67.56
Total Chris Cathcart			67.56

D00737

8 AM
01/20/03
Accrual Basis

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
Democracy Data and Communications			
Check	Democracy Data an...	Invoice Numb...	7,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Invoice Numb...	7,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	coushatta	3,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Choctaw	3,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Saginaw Chi...	9,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...		9,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Managment f...	7,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Tigua Key pu...	276.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Telematch S...	1,535.76
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Total Democracy Data and Communications			160,811.76
Don Woodruff			
Check	Don Woodruff	Database Set...	2,500.00
Check	Don Woodruff	Database Ph...	2,500.00
Total Don Woodruff			5,000.00
Frabrizio and McLaughlin Associates			
Check	Frabrizio and McLa...	NM Poll 2	10,000.00
Check	Frabrizio and McLa...	NM Poll 2	3,500.00
Total Frabrizio and McLaughlin Associates			13,500.00
Glover Associates International			
Check	Glover Associates I...	First Retainer...	6,000.00
Check	Glover Associates I...	Final Paymen...	34,291.16
Total Glover Associates International			40,291.16
GOP Market Place .Com			
Check	GOP Market Place	Inv. #17	432.32
Total GOP Market Place .Com			432.32
Kevin Kelly			
Check	Kevin Kelly	VOID: Datab...	0.00
Total Kevin Kelly			0.00
Kirk-Whitney Data			
Check	Kirk-Whitney Data	Sag Chip Pos...	451.50
Check	Kirk-Whitney Data	Sag Chip Pos...	731.34
Check	Kirk-Whitney Data	Sag Chip Pos...	493.12
Total Kirk-Whitney Data			1,675.96
Lunde & Burger			
Check	Lunde & Burger	LA	25,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	LA - Jena	30,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	LA	75,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	MS Bonus	50,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Tigua	50,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Sandia	30,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Sandia	44,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Sandia	26,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	VOID: MI/LA/...	0.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	NM/MI/LA - o...	287,500.00
Check	Lunde & Burger		34,150.00
Check	Lunde & Burger		175,000.00
Total Lunde & Burger			826,650.00

D00738

8:58 AM
01/20/03
Accrual Basis

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
Matthew J. Stetter			
Check	Matthew J. Stetter	EIS Deposit	1,658.00
Check	Matthew J. Stetter	EIS Deposit ...	9,623.75
Check	Matthew J. Stetter	EIS Huron	5,133.00
Total Matthew J. Stetter			16,414.75
McGuire Woods			
Check	McGuire Woods		125,000.00
Total McGuire Woods			125,000.00
Red Sea			
Check	Red Sea	Alabama - Ra...	4,194.42
Check	Red Sea	media	33,600.00
Check	Red Sea	media	116,680.00
Check	Red Sea	media - LA	18,330.80
Total Red Sea			172,805.22
RST Marketing Associates			
Check	RST Marketing Ass...	Sag Chip	1,486.72
Total RST Marketing Associates			1,486.72
Southwest Computer Bureau			
Check	Southwest Compute...	Data Key Pu...	1,731.08
Check	Southwest Compute...	Data Key Pu...	297.44
Total Southwest Computer Bureau			2,028.52
Trakker Solutions			
Check	Trakker Solutions	Database - S...	5,000.00
Check	Trakker Solutions	Database	5,000.00
Total Trakker Solutions			10,000.00
United States Post Master			
Check	United States Post ...	Sag Mailer	455.49
Total United States Post Master			455.49
Weber Company			
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	12,613.75
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	10,782.00
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	5,300.09
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	41,634.96
Check	Weber Company	LA I.D.	21,256.86
Check	Weber Company	NY, CT, OH ID	20,681.80
Check	Weber Company	FL, CA, MD	13,966.60
Check	Weber Company	MI ID, LA Poll...	12,027.81
Check	Weber Company	MI Patch Thr...	28,700.32
Check	Weber Company	MI, LA, Electi...	33,211.16
Check	Weber Company	MI	6,357.00
Total Weber Company			206,532.35
No name			
Check			10,000.00
Deposit		Deposit	-10,000.00
Total no name			0.00
TOTAL			2,181,427.92

D00739

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
ADP			
Check	ADP		49.11
Check	ADP		59.75
Check	ADP		47.39
Check	ADP		10.00
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		50.83
Check	ADP	P/R 2/28	50.83
Check	ADP	P/R 2/28	50.83
Check	ADP	Amendment	159.75
Check	ADP	P/R 2/28	150.00
Check	ADP	P/R 3/31	50.83
Check	ADP		57.83
Check	ADP		50.53
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		10.00
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		65.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		48.40
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		10.00
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		66.73
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		58.73
Check	ADP		58.73
Check	ADP		51.55
Total ADP			1,818.70
Jon Van Horne			
Check	Jon Van Horne	Legal Work - ...	20,000.00
Total Jon Van Horne			20,000.00
Joseph Regan			
Check	Joseph Regan		392.00
Check	Joseph Regan		560.00
Check	Joseph Regan		595.80
Check	Joseph Regan		580.00
Check	Joseph Regan		500.00
Total Joseph Regan			2,627.80
Mark W. Diehl, CPA			
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	January	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	January	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	March	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	March	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	May	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	June	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Total Mark W. Diehl, CPA			36,000.00

om: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:24 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Section 207

They are TOTALLY interested in appropriations. Who said they weren't? thanks for all you do (go to bed!!!). :)

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 2:21 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Section 207

I had heard that! Congratulations!! I also heard they weren't much interested in getting approps. That may make our policy work all that more important.

We are having the interns prepare short backgrounders on each tribal client (history, culture, statistics, etc.). After client review, we will have them printed up as hand outs for things like pre-meetig briefings for staff and members as well as educating ourselves. I will add Agua Caliente to the list. I am thinking we could make some subtle distinctions in what we prepare for the high paying clients (add photographs, maps, stuff like that--nothing too obvious).

This is in addition to what we are doing on various policy issues. We have had several meetings this week with the group that I need to summarize for you.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

---Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 02:09:38 2002
Subject: RE: Section 207

By the way, landed Agua Caliente today for a biggie ($150K/month).

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:59 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Section 207
Importance: High

I will need to get it from my files at work. First thing in the morning okay?

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 01:56:20 2002
Subject: Section 207

Jon, please get me language asap which includes the Alabama Coushatta in the repeal of the anti-gaming provisions of the reorganization act. I believe we have come to terms with them, though Neil Volz, you and I might be the only ones who will know about this on our side. Please get it to me on email asap. thanks.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baggett, did either Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Van Horn approach the firm about the legitimacy of this transaction?

Mr. BAGGETT. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is another e-mail, exhibit 220, and it says, there is an entry for a $20,000-payment to Jon Van Horn for "legal work." For the record, according to bank records, that money appears to have been paid out of Coushatta funds received by Mr. Scanlon on January 18, 2002. Mr. Baggett, was Mr. Van Horn's receipt of that $20,000 from Scanlon while a Greenberg Traurig employee a violation of firm policy?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Worfel, I would like you to look at exhibit 182. Can we show that to Mr. Worfel please? There is a binder in front of you. Would you look at it, exhibit 182. Maybe one of the staff can help.

It is an e-mail that we are looking at there, Mr. Worfel. It is an e-mail exchange between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Van Horn. In it, Mr. Abramoff writes, "Jon, please get me language asap which includes the Alabama Coushatta in the repeal of the anti-gaming provisions of the Reorganization Act. I believe we have come to terms with them through Neil Volz. You and I might be the only ones who will know about this on our side."

It appears that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Van Horn were preparing to help the Alabama Coushatta get legalized gaming in Texas. Is that the way you read that?

Mr. WORFEL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your reaction to that?

Mr. WORFEL. Another way for these thieves to extort money from us again. They are supposed to be looking after the best interests of the Coushatta Tribe, receiving payments from our tribe to oppose gaming in Texas. Now they are here trying to help another tribe or any gaming in Texas, which goes against any ethics that they should stand by.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Van Hoof and Mr. Baggett, look at 183, if you would, exhibit 183, an e-mail exchange between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Van Horn. If you look at the last page which is actually the first e-mail in the exchange, Mr. Abramoff tells Mr. Van Horn, "the basic deal is that if we get them," talking about the Alabama Coushatta, "legal, they have to pay into a fund which we control 10 percent of their gaming revenue, which is the best approach here. What is done with other percentage deals with tribes and we will use those funds at our complete discretion."

Ms. Van Hoof, what is your reaction to Mr. Abramoff's attempt to represent the Alabama Coushatta to get legalized gambling?

[Exhibit follows:]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 9:10 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: Re: urgent

Yes if that will pass perpetuity muster with nigc
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 10:07:12 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

Can the general form of the agreement be a consulting agreement?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 9:57 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: Re: urgent

It would be far better to sort it out right now. I don't trust these guys and this is moving mega fast. I need to get them the doc cob today and we need it to be what will stay forever. Can u do it and check all the non profit issues today? Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 09:49:08 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

Legally doing the perpetual thing (i.e., infinitely renewable contract) is (relatively) easy; keeping it in place politically is the challenge. I think the Foundation idea makes it easier for the tribe internally and externally to justify the payments. Also the payments need to be net after management fees if any to avoid NIGC sniffing about. That way it is essentially a percentage of what the tribe gets and cannot be confused with a management agreement. Actually I just thought of something that makes it even more vital to use a foundation (or something like that). IGRA has limitations on what the tribe can spend its net on; although NIGC has seldom questioned tribal uses, it is on the books and using a foundation would make it much more likely that the payments can be challenged. Foundations can be set up with self perpetuating boards and if we don't try to claim a lot of tax advantages (e.g. 501c3 status), my impression is that the foundation has substantial latitude on what it does with its funds. I suggest we have a contract with a for profit entity now while we sort this out. Suggestion: NA Consultants, Inc. (as in Native American).

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 9:00 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: urgent

If we set up a Native American Political Foundation (and put in the contract that the foundation had total discretion and no reporting requirements to the tribe) could we do the perpetual thing?

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

From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 8:55 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: urgent

I was thinking of a Native American Political Foundation that had a broad charter to do stuff including grass roots organizing, etc. Primary purpose would be to give the A-C political cover for long term payments. One could have a for profit consultant/manager that was taking a share off as fees, not from the tribe, but from the foundation. For right now I suggest the contract be with a for profit corp with the right to assign the payments to another entity. Also I think having the payments be perpetual would be a political disaster when it becomes public. Actually now that I think about it, SAYING that payments are perpetual is the problem. I will make payments extend for the term of the contract and the contract renewable in some fashion.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 08:39:32 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

I would prefer ultimate flexibility, since some of the money would not be used for Indians. Would having a non-profit help us in some way? how so?

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 8:37 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: urgent

How about a foundation/not for profit? Would all expenditures relate to Indians?

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 08:25:46 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

No. I need the money into the company so we can draw fees from it if we want, or we can spend it on grass roots stuff as well. plus, they can only give $5K to a PAC. I want it to be a transfer to a corp (or LP if that would somehow make it easier in maintaining the perpetuity of the matter).

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 6:24 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: urgent

Somehow I didn't see this last night. Question: If the tribe created a PAC and let XYZ Corp. manage it as their political advisor and agreed to put 10% into it, would you have sufficient flexibility in spending the money?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: 6/27/2002 1:56 AM
Subject: urgent
Importance: High

I need you to draft an airtight agreement between XYZ corporation (to be named later) and the Alabama Coushatta Tribe of Texas with the following points:

1. The tribe will instruct their attorneys, lobbyists and representatives immediately to cease all activity in Washington, DC and or with the federal government to obtain permission to operate casino gaming.
2. Said cessation of activities shall remain in effect until two weeks after the United States Congress recesses for the summer in August 2002.
3. If, during the period of cessation noted above, the tribe obtains permission from the federal government (other than through the courts) to operate casino gaming, through any means, including but not limited to any Executive Branch Administrative Act or Congressional legislation, the tribe agrees to pay XYZ corporation 10% of the gaming EBITDA.
4. Said payment shall be made in perpetuity (Jon, is this possible? how can we characterize the payment? Can we make it consulting fees?

The basic deal is that if we get them legal, they have to pay into a fund which we control 10 percent of their gaming revenue (is ebitda the best approach here? What is done with other percentage deals with tribes?) and we will use those funds at our complete discretion. We'll use them for political costs and contributions. I intend to get them to hire us separately.

Anyway, please let me know how we can do this asap. I have to get this papered immediately.

Ms. VAN HOOF. If this is true, Senator, then this would be a complete betrayal of the Coushatta Tribe.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Worfel, as you mentioned in your opening statement, Mr. Abramoff wanted you to write a letter to the Louisiana congressional delegation in an attempt to derail this investigation and also suggested that the tribe not cooperate with the committee investigation. Is that true?

Mr. WORFEL. Very true, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say to you?

Mr. WORFEL. He said if we should write a letter to congressional delegates of Louisiana to stop the committee's investigation because we had sovereign immunity and First Amendment rights. He wanted me to do that. I would not do it, and now I know he wanted me to take the bullet and him sit back and just relax.

The CHAIRMAN. I just have a few more questions.

Ms. Van Hoof, if you look at exhibit 99, it is an e-mail from Mr. Scanlon to you. Attached are invoices, one purportedly from Greenberg Traurig for $1 million for "public affairs services." Ms. Van Hoof, was it your understanding that the $1 million was going to be used for political activities benefitting the tribe?

Ms. VAN HOOF. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the tribe authorize anyone to use that $1 million as a charitable contribution to the Capital Athletic Foundation?

Ms. VAN HOOF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the tribe ever intend to make a $1 million-contribution to Jack Abramoff's personal charity?

Ms. VAN HOOF. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baggett, was Capitol Campaign Strategies a Greenberg Traurig public affairs entity?

Mr. BAGGETT. No, sir; we had no interest in Capitol Campaign Strategies.

The CHAIRMAN. So Mr. Scanlon's statement is not true.

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Scanlon authorized to send an invoice on Greenberg Traurig's behalf?

Mr. BAGGETT. No, sir; he was not.

Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead please.

Mr. BAGGETT. If I might point out——

The CHAIRMAN. Please go ahead.

Mr. BAGGETT. ——the invoice exhibit 99 purporting to be from Greenberg Traurig, "Greenberg" is misspelled.

The CHAIRMAN. Okay. That is an important point. Thank you for bringing it up, Mr. Baggett. [Laughter.]

Mr. BAGGETT. I doubt we would be issuing an invoice with our name misspelled.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; got you. Thank you.

To be clear, the $1 million was not treated as income by Greenberg Traurig.

Mr. BAGGETT. No, sir; it was not.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was not treated as a charitable contribution by Greenberg Traurig.

Mr. BAGGETT. No, sir; it was not.

The CHAIRMAN. One other thing, Mr. Baggett. What did Mr. Abramoff tell you about his skyboxes?

Mr. BAGGETT. Mr. Abramoff told us that the skyboxes were leased by various Indian tribes.

The CHAIRMAN. Among other things, for Redskins games?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir; for Redskins games. The skyboxes were leased by the Indian tribes; that he had certain personal expenses for personal use of them, but that they were not in his name nor were they ever in the firm's name.

[Exhibit follows:]

From: Mike Scanlon [mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 4:52 PM
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Cc: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: invoices

GT Battleground Invoice.doc (1... | ousiana Invocie on Battle Gro...

<<GT Battleground Invoice.doc>> <<Lousiana Invocie on Battle Ground.doc>>

We broke this into two invoices - one to be paid to Greenberg Traurig for 1m, and one paid to Capitol Campaign Strategies - GT's public affairs entity for the balance. We usually just invoice you through Capitol Campaign Strategies so the Lawyers at the firm rest easy while we are out burning the country side.

In this instance however we plan to do some things through the Law firm umbrella due to their highly sensitive nature and confidentiality reasons. I hate hiding behind lawyers - but we are going to do some crazy stuff on this one - so I guess its ok:):)

INVOICE

GREENBURG TRAURIG LLP
[redacted]

Coushatta Tribe Of Louisiana
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]

For: Public Affairs Services

Amount Due:	1,000,000.00
Total Amount Due	1,000,000.00

PAYABLE UPON RECIEPT

Please Make payable to:
Greenburg Traurig
[redacted]

ATTN: Courtney Roseman

Capitol Campaign Strategies

[redacted]

W: [redacted]
F: [redacted]

INVOICE

DATE: October 23, 20[illegible]

Payable Upon Recei

To:

Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10/23	Professional Services	$2,170,000.00
	TOTAL	$2,170,000.00

Wire all funds to: First Union National Bank
Washington, DC
Routing number: [redacted]
Acct. Name: [redacted]
Acct #: [redacted]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Senator Dorgan.

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

Mr. Baggett, you just referred to invoice 99, which on the top says "Greenberg Traurig, $1 million, payable upon receipt." The word "Greenberg" is misspelled, and you called that to our attention. I assume you feel this is a fraudulent invoice?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir; we had no knowledge, and speaking on behalf of Greenberg Traurig, we had no knowledge of this invoice being sent.

Senator DORGAN. You have looked, and no one in the firm has ever seen this or understands it as part of the firm. So you believe this is a fraudulent invoice?

Mr. BAGGETT. Yes, sir.

Senator DORGAN. All right.

Mr. Worfel, let me clarify just for 1 moment. Did Mr. Abramoff suggest to you that you need not and should not cooperate with this committee?

Mr. WORFEL. Yes, sir; Mr. Dorgan. He said we had sovereign immunity and First Amendment rights so we should not cooperate and the letter would go to the congressional delegation to stop the investigation.

Senator DORGAN. So he was suggesting you should not cooperate with this committee. You were approached by Mr. Scanlon, by two attorneys on behalf of Mr. Scanlon, asking you to sign some documentation after this committee indicated that the investigation was ongoing. What kind of documents?

Mr. WORFEL. It was documents saying that Mike Scanlon did a good job for us, and at the time, that was before we really knew of any fraud committed against our tribe. I just assumed that they were doing the right thing. That was done at Lake Charles, LA. I picked him up at the airport. We did a couple of statements and then took him back, and that is the last I have seen of him until I saw one of them in here this morning.

Senator DORGAN. All right.

Ms. Van Hoof, let me go through a couple of e-mails with you, if I might, that are part of the record. Number 29 is a March 28, 2001 cover sheet that refers to an e-mail in which you wrote that the Coushatta had agreed to pay one-half the cost of a poll requested by the Secretary of the Interior for CREA. Can you elaborate on that just a bit, and what your understanding of this was?

Ms. VAN HOOF. This was in March 2001, Senator. I truthfully do not remember the details, but there would have been normally some type of written proposal made to the tribal council or perhaps an in-person visit from the tribal council. There might have even been an e-mail exchange between myself and Mr. Abramoff explaining the details of this poll and why the request was being made to the tribe.

Senator DORGAN. The cover sheet which is on the monitor says "attached is an e-mail from Jack Abramoff with the firm of Greenberg Traurig, recently retained by the tribe for assistance in government affairs. The Coushatta and the Mississippi Band of Choctaw have agreed to each pay one-half the cost of a poll conducted by the council for Republican Environmental Advocacy, which is

being conducted on behalf of Gale Norton, Secretary of the Interior."

[Exhibit follows:]

KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLAN, APLC

[redacted]
TELEPHONE [redacted]
FACSIMILE [redacted]
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoof@[redacted]

March 28, 2001

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NUMBER TRANSMITTED TO: [redacted]

To:	Erick LaRocque
Of:	Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
From:	Kathryn Fowler Van Hoof
Client/Matter:	Check request for CREA poll on behalf of Secretary of Interior

CONFIDENTIAL

Attached is an email from Jack Abramoff with the firm of Greenberg Traurig, recently retained by the Tribe for assistance with governmental affairs. Coushatta and Mississippi Band of Choctaw have agreed to each pay ½ the cost of a poll conducted by the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy, which is being conducted on behalf of Gayle Norton, Secretary of Interior.

Please immediately prepare a check made payable to the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy in the amount of $50,000.00 and forward to my office by Federal Express. I will then Fed-X the check to Mr. Abramoff.

Cc: Chairman Lovelin Poncho

Approved:_____
Chairman Lovelin Poncho
Date: 3/28/01

The information contained in this facsimile message is information protected by attorney-client and/or the attorney/work product privilege. It is intended only for the use of the individual named above and the privileges are not waived by virtue of this having been sent by facsimile. If the person actually receiving this facsimile or any other reader of the facsimile is not the named recipient or the employee or agent responsible to deliver it to the named recipient, any use, dissemination, distribution, or copying of the communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the above address via U.S. Postal Service.

Ms. VAN HOOF. Yes, sir; the e-mail is not attached as part of the exhibit, though, and I am assuming the e-mail probably gave a greater description. Other than this, I do not recall.

Senator DORGAN. All right. Thank you.

Mr. Worfel, are you familiar with any of this?

Mr. WORFEL. No; all I am familiar with is the $50,000 donation was supposed to go a national park study. The Department of the Interior, we were told the Department of the Interior would look at the Coushatta Tribe as friends if we would help them, and the Choctaw was to donate 50 percent also.

Senator DORGAN. Ms. Van Hoof, if we can go to exhibit 100, that describes a strategy. It is a memorandum from Michael Scanlon in which he proposed a $3.1-million battleground program to fight off two potential gaming competitors.

For $150,000, Mr. Scanlon in this memo described how the program would mobilize individuals to unwittingly protect casino revenues of the Coushatta. He says, "simply put, we want to bring out the wackos to vote against something and make sure the rest of the public lets the whole thing slip past them. The wackos get their information from the Christian right, Christian radio and mail, the internet and telephone trees."

Do you recall this proposal and, if so, was the proposal engaged? Was it successful? Who was he referring to as "wackos"? Do you have any knowledge of this?

[Exhibit follows:]

MEMORANDUM

TO: KATHY VANHOOF
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: LOUSIANA POLITICAL BUDGET OUTLINE
DATE: 10/23/2001
CC: JACK ABRAMOFF

Kathy,

In today's meeting the council agreed to immediately move forward with the Louisiana program we proposed in August and to immediately launch a program to fight Delta Downs and Pinnacle.

We expressed repeatedly that when we say were going to move – it meant today. To that end, we have already begun our operations on all fronts. As we expressed to the council two battles, plus implementing the already proposed program would be costly. Because we have already contracted our team members on a great deal of this we wanted to send his memo along immediately outlining the specific costs associated with all three efforts. We are calling the three cumulative efforts the "Battleground Program". The overall requested budget for the "Battleground Program" is $3,170,000.00.

The costs and their descriptions are as follows:

<u>Louisiana Political Targeting Program</u>

As we discussed, we are taking what you built for the compact fight and extend its reach even further. Our ultimate political objective is to control both houses of the state legislature and the governor's mansion. In order to do so, we need to modify your political database into a statewide format. But more importantly we need to do this to have the necessary troops to win the battles in Lake Charles and Delta Downs.

To that end, we will identify supporters and issue voters in every state legislative, state senate and municipal election district in the state (we may want to limit the municipal districts for clarity's sake). This will be done through the same methods that we used for our current database, but we will also identify

and classify individuals who have no connection to the tribe. Again, our goal is to ID the requisite number of voters in each district to swing any election OR **THE REFERNDUM APPROVING PINNACLE IN TWO MONTHS.**

Again, this program will make you the dominant political force in every election district in the state. This is an extremely large task, but very achievable and when completed you will control the political playing field statewide.

Beginning Date: ASAP

Completion Deadline: November 15, 2001

Cost: $1,345,000.00

Opposition Research

On the way to the airport we called 5 of the best oppo researchers in the business. We are conducting a full-blown oppo campaign including detailed O&S on a number of subjects. Outside of O&S we are conducting "standard" political opposition research on the tracks, their associates, families, and financial backers. The same program will be run on Pinnacle.

We are also conducting "political assessment" studies on the referendum campaigns waged by the tracks in previous years. We must know everything about how they turned the corner on a losing issue last time, including who ran their campaign, who they paid off, and who they are paying now.

Without this information our chances are greatly reduced. We actually have members of this team on their way to Lake Charles as I write this.

Cost: $325,000.00

Third Party Allies Program

This part of the program deals primarily with solidifying the support of the Christian conservatives and the minority religious outlets in SW Louisiana. We will provide direct support to these entities.

Cost $575,000.00

BB/LC 017924

Polling and Tracking Polls

We are conducting a series of polls starting on Wednesday in the targeted parishes to get an "honest read" on where both of the projects stand in the court of public opinion. It is imperative that we find out as much as we can about these two projects ***before any money is spent on either side.*** This will give us a "true" benchmark of where things stand.

Monday we will conduct strategic polls testing our lines of attack and theirs. The results of these polls will identify our best lines of attack and our vulnerabilities. Once we have those results in hand we will conduct "messaging" polls. The strategic polls tell us where to attack, but the messaging polls tell us how to best to "phrase" or "package" our arguments for the electorate.

Once this process is complete we will track our progress with bi-weekly tracking polls and "benchmark polls which tell us if we are winning or if they are winning. The tracking and benchmark polls give us a chance to change course if need be, or to increase what we are doing.

Cost: $245,000.000

Mobilization

We plan to use three forms of communications to mobilize and win these battles. Phones, mail and Christian radio. We believe that if you are on TV you are generally losing battles like this. Our mission is to get specifically selected groups of individuals to the polls to speak out AGAINST something.

To that end, your money is best spent finding them and communicating with them on using the modes that they are most likely to respond to. Simply put we want to bring out the wackos to vote ***against*** something and make sure the rest of the public lets the whole thing slip past them. The wackos get their information form the Christian right, Christian radio, mail, the internet and telephone trees.

Mail

We will communicate with our targeted voters 3 times with Christian alert mail pieces.

Cost: $150,000

BB/LC 017925

Phones

We are going to wage several different phone campaigns in this fight. First, we are going to conduct advocacy calls educating or target audience. We expect to complete 100,000 of these.

Next we intend to patch through our targeted voters to the appropriate decision makers and tie up their phone lines. We are going to start with the gaming commissioners office next week voicing overwhelming opposition to the pinnacle license vote on the 20th. We will follow with a specialized list of targeted officials who we believe will move our way. This is a rather large campaign, we expect to have at least 10 individual patch through phone campaigns conducted alone.

We will also run GOTV (Get Out the Vote) phone calls leading up to the referendum date. These calls go to OUR voters and OUR voters only. We tell them when the polls are open – where they go to vote and how to get there. If they need a ride – we will have a van come and get them.

Cost $330,000.00

Christian Radio

Most likely we will need to create a broad buzz among our supporters, and a quick way to do this is by advertising on Christian Radio. We will produce and air at least two radio ads that give biblical reasons why Pinnacle should be blocked and the tracks shut down. These will run at the appropriate times and exclusively on Christian radio.

Cost $200,000.00

Key Influential Support

We definitely expect the need to "bring some influential people/ decisions makers on to our team" as we go through this process.

Cost: $150,000

Ms. VAN HOOF. I recall that the council received this and many proposals from either Jack Abramoff or Mike Scanlon. I do not recall whether all or part of it was accepted, but the council was definitely interested in monitoring and protecting itself against gaming threats.

Senator DORGAN. In previous hearings and in documents for this hearing, we have seen all this evidence of moving money around through, among other, entities 501(c)(3)s and 501(c)(4)s in order to obscure the identity of the money. Money was paid to Ralph Reed's organization, which we have seen in document trails in previous hearings. When the Coushatta Tribe agreed with Mr. Abramoff to hire Mr. Reed's organization for its grassroots efforts, what arrangements were made to pay him, Ms. Van Hoof?

Ms. VAN HOOF. As I recall, Mr. Abramoff requested that a direct payment not be made from the Coushatta Tribe, who would be recognized as an Indian gaming tribe, to a conservative group associated with the Christian Coalition or other conservative groups, even though their interests were aligned in this instance, which was to oppose the expansion of gaming.

Senator DORGAN. So how did the money flow?

Ms. VAN HOOF. If I remember correctly, Mr. Abramoff asked if the tribe had another entity through which the payment could be made? The tribe did not. A tribal friend indicated that he did, and that he would make the payment so long as he was reimbursed by the tribe, and that is my understanding of how the payment was made.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Worfel, is that your understanding as well?

Mr. WORFEL. Yes; the payment was made to Ralph Reed. I mean, it was going to Ralph Reed. That was done with the whole council approving it. The council sat there and they approved it. If they got amnesia, I cannot explain that, but it was done in a council meeting.

Senator DORGAN. Was Mr. Reed aware of where the money was coming from?

Mr. WORFEL. I cannot say if Mr. Reed did. I do not want to speculate, but he should know.

Senator DORGAN. Who was the friend? You said someone in the tribe had a friend and so the money moved through a friend?

Ms. VAN HOOF. Members of the tribal council had a friend whose name was Aubrey Temple. It was through one of his companies that the payment was made.

Senator DORGAN. Was it made directly, then, through only one company? There are examples of it moving through two or three entities.

Ms. VAN HOOF. If my memory is correct, I think a wire transfer was made from the Coushatta Tribe to the entity owned by Mr. Temple, and then Mr. Temple made the payment.

Senator DORGAN. Excuse me for interrupting. Is that a for-profit entity or a nonprofit entity?

Ms. VAN HOOF. I do not know anything about the entity.

Senator DORGAN. Let me ask about the contributions to CREA. In e-mail traffic, and Mr. Griles will be testifying later today in another panel, but there is so much on the record I will go to exhibits 29, 24 and then 37, and ask you about them. These are documents

that are on the public record now that describe a relationship alleged by Ms. Federici, with Mr. Griles, and also by Mr. Abramoff.

Let me read these to you, if I might. Go to 24 if you would first. In an e-mail on March 22, Mr. Abramoff writes that he "met with the Interior guys today and they were ecstatic that the tribe was going to help. If you can get me a check via Federal Express made out to the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy for $50,000, that would be great. This is really going to help."

[Exhibit follows:]

Subj: CREA
Date: 03/22/2001 6:15:06 PM Central Standard Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

I met with the Interior guys today and they were ecstatic that the tribe was going to help. If you can get me a check via federal made out to "Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy" for $50K that would be great. This is really going to help. We'll chat tomorrow.

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-xa05[redacted]n (rly-xa05[redacted]) by air-xa04.[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:15:06 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted] (ns1[redacted]) by rly-xa05.[redacted](v77_r1.21)
with ESMTP; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:15:02 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted]with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <HMP1AJR5>; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:14:46 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC4788A0BE@wdc-srv01[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: CREA
Date: Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:14:43 -0500
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service [redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

Senator DORGAN. What was your understanding of what this was going to help with? And who was Mr. Abramoff, do you believe, claiming to be meeting with at this point?

Ms. VAN HOOF. This is in March 2001, and I am not sure if I have my dates correct. I am not sure if this had to do with the polling or not. Further e-mails might better reflect what this actually represented.

Senator DORGAN. There were two checks made to CREA. Is that correct? Were there two payments or three payments made to CREA?

Mr. WORFEL. I know of one.

Senator DORGAN. For $150,000?

Mr. WORFEL. The one I know was $50,000.

Senator DORGAN. I believe the record to show that there were two payments for a total of $150,000. Ms. Van Hoof, you are correct, there was an attachment to one of the payments that it was going to be, helping to pay for a survey that the Interior Secretary allegedly wanted done.

I think, Mr. Worfel, you answered you were unaware of any survey ever being done; you never received a survey, right?

Mr. WORFEL. Correct. Never have.

Senator DORGAN. Exhibit No. 37. In an e-mail to you, Ms. Van Hoof, Mr. Abramoff references Deputy Secretary Griles as the fellow who we helped with the CREA project. What did he mean by that?

Ms. VAN HOOF. No. 37?

Senator DORGAN. I have document No. 37. It is dated April 5, 2001.

[Exhibit Follows:]

Subj: RE: Norton, appropriations request
Date: 04/05/2001 6:30:55 PM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *KVanhoof@*[redacted]
CC: *vasells@*[redacted]*n, rudyt@*[redacted] *scanlonm@*[redacted]

Not set yet, but probably the candidate from Oklahoma. They seem to be pulling out all gaming issues from BIA and sending it to the Secretary, which will be good for us, once the Dep Sec is in place (the fellow who we helped with the CREA project). Regarding the approps, I can't recall if you had given us detailed descriptions (including budgets) for the request for funds. Do you have these? Get us as much detail about these projects and we'll get it moving.

-----Original Message-----
From: KVanhoof@[redacted] [mailto:KVanhoof@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 3:35 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Norton, appropriations request

Mike will visit Tuesday and Wednesday of next week. Any word on the appointment for Asst. Secy over BIA?

One of the tribal council members asked me to speak with you again about appropriations for the tribe. He remembered that you indicated such requests should be in by this month. Their interests include additional funding for the local public schools in Elton, Louisiana; the tribal preschool; and the four laning of Hwy 190 between Opelousas, Louisiana and DeQuincy, Louisiana. Let me know anything further you need.

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]

Ms. VAN HOOF. I do not recall, Senator. I have not reviewed this e-mail in preparation for testimony today. I am sure I knew at the time.

Senator DORGAN. First, let me go to Mr. Baggett quickly. Mr. Baggett, the chairman of the committee appropriately, I think, said at the start of this hearing in his opening statement that your firm has been cooperative with this committee, I believe in every way, in our requests for documents and response to the subpoenas and so on.

So we appreciate that, but I think it is important to ask, at that period in the firm when this occurred, what kind of culture existed that it was allowed to occur. Was there a spectacular lack of management or oversight of particularly Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. BAGGETT. Senator, our firm is a large national firm that makes no excuse for anything. The shareholders and attorneys of our firm and the non-attorney professionals such as Mr. Abramoff are all held to a strict code of professional responsibility that applies to all lawyers and to our own policies and procedures of the firm.

We expect each shareholder, each director, as Mr. Abramoff was, to honor those responsibilities. We, and I do not believe any professional services firm has the ability to micro-manage the day-to-day activities of their members. What Mr. Abramoff did was important to us. What he did he did without our knowledge. He is an amazingly gifted person at having two sides to him.

When you meet with Mr. Abramoff in a professional environment, he is a most responsible-sounding person. In fact, one of the attractions that we had to Mr. Abramoff was his discipline and organization in the lobby practice. Very few lobbyists that I have seen in my career have the kind of accountable discipline that Mr. Abramoff required of his teams.

We were probably more shocked than anyone could be to find what we found. We have the policies. We have the codes. We have the responsibilities. This was an intentional act of deception by Mr. Abramoff on the clients, on us, and on everyone he dealt with.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Baggett, we did not see the gifts you described. When Mr. Abramoff was called before this committee, he took the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. BAGGETT. That is true.

Senator DORGAN. So we do not know of that which you described about the other side of this fellow.

I want to ask about two additional points. This relates to an Associated Press story of Tuesday, June 21, 2005. It relates to money that apparently, Ms. Van Hoof, you would have been aware of, a contribution for activities that were arranged by Americans for Tax Reform for a White House gathering. Can you tell us about that $25,000 contribution as described in the Associated Press in June?

Ms. VAN HOOF. I do not remember that particular article, but I can tell you about the contribution made and why it was made. When Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were hired by the tribal council, the extreme focus at that point was on renewal of the compact with the State of Louisiana and establishing a strong PR campaign and grassroots campaign that would support that effort. It was a very concentrated, focused effort for that reason.

The tribe had had successful lobbying relationships in years past with prior Administrations with great success, but did not have, as we understood it, the same type of relationship with the new Administration. So one of the things that Mr. Abramoff offered was opportunities to meet and greet, establish name recognition for the tribe, provide a photo opportunity, make political contributions, and this was one of those occasions.

We were in the midst of a very heated compact negotiation process. It was a great press release to be able to say that the chairman had met with the President during that period of time. This particular organization was also a conservative organization, and at the meeting they really did meet and discuss tax reform issues. I think the tribal council in support of that effort did perhaps after that pass a resolution in support of tax reform initiatives.

Senator DORGAN. Ms. Van Hoof, there is actually, I think, an activity on the part of the tribe to do so, as a result of being asked to go to the meeting. The $25,000 contribution, where did that go?

Ms. VAN HOOF. As they usually did, Jack Abramoff presented this as an opportunity for the tribe to contribute. I do not recall if it was called sponsoring or hosting the event, but it was a contribution made to that organization.

Senator DORGAN. Which organization?

Ms. VAN HOOF. To Americans for Tax Reform.

Senator DORGAN. And one final point. We have talked a lot about the political contributions that have been made and the money that was described here. I want to correct the record. The Associated Press article I was referring to about that particular issue was a June 8 Associated Press story.

There is a June 21 Fox Newsstory that talks about, $55,000 in contributions that had been written and then returned to a member of the leadership in the House, and had been requested to be diverted to other organizations. Can you describe that?

Ms. VAN HOOF. No, sir; I cannot. At that time, the tribal council was following the advice of Mr. Abramoff and if Mr. Abramoff made a suggestion, they trusted his advice and followed it.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Worfel.

Mr. WORFEL. Sir.

Senator DORGAN. Are you aware of that?

Mr. WORFEL. I cannot recall that, sir.

Senator DORGAN. I will submit written questions on that to the witnesses.

Mr. Chairman, I think that is all I have for these witnesses at this time. I would like to ask if we could submit written questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection. Maybe soon you will receive some written questions. I thank the witnesses and I appreciate your testimony. It has been very helpful and you are dismissed.

The next panel is B.R. McConnon, president, Democracy Data and Communications; Christopher Cathcart, former associate, Capitol Campaign Strategies; and Gail Halpern, Jack Abramoff's former tax adviser. Welcome.

We will begin with you, Mr. McConnon.

STATEMENT OF B.R. MCCONNON, PRESIDENT, DEMOCRACY DATA AND COMMUNICATIONS

Mr. MCCONNON. Thank you and good morning, Mr. Chairman and honorable members of this committee.

My name is Bernard R. McConnon, III. I am the founder and CEO of Democracy Data and Communications, commonly referred to as DDC. Before I begin, I wish to note for the record that I am appearing here voluntarily at the request of this committee.

DDC is a leading provider of grassroots impact database management services, and website and communications programs to the public affairs market. Among our products is Democracy Direct, a proprietary relational database management application which we offer under an application service provider model. The Democracy Direct system allows clients to catalog an immense amount of information about their stakeholders and other assets, and then search, sort and segment that information in complex ways to facilitate more effective and efficient communication efforts on legislative and regulatory issues.

Our client list includes a majority of the Fortune 100, many of the largest trade and professional associations, and several of the country's largest membership organizations as well. In 2001, DDC was hired by Capitol Campaign Strategies and later by Scanlon Gould to first provide data warehousing and then online database management services for several Indian tribes, including the Louisiana Coushatta.

I understand from your staff that the committee has some questions regarding our contract with CCS and I am happy to answer them at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Cathcart.

STATEMENT OF CHRISTOPHER CATHCART, FORMER ASSOCIATE, CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES, ACCOMPANIED BY CHARLIE LEEPER, ESQ.

Mr. CATHCART. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, Senator Dorgan. I am joined here today by Charlie Leeper, an attorney with Spriggs and Hollingsworth.

Since at least as early as September 2004, I have been cooperating with the committee staff investigators by answering questions and responding to inquiries regarding work performed by my former employer, Capitol Campaign Strategies and its affiliated companies collectively, CCS, for and on behalf of various tribal clients.

For example, on September 21, 2004 I was interviewed by committee investigators Pablo Carrillo and Katherine Rossi. On that occasion, I responded to each and every question posed by Mr. Carrillo and Ms. Rossi. Those questions pertained to numerous aspects of the work performed by CCS for its tribal clients, including the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, and the Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, as well as various other matters.

Similarly, on November 4, 2004, I was interviewed by committee investigators Pablo Carrillo, Bryan Parker, and Katherine Rossi. On that occasion, I responded to each and every question posed by

Messrs. Carrillo and Parker and by Ms. Rossi. Those questions pertained to numerous aspects of the work performed by CCS for its tribal clients, principally the Tigua Indians of Ysleta del Sur Pueblo, as well as to various other matters.

On May 5, 2005, I was once again interviewed by committee investigators Pablo Carrillo, Bryan Parker and Katherine Rossi. On that occasion, I responded to each and every question posed by Messrs. Carrillo and Parker and by Ms. Rossi. Those questions pertained to numerous aspects of the work performed by CCS for its tribal clients, including the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians and the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan, as well as to various other matters.

In all, I estimate that I have submitted to approximately 15 hours of questioning. Furthermore, I responded verbally and in writing through counsel to all follow-up inquiries posed by committee counsel. I have done this as a result of my respect for this committee and its objectives.

Recently, I was made aware of a request from the committee investigators to make myself available to answer inquiries regarding work that CCS performed for the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. Even though I no longer reside in the Washington, DC metropolitan area, I offered, through my counsel, to accommodate this request by traveling to Washington at my own expense to appear for a further interview on Saturday, October 15, 2005, and at that time to answer any and all questions the committee investigators may have regarding the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana.

I am informed that the committee investigators rejected my offer to appear for an interview and instead insisted that I give a deposition where the questions and answers would be then transcribed by a court reporter. Through my counsel, I declined to provide a deposition, but I am appearing voluntarily at this hearing today.

I am aware that the U.S. Department of Justice is conducting a criminal investigation of events relating to lobbying and other professional services rendered on behalf of various Native American groups, including certain services provided by CCS for and on behalf of the tribal clients identified above. I understand that as a former CCS employee, I am a witness to certain events within the scope of the DOJ investigation and I am in possession of information that could further the objectives of that investigation.

I further understand that it may be inconsistent with those objectives for me to submit at this time to a deposition or transcribed questioning conducted by individuals other than DOJ investigators.

With all respect, such a deposition or transcribed questioning by the committee investigators may give rise to ambiguous circumstances that could jeopardize my position as a witness in that ongoing investigation.

Given these circumstances and having considered the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Ohio* v. *Reiner* that the fifth amendment of the U.S. Constitution protects the innocent who might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances, I accept the advice of my legal counsel and respectfully and regretfully will decline to answer questions at any hearing, deposition or transcribed interview conducted by the committee and/or its staff on the basis of the rights guaranteed to me by the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. Cathcart, my understanding is that your response to any question from the committee at this time would be an assertion of your legitimate fifth amendment rights. Is that correct?

Mr. CATHCART. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Ms. Halpern.

STATEMENT OF GAIL HALPERN, JACK ABRAMOFF'S FORMER TAX ADVISOR

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 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 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 serve 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 trust for which I prepared income tax returns was reported and included in the relevant tax returns.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. McConnon, your business, as you mention, is to build databases so that people can send out e-mails, communicate with voters, et cetera. Right?

Mr. MCCONNON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scanlon apparently told the Louisiana Coushatta Tribe and other tribes that his company built your database. Is that correct? Is that your understanding?

Mr. MCCONNON. That is my understanding, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And ended up charging the Coushatta Tribe and other tribes millions of dollars for it. Too bad you did not get in on that, huh Mr. McConnon?

In fact, there was not a lot of activity on the account, was there?

Mr. MCCONNON. After an initial period of time when we set the system up, which was in 2001, the contract lasted through 2000 and ended in 2003, and there was substantial drop-off in activity after the initial set up of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Your company built, updated, and maintained the database. Is that right?

Mr. MCCONNON. Yes; it is important to note that when talking about the database, that there are two ways that that term can be used. One is to describe the system itself, the Democracy Direct system in this case that I am talking about, which is the application. There is also the data that goes into the application that is derived from a lot of different sources.

The CHAIRMAN. The work you did paid you about $104,000? Is that roughly correct?

Mr. MCCONNON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They created a database basically that was less capable than yours?

Mr. MCCONNON. At some point, I believe what you are referring to is at some point with tribes other than those that we were working for through CCS and Scanlon Gould, apparently at some point CCS or Scanlon Gould began to offer their own version of a similar system to other tribes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was less capable than yours?

Mr. MCCONNON. From what I have been shown, yes, far less.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Scanlon charged the Pueblo Sandia Tribe $1 million for that database. Are you aware of that?

Mr. MCCONNON. I was not, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the database was worth anything near $1 million?

Mr. MCCONNON. From what I have seen, no.

The CHAIRMAN. We are told by other witnesses it was really worth about $20,000. Is that a good estimate?

Mr. MCCONNON. That is probably in the neighborhood.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a theory as to how those databases were probably designed?

Mr. MCCONNON. From what I have seen, the databases that were offered to the other tribes, the part that is visible to the tribes, the screen as was described earlier, is strikingly similar to a portion of our system that was being licensed for the first set of tribes.

The CHAIRMAN. Like reverse engineering?

Mr. MCCONNON. Like reverse engineering.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cathcart negotiated the contract with your company on Mr. Scanlon's behalf. Is that correct?

Mr. MCCONNON. That is correct. Well, the initial contract involved Mr. Cathcart, Mr. Scanlon, myself, and other people on my staff. There were subsequent contracts that were negotiated by Chris with other people on my staff.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cathcart seemed to be the one who was running operations for Mr. Scanlon. Is that correct?

Mr. MCCONNON. From interaction with our firm, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McConnon, you have conducted business with lots of lobbying shops and other similar organizations. How common is it for a grassroots firm to pay referral fees for businesses brought to it by a lobbyist?

Mr. MCCONNON. In my experience, it is not done. My understanding is that lobbyists cannot receive referral fees for business that their clients are doing.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cathcart, while working for Mr. Scanlon, I understand you were very handsomely compensated. In fact, you started off with a salary of $44,000 plus an additional $35,000 bonus in 2001. By 2003, you received a salary of $105,000 and a bonus of $390,000. Do you wish to comment on how you merited such generous compensation from Mr. Scanlon?

Mr. CATHCART. Mr. Chairman, regrettably I have to stand by my statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Halpern, while working for Mr. Abramoff as his tax advisor, you provided, when asked, tax advice on the Capital Athletic Foundation. Correct?

Ms. HALPERN. Correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the course of your employment with Mr. Abramoff, did you ever observe the Capital Athletic Foundation engaging in activity inconsistent with its own tax exempt mission?

Ms. HALPERN. Based on my limited knowledge of the tax law in the tax exempt areas, and based on the limited knowledge that I have of the Capital Athletic Foundation, I am not aware of any activities that it engaged in that would negate the tax law.

The CHAIRMAN. In 2001, the Capital Athletic Foundation claimed that the Louisiana Coushatta Tribe was the single largest contributor with a payment of $1 million. As has already been testified, the tribe never intended to make a contribution to the Capital Athletic Foundation. Mr. Scanlon told the tribe its $1 million was going to

go to Greenberg Traurig for grassroots activities. Did Mr. Abramoff tell you anything about that purported $1 million donation?

Ms. HALPERN. I found out about the $1-million donation after the fact, that is, after it occurred sometime. In trying to recollect what happened, Mr. Abramoff has an internal accountant who kept the books of the Capital Athletic Foundation and he booked this contribution income.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know the name of that accountant?

Ms. HALPERN. David Pierce. I believe he was preparing the 2001 books at some time in 2002. Okay? In other words, let me give you a little bit more background to give you a better understanding. Mr. Abramoff had a business office. This business office did not startup, did not have employees running it until sometime early in 2002. During 2001, Mr. Abramoff had a very close associate at Greenberg who maintained, to the best of my knowledge at least, maintained these types of transactions for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was that?

Ms. HALPERN. That person's name is Mr. Rodney Lane.

Therefore, when I am saying I found out after the fact, it is not like someone lifted up the telephone and said to me, you know, Gail, we just got $1 million in. I was looking at the QuickBooks that Mr. Pierce had prepared. First, the QuickBooks did not have that donation recorded, and then it had it recorded, I believe, as a donation from Mr. Abramoff.

I said to Mr. Pierce, you know, I think Mr. Abramoff would tell me if he made a $1-million donation and I do not see it coming out of his personal account. So can you please research this and tell me if you have it correct. He went back and researched this entry that he did, and he said, I apologize; I made a mistake. It came from a Coushatta Tribe. That is, the $1 million came from a Coushatta Tribe.

At that point, trying to recollect what happened, I said, okay, you know, correct the books to properly show whatever it is you are saying it did. And I would say it was approximately November 2002 when the 2001 tax return was being prepared by the tax accountants. I said to Mr. Abramoff, I believe it is an e-mail which I have submitted to your committee, I just want to touch base with you again about this $1 million. I say, "again", because of whenever it was that I initially found out about the contribution and Mr. Pierce said, no, it is not from Mr. Abramoff, it is from Coushatta.

At that point, I said to Mr. Abramoff, I just want to make sure that this is correct information and that this income is not your income nor can it be construed as your income, because if it can be construed as your income, it is not a charitable donation. It is your earned income. And Mr. Abramoff assured me that this was a donation from a tribe.

Just to back up to where I started off, in November 2002, just before he signed the tax return, I repeated my information to him again, saying I just wanted to make sure because this is what you told me back when I found out about the contribution. I just want to make sure that all this information in the tax return is correct, and I am faxing to you that page of the tax return that lists contributors.

Private foundations list contributors of $5,000 or greater. This document is a public document. It is displayed on the Internet. You or I could go on the Internet and look and see who contributed to what foundation. It is not hidden information. It is totally disclosed.

In addition, the private foundation also maintained a disclosure copy of the tax return in their business office. They maintain a copy of this tax return at their business office. So I faxed the form to Mr. Abramoff that shows the contributors and he looked at it, and he got back to me and, apparently the forms listed a different Coushatta Tribe. There is another Coushatta Tribe that is not from Louisiana; Mississippi perhaps. The form had Mississippi Coushatta, and Mr. Abramoff said this is wrong. This contribution is from Louisiana Coushatta.

So I said, okay, and I went back to Mr. Pierce, the internal accountant, and I told him what Mr. Abramoff said. I said, you know, how can this happen? How are you documenting what took place here? Where are you getting your information from? He apologized. He made a mistake. He saw Coushatta Tribe on whatever paper trail came into the office and he just assumed it was another Coushatta Tribe, not Louisiana.

It certainly to me seemed like he just made an innocent mistake. I informed the tax accountants what Mr. Abramoff said that it was Louisiana Coushatta and please correct the information on the return. And that page was corrected, and when Mr. Abramoff signed the return, it documented that Louisiana Coushatta contributed $1 million.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that change the underlying problem here?

Ms. HALPERN. Sir, I am just telling you the events that took place. I am not changing any problem.

The CHAIRMAN. As a tax advisor you would advise him about CAF. It was established by Mr. Abramoff in 1999. Is that correct?

Ms. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All decisions were made by Mr. Abramoff and possibly his wife. Is that correct?

Ms. HALPERN. To the best of my knowledge, the decisions I remember were made by him. I cannot recall his wife making any decisions on it.

The CHAIRMAN. Being familiar with the profit-loss statements and e-mails associated with CAF, you can confirm that from 2001 to 2003, the Eshkol Academy, the all-boys Yeshiva started by Abramoff in 2001, was the primary beneficiary of the CAF. Is that correct?

Ms. HALPERN. It was a substantial beneficiary. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And from 2001–03, many of the top recipients of distributions made by the CAF at Mr. Abramoff's direction had significant ties to Mr. Abramoff. For example, in 2002 Mr. Abramoff had a personal connection to Pitach, a special Jewish school, Kollel Ohel Tiferet, which appears to be a sham organization designed to funnel, in your own words, Ms. Halpern, "spy equipment and other military expenses" totaling $97,000 to a sniper workshop in Israel.

Ms. Halpern, the person who apparently ran the sniper workshop, Shmuel Ben Zvi, is a close friend of Mr. Abramoff. Is that correct?

Ms. HALPERN. I believe they are friends. I do not know the extent of that relationship.

The CHAIRMAN. Toward Tradition a non-profit educational organization received $10,000 from the CAF and the president of this organization, Rabbi Daniel Lapin, is a close friend and business associate of Mr. Abramoff. Isn't he?

Ms. HALPERN. I believe they are associates. I am not sure of the relationship.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's go back to the Eshkol Academy, the CAF's top beneficiary from 2001–03. For 1 year, Mr. Abramoff instructed you to reduce the amount of his charitable contribution to the CAF, instead of paying tuition for at least one of his children. Is that correct?

Ms. HALPERN. Yes; and that occurred after, every year I looked at Mr. Abramoff's personal checkbooks and if it ever came to my attention that he did not pay tuition for his children, I told the assistants that were responsible at that time, and 1 year Mr. Lane was responsible and another year it was the other people in the business office, which was Mr. Pierce. I specifically said that Mr. Abramoff must pay tuition like everybody else and please make sure that you do so from his personal account.

Now, 1 year when I found out after the fact that the tuition was not paid, it was apparently an oversight by his business office, at least that is what I am told. And Mr. Abramoff instead of taking a full deduction on his personal tax return for what he contributed to the foundation, he reduced his deduction on his personal tax return by that amount that is allocated to tuition. So that way, it was made sure that he paid tuition for his children just like everybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you refer to exhibit 219 for me please? It is an e-mail from you to Jack Abramoff.

Ms. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Part of the e-mail says, "but let's try to square it out in a way where we do not screw up the foundation. We need to get the money to a 501(c)(3) or an educational institution, not directly to him. Can you ask him if he can work something out within kollel so the money goes from the kollel," I am not sure I am pronouncing that word right, "to him." "Him" I think, is referring to Mr. Zvi. Is that right?

Ms. HALPERN. I would have to review this whole e-mail in context, but it appears from where you are reading, I did not see where you are reading from, but it appears that what you are saying is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you go on to say in your e-mail, "if he can't, then I need to sit down and have him make amendments in grant procedures and all kinds of other stuff to make this legit from a tax point of view. I already need to talk with Mac about the skating rink, so let me know what Shmuel says about getting money to a kollel, and if it will not work, then I will add this to the list."

It seems to me, Ms. Halpern, from your e-mail here that you must have known that some of this money was going to purchase paramilitary equipment.

[Exhibit follows:]

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 4:26:01 PM Eastern Standard Time, abramoffj@[redacted]

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 gratefull to you.

I was raised by my uncle and aunt who I call mom and dad, who is a holocaust survivor. 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 have 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

>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]
[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.

Ms. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, I realize you are picking out one e-mail in a series of many correspondences and conversations that were had. So if you don't mind, I would like to explain to you in context when this e-mail came up.

In approximately May 2002, I learned from looking at the foundation books that Mr. Abramoff wanted to support a school in Israel, a kollel. A kollel is a Jewish school of higher learning, kind of similar to a post-graduate type program in a way. When I learned of this, like I told you in my opening statement, I do not practice in the area of not-for-profits.

So I said to Mr. Abramoff, I do not know if this is something that a foundation is permitted to do. I would recommend to you that you ask the foundation attorneys. The Capital Athletic Foundation has expert attorneys who practice in the area of not-for-profits. He said, fine; go ask them on my behalf.

I contacted the attorneys and I said, there is a school in Israel that Mr. Abramoff would like to support, and he would like to support it for security and self-defense. Is that a permissible activity of the foundation? And they came back to me and they said it is permitted. Because it is in Israel a grant follow-up procedure needs to be done. I do not see where you are reading from, but I heard you mention that when you were reading the e-mail. That is what the grant follow-up procedure is. To the best of my knowledge, the Capital Athletic Foundation did comply with that requirement.

Now, I would also like to express to you that when I learned about the school in May 2002 and immediately sought expert advice from the Capital Athletic Foundation attorneys, it was not something, you might think, gee, well this sounds like an odd request. Why would he want to do something like that?

Just to put it in context, 2 months earlier, in March 2002, a terrorist infiltrated a Jewish school in Israel and randomly went shooting off with his gun in the study hall of the Jewish school. Five young men, 5 innocent young men were killed and 23 innocent young men were injured. So when I learned of this 2 months later, in May, it was not something that stood out in my mind that it was a rare request.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a rare request to ask money for a sniper workshop? You were aware that it was a sniper workshop, right?

Ms. HALPERN. Sir, if you are listening to what I am telling you.

The CHAIRMAN. I am listening to what you are telling me. For you to say that it is not unusual to give money to a sniper workshop, which there was an exchange of e-mails that says Mr. Abramoff's assistant did suggest he could write some kind of letter with his "sniper workshop logo and letterhead". "It is an educational entity of sorts".

Ms. Halpern, it does not pass the smell test.

Ms. HALPERN. I am sitting here today, sir, so I can tell you what I knew at that time. At that time what was presented to me, information that was given to me——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know it was a sniper workshop?

Ms. HALPERN. I did not know. I am not aware of a sniper workshop. Now, as you know from the thousands and thousands of documents that I have given to your committee, sir, I got a lot of e-mails from Mr. Abramoff or his associates. I cannot say I read

every attachment or every forward. It would have been very time consuming.

So I do not recall ever hearing something about a logo in an e-mail that you just referred to. I am telling you, sir, that to the best of my knowledge, Mr. Abramoff was funding a school for security and self-defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you aware that it was a sniper workshop at the time?

Ms. HALPERN. At the time, I was not aware that Mr. Abramoff was funding a sniper workshop.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dorgan.

Senator DORGAN. Ms. Halpern, are you upset that you are here having to answer these questions for the committee?

Ms. HALPERN. No; actually I am not upset, sir. I have been very helpful with your committee. I have met with your staff for several days. I am here to answer whatever I can.

Senator DORGAN. Senator McCain asked the question about the e-mail. I want to just read it again because it is hard for me to believe that with all that was going on, substantial amounts of money coming into all kinds of different organizations, that you did not perhaps understand that there were some real problems here. You say, let's try to square it in a way where we do not screw up the foundation.

Ms. HALPERN. Yes.

Senator DORGAN. We need to get the money to a 501(c)(3) or an educational institution.

[Exhibit follows:]

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]

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 diblitating. 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 have 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

>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]

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.

Ms. HALPERN. Can I explain that, sir?

Senator DORGAN. Of course.

Ms. HALPERN. Because I think you raise a good point, when you read out of context, you can think of a lot of things. As a matter of fact, whenever someone takes tax advice or looks at tax advice, they cannot look at that one e-mail. They need to see what came before, the e-mail that came after and before, and the conversations that took place.

So let me just explain to you, and maybe this will clarify things for you. Mr. Abramoff asked his office to make purchases, security purchases for this institution in Israel. What I could not understand at that point was why he was doing that. If you want to fund a school, just give them the money, ask them for a receipt, and get on with life. Let them worry about what they are going to do with it.

And then when I learned that Mr. Abramoff was actually, he said fine; we are not going to purchase any equipment; we will just give him the money. Then I learned that he gave him the money directly and not to the school.

Now, this is kind of similar to if there is a school next door that had a broken elevator, and you wanted their broken elevator to get fixed, you would not go and give the money to the elevator man to repair the elevator. You would give money to the school and the school would arrange for the elevator man to come to fix the elevator.

This is similar. What I was saying here is do not take the money and give it to the agent for the school, and that is what Mr. Abramoff told me he was, the agent for the school. Give it directly to the school. Have them give you their wire information, wire the money to them, whatever means you need to do to get it to the school.

Senator DORGAN. Because if he would give to the agent directly, it would "screw up the foundation"?

Ms. HALPERN. No, sir; again to the extent of my knowledge of not-for-profit laws, I do not think it would screw up the foundation. It would be, to the extent of my knowledge, still a permitted distribution. However, I kind of like things simple and to the point. And why bother with having to do grant follow-up work.

Mr. Abramoff had a limited staff and I did not want something falling through the cracks. I wanted him to do the simplest thing possible. He presented information to me where he wanted to support a school in Israel and my answer was, you want to do it, fine, just have the money go directly to the school.

Senator DORGAN. Ms. Halpern, it does not seem to me like there was much that was not permitted in all these transactions. You talk about "permitted issues." I mean, as you go through these e-mails and take a look at these transactions, it looks like the sky was the limit in terms of transactions.

Let me ask you about a number of entities. In addition to the Capital Athletic Foundation and Kaygold, Mr. Abramoff had a number of other companies. In an e-mail from you to him and several of his associates on February 16, 2003, you mentioned the following entities. Could you just tell us what each of them are?

[Exhibit follows:]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)

Sent: Sunday, February 16, 2003 6:02 PM

To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]

Subject: RE: MD Personal Property Tax returns for 2003

OK

—Original Message—
From: GRHalpern@[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 16, 2003 6:35 PM
To: rodneylane@[redacted]; lauralippy@[redacted]
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: MD Personal Property Tax returns for 2003

I have requested the 60 day extensions for the following entities to file the MD personal property tax returns. this extends filing deadline to 6/15/03. we do not have the information at this time to prepare these returns:

[redacted] CAPITAL ATHLETIC FOUNDATION, LLC.
[redacted] ARCHIVES, LLC (this is a dormant corporation. and is not the restaurant)
[redacted] KAYGOLD, LLC
[redacted] ABRAMOFF FAMILY FUND LP
[redacted] SPORTS SUITES, LLC
[redacted] DUJA, LLC (this holds 812 Edlebut)
[redacted] LIVSAR ENTERPRISES, LLC
[redacted] SVJA, LLC (this holds Symphony Global)
[redacted] INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL MANAGEMENT, INC.
[redacted] MOUNT VERNON STUDIOS, INC.

May and Barnhard prepares the filings for Eshkol. I will pass the Eshkol 2003 Personal property tax return packet on to them.

Gail R. Halpern, CPA, PFS
Estate and Financial Planning Services
[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.

Ms. HALPERN. Is there an exhibit I should look at?

Senator DORGAN. I do not have an exhibit on this, but it is an e-mail.

Archives, LLC? Do you remember what that was?

Ms. HALPERN. Archives LLC, is that as opposed to Archives Fine Dining, LLC?

Senator DORGAN. I will write that down. That is a new one.

Ms. HALPERN. I want to differentiate them for tax purposes.

Senator DORGAN. Archives, LLC, you have about seven of them. I was just curious. These are in addition to the Capital Athletic Foundation and also in addition to Kaygold.

Archives, LLC, what is that?

Ms. HALPERN. Archives, LLC to the best of my knowledge is dormant and did not do anything. The way it came about is Mr. Abramoff said, I want to open a restaurant. Can you please do the filings. It is going to be called Archives, LLC.

Senator DORGAN. And I did not have it on the list, but there is an Archives Fine Dining, LLC as well?

Ms. HALPERN. Let me explain, sir. I will be happy to explain it.

Senator DORGAN. All right.

Ms. HALPERN. And then after I went ahead and did the paperwork to apply for a tax ID number, et cetera, all that is required, the person in Mr. Abramoff's business office said; "Oh, what is this all about, Archives, LLC?" He already opened an entity for his restaurant, called Archives Fine Dining, LLC. So basically, his partner in the restaurant opened Archives Fine Dining, LLC and either it slipped Mr. Abramoff's mind or he did not know, and he asked me to open it.

Senator DORGAN. DL/JA, LLC?

Ms. HALPERN. That is an entity, to the best of my knowledge, that owns his personal residence.

Senator DORGAN. Entity that owns his personal residence?

Ms. HALPERN. Yes, sir.

Senator DORGAN. So his personal residence is not in his name?

Ms. HALPERN. It is in the name you just read.

Senator DORGAN. His home is owned by DL/JA, LLC?

Ms. HALPERN. To the best of my knowledge, sir. I did not set that up. You are going to have to ask the people involved who set that up.

Senator DORGAN. Did you do the accounting for that?

Ms. HALPERN. No, sir; it was not a for-profit entity. It did not have tax returns, et cetera.

Senator DORGAN. I understand.

Ms. HALPERN. It owns his house.

Senator DORGAN. It is a separate company to own his home?

Ms. HALPERN. It is an LLC that owns his home. It was based on advice he received from attorneys.

Senator DORGAN. Sounds a bit Byzantine to me.

Livsar Enterprises, LLC?

Ms. HALPERN. Yes, sir; that is an entity that is owned together with him and Rodney Lane. It controlled and operated his restaurant, Signatures.

Senator DORGAN. SVJA, LLC?

Ms. HALPERN. To the best of my knowledge, that entity was dormant. I am not aware of any income or losses passing through it that I knew about. It was apparently an entity that he and another associate founded. Apparently, whatever deal it was for fell through.

Senator DORGAN. International Political Management, Inc.?

Ms. HALPERN. That is a corporation that he founded, and let me try to recall what it was for. It was not a very active entity. I did not do the tax return for it, so you are kind of asking me something that I have not seen in many years, which is a little bit difficult for me, but I do not recall it as something that was very active.

Senator DORGAN. Sports Suites, LLC, Mt. Vernon Studios, Inc. I will not go through the rest. These are a lot of enterprises. Are there additional enterprises?

Ms. HALPERN. I would be happy to answer each and every one if you would like. It is no problem.

Senator DORGAN. I wonder if I could do this, ask you to submit a list that would be an exhaustive list of the enterprises that you know Mr. Abramoff controlled.

Ms. HALPERN. Sure. No problem.

Senator DORGAN. That would be helpful to the committee.

Let me ask Mr. McConnon, on page 6 of the Coushatta political program, that is exhibit 64, Capitol Campaign Strategies makes a claim they completed 16,500 direct contacts with individual calls to the Governor. Any evidence in the Coushatta database that suggests this occurred?

[Exhibit follows:]

The Coushatta Political Program

Michael Scanlon
June 26, 2001

COUSH-MiscKVH-0000197

The Coushatta Political Program

What We Have Built

- We have constructed a state of the art political database containing roughly 20,000 individuals who will take action on behalf of the tribe.

- We have organized and defined every vendor, employee, tribe member, and political supporter, by election district. From State Senate to School Board, the tribe now knows who their supporters are, where they live and how to reach them.

- We have compiled a state-of-the-art qualitative research database, which can identify allies and adversaries by "quote".

- We have compiled an anti-gaming database, which identifies individuals who will take action in opposition to any gaming facility.

The Coushatta Political Program

How We Built It

- We custom built a computer program to house the different types of supporters associated with the tribe (tribe members, vendors, employees, etc).
- By downloading lists you provided to us into your custom built database, we are able to tap your "natural resources" and use them as the cornerstone of an electronic, grassroots political network.
- We then grew your database by identifying over 14,000 politically active supporters by telephone survey (see next page).
- Once in place the Coushatta Political Program was used to mobilize the different classifications of supporters, using similar messages, hitting pre-determined targets.

Mr. MCCONNON. Sir, what is the exhibit number?

Senator DORGAN. It is exhibit 64. In that same exhibit on page 2, it claims that Capital Campaign Strategies custom built a computer program. I think the chairman has already asked about that. Let's start with that. On page 2, are you aware that the Capitol Campaign Strategies custom built a computer program?

Mr. MCCONNON. No; to the best of my knowledge, they were using ours that we had licensed to them.

Senator DORGAN. On page 6, where they make the claim they completed 16,500 direct individual contacts to the Governor, any evidence in the database that suggests this occurred?

Mr. MCCONNON. The only thing that I could find in looking back at a series of e-mails and records was a file that we received that is called Mississippi Gaming: Yes Activists. It was approximately 15,500 records in the file that we received in October 2001. How that was derived is not clear at all from the data, but it is possible that those are accurate.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Cathcart, I understand that you had interviews with the staff of the Committee on Indian Affairs. My understanding is that you answered the questions asked in all three interviews. Although you certainly have a right to assert your fifth amendment rights here, I am wondering, if you were willing to answer the questions in all three of our interviews, what persuades you not to answer the questions in public that you previously answered in private?

Mr. CATHCART. Frankly, I took the advice of my counsel and maybe it is more appropriate for him to answer than I.

Senator DORGAN. Perhaps we could hear from your counsel.

Mr. LEEPER. Thank you, Mr. Vice Chairman.

As you know, in a court of law counsel representing a party has the right to object to a question that is compound, argumentative, loaded with an unfounded assumption, and counsel can obtain a ruling from an impartial arbiter, usually a judge, as to whether or not the witness needs to answer the question as stated or whether the question needs to be restated.

In this venue, as you know, counsel has no such ability to protect his or her client from such objectionable questions, and a record of answers to such questions, questions that are compound or based on unfounded assumptions, is an ambiguous and unreliable record, which gives rise to a hazard to a witness, in particular the witness' liberty interest. The right recognized in *Ohio* v. *Reiner* is intended to protect that very right and interest, including the interest of innocent persons.

So for that reason, we are exercising that right here.

Senator DORGAN. Counsel, I do not contest the right and the chairman indicated that your client certainly has that right. My only point was that he did come as he described, at his own expense, came for three interviews, answered the questions, and I would have thought that that which he answered in private, he would answer in public. I understand he has the right to assert it and has so asserted.

One final question, if I might, Mr. Chairman. Ms. Halpern, you indicated a David Pierce was involved in some of the tax prepara-

tion issues and tax advice with respect to things like the Capital Athletic Foundation. Is that right?

Ms. HALPERN. No, sir; I said that to the best of my knowledge, Mr. Pierce, who was an internal accountant for Mr. Abramoff, hired by Mr. Lane, kept the books of several of Mr. Abramoff's entities. To the best of my knowledge, he did not prepare tax returns that I know about. And if he rendered tax advice to Mr. Abramoff, I would have no way of knowing that and I do not recall him telling me he did.

Senator DORGAN. The final point. I think the chairman asked you a good number of questions about this, but with respect to the Capital Athletic Foundation, the establishment of an academy in suburban Maryland, sniper training operation in Israel, payments to Mr. Abramoff's cousin, and other things.

Ms. HALPERN. I am sorry. Which payments?

Senator DORGAN. There are payments to Mr. Abramoff's cousin Steve?

Ms. HALPERN. From where? From the Capital Athletic Foundation?

Senator DORGAN. Yes; is that not accurate?

Ms. HALPERN. Would you show me what exhibit that would be in, sir?

Senator DORGAN. I do not have that exhibit in front of me.

Ms. HALPERN. I am not familiar with the fact that the foundation made those kind of payments.

Senator DORGAN. Why don't we then, I am going to submit questions for Ms. Halpern, and I will attempt to get that reference for you, and I want to visit it.

Ms. HALPERN. Okay. Thank you. As you know, there were thousands of transactions in the CAF books and I cannot remember all of them.

Senator DORGAN. I understand it is here.

Ms. HALPERN. Okay.

Senator DORGAN. Exhibit 204, on the second page, "can we cut the spy equipment and monthly stipend at $3,560; can we do without Steve Abramoff's monthly stipend of $2,000? Can we hold off on any other charitable contributions for a while", and so on.

[Exhibit follows:]

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.

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!! '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 generously 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]

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.

Ms. HALPERN. To the best of my knowledge, sir, and correct me if I am wrong, but I think if your staff looks in the books and records, Mr. Steven Abramoff was receiving payment from Kaygold, which is Mr. Abramoff's consulting practice, not from the foundation.

Senator DORGAN. All right.

Mr. Chairman, I will submit some additional questions. I thank all three of the witnesses for being here.

The CHAIRMAN. I have just one more question.

Ms. Halpern, please refer to exhibit 206 in the book please. Now, you have stated that you, in a previous question, that you had no knowledge of a sniper workshop. Well, in exhibit 206, November 11, 2002 e-mail between you and Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Abramoff forwards to you an e-mail from Ben Zvi, in which he writes, "last night, one of the guys from the emergency response team in Israel City of Ashdod, who was in the Army when I did the workshop for snipers in his unit, said they need the workshop badly and anything else I can do to help."

Mr. Ben Zvi continues, "I am now writing out a program for patrolling and dealing with ambushes and containment and neutralization of terrorists, both in and out of the Ishuv."

In forwarding this e-mail to you, Mr. Abramoff writes, "This is why it so hard for me to cut off funding. Who else would fund this? He has no one else."

In response, you write, "I actually had chills reading the two e-mails you forwarded to me. However, we need to work this into the tax exempt purposes of the foundation. More to come on this subject in an e-mail tomorrow or so. Mr. Abramoff's outside accountant 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."

[Exhibit follows:]

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 (duti) 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

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 fifth column, and the previous labor governments have always expressed those sentiments. Shulimit Aloni , the labor blabber mouth, has always expressed fears that the Mizrachi 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]

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.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you continuously stated that there are thousands of e-mails. I would think you would remember something that caused you to have chills reading two e-mails. That specifically refers to this individual who, "did the workshop for snipers in his unit," which obviously, according to the e-mail, Mr. Abramoff said he was funding.

Ms. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, I am not up on what is required for security enhancements. Okay? That is certainly not one of my areas of expertise. If Mr. Abramoff, who is running the foundation, presented to me that he is funding the school for security enhancements, for security and defense, that is what I believed and that is what I took. What was required in order to provide security enhancements, I do not know. It was not my job to investigate. I was not running the foundation. And I was basing any information that I said to him, was based on what he told me.

Now, you mention about the other firm, the tax accountants, the specialists who prepared the returns. What that is referring to is, I believe it was, Mr. Vice Chairman had mentioned in an e-mail that he read, it was referring to a relationship that the foundation had with an ice rink that the school was using. That is the reference where specialist tax accountants consulted the tax attorneys and made a recommendation specifically about the ice rink. That is what that line is referring to, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Halpern, it was forwarded to you, the e-mail that says "last night, one of the guys who was in the Army when I did the workshop for snipers and said they needed the workshop badly," and you are saying that you had no knowledge of a sniper workshop.

Ms. HALPERN. Sir, if you recall another e-mail which I believe you put in your exhibit last time, it talked about terrorists cutting through the fence. I do not know what is required to defend against a terrorist coming through a fence.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking that, Ms. Halpern. I was asking if you knew money was being sent for a workshop for snipers, and it is specifically referred to in an e-mail that was sent to you, that you said in response, "it gives you chills."

Ms. HALPERN. Yes, sir; and I reiterate that the knowledge that I had was that Mr. Abramoff was funding a school in Israel for security enhancements. Now, what that school required, depending on their geographical location, I cannot answer that, sir, this very specific question.

The CHAIRMAN. It was a very specific response to you from Mr. Abramoff, who said, "this is why it is so hard for me to cut off funding." Clearly, that indicates he was funding.

I have no further questions.

Do you have any further questions?

Senator DORGAN. One further question.

Ms. Halpern, you have heard the testimony now at two separate hearings about Mr. Abramoff, testimony that I think pretty clearly describes deception, lying, perhaps fraud, including substantial evidence of that this morning. Give me your analysis of what you have heard.

Ms. HALPERN. It is a lot of information. It is all very overwhelming. As you know your committee has shown me some e-mails that

were written either relating to me or relating to e-mails that people wrote about me, it is a very overwhelming massive amount of information.

What I can tell you, though, is that I believe in our Justice Department and I have full confidence that they will make a thorough investigation and get to the bottom of this.

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

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

I thank the witnesses.

Our last panel is Steven Griles, former deputy secretary of the Interior; Michael Rossetti, former counsel to the Secretary of the Interior; and Italia Federici, the president of the Council of Republicans for Environmental Advocacy.

Mr. Griles, we will begin with you, sir.

STATEMENT OF J. STEVEN GRILES, FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. GRILES. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is J. Steven Griles. I am appearing today voluntarily. I believe the committee's work is very, very important.

What I have heard today is extremely disheartening. This committee knows I have been a public servant for almost 24 years, first with the Commonwealth of Virginia from 1968 to 1981, and then with the United States Department of the Interior from 1981–89, and again from 2001 through January of this year.

In my most recent position, I served as deputy secretary of the Interior. I considered it a privilege to work for President Bush, Secretary Norton, and many of you and your colleagues on the issues of importance to this country and its environment.

Two weeks ago, I spent over 4 hours answering questions from this committee staff. I was shown documents that I had never seen before and told things about Mr. Abramoff that I did not know, and today I learned more. We have heard that Mr. Abramoff has taken an unbelievable amount of money from some of the most vulnerable people in our society. He also apparently has claimed to have special access to my office on behalf of his Indian gaming clients. That is outrageous and it is not true.

If he got this money in part by misrepresenting his relationships with me, I am extremely pleased that you are investigating this. Before answering your questions, I want to make one important point. From the time I became deputy secretary, I had no responsibilities for Indian gaming issues. Authority over those issues was assigned to others who reported directly to the Secretary, like Michael Rossetti. The Secretary made all decisions relating to Indian gaming compacts. I want you to know this so that you can judge the credibility of any special access to my office on this issue.

Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman, and I want to thank the staff for the way they treated me when we went through the interview.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Rossetti.

STATEMENT OF MICHAEL ROSSETTI, FORMER COUNSEL TO THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Mr. ROSSETTI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have no prepared remarks, but I am happy, of course, to answer any questions that you have, Mr. Chairman, or that the Vice Chairman has of me at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Griles, according to documents in the committee's possession, Mr. Abramoff directly and indirectly contacted you while you served as deputy secretary of the Department of the Interior about tribal issues that were pending before the department. I would like to explore those communications with you now.

First, could you describe your relationship with Mr. Abramoff?

Mr. GRILES. My relationship with Mr. Abramoff was, as with other lobbyists, nothing more, nothing less, just as it would be with Senators and other interest groups. I returned calls directly. If people called, I had those calls returned by others who had direct responsibilities.

The CHAIRMAN. At your deposition, you testified that you could only vaguely recall a couple of conversations you had with Ms. Federici about matters relating to Mr. Abramoff's clients pending at the department, and that was it, and that these were only requests by Ms. Federici to have you call Mr. Abramoff back. Is that correct?

Mr. GRILES. Yes, Senator; I told your investigators that I recalled several conversations in which she had asked me to call Mr. Abramoff. She had just been talking to him and wanted to know if I would call him. I know of one instance that I think, this has been a long time ago, that I made a return call to him.

The CHAIRMAN. So with the benefit of time, you have been unable to remember anything further?

Mr. GRILES. And I have not seen any other documents, Senator, either to help with that.

The CHAIRMAN. At your deposition, you said you never had any reason to get involved in tribal gaming issues, and that you "didn't do gaming." At your deposition, you testified that as the COO at Interior, you did not intervene or get involved in gaming issues, except to the extent that the counselor asked you for advice. But to what extent did you try to intervene in gaming issues that related to Mr. Abramoff's clients?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I do not recall intervening on behalf of Mr. Abramoff's clients ever.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rossetti, are you aware of any incidents where Mr. Griles tried to intervene in gaming issues relating to Mr. Abramoff's clients?

Mr. ROSSETTI. I am aware, Senator, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Griles at some point late in 2003, I believe it was, became very interested in participating in the decisionmaking process and indicated to me on many occasions a desire to be in attendance at the Secretary's decisionmaking meeting with respect to the two-part determination that was before her or would be before her with respect to the Jena Band in Louisiana.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Griles, with the benefit of Mr. Rossetti's recollection, why did you try to intervene in the Jena issue?

Mr. GRILES. Mr. Rossetti has a different memory than I have, Senator, of that issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, please.

Mr. GRILES. I have, and to my recollection, never went to a decisionmaking meeting on the Jena Band with the Secretary. My recollection, and I believe if you were to check with the Secretary, she would indicate that also. I do not recall, Senator, going to any meeting with the career staff, and I believe if you were to check with the career staff that would be true.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you try to intervene in the Jena issue?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I was the chief operating officer. If I had wanted to intervene in those issues, I could have. That was not what I was doing at Interior. I did not do Indian gaming, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What conversations do you recall that you had with Mr. Abramoff regarding the Jena issue or with Ms. Federici concerning the Jena issue?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I do not recall having a discussion with Ms. Federici about the Jena Band issue at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a recollection of any conversations you had with Ms. Federici about a leadership dispute in the Louisiana Coushatta Tribe?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, as I told your investigators, I recall, as I indicated a few moments ago, that I had a call from Italia Federici in which she discussed something, and I do not recall the nature of that conversation. At the end of that conversation, she asked me, she said I was talking to Mr. Abramoff; he wondered if you could give him a call. That is my recollection. I called Mr. Abramoff.

I was not in the office when he returned the call. I think I was on my way home or whatever. And he indicated there was a dispute, a mutiny dispute, a lockout or whatever it was, with one of the tribes in the Southeast. I then took that information and asked the acting assistant secretary for Indian Affairs, would she please look at that. I may have asked her to talk to him, and determine what if any appropriate action we should take.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever talk with Mr. Abramoff about a potential strategy to block the Gun Lake application?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I did not know what Gun Lake was until the Washington Post ran an article. I did not even know what the term was. I had never been involved in Gun Lake. Once I saw the article, it ran in the paper, I realized that at a senior policy meeting with the Secretary, the Solicitor's office informed the Secretary that the Justice Department had indicated they were not going to process or defend, as I understood it, applications for lands into trust for gaming unless there had been an EIS performed. It was not until those two things were connected that I understood that I had overheard the conversation, but until that point, I had no knowledge of it.

The CHAIRMAN. In November 2003, you gave Michael Rossetti, the former counselor to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior a binder that contained information critical of the Louisiana Jena Band's application for placing land into trust. Did that indeed happen? Did you give him a binder?

Mr. GRILES. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. You did?

Mr. Rossetti, did Mr. Griles tell you where the binder came from?

Mr. ROSSETTI. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And where was that?

Mr. ROSSETTI. The conversation, it took some time to get to the ultimate point to where the binder came from. At first, Mr. Griles indicated that he got it from someone on the Hill, a staff member to a member of either the Senate or the House. I have to say I do not recall which.

I have two names that I recall and have not been able to refresh my recollection adequately. This took the course of a series of questions that I had to ask to figure out where it came from because it did not have a transmittal letter on it, an e-mail cover, or any other readily identifiable information as to what its genesis was or what its meaning was intended to be.

But on the cover memo was, I think it was addressed to the department. It was addressed to somebody, but was not from anybody. So in our extensive conversation about where it came from ultimately, I learned from Mr. Griles that it came from a member by way of a chief of staff by way of a lobbyist who turned out to be Mr. Abramoff. But it was during the course of a series of questions that took much longer to get to that answer than I would have thought was necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Griles, binders show up in your office and then you just pass them on to the most important people in the Department of the Interior?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, if I could put this in context. First of all, I would like to respond to Mr. Rossetti's recollection of a conversation. He says a series of questions and answers. My recollection of it, it was less than 2 minutes, if it was that long. So I do not want to dispute a former friend of mine and a former colleague. I have a great deal of respect for him. He did a great job when he served the Secretary.

So I guess I would just like to explain what actually happened. I was in a meeting. I came back to my office. There was a binder. There was no transmission on it. There was no envelope. There was nothing. I opened it up, and there were letters from Congressmen and it may have been Senators. I just do not recall the content of it. It was clearly something related to the Jena Band application.

In Interior, we had huge litigation going on in the *Cobell* litigation, Senator, as you well know. One of the allegations there was records, the maintaining of records and what we needed to do with records if we got something, and how we should manage them. This binder was in the minds of the Solicitor's office and everyone, was a record of the Department of the Interior once it landed on my desk.

My objective was three-fold: Get it to the right person; avoid a record-keeping issue with the litigation issue; and I asked, and since Mr. Rossetti, as I said before, was in fact the Counselor that was managing the Indian gaming issues, I took it to Mr. Rossetti. There was speculation, there is no question, there was speculation about where it came from.

I did not say it came from Mr. Abramoff. I did not say it came from Congress. I speculated that it could have come from any of those sources. I did not know and I do not know today where it came from, but it was a record, Senator, that was laying on my desk.

I asked my secretary, where did this come from? Her name is Doris Johnson. She is one of the nicest, sweetest ladies in the world. She said, it was delivered to the front desk and I went down and picked it up. I assume she meant she went down and picked it up from a messenger. She brought it back and I said, where is the envelope? She said it had your name on it, and nothing else.

As I repeat myself, I went, I consulted, I was told that it had to be given to the people who were managing this because it was a record of the department, and I gave it to Mr. Rossetti. I asked Mr. Rossetti when he was giving the briefing to the Secretary on this issue, which I did not attend, and I would not have asked him this if I was going to attend the briefing and interfere in this issue, to please make sure the Secretary knew that there were all sides of this issue, and please brief her on that. I think I put him off when I said that, to be honest.

I think in doing that, I think he thought I questioned his integrity about fully informing the Secretary. If I did that, I apologize to him today. But Senator, I did not know then and I do not know today where it came from.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rossetti testifies that on two occasions, you insisted on being in the meetings concerning the Jena Band. Is that not true?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I have no recollection of attending any meetings at which the Jena Band issue was discussed. There were thousands and thousands of meetings in the Department of the Interior. My schedule has them all on it. I have looked through every meeting, every calendar that I have since I got those calendars several days ago. I spent nights reading them. I see nothing on there that would indicate that I went to a Jena Band briefing.

The CHAIRMAN. I think Mr. Rossetti's testimony is that you did not go, but you insisted on going and were not able to do so.

Mr. GRILES. Can I comment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; go ahead.

Mr. GRILES. Senator, as the deputy secretary and chief operating officer, if I wanted to go to a meeting, I would have gone. I was the number two. It didn't happen. I did not want to go. I did not want to be involved in Indian gaming. That is the truth. I am telling you the truth. I want you to know that, from my heart. This is not something that I was interested in and I have no recollection, absolutely no recollection of going to any meeting when any of that issue was discussed.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Dorgan.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Chairman, I am trying to understand this a bit. Mr. Rossetti and Mr. Griles, your statements about this are in direct conflict. Let me go through some of the e-mails.

Mr. Griles, the point of this inquiry from the committee is that we have a large body of e-mails, and the e-mails come from Italia Federici. They come from Mr. Abramoff. So they are on the record.

I am going to go through some, and you can perhaps react to them, but it is what is part of the public record at this point.

Exhibit 4——

Mr. GRILES. Would you like me to refer to them, Senator?

Senator DORGAN. Yes; I will have it up on the screen in a moment. Exhibit 4, and I will just read it, most of these are very short. It is from Italia Federici to Jack Abramoff: "Hi, Jack. After I retrieved my coat, I ended up sharing a cab with Steve. He really enjoyed meeting you and was grateful for the strategic advice on BIA and insular affairs. You definitely made another friend."

That kind of starts a whole series of e-mails from Ms. Federici. And so that begins a long process. Exhibit 277: "Hi, Jack", again from Ms. Federici to Mr. Abramoff, "I am talking with Steve in about 30 minutes. We will call you right after. I know he said they do not want her for the job so I do not know what the thought was here, but I will find out. He is calling back about another issue".

This is about "Secretary Norton names Martin to Indian Affairs post". Abramoff had written to her saying, "I cannot believe they named her", and then she wrote back and said, "I am talking with Steve in about 30 minutes".

Exhibit 37 is an exhibit in which Abramoff describes you to Van Hoof as "the fellow who we helped with the CREA project".

So throughout the entire set of records that came from our subpoenas, Mr. Griles, we have probably dozens of e-mails, 3 or 4 or 5 dozen e-mails from both Mr. Abramoff and Ms. Federici describing meetings with you, discussions with you, telephone calls with you, and describing those meetings, discussions and telephone calls specifically in the context of issues, Jena Band issues and other Indian issues before the Interior Committee.

What are we to make of that? It is certainly at odds with your opening statement, at great odds with it.

[Exhibit follows:]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 01, 2001 11:43 AM
To: 'italia@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Thanks from me and Steve and invitation

Wow, that would be great! Thank you so much for everything. I am so glad we are working together. Let me know if I can help you cover the cost of the reception. Thanks again.

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici <italia@[redacted]
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoffj@[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Mar 01 12:42:21 2001
Subject: Thanks from me and Steve and invitation

Hi Jack:

After I retrieved my coat I ended up sharing a cab with Steve. He really enjoyed meeting you and was grateful for the strategic advice on BIA and Insular Affairs. You definitely made another friend.

Now, something we didn't get to this morning...

Finally, as of yesterday, Julie Finley, Jim Nicholson and I are hosting a very small cocktail party for Gale at Julie's home. We just got Gale's scheduler to confirm! Gale has been saying yes but we never had a definite from her office until yesterday afternoon. I called congressional CoS yesterday and had a positive response from Senator[redacted], Senator[redacted], Congressman[redacted], Congressman[redacted] - they will be there. Now I am calling and emailing people I want to attend and keeping my fingers crossed! There will only be about 25 people in attendance so it's a great time to meet Gale and actually chat for a few minutes. It will be very small and relaxed.

Can you join us? It's March 6 at 6:30pm at [redacted]

Bye for now,
Italia

'talia Federici

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 1:03 PM
To: italia@[redacted]
Subject: RE: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 12:06 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

Hi Jack: I'm talking with Steve in about 30 minutes and will call you right after. I know he said they don't want her for the job so I don't know what the thought was here but I'll find out. He's calling me back to talk about Mashpee.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 9:22 AM
To: italia@[redacted]
Subject: FW: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

HAT?!?! I can't believe they named her.

-----Original Message-----
From: Pierce, Brigham (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 8:42 AM
To: DCChoctaw
Subject: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post
U.S. Newswire
7 Jan 12:05
Sec. Norton Names Aurene Martin Acting Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs
To: National Desk
Contact: Nedra Darling of the U.S. Department of the Interior <http://www.doi.gov <http://www.doi.gov> >, 202-219-4152
WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 /U.S. Newswire/ -- Interior Secretary Gale Norton has announced her designation of Aurene M. Martin, a member of the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, as acting assistant secretary - Indian affairs.
"Aurene Martin brings solid experience in Indian affairs and a commitment to excellence to her new role," said Secretary Norton. "She will be an able leader for the Bureau of Indian Affairs during its transition into an efficient and effective Indian service."
Martin had served as deputy assistant secretary under Assistant Secretary Neal McCaleb, who recently retired from public service.
"I'm deeply honored to accept Secretary Norton's designation," Martin said, "and I am confident that our efforts to improve the BIA will result in improved services to the trust beneficiaries and the federally recognized tribes."
In October 2001, Martin joined the Interior Department as Counselor to the Assistant Secretary after having served as Republican senior counsel to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs

SENCREA 10/04 0000

Subj: RE: Norton, appropriations request
Date: 04/05/2001 6:30:55 PM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *KVanhoof@*[redacted]
CC: *vasells@*[redacted]*n, rudyt@*[redacted] *scanlonm@*[redacted]

Not set yet, but probably the candidate from Oklahoma. They seem to be putting out all gaming issues from BIA and sending it to the Secretary, which will be good for us, once the Dep Sec is in place (the fellow who we helped with the CREA project). Regarding the approps, I can't recall if you had given us detailed descriptions (including budgets) for the request for funds. Do you have these? Get us as much detail about these projects and we'll get it moving.

-----Original Message-----
From: KVanhoof@[redacted] [mailto:KVanhoof@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 3:35 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Norton, appropriations request

Mike will visit Tuesday and Wednesday of next week. Any word on the appointment for Asst. Secy over BIA?

One of the tribal council members asked me to speak with you again about appropriations for the tribe. He remembered that you indicated such requests should be in by this month. Their interests include additional funding for the local public schools in Elton, Louisiana; the tribal preschool; and the four laning of Hwy 190 between Opelousas, Louisiana and DeQuincy, Louisiana. Let me know anything further you need.

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]

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I have not seen those e-mails. I hear you saying they are in the public record. They are not in any record that has been presented to me, unless they were presented to me by your staff at the time we did our interview. So I have not seen those.

Senator, I cannot really comment on or know what one person says to another or what their intent or meaning is. As I said, my relationship with Mr. Abramoff is no different than any other lobbyist. Italia Federici was a friend, for a long time. Gale Norton introduced me to her.

Senator DORGAN. Is Ms. Federici lying to the committee? We have had her in and she has been interviewed. She apparently did not accept a subpoena. We were not able to subpoena her, so apparently we will have her here as a separate witness, perhaps next week, before this committee.

But we have extensive testimony from her. Is she not telling us the truth, because that testimony is a substantial body of evidence of her telling Mr. Abramoff of many discussions she had with you, specifically about tribal issues?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I can tell you that I am telling you the truth to the best of my ability here today. For me to speculate on what somebody else said to Mr. Abramoff, and if it was the truth, it is something you really have to ask them, Senator. There was no special relationship for Mr. Abramoff in my office. It never did exist.

Senator DORGAN. Exhibit 138 is an exhibit that is an e-mail. It is from Jack Abramoff. It says, "I have just returned from a meeting with the Deputy Secretary. The Jena compact is moving fast. There is a land-in-trust application with it from the Governor".

Do you recall a meeting with Mr. Abramoff as deputy secretary?

Mr. GRILES. I am sorry, Senator. What e-mail is that?

Senator DORGAN. It is an e-mail from Jack Abramoff to one of his staff, "I have just returned from meeting with the Deputy Secretary. The Jena compact is moving fast and there is a land-in-trust application with it from the Governor".

It is exhibit 138. It is up on the screen at the moment.

[Exhibit follows:]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 05, 2002 11:28 AM
To: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Mike Scanlon alt
Subject: Interior

I just returned from meeting the Dep Sec. the Jena compact is moving fast, and there is a land in trust application with it from the Governor. If we don't get some movement from the delegation very quickly, we are going to lose this. right now, they are moving to approve it, based on the comments they made.

Mr. GRILES. What is the date of that, sir?

Senator DORGAN. That date was February 5, 2002. Do you recall a time when Mr. Abramoff met with you either in your office or outside of your office and discussed the Jena Band compact?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, around this date, which could have been the photo-op that occurred with the Secretary, was around February 5 of 2002, I believe. That is the only time that I have any recollection of Mr. Abramoff ever being in my office. So you know, this may be something that occurred during the discussion over the photo-op. I do not know the context of it, but that is the only date that I believe that Mr. Abramoff ever came into my part of the Department of the Interior.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Rossetti, tell me the position you had in the Department of the Interior?

Mr. ROSSETTI. I was counselor to Secretary Norton. I reported directly to her and was in the immediate office of the Secretary on her hallway and the hallway shared also by Steve Griles.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Rossetti, Senator McCain asked you about Mr. Griles, whether he had an interest in the Jena Band. You indicated that the answer was yes. Did Mr. Griles to your knowledge have interest in other Indian issues, and if so, how was that manifested and how do you have knowledge of it?

Mr. ROSSETTI. Well, I know that there was an interest in the Jena Band two-part determination because of Steve's constant requests to be involved in meetings that stood in stark contrast to the way that we had constructed a process to handle these, so that the Secretary would have preserved unto herself the full prerogatives of the decision before her in a way that also protected her from allegations that would have been unfounded by persons outside of the department, that there was a process that was not as sound as we tried to construct it.

So in Jena, for instance, Mr. Vice Chairman, the contrast in my mind was between the first Jena decision, which was a gaming compact decision that came in in 2002, which I have no recollection of Mr. Griles participating in the discussions with career folks and political folks on that decision, and a very keen interest in being involved in a meeting which, as he says, would have been on the Secretary's schedule anyway, and it is her prerogative exclusively to exclude anybody from such a meeting, a prerogative I would not have presumed to exercise myself. However, I would have given my counsel to her if I was concerned about a voice being in a room, so long as she was able to determine who the voice is and on whose behalf the voice is being raised.

I am sorry, sir. The last part of your question was other issues, other Indian issues? There were a couple of other issues, Indian gaming issues now we are talking about, because of course, the portfolio of the deputy secretary is in many ways a member-at-large or an official-at-large of the department, involved on any day in numerous issues as duty dictates and requires. I have no quibble with that at all, and accept that as the appropriate role of the deputy secretary.

However, here there were a couple of instances, this was one that I was worried about and I wanted Mr. Griles to know that I had my eye on him on this one because I was worried about it,

whether founded or not, I was worried about it. There was a California example where I thought it was odd that Steve was involved, the Auburn Rancheria, which was a decision that the Secretary was making on a gaming parcel, and all of a sudden there were meetings that Steve Griles was chairing which had as its constituent members people from adjacent communities in this California area, I believe it was Placer County.

I thought that was odd. I did not know on whose behalf he had interceded precisely and on whose behalf Mr. Griles was exercising that inquiry, but he exercised an inquiry. The Secretary made a decision. That, too, stood in contrast to an insistent voice, I am sorry, an insistent request at being a part of this decision for reasons that I could not in my mind understand.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Griles, I referenced an earlier Abramoff e-mail, and the reason I am asking you about these is they are on the record and you, while you are on the record, should be aware of them. There is another September 9, 2002 Jack Abramoff e-mail to Marc Schwartz: "Just finished meeting with the Deputy Secretary. He is supposed to get his people to report to him tomorrow on this issue so he can help us". December 12, 2002, that is number 212 is the reference, it was 195 on the first one, number 212 on the second, Jack Abramoff to Chris: "Thanks, Chris. The meeting with Griles went well. We have a lot to do".

[Exhibit follows:]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 9:51 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: water issue

Just finished meeting with the Dep Secretary. He is supposed to get his people to report to him tomorrow on this issue so he can help us. I'll keep you posted.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 2:51 PM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: Thanks for a great year

Thanks Chris. The meeting with Griles went well. We have a lot to do, but we'll get there.

—Original Message—
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 2:21 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Thanks for a great year

Jack, I know that politics and especially DC get very stressful and demanding. However, I just wanted to let you know that you are truly a great inspiration and leader. I am really looking forward to another great year. We will create a stronger presence in Michigan and get the message out. The SCIT has never had a presence like the current in DC and we want to keep it going. Take care.

Senator DORGAN. So my point is, there are e-mails, e-mails, e-mails, and e-mails about Mr. Abramoff saying he is meeting with you. There are many others in which Ms. Federici is saying she is talking to you. I mean, how do you reconcile all that?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I cannot reconcile what Mr. Abramoff put in e-mails to anyone. Today, based on what I heard, I do not know if anybody can. I do not know the nature of those e-mails and what the subject was right now. They are out of context for me. I do not believe your staff showed them to me. If they did, I apologize. But they asked me a question about I think September 12, this guy's name. I have absolutely no recollection of who that is or what that was.

So what is the e-mail about? I do not know. I stated earlier that I recall Mr. Abramoff being in my office one time, one time, and that was that February meeting for the photo-op.

You know, Senator, if I could, Mr. Rossetti has made a couple of comments. I do not know the Auburn Rancheria issue. Whenever I was asked by the congressional office of Interior to meet with certain members of Congress, I would do that. And out of that, they would ask me to meet with certain constituents. This is me having a very vague recollection, Senator, of that issue, of when one of the California Congressmen was interested in this and asked me to meet.

This was early on, probably, in the Administration. But I do not have facts. I do not have calendars here. So I am really guessing, which is not fair to you and it is really not fair to the public record.

But I did not do gaming. I did not, did not ask Mr. Rossetti to let me participate in anything, ever, particularly on the Jena Band. Now, he has a different recollection of this. It is completely at odds with mine. I had no reason to. I appreciate Mr. Rossetti, he is known to me as someone that I have worked with, but I do not know why he would have that recollection, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Griles, can I just follow-up about this relationship that Senator Dorgan is talking about. I would like you to look at exhibit 280. It is in that book there, exhibit 280. It is an e-mail dated September 9, 2003 from Mr. Abramoff to members of his team. Do you see it? It is entitled, "Griles." Mr. Abramoff writes——

[Exhibit follows:

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 15, 2003 12:00 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Griles

He told me to have Burns call Norton and I asked Will to get that done, and he will.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 15, 2003 9:24 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Griles

What about cost share?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 09, 2003 11:19 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Griles

This cannot be shared with anyone not on this distribution list. I met with him tonight. He is ready to leave Interior and will most likely be coming to join us. He had a nice sized practice before he joined Interior, and expects to get that and more rather soon. I expect he will be with us in 90-120 days. This will restrict what he can do for us in the meantime, but he gave me some suggestions on how to get Meskwati through and the cost share done.

Mr. GRILES. Senator, excuse me. What is it?

The CHAIRMAN. Exhibit 280. Do you see it?

Mr. GRILES. I do not see anything that say, oh, it says "Griles". Okay. I think I do see it, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. The e-mail is dated September 9, 2003 from Mr. Abramoff to members of his team entitled, "Griles." Mr. Abramoff writes, "This cannot be shared with anyone not on the distribution list. I met with him tonight. He is ready to leave Interior and will most likely be coming to join us. I expect that he will be with us in 90 to 120 days." First of all, do you recall meeting with Mr. Abramoff on the night of September 9, 2003?

Mr. GRILES. I do not have a calendar.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not recall it without a calendar?

Mr. GRILES. That is right, Senator, and I would have a way to do that. If I had seen this e-mail, I would be able to respond to that.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have no recollection of Mr. Abramoff discussing employment with you? I am only asking this question because Mr. Abramoff states so in an e-mail.

Mr. GRILES. And I appreciate your asking this question because unbeknownst to me that he had written anything of that nature, and of course the papers have written that. So I am pleased you are asking this question.

I met with Mr. Abramoff and one of the former witnesses that was sitting here earlier, Mr. Baggett, one night. Mr. Abramoff says, I have a managing partner; if you would come by and have a drink, I would like for you to meet him.

Now, that happens quite often, Senator, as you know. People bring people to town and ask, would you take a few minutes and say hello to them.

When I sat down with them for a few minutes, the managing partner, Mr. Baggett, this is the second time I have ever seen him today, described his firm. It sounds like a very nice firm. At the end of it, they said, we would like for you to join our firm, and I said, gentlemen, I am not leaving the Federal Government. I had made no plans to leave the Federal Government. In fact, I had made a determination I was going to serve through the 4 years of the President before I left.

As a result of that conversation, it raised alarms with me, because I am going, what was that about. I went back immediately and talked to the ethics officers at the Department of the Interior, both the deputy ethics officer and the ethics officer and told them that conversation had occurred.

I said, do I need to do something? Do I need to document this? Do I need to recuse myself on anything here? And their response was, no, that if somebody in this town wanted you to get recused and they knew you were involved in something, they could come up to you in a casual conversation and say, we would like for you to come to our firm and company, and then you would be recused. And that is not how the ethics laws work, Senator.

So this e-mail, as you I think know, I had not seen before. I had read about something like that in the Washington Post, and I am really happy you finally asked this question. It simply is not true.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no other discussion you ever had about a job? Thank you.

Mr. GRILES. No, sir; not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Senator Dorgan.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Rossetti, you said you were worried about Mr. Griles. Tell me about that.

Mr. ROSSETTI. Well, I was alarmed that Mr. Griles all of a sudden had an inexplicable desire to be involved in this particular issue. I was not so much alarmed that a binder would appear at the department or letters collated by somebody to try to persuade decisionmakers, but I could not reconcile in my own mind why it was we had to have such a tussle over where the binder came from in the first instance, and then in the second instance, why it was repeatedly on at least one-half-dozen occasions, Mr. Griles insisted on being a part of a decisionmaking meeting with the Secretary.

Now, ultimately he did not attend that meeting, but that was a by-product of one final exchange that he and I had in front of witnesses on this score, that ended in my open challenge to him as to what it was that he was doing by pressing this issue. Whose water was he carrying on this issue? And that was the end of that. The Secretary made her determination based on the counsel from staff, both career and politicals alike, who had been reviewing the materials that had been submitted by the State and the tribal government at the time.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Rossetti, who were those witnesses?

Mr. ROSSETTI. To the best of my recollection, there were two. If there was a third one, I do not recall, but David Barnhardt and Brian Weidmann, I believe, were in the room. After this pointed exchange between Steve Griles and myself. Whether it was in that exact same room, that exact same moment, or later that day, but it happened within that day, I asked David Barnhardt what happened, in my own flowery language, and he indicated to me that I scared Mr. Griles from participating in the meeting.

Later that day, that same day, Steve showed up in my office and indicated that there was no reason to include him in the decisionmaking meeting with the Secretary. He knew I had it covered and handled. As I said earlier, that was the end of that, so that I knew the Secretary would have at least a process that allowed her to do her secretarial decisionmaking exercise with all the up-sides and down-sides being laid for her in painful detail as much as she wanted from the people that she had come to hear from on these matters typically.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Griles, did you have discussions with the Secretary about the Jena Band issue?

Mr. GRILES. No, sir; Senator, I do not recall any discussion with the Secretary on Jena Band. Both as Mr. Rossetti indicated, there were two different decisions that went on, one the first time, and then one the second time. I do not recall ever being in a meeting with the Secretary when she had the decision meeting.

Now, Senator, the way the Department works is every week the Assistant Secretaries and bureau heads meet with the Secretary and with me, if my schedule allowed, to talk about pending issues. In those meetings, people would update the Secretary on what was

occurring. Senator, I do not ever recall having a discussion at all with the Secretary about the Jena Band. I had total access to her, anytime I needed it and anytime I wanted it. If I had wanted that access, I could have exercised it.

I am confused by Mr. Rossetti's rendition.

Senator DORGAN. Mr. Griles, on that point, I think Mr. Rossetti talks about two witnesses to the pointed conversation. What will be the witnesses' recollection, in your judgment? Do you remember that pointed conversation?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I do not. I would say that Mr. Barnhardt and Mr. Weideman are also very fine public servants, and if that conversation occurred, sir, then we would have to understand the nature and the context of it.

Senator DORGAN. Regrettably, Mr. Chairman, the amendment that Senator Grassley and I are offering, a very controversial, significant amendment on the floor of the Senate, had a 2-hour time limit. There are about 30 to 40 minutes left, so I have to go to speak on the floor on that amendment. I regret that I have to leave before this hearing is completed.

I want to submit some questions, Mr. Griles, on a dinner that was held at Signatures restaurant, which was apparently, if not a fundraiser, nonetheless a dinner for an organization called CREA. Ms. Federici indicated that you were personally inviting everyone from Interior and talking with them about the dinner. And then I have the guest list for the dinner. I want to ask some questions about that dinner, because that also plays a role in a range of things that Ms. Federici claims in the interviews she has had with this committee.

We are trying to find the truth here, and it seems more and more difficult in a number of these issues. The issues are significant and very important. Mr. Chairman, I will leave the remainder of the hearing to you, and thank you very much for doing that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Griles, I only have one more question. When you served as Deputy——

Mr. GRILES. Mr. Chairman, may I just say something to Senator Dorgan?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. GRILES. I, too, seek what you just said. I learned so much today. I have not seen these things. I do not know why people would make those kind of comments. I am really disappointed in what I have learned about some people today, and I know you are. We have struggled to help Indian country the 4 years I was there. We made a difference, and the things that went on here were not right.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

When you served as deputy secretary, were you aware of any polling or survey project done by Interior that was funded by or through CREA?

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I was listening to the reading of that e-mail. As I recall from staff, that was March 2001. Is that correct, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. I think so.

Mr. GRILES. Senator, I was not even confirmed by the Senate until July 2001. I think I assumed office on July 17. So first of all, I do not know anything about it. I do not have any recollection of that today at all. At some point back in my background, somebody may have told me something, but I was not at Interior, and I cannot imagine anybody conducting a poll for Interior, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. Rossetti, I am sure this was not your most happy day, and I thank you for coming forward to the committee.

Mr. Griles, I thank you for appearing and giving us your best view of the situation.

I thank you both for appearing.

This hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon at 1 p.m., the committee was adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD

PREPARED STATEMENT OF FRED W. BAGGETT, GREENBERG TRAURIG LLP

Mr. Chairman and honorable members of the committee:

My name is Fred Baggett, and I am a shareholder with the Tallahassee, Florida office of Greenberg Traurig, LLP ("Greenberg Traurig" or the "Firm"). I appreciate this opportunity to testify before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs (the "committee") today concerning the committee's ongoing investigation in to the misconduct of Jack Abramoff.

I have spent my entire professional career of 35 years as a lawyer and lobbyist in the State of Florida. After graduating from the Florida State University College of Law in 1970, I spent 2 years working as an executive assistant to the Chief Justice of the Florida State Supreme Court. I then started a law practice in Tallahassee, FL, which the Chief Justice joined in 1975. The lawyers in our office joined Greenberg Traurig in 1991, and I have been there ever since. I am currently the managing shareholder of the Tallahassee office of Greenberg Traurig, chair of the Firm finance committee and head of the national governmental affairs practice. I also maintain a full-time administrative law and lobbying practice with the Firm, which is comprised almost exclusively of work at the Florida State legislative and executive level.

Greenberg Traurig is an international law firm that prides itself on providing high quality professional services to its clients. The Firm is comprised of over 30 offices, with a governmental affairs component in 16 of those offices.

Turning to the subject of today's hearing, from 2001 through early 2004, Jack Abramoff worked as a lobbyist in the Washington, DC office of our Firm. Up until the end of Mr. Abramoff's tenure at Greenberg Traurig, the Firm believed that Mr. Abramoff was rendering high-quality professional services to his clients.

In late 2003 and early 2004, reports began to emerge questioning the amount of money paid by various Indian tribes to Mr. Abramoff and Michael Scanlon in connection with professional services the two had rendered. During this timeframe, Mr. Abramoff was questioned about his financial relationship with Mr. Scanlon. Records available to the committee, including a February 3, 2004 interview of Mr. Abramoff conducted by Susan Schmidt of The Washington Post, reflect that, in front of Firm personnel, Mr. Abramoff denied having any financial relationship with Mr. Scanlon or engaging in any improprieties in connection with his lobbying work for tribal clients.

Nevertheless, because concerns had been raised, Greenberg Traurig wanted to ensure that there was no impropriety on the part of Mr. Abramoff. In mid-February, the Firm hired Henry F. Schuelke, III of the Washington, DC law firm Janis, Schuelke & Wechsler to conduct an internal investigation focusing on the existence of a financial arrangement between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon. Mr. Schuelke is a former Federal prosecutor, who served as an assistant U.S. attorney in the District of Columbia from 1972–79, and is a highly regarded member of the District of Columbia Bar. Both he and the other members of his firm have extensive experience in conducting internal investigations of this type.

As Mr. Schuelke began his investigation, The Washington Post published the article "A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes," raising questions about the fees charged by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon for lobbying and grassroots work. At around the same time, this committee also announced that it would be looking into Mr. Ahramoff's activity. Facing the prospect of being subjected to W. Schuelke's investigation, Mr. Abramoff for the first time disclosed to our Firm that be had received money from Mr. Scanlon in connection with the work that the two men were doing on behalf of Indian tribes. Upon learning of this arrangement, the Firm immediately requested and obtained Mr. Abramoff's resignation. The Firm issued a statement to that effect on March 2, 2004.

Notwithstanding Mr. Abramoff's departure, Greenberg Traurig asked Mr. Schuelke to continue his investigation. Based on Mr. Schuelke's investigation, the Firm has made disclosures to clients affected by Mr. Abramoff's activities, worked out resolutions with a number of affected clients and hopes to work out resolutions with still other affected clients.

The facts surrounding Mr. Abramoff's employment by our Firm have been unhappy ones. We at Greenberg Traurig regret the improprieties that transpired during Mr. Abramoff's 3 years of employment with us. We share the chairman's and the rest of the committee's dismay at Mr. Abramoff's activities and behavior.

I assure you that we will continue to work with you and other investigators to ensure that, consistent with our obligations to clients, all information that can be shared is shared with the proper authorities.

We appreciate the work of this committee and its staff in thoroughly investigating and responding to this matter.

Again, thank you for this opportunity.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KEVIN SICKEY, CHAIRMAN, COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA

Good morning Chairman McCain, Senator Dorgan, and distinguished members of this committee.

I am Kevin Sickey, chairman of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. With me at the table is my brother and council member, David Sickey, and our tribal attorney, Jimmy Faircloth. I would also like to recognize Council Member Tee LaBulf, and the members of our tribe who made the trip to attend this hearing.

Many of these tribal members were the first to suspect that something had gone terribly wrong with the lobbyists, Jack Abramoff and Mike Scanlon, so it is appropriate that these tribal members are present for this proceeding. At one time they were referred to as "dissidents" for questioning the lobbyists' actions—a label provided by the lobbyists to divert suspicion from their own activities.

We are grateful for the opportunity to appear before this important committee. Your staff has been cooperative and respectful, and we appreciate their hard work.

We will divide our opening statement into two parts. First, I will provide a brief history of our tribe. I will explain our government and the political environment that the lobbyists used to their advantage. And, I will comment briefly on the harm caused by their fraud, Obviously, the information your committee is making public today is both shocking and deeply disturbing to me both as chairman of the tribe and as a tribal member.

Following my brief comments, Councilman Sickey will provide a broad overview of some of the things we discovered in our own review.

Before we proceed, however, we must respectfully qualify our testimony. Neither Councilman Sickey nor I had any direct dealings with Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon. We were not involved in the decision to hire these lobbyists, nor were we involved in any aspect of coordinating their work. We are both reluctant to speculate about the conduct and motives of the lobbyists, and I suspect that any such speculation or conjecture will-not aid the work of this committee. Finally, because we are currently involved in litigation about these events, we must be cautious in our comments concerning the actions of others.

I. The History of Our Tribe

We are descendants of the Creek Confederacy, from the Muskogee family of tribes. Our ancestors were stripped of 22 million acres of land by the United States following the Creek War in 1814. Approximately 50 years later, a small band of Coushattas settled in the Calcasieu River area, near Kinder, LA.

In 1884, they were forced to move again when homesteaders began claiming their land. They then purchased a small tract of land 3 miles, north of Elton, LA.

In 1898, the United States placed 160 acres of land into trust for the tribe. Unfortunately, the trust was revoked in 1953, which began a 20-year struggle for re-recognition.

In 1973, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana was again recognized. And 7 years later, our reservation was again formally established.

In 1985, we held our first election of leaders by popular vote. We then established our own judicial system, police department, housing authority, and many other social programs.

Today, our tribe consists of over 850 members, approximately 400 of whom live in the Coushatta Community. We are proud of our culture and heritage, and we are dedicated to maintaining the sovereignty that generations of our ancestors sacrificed and even died to protect.

Our casino and resort opened in January 1995, and since then we have been blessed with economic prosperity. We employ approximately 2,800 people, with a total annual payroll in, the range of $80 million. We purchase goods and services from Louisiana vendors in the range, of $40 million per year. And we contribute approximately $7 million per year to State and local governments. We are proud to be a vital part of the economy of southwest Louisiana.

This brief period of prosperity follows hundreds of years of unjust treatment by outsiders, which resulted in abject poverty and hardship within the tribe. This is why it is particularly painful that, after all those terrible years, our tribe again has been preyed upon by outsiders. But on this occasion, at least we are in good company. Certainly within the modern era, no victimization of Native Americans has received so much attention no doubt because the underlying scandal has touched so many influential people.

Nevertheless, we deeply appreciate the actions of this committee in bringing this matter to light.

II. Our Tribal Government and the Political Environment that Was Manipulated by the Lobbyists

Our tribe is governed by an elected council consisting of a chairman and four council members. None of the current council members were in office when Mr. Abramoff was hired in early 2001. Councilman Sickey took office in 2003. He had no direct contact with either Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon and very little knowledge of their activities. In fact he became a vocal spokesperson against them.

Council Members LaBuff, Verlis Williams, and I took office this past June. One of our council seats is currently vacant.

This wholesale change in leadership was in large part a result of the mess created by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon.

While Indian Country has seen many con-men throughout history, few, if any, were as skilled as Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon at creating and then preying on insecurities. They preyed upon our political insecurities, they preyed upon our economic insecurities, and they preyed upon our insecurities about each other.

Our political system is no more turbulent than any other. We, too, have cycles in leadership and influence, and it occasionally turns partisan. The lobbyists came to our tribe during one of these transition periods. And they viewed this as an opportunity for exploitation.

To any decent person, vulnerability in others provides an opportunity to help. But to con-men, like Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon, our vulnerability simply provided an opportunity to steal. And they hit the jackpot with us: A Native American tribe with a fairly new casino, in the midst of a political transition, and naive to the underworld of governmental affairs.

They inserted themselves into our internal tribal politics, excluded and attempted to discredit those who questioned or opposed them, and deliberately created paranoia on both sides by exaggerating threats from inside and outside the tribe.

They exaggerated political threats and they exaggerated economic threats. Then, they exaggerated their ability to deal with these exaggerated threats. And in the midst of this, they incited political upheaval to provide cover for their scheme to steal millions of dollars.

We are pleased to report that the political storm within the tribe has calmed. And we are taking steps to recover the money that was stolen to correct our system of checks and balances to ensure that this will never happen again.

III. The Harm to Our Tribe

It is important to understand that the harm caused by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon is much greater than the money they stole. Even though this amount is

shockingly large, the scar of victimization runs even deeper, particularly because it has touched our leadership.

Moreover, the misconduct of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon has harmed all Native Americans in a way that deserves the particular attention of this committee. The lobbyists actions have created a perception that there is something improper about officials working closely with Indian tribes.

This stereotype threatens to chill tribal communications with officials who can profoundly influence the well-being of all tribes.

Even worse, it unfairly shifts the unfairly from where it belongs to the victims. Jack Abramoff is not a product of Indian Country. On the contrary, he is the golden boy gone bad of the American political system. Our tribe and others were victimized when we attempted to fit into the American political system and we were led to believe that Mr. Abramoff was the gatekeeper.

We have begun the process of repairing the political damage to our tribe's reputation. We have met with several of our State and Federal officials, and they seem genuinely committed to providing our tribe with the same access and the same channels of communication open to all individuals, businesses, and special interest group—nothing more, nothing less, and without favors or contributions. That is the way the system should work, and that is certainly the way we would like to participate.

There have been a lot of adjectives used to describe Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon; greedy and corrupt come to mind. But those are common terms, often used to describe people who forfeit judgment for money. Abramoff's and Scanlon's actions were hardly common. They set a new high water mark for greed and corruption.

I have read that Mr. Abramoff considers himself a religious man. If that is the case, then I do not understand, the basis of his faith, and it is certainly different than ours. Most religions promote compassion and concern for others, and it is clear that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon had no concern whatsoever for the welfare of our people.

Your committee has done a great service for all Americans by exposing this sad affair. There are lessons here for everyone.

I am grateful for the opportunity to address this committee on behalf of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. Council member David Sickey will now provide a brief overview of our factual findings.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID SICKEY, COUNCILMAN, COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA

Good morning Chairman McCain, Senator Dorgan and distinguished members of this committee.

I am David Sickey, a member of the tribal council of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana. I took office in June 2003.

As Chairman Sickey has noted, I was not in office when Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were hired, and I did not participate in the decisions by the tribal council to authorize their projects or pay them. I would respectfully submit that it will not aid the committee's efforts for me to speculate about the events at issue. My brief comments today will therefore be limited to certain facts established by the documents we have seen. As you are aware, many of the documents reviewed by this committee were not available to us. However, my observations today are also based on information provided by your staff, for which we are grateful.

My intention is to provide a broad overview of the environment in which this fraud was committed. As your investigation must have revealed, while the scheme of Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon was reprehensible, it was also very clever and well-timed. Like Chairman Sickey, I should note that our tribe is currently involved in litigation about these lobbying activities, so I am limited in what I can say today.

I have attempted to organize my observations in chronological order, because the way that this scheme evolved over time was critical to its success.

1. The First Six Months

Mr. Abramoff was hired in March 2001. The tribe entered a contract with his firm, Greenberg Traurig, to provide lobbying services related to our tribe's compact negotiation and important regional gaming issues. According to the contract, Greenberg Traurig was to receive $125,000 per month plus reasonable expenses. The contract did not mention Mr. Scanlon nor any of the entities that he used to charge the tribe, an additional $30 million.

During the first 6 months or so of the lobbyists' employment, they appeared to deliver on their promises, and so the lobbying costs appeared justified. During that

initial period, the tribe paid roughly $3.5 million for assistance with our tribal compact, which was successfully negotiated, and to achieve several legislative objectives. I say that they appeared to deliver on their promises because it is difficult to assess how much impact the lobbyists actually had in accomplishing these tribal objectives. Of course, they took credit for everything.

If it had ended at that point, around September 2001, then this would be nothing more than another story about high priced lobbyists taking credit for results that they may or may not have influenced. But, it did not stop there. They leveraged their initial success as a platform for fraud, and by the spring of 2002 had extracted another $17 million from our tribe. By the time it was over in 2004, the tribe had spent approximately $36 million. Ironically, as the scheme progressed and the bills and rhetoric increased, the lobbyists' actual work for the tribe clearly decreased.

2. The Texas Threat

On October 5, 2001, the tribe paid $870,000 to Mr. Scanlon's company, Capital Campaign Strategies, to create a "Grassroots Political Structure" in Texas. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were insistent that Texas was on the verge of legalizing gambling, and that this would devastate the Coushatta casino. The majority of our casino customers travel from Texas particularly the Houston area—and we have long understood that legalized gambling in Texas would erode our customer base and our casino revenues. Recognizing this potential threat and our fear of the consequences, the lobbyists claimed to have critical influence with the Texas officials who could defeat Texas gambling.

This appears to be the starting point for their most egregious exaggerations and fabrications. This also appears to be the timeframe when they committed to gouging the tribe for as much money as they could, and to say or do anything that was necessary to prolong the payout.

3. $1 Million Payment Funneled to One of Abramoff's Causes

On October 30, 2001, the tribe paid $3.17 million for the "Louisiana Program." This payment marks a high point in the lobbyists' creative billing. They split the bill by requesting that $2.17 million be sent to Capitol Campaign Strategies and $1 million to Greenberg Traurig. According to information shared by the staff, the $1 million payment to Greenberg Traurig was not for any services provided by the law firm. Instead, this $1 million payment was used to "pump" the firm's reported lobbying revenues, thereby maintaining Greenberg Traurig's public status as one of the "top ten" providers of legal and lobbying services to Native American tribes. E-mails involving Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon, and others at Greenberg Traurig reveal that this $1 million payment was funneled through the firm and then used to finance one of Mr. Abramoff's favorite causes.

The suspect nature and purpose of this payment structure is reflected in an e-mail from Mr. Scanlon to the tribe's former attorney, dated October 25, 2001, where he writes:

"We broke this into two invoices—one to be paid to Greenberg Traurig for 1m, and one paid to Capitol Campaign Strategies—GT's public affairs entity for the balance. We usually just invoice you through Capitol Campaign Strategies so the Lawyers at the firm rest easy while we are out burning the country side. In this instance however we plan to do some things through the law firm umbrella due to their highly sensitive nature and confidentiality reasons. I hate hiding behind lawyers—but we are going to do some crazy stuff on this one—so I guess it's ok."

Mr. Abramoff, who was a partner at Greenberg Traurig, directed this creative billing arrangement. In my personal view, this payment reveals the extent of Mr. Abramoff's shamelessness. Not only was he stealing the tribe's money, but he was using the theft to improve his professional reputation and the reputation of the firm.

4. Hyping the Texas Threat

In a memorandum dated November 6, 2001, Mr. Scanlon reports that he had just returned from Texas, and states:

"We believe now that the Alabama Coushatta will open soon, if we do not intercede. This will likely be a small facility and not the class III facility the council is worried about, but we believe you should shut it down regardless."

This exemplifies the lobbyists' strategy of identifying an exaggerated threat to the tribe's casino revenues, as does the following assertion in a report from Mr. Scanlon to the tribe dated December 21, 2001:

"Despite our best efforts, the voting public in Texas remains VERY pro-gaming. The State economy is lagging, and with the Enron and Continental Airlines debacles hitting the Houston area back to back, they are desperate for revenue. As we said when we came to you with the original Texas, proposal, things are really bad over there. We have never before seen such a pro-gaming atmosphere in Texas, or anywhere else in the country, in our collective political careers, and although we have it contained for the time being, this environment is a very serious threat to the Grand Casino's future."

5. Threats of Infiltration

According to a memorandum from Mr. Scanlon dated January 3, 2002, the company that owned one of our competitors was *"well known for their ability to infiltrate the electorates of Indian tribes and this will undoubtedly happen there, if they get a foothold in your region."* After hammering this point and others, Mr. Scanlon states:

"We have identified a strategy to deal with this, and we would like to propose this strategy and request a budget for it. Both the strategy and the budget are somewhat large. However, we cannot stress the importance of eliminating this concern. It is a threat to not only the casino, but also the tribe itself."

6. Increasing the Threat Level

In a report to the tribe dated February 25, 2002, Mr. Scanlon stated, that:

"It may seem like the walls are closing in with three very real threats on your radar screen . . . . If we handle each threat individually, our chances of eliminating ALL OF THEM are very good. If we panic, the very existence of the grand casino could be jeopardized."

At about this time, perhaps sensing some opposition to their proposals and programs within the tribe—and likely planning to increase their fees and profits—Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon began excluding and attempting to discredit their political opposition on the Council and within the tribe.

7. Going on the Offensive to Counter Criticism

In a report dated May 8, 2002, Mr. Scanlon states:

"Sorry for the confusion on the funding front, but as I mentioned I believe that your opponents will use such payments against you and until such time as we deal with that issue, it's best we lay low."

He then recommended that the former chairman send a letter to tribal members attempting to justify hiring what he refers to as the "Washington team."

He also spoke negatively about another council member, and stated that *"we can't let [that person] run around banging on you and the chairman much longer or it will take hold."*

And he recommended sending a letter to tribal members accusing the council member of doing something wrong to *"put the focus back on the people who deserve it."*

8. Lying Low to Avoid Exposure

On October 31, 2002, the tribal CFO sent an e-mail to Mr. Abramoff stating that tribal auditors were requesting confirmation that the tribe had paid a total of $18,559,700 for *"demographic surveys and studies and other professional campaign consulting fees,"* and that there were *"no contracts in place with Capitol Campaign Strategies and the American International Center."*

Mr. Abramoff forwarded the e-mail to Mr. Scanlon, asking *"what should I say, especially about the last part (the request concerning no contracts)?"*

In response to several frantic comments from Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon states *"f—ing weird, really f—ing weird—I hope that this is standard operating procedure."* He then recommends that Mr. Abramoff talk to the tribe's vice chairman before writing anything.

There was never a formal reply. The confirmation requested by the auditors was not provided. Instead, a decision apparently was made to lay low until the storm passed.

There is no doubt that, by this point, the lobbyists knew that questions were being raised about their fees. As is clear from subsequent events, they obviously did not care. Apparently, they felt confident that even this type of blatant misconduct was fair game in the world of big time lobbying.

9. Back in Business and Full Steam Ahead

In a report date January 21, 2003, Mr. Scanlon stated:

"As we outlined in our overall strategy, this year's political circumstances, if not addressed correctly, will literally cost the tribe hundreds of millions of dollars."

He asked for a budget of $9.3 million on the bottom end and $11.3 million the top end," and added that *"when you look at the fact that the tribe stands to lose several hundreds of millions of dollars, the program costs are well worth the risk."*

In this report, Mr. Scanlon also proposes a way to dodge concerns within the tribe about the lobbying fees by routing money through different entities, He wrote:

"We have attached invoices that direct the funds to several different entities that will play different roles in this campaign along with a letter from me/CCS informing the tribe that I will no longer be providing the political services to the tribe as I have in the past."

But, in the next paragraph, he makes it clear that this was all a shell game, when he states:

"We want to assure you that you will receive the same level of service we have provided in the past. We understand that what you are paying for is Jack and myself and we will deliver the same way we have in the past.

That said, the entities we are using will technically execute operations of the campaign or will contract with other companies to cover costs associated with the campaign—with Jack and I doing the work. In other words, the tribe will be invoiced by an entity and once funded that entity will in turn hire firms such as CCS or (Jack and I for example) to execute the program."

He also enclosed a bill from Greenberg Traurig for $2 million, and stated:

"GT will simply serve as another funding entity to ease budgetary issues. GT will turn that funding around to cover costs associated with the campaign."

In total, the tribe routed $11.3 million through the following maze of entities:

$2 million to Greenberg Traurig.

$5 million to Scanlon Gould Public Affairs.

$2.3 million to American International Center

$2 million to American Research & Analysis.

And this does not include the $125,000 per month the tribe was paying Greenberg Traurig.

Closing Comment

In conclusion, as Chairman Sickey and I have both noted, since we were not involved in any direct dealings with Mr. Abramoff or Mr. Scanlon, there is very little that we can say here today about the events at issue that would not involve speculation and conjecture. Therefore, until our own investigation is complete, both of us are very reluctant to comment further on the lobbying activities in question. Moreover, any speculative comments on our part could jeopardize our legal efforts to recover the tribe's money.

But, what we can state with firm conviction based on our own review and the findings of this committee is that our tribe was defrauded out of most of the money we paid. And no matter who the lobbyists used or who they try to blame, this fraud was orchestrated and carried out by Jack Abramoff and Michael Scanlon and—from the tribe's perspective—the fraud was orchestrated under the banner of Greenberg Traurig.

Your committee has performed an important service by exposing this fraud, and I am grateful for the opportunity to address the committee today. As Chairman Sickey noted, there are lessons in this sad episode for everyone.

Kirkpatrick & Lockhart Nicholson Graham LLP

1800 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036-1221
202.778.9000
Fax 202.778.9100
www.klng.com

Barry M. Hartman

202.778.9338
202.778.9100
bhartman@klng.com

January 3, 2006

VIA HAND DELIVERY & FAX

The Honorable John McCain
Chairman
U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs
United States Senate
836 Hart Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: J. Steven Griles

Dear Senator McCain:

This letter is submitted on behalf of J. Steven Griles and as a follow-up to his testimony at the U.S. Senate Committee on Indian Affairs on November 2, 2005. There are several reasons for submitting this letter. First, as requested, Mr. Griles is returning the written version of the interview that he gave to the Committee at the October 20, 2005 private interview.[1] Second, Mr. Griles is returning the transcript of the hearing that was sent to him with typographical corrections.

More importantly, the balance of this letter contains information that Mr. Griles requests the Committee to consider and include as part of the record of its investigation. Mr. Griles is concerned that due to the omission and selective release of evidence by the Committee staff, the public has received an erroneous and misleading view of Mr. Griles' involvement with Jack Abramoff and Indian gaming issues. Mr. Griles is certain that you especially will be concerned as you pursue the truth in this investigation. Mr. Griles therefore respectfully requests that this letter be made part of the record of this investigation and part of any report issued by the Committee on this matter. In the event there are additional questions on any matter contained in this letter or testified to by Mr. Griles, we request that Mr. Griles be given an opportunity to respond to those disputes and that his responses be part of the record of this investigation.

This letter is based upon our review of documents released by the Senate Committee and documents we obtained by conducting our own investigation into this matter, including through

[1] The Committee staff has advised us that Mr. Griles is prohibited from retaining a copy of this interview even if he agrees to keep it confidential. Mr. Griles must respectfully decline to adopt, sign or otherwise acknowledge the validity of any document when he is not permitted to retain a copy of it.

multiple Freedom of Information Act requests. Notwithstanding our best efforts over the last two months to obtain and review all relevant evidence, it is unclear whether all the information that supports Mr. Griles' position has been made available to him or the public. Nonetheless, based on the information that we have been able to compile thus far, Mr. Griles wants the Committee to have as much pertinent and accurate information as possible.

The facts demonstrate that Mr. Griles never entertained efforts by Mr. Abramoff to exercise influence over DOI Indian gaming issues.

First, Mr. Griles was questioned extensively in the October 20, 2005, private session and at the November 2, 2005 public hearing regarding the extent to which Mr. Abramoff "lobbied" him on certain Indian gaming issues. According to emails, Mr. Abramoff apparently claimed to others that Mr. Griles was "his man" at Interior. This is false. Mr. Griles repeatedly stated that Mr. Abramoff's contacts with Mr. Griles were extremely limited and did not involve gaming issues. As Mr. Griles indicated, Mr. Abramoff had no special access to Mr. Griles and Mr. Griles did not make decisions regarding matters that interested Mr. Abramoff's clients. When these questions were asked, Mr. Griles was not told that the Committee staff had in its possession potential evidence that confirmed Mr. Griles' testimony. Specifically, an email dated July 17, 2003, apparently from Mr. Abramoff to Ms. Italia Federici stated that:

> Are you around for a chat? I am in a most difficult situation regarding Interior and need your advice. Steve is nothing but a gentleman and a great guy to me, ***but he can't (or at least won't) discuss any of my clients with me.***

(Emphasis added.) See Senate Bates No. SENCREA 10/04 000108. It is unclear why the Committee staff chose to withhold this email from Mr. Griles in the private interview and again at the public hearing. The record should be made clear in this regard.

Second, during the public hearing, it was observed, apparently based on information allegedly provided by Committee staff, that "we have, I am guessing, probably dozens of emails, three or four or five dozen emails from both Mr. Abramoff and Ms. Federici describing meetings with you, discussions with you, telephone calls with you, and describing those meetings, discussions and telephone calls specifically in the context of issues, Jena Band issues, and other Indian issues before the Interior Committee. ...It is certainly at odds with your opening statement." Public Transcript at 143.

This statement is erroneous. The records that have been released by the Committee, but were not shared with Mr. Griles before he testified, show that:

- Mr. Griles attended one dinner on September 24, 2001, a CREA benefit, where Mr. Abramoff and many others were present and no substantive matter was discussed. *See* Senate Bates No. GTG-E000028092.

- There was only ***one email*** sent by Mr. Griles to Mr. Abramoff and that email was sent one week after Mr. Griles took office - 07/25/2001.

- According to records provided to us (and as we understand, to the Committee staff) by the Department of Interior, Mr. Abramoff called Mr. Griles' office only ***five times*** over a four-year period. One call occurred in August 2001 and the other four calls all occurred in 2003.[2] One email dated February 28, 2002 and allegedly between Mr. Abramoff and Ms. Federici refers to Mr. Griles allegedly assisting with respect to an early Jena tribe issue. However, Michael Rosetti, who handled this matter for the Secretary, testified that Mr. Griles was not involved in this issue. That Jena tribe issue was decided by Secretary Norton. *See* Senate Bates No. GTG-E000118639.

This evidence shows that there were not "dozens" of emails describing meetings, telephone calls and discussions with Mr. Griles regarding Mr. Abramoff or his clients. Nor were there dozens of meetings, telephone calls, or discussions involving Mr. Griles and Indian gaming issues or involving Mr. Abramoff. As a matter of fundamental fairness, Mr. Griles should have been shown this material by Committee staff before he testified, as it would have permitted him in the public hearing to point to evidence that supported his position. Mr. Griles respectfully requests that the record be corrected in this regard.

---

[2] According to Departmental records released to Mr. Griles, one phone call in 2001 related to an inquiry regarding a job interview for someone named Mark Zackares (sic). Mark Zackares did not receive a job with the Department nor did Mr. Griles seek one on his behalf. Mr. Griles testified that he recalled two other calls by Mr. Abramoff regarding non-gaming issues, one relating to a school funding issue and the other related to a tribal leadership issue. Each call was referred to the appropriate DOI official. Mr. Griles believes the school funding issue was not resolved in a manner that was favorable to Mr. Abramoff's clients.

Mr. Griles was not involved in Indian gaming issues.

At the hearing, questions were raised regarding whether Mr. Griles tried to inject himself into certain decision-making processes relating to Indian gaming issues. Mr. Griles stated, plainly and clearly, that he did not participate in decisions regarding Indian gaming issues.

When Mr. Rosetti, who handled Indian gaming issues for Secretary Norton, was asked about Mr. Griles' involvement in these issues, he testified about a gaming issue regarding the Auburn Rancheria tribe. Mr. Rosetti professed to have his "eye on" Mr. Griles' involvement in these issues based on this instance. According to the transcript, Mr. Rosetti said: "I thought that was odd. I did not know on whose behalf who had interceded precisely and on whose behalf Mr. Griles was exercising that inquiry, but he exercised that inquiry." Public Transcript at 148.

Mr. Griles speculated in his testimony at the hearing that his participation may have been in response to a congressional inquiry. Now that he has had the opportunity to review documents not previously provided to him, he can confirm his belief that his involvement in the Auburn Rancheria gaming issue was at the request of the DOI Office of Congressional Affairs. He recalls that Congressman Doolittle had sponsored legislation to recognize the Auburn Rancheria tribe. He believes the tribe sought to pursue gaming activities and filed documents with the Department. He believes that Congressman Doolittle was concerned about this and may have asked for a meeting with the Secretary to discuss it. Although he was not involved in the substantive decision-making process on the tribe's application, in order to maintain good relations with members of Congress, Mr. Griles was asked by the Office of Congressional Affairs to meet with the congressman and/or his representatives, and his constituents, to hear their concerns. Mr. Griles believes that his calendar reflects a meeting on January 14, 2002 that is likely to be the meeting with the constituents. According to the calendar, the meeting was set up by William Horn, who was then with the firm of Birch, Horton, Bettner and Cherot PC.

To Mr. Griles' knowledge, there is no evidence that Jack Abramoff had anything to do with representing this tribe before the Department. Moreover, Mr. Griles was not involved in making any decision regarding this matter, and he simply responded to a request made by the Office of Congressional Affairs. Accordingly, there is no basis to conclude from Mr. Rosetti's discussion of this matter that Mr. Griles acted improperly or even oddly. As Deputy Secretary, Mr. Griles often represented the Department before members of Congress on a wide variety of matters that, although not within his responsibilities, were nonetheless Departmental matters.

Mr. Rosetti also made comments, unsupported by a single shred of evidence, regarding potential involvement by Mr. Griles in an issue relating to the Jena Band efforts to obtain

approval for gaming activities in Louisiana. Mr. Rosetti noted that there were two "Jena Band" casino issues and that Mr. Griles was not involved in the first. Public Transcript at 147.[3] According to records released by the Committee after Mr. Griles testified, there were three emails from Mr. Abramoff seeking Ms. Federici's assistance in getting information to Mr. Griles regarding the first Jena Band issue. This occurred on or about February 28, 2002. ***There is no evidence that Mr. Griles received such information.*** Mr. Griles testified that he was not involved in this issue and has no recollection of receiving such information. Moreover, Mr. Rosetti testified that Mr. Griles was not involved with issues relating to Jena Band in February 2002.

The second Jena Band issue occurred in November 2003 and involved a "binder" that was delivered to Mr. Griles' office and related to the Jena Band effort to obtain approval to conduct gaming in Louisiana. Mr. Griles testified that there was no indication as to who sent this binder and that after seeing that it related to Indian gaming, gave the binder to Mr. Rosetti, who was responsible for this issue. With respect to this instance, Mr. Rosetti testified, with no support of any sort, that Mr. Griles made "constant requests to be involved in meetings" regarding the Jena Band gaming issue, had an "inexplicable desire to be involved in this particular issue ...," and "could not reconcile in my own mind why it was we had to have such a tussle over where the binder came from." Public Transcript at 154. There is not a scintilla of evidence to corroborate Mr. Rosetti's claim that Mr. Griles was "constantly" asking to be involved in such meetings. Although Mr. Rosetti also suggested two witnesses could corroborate his story, Messrs. Brian Waidmann and David Bernhardt, as we understand it, neither has done so. Moreover, less than two months before this incident, Mr. Abramoff apparently complained in an email to Ms. Federici that Mr. Griles would not even talk with him about his clients. This email is quoted above.

In sum, the evidence demonstrates that, while Mr. Abramoff may have told others that he had influence over Mr. Griles' decisions, and that Mr. Abramoff may have thought he had

---

[3] Mr. Rosetti's assertion that Mr. Griles was not involved in the "first" Jena Band casino issue stands seems to undermine a claim made in an email from Mr. Abramoff to Ms. Federici, which was never seen by Mr. Griles, that suggests otherwise:

> Subj: FW Jena Band: Panel, Logansport asked to speak on proposal casino...
>
> "It seems that the Jena are on the march again. If you can, can you make sure Steve squelches this again? Thanks."

Email dated December 2, 2002 from Mr. Abramoff to Ms. Federici.

influence over Mr. Griles through Ms. Federici or otherwise: (a) Mr. Griles did not in fact exercise authority over Indian gaming issues; (b) Mr. Abramoff had no special access to Mr. Griles and Mr. Griles did not make decisions regarding matters that interested Mr. Abramoff's clients.[4]

Allegations regarding Mr. Abramoff's so-called "job discussions" with Mr. Griles are not supported by any facts.

During the private interview with Committee staff, and at the hearing, Mr. Griles was asked whether he had a conversation with Mr. Abramoff where Mr. Abramoff negotiated or offered Mr. Griles a job with Mr. Abramoff's firm, Greenberg Traurig. Mr. Griles said during the private interview that he was not offered any job nor did he negotiate for one with Mr. Abramoff. Mr. Griles identified Mr. Abramoff's partner, Fred Beckett, as a person who could corroborate his recollection of events. At the time, we understand the Committee staff had already interviewed Mr. Beckett, who was the only other witness to this alleged conversation between Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Griles. While the Committee staff apparently recommended that Mr. Griles be asked about this conversation at the public hearing, the staff apparently did not suggest that Mr. Beckett be asked about it as well. We believe that had Mr. Beckett been asked, he would have confirmed Mr. Griles' statement that Greenberg Traurig ***never*** negotiated with and ***never offered*** any position to Mr. Griles either at the meeting where Mr. Beckett met Mr. Griles or at any time thereafter.

The Committee staff apparently chose not to recommend that this evidence be presented at the public hearing. Instead, an email dated September 9, 2003 was released, in which Mr. Abramoff tells some of his associates (that did not include Mr. Beckett or any other member of the Greenberg Traurig management committee) that Mr. Griles might be joining the firm, but orders them to keep this a secret from everyone, including, apparently, Mr. Beckett. Mr. Griles denied that any job offer or negotiations took place. Curiously, Mr. Beckett was not asked about this email. As noted above, we believe that Mr. Beckett would confirm Mr. Griles' position that Greenberg Traurig never negotiated with Mr. Griles or offered him a job.

---

[4] As noted above at note 2, Mr. Griles testified that he knew who Mr. Abramoff was, and that Mr. Abramoff had an interest in and sought to lobby the Department on a school cost sharing issue and a tribal leadership dispute, but Mr. Griles did not make any final decision or direct any subordinate to reach any specific outcome in either of these matters. *See* note 2 above.

Kirkpatrick & Lockhart Nicholson Graham LLP

The Honorable John McCain
January 3, 2006
Page 7

As a matter of fundamental fairness and accuracy, Mr. Griles respectfully requests that this evidence be included in the Committee's report. The Committee report should objectively present corroborated evidence that no negotiations or job offer occurred, and should dismiss as not credible the uncorroborated claim contained in Mr. Abramoff's secret memo to "his team."

Additional issues.

First, the report should reflect the fact that Mr. Griles was interviewed by Committee staff, but was never deposed. A deposition connotes fairness to the person being questioned. Committee staff, though polite, did not follow, or even purport to follow, the rules that apply to depositions. For example, the Committee staff asked Mr. Griles questions based on partial documents or summaries of documents. Moreover, Mr. Griles was also asked questions about documents that he was denied an opportunity to review, a procedure that would not be permitted or appropriate in a legitimate deposition.

Second, as noted above, during Mr. Griles' four-hour private interview, he was shown only a handful of the thousands of emails and other documents that were subsequently used at the public hearing or that were released after he testified. Mr. Griles was largely answering questions from memory about events occurring as much as four years earlier. Before the hearing was convened, Mr. Griles repeatedly asked Committee staff for access to those documents. These requests were summarily denied. As this letter demonstrates, many of those documents support Mr. Griles' position. And, as noted above, Mr. Griles believes there are other documents that corroborate his recollection, but that have still been withheld from him by the Department of Interior.

In sum, all the evidence that we have been able to obtain fully supports Mr. Griles' statements that he was not involved in Indian gaming issues, did not make decisions or seek to influence decisions in order to aid Mr. Abramoff, and never accepted anything of value from Mr. Abramoff.

We respectfully request that this letter be included in the record of the Committee's investigation. Please let us know if there are any questions.

Sincerely,

Barry M. Hartman

Carr Maloney P.C.

1615 L Street, NW
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20036-5652
(202) 310-5500
FAX (202) 310-5555
www.carrmaloney.com

Tycon Towers
8000 Towers Crescent Drive
Suite 1350
Vienna, VA 22182
(703) 691-8818

The World Trade Center
401 East Pratt Street
Suite 800
Baltimore, MD 21202
(410) 752-1570

20 Courthouse Square
Suite 214
Rockville, MD 20850
(301) 424-7024

Kevin M. Murphy
(202)310-5507
Admitted in MD & DC
kmm@carrmaloney.com

November 8, 2005

VIA FACSIMILE ONLY

Senator Byron L. Dorgan
Committee on Indian Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20510-6450

RE: Committee on Indian Affairs
November 2 Oversight Hearing
Gail Halpern, CPA, witness

Dear Senator Dorgan:

I am legal counsel for Gail Halpern. Pursuant to your request at the November 2, 2005 Oversight Hearing of the Indian Affairs Committee, listed below are those entities with which Mr. Jack Abramoff was associated with for tax purposes as an owner, grantor, or trustee to Ms. Halpern's knowledge. Please note that some of these entities were not active. Also, Ms. Halpern does not have full knowledge of the nature of Mr. Abramoff's association and/or control of some of these entities, and therefore this is a list of what Ms. Halpern understands to be entities with which Mr. Abramoff had at least some type of ownership, grantor, or trustee role.

Abramoff Children Trusts/Grodno Fund, LP/Right Turn Lane, Inc.
Abramoff Family Fund, LP
Archives Fine Dining, LLC/Archives and Stacks
Archives, LLC
Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC (CAF)
Cielomar Trust
(Congregation) Bais Avrohom Chaim, Inc.
Continental First Development Corp.
DL/JA LLC
Eshkol, Inc./Eshkol Academy
International Political Management, Inc.

Carr Maloney P.C.

Senator Byron L. Dorgan
11/08/2005
Page 2

KayGold, LLC
Lexington, LLC
Livsar Enterprises, LLC/Signatures
Mount Vernon Studios, Inc.
Potomac River Jet/Ad Co/Leak, LLC
Sports Suites, LLC
SVJA, LLC/Symphony Global
Jack Abramoff Irrevocable Life Insurance Trust
Curve Baseball / Altoona Curve
Sun Cruz
International Marketing Consultants
FJR Properties
J&J Fine Arts

Very truly yours,

Kevin M. Murphy

KMM/yws

From: Abramoff, Jack (DC)
Sent: Wednesday, August 09, 2000 3:52 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: New Orleans gambling fight

I'll find out.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, August 09, 2000 9:36 AM
To: 'jacka@[redacted]
Subject: FW: New Orleans gambling fight

Looks like Harris Casino in New Orleans is looking for tax relief and Foster is likely to favor it. We could stop it. Is this of interest to any of our friends?

> -----Original Message-----
> From: John Pudner
> Sent: Tuesday, August 08, 2000 5:12 PM
> To: Ralph Reed
> Subject: New Orleans gambling fight
>
> Potential client idea for our anti-gambling friends.
>
> The Harris Casino in New Orleans, the only land-based casino allowed
> in the state by law, is fighting for tax relief, and arguing that it
> will go out of business if it doesn't get it.
>
> Governor Foster will call a special Session sometime between now and
> the Spring to consider the measure.
>
> State law allowing Harris also required it pay $100 million per year
> in state taxes. Casino claims it needs the tax cut to $50 million or
> it will go out of business.
>
> I'm sure the Beau Rivage will put money into fighting the tax exempt
> status, but should we make an effort to set up our own campaign with
> friends?
>
> http://www.beaurivageresort.com/
>
>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 01, 2001 11:43 AM
To: 'italia@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Thanks from me and Steve and invitation

Wow, that would be great! Thank you so much for everything. I am so glad we are working together. Let me know if I can help you cover the cost of the reception. Thanks again.

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici <italia@[redacted]
To: Jack Abramoff <abramoffj@[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Mar 01 12:42:21 2001
Subject: Thanks from me and Steve and invitation

Hi Jack:

After I retrieved my coat I ended up sharing a cab with Steve. He really enjoyed meeting you and was grateful for the strategic advice on BIA and Insular Affairs. You definitely made another friend.

Now, something we didn't get to this morning...

Finally, as of yesterday, Julie Finley, Jim Nicholson and I are hosting a very small cocktail party for Gale at Julie's home. We just got Gale's scheduler to confirm! Gale has been saying yes but we never had a definite from her office until yesterday afternoon. I called congressional CoS yesterday and had a positive response from Senator [redacted], Senator [redacted] Congressman [redacted] Congressman [redacted] - they will be there. Now I am calling and emailing people I want to attend and keeping my fingers crossed! There will only be about 25 people in attendance so it's a great time to meet Gale and actually chat for a few minutes. It will be very small and relaxed.

Can you join us? It's March 6 at 6:30pm at [redacted]

Bye for now,
Italia

American International Center

93

86-122/540

DATE 3/6/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 100,000.00

One Hundred Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

[redacted]

FOR Research and Advocacy Services [redacted]

American International Center

92

86-122/540

DATE 3/6/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 50,000.00

Fifty Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

[redacted]

FOR Consulting [redacted]

American International Center

91

86-122/540

DATE 3/6/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 45,000.00

Fourty Five Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

[redacted]

FOR Professional Services [redacted]

INVOICE

March 14, 2001

Century Strategies
[redacted]
Attn: Eric Criss/Kelley Rogers

RE: Lousiana Patch Throughs

Invoice # AI 210313 CS/2001

DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM			
Patch Through Telephone Calls	5,000	6.75	33,750.00
List Rental	40,000	0.04	1,600.00
TOTAL INVOICE			**$35,350.00**

Confirmation report after project

Please Wire Payment to:
Advantage, Inc.
Account number: [redacted].
[redacted]
ABA Routing#: [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 15, 2001 5:07 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: wire

We'll have it tomorrow. The originating entity had to transfer to a separate account before they transferred to the entity which is going to transfer to you. This first transfer took longer than planned today (they could not get the signature yesterday). All will be fine.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 15, 2001 5:17 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: wire

we don't have the wire yet and we're spending $ at a pretty high burn rate.

Subj: **FW: LA**
Date: 03/15/2001 5:15:35 PM Central Standard Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 15, 2001 6:06 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: LA

Our people are trying to delay the senate vote until sunday or monday. if that happens, we'll probably win. if not, it's dicey. the radio is on. mail
drops tomorrow and starts landing saturday. have two full time organizers on the ground. 1000's of calls jamming Senate switchboard. high burn rate, but we're stretching the dollars. this one is tough but we are slashing away.

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

---------- Headers ----------
Return-Path: <abramoffj@[redacted]>
Received: from rly-zc02.[redacted](rly-zc02.[redacted]
with ESMTP; Thu, 15 Mar 2001 18:15:35 -0500
Received: from [redacted]
with ESMTP; Thu, 15 Mar 2001 18:14:31 -0500
Received: by [redacted] with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <G6YK342T>; Thu, 15 Mar 2001 18:14:16 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47889D31@[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: LA
Date: Thu, 15 Mar 2001 18:14:14 -0500
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service ([redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

LA Cochratta

Subj: **FW: Louisiana Update**
Date: 03/19/2001 5:24:49 PM Central Standard Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 19, 2001 1:44 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Louisiana Update
Importance: High

-----Original Message-----
From: Eric Chris [mailto:eric@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 19, 2001 1:38 PM
To: 'vasells@[redacted]
Cc: Ralph Reed
Subject: Louisiana Update

Sen. [redacted] says he will vote with us. We've been counting our 20 possible Senate votes. Many are uncommitted or leaning "no" (our way). Many have no response. So far, only liberal Dem [redacted] says he's voting "yes." We'll send him 100 "patch-throughs" from his North LA Baptist district and see what he says tomorrow. Rep. Tony Perkins is talking to Rep. Troy Hebert, the author of a new House bill designed to apply the higher tax rate to riverboats WITHOUT allowing them to go dockside. He's asking Hebert to find someone in the Senate to offer an amendment to the dockside bill tomorrow. The phone banks filled up every voice mail we could find over the weekend and they're back on the job today. Phone bank workers report people saying, "Oh, yes, I got the post card on that today." Senator Max Malone, a Harrah's opponent and probable dockside opponent told me "I received my call from Jerry Falwell."

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-zd05[redacted](rly-zd05.[redacted] by [redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Mon, 19 Mar 2001 18:24:48 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02[redacted](ns1[redacted] by rly-zd05[redacted]

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLAN, APLC

[redacted]
FACSIMILE [redacted]
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoof[redacted]

March 20, 2001

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NUMBER TRANSMITTED TO: [redacted]

To: Erick LaRocque
Of: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
From: Kathryn Fowler Van Hoof
Client/Matter: Wire Transfer

DOCUMENTS	NUMBER OF PAGES*
Letter from Jack Abramoff	1

COMMENTS:

The information contained in this facsimile message is information protected by attorney-client and/or the attorney/work product privilege. It is intended only for the use of the individual named above and the privileges are not waived by virtue of this having been sent by facsimile. If the person actually receiving this facsimile or any other reader of the facsimile is not the named recipient or the employee or agent responsible to deliver it to the named recipient, any use, dissemination, distribution, or copying of the communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the above address via U.S. Postal Service.

*NOT COUNTING COVER SHEET. IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL PAGES, PLEASE TELEPHONE US IMMEDIATELY AT [redacted]

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAURIG

Jack A. Abramoff
[redacted]

March 16, 2001

Kathryn Van Hoof, Esq.
Van Hoof & Associates
[redacted]

Dear Kathryn,

This letter is to confirm our request for an urgent wire transfer of $400,000 to the American International Center in connection with its public affairs efforts on regional gaming issues.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Abramoff

APPROVED FOR PAYMENT

DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

Rec'd 3/19/01

GREENBERG TRAURIG, LLP
[redacted] FAX [redacted]
AMS NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C. ATLANTA PHILADELPHIA TYSONS CORNER CHICAGO BOSTON PHOENIX WILMINGTON LOS ANGELES DENVER
SÃO PAULO FORT LAUDERDALE BOCA RATON WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE

DATED 3/15/01 FAX # [redacted]

Dear Sirs/Madams:

Please accept this letter as authorization to wire funds from our account [redacted]
at [redacted] - Education Acct as per the following instructions.

Thank you,

Lovelin Poncho

Lovelin Poncho

Bertney Poncho

Name of Bank: [redacted]

ABA routing # [redacted]

For further credit to: Southern Underwriters Inc.

Account # [redacted]

FBO:

For further credit to:

Account #

Reference:

Account #

AMOUNT $400,000.00

Special Instructions: Lobbying fees RE: Dockside Gambling

REDACTED

DEPOSIT TICKET
FOR CLEAR COPY, PRESS FIRMLY

DATE 3-19-01

	DOLLARS	CENTS
CURRENCY		
COINS		
CHECKS VIA LOCAL CLEARING	350000	00
1		
2		
3 A.I.C.	100000	00
4		
5 A.I.C.	50000	00
6		
7 A.I.C.	45000	00
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
SUBTOTAL		
TOTAL		

PLEASE BE SURE ALL ITEMS ARE PROPERLY ENDORSED

TOTAL ITEMS

CHECKS AND OTHER ITEMS ARE RECEIVED FOR DEPOSIT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNIFORM COMMERCIAL CODE OR ANY APPLICABLE COLLECTION AGREEMENT. DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

CENTURY STRATEGIES, LLC 12-99 [redacted]

[redacted]

$ 555000.00

[redacted]

OFFICIAL CHECK

[redacted]

Pay To The Order Of CENTURY STRATEGIES $ 350,000.00

THREE HUNDRED FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS AND 00 CENTS Dollars

DRAWER [redacted]

Authorized Signature

[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.

American International Center 98

DATE 3/16/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Srategies $ 100,000

One hundred Thousand dollars DOLLARS

[redacted]

FOR Professional Consulting

[redacted]

6419

American International Center 95

88-122/540

DATE 3/16/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 50,000

Fifty Thousand dollars DOLLARS

[redacted] R/T 054001220

FOR Research [redacted]

American International Center 97

88-122/540

DATE 3/16/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 45,000

Fourty Five Thousand dollars DOLLARS

[redacted] R/T 054001220

FOR Consulting [redacted]

REDACTED

Subj: **FW: LA pastors rally on Sunday**
Date: 03/16/2001 1:11:19 PM Central Standard Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 16, 2001 12:46 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: LA pastors rally on Sunday

We had a conference call today with 10 major African American pastors throughout the state. They have agreed to hold a rally at the state Capitol in Baton Rouge on Sunday at 4 p.m. against the gambling bills and are busing in 300-400 people from their churches from around the state. They will call on the Senate and House to defeat both bills and will say that they will not provide support from their community to those politicians of either party who vote for them. This rally will take place one hour before the state Senate votes on the riverboat bill.

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to[redacted]

---------- Headers ----------
Return-Path: <abramoffj@[redacted]>
Received: from rly-yd04.mx[redacted](rly-yd04[redacted]) by air-yd04[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Fri, 16 Mar 2001 14:11:19 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02[redacted](ns1.[redacted]) by rly-yd04.mx[redacted] (v77_r1.35)
with ESMTP; Fri, 16 Mar 2001 14:10:52 1900
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted]with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <G6YKPQGJ>; Fri, 16 Mar 2001 14:10:31 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47CDC505@[redacted]>
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: LA pastors rally on Sunday
Date: Fri, 16 Mar 2001 14:10:27 -0500
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service [redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

Subj: **FW: Louisiana**
Date: 03/19/2001 11:50:58 AM Central Standard Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, March 19, 2001 11:26 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: Louisiana

> LOUISIANA
>
> We put together a rally at the capitol yesterday with 20 black pastors, > (25 total) and over 200 supporters. The AP reporter and Baton Rouge > state capitol reporter were there, as well as the big local talk radio > station.
>
> We're still in danger with three Senators: [redacted]
> Since we ended up with 16 votes against the casino bill, losing these > three would put us under water at 13. To combat this we're calling into > the districts of these three senators. We're also looking for a senator > to introduce an amendment to the bill that would raise taxes on the > riverboats without allowing dockside gambling. This would have a tough > time passing but would help to strip the bark off the idea that this bill > is simply a tax hike on riverboats.
>

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-zb02[redacted]ly-zb02.mail[redacted]172.31.41.2]) by air-zb01[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Mon, 19 Mar 2001 12:50:58 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02[redacted] (ns1.gtlaw.com [redacted]) by rly-zb02.mx.aol.com [redacted]
with ESMTP; Mon, 19 Mar 2001 12:50:41 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted] with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <G6YKQCPT>; Mon, 19 Mar 2001 12:50:24 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47CDC5A4@[redacted]

Subj: FW: LA
Date: 03/20/2001 5:34:37 PM Central Standard Time

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

This is very useful. If you forward, please be very selective and admonish against further forwarding. I have removed Ralph's name from the "From:" line below.

-----Original Message-----
From:
Sent: Tuesday, March 20, 2001 6:14 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: LA

More from LA from a very capable operative:

As a direct result of our lobbying effort today, the Louisiana Senate amended HB2, the dockside gambling bill, to remove the provision allowing riverboats to convert to barges. If the House concurs with the amendment, this will effectively eliminate 90% of the "gambling expansion" contained in the bill. The boats had planned to roughly double their capacity by converting into land-based casinos on barges that would be much larger than boats.
Additionally, the amendment raised the taxes on riverboats statewide to 21.5%--up from the current 18.5% currently applied. In its pre-amended form, the bill raised taxes to 21.5% only on boats in South Louisiana. This two-tiered tax rate was part of a master deal worked out between the boats, Harrah's Casino, pro-gambling legislators, teacher unions and Governor Mike Foster. The introduction of the higher taxes rate on boats in North Louisiana now threatens to derail the entire deal and "explode the special session," in the words of several senators today.
The bill now goes to the House for consideration of the amendments. It is likely that the amendments will be rejected, forcing the bill to a

conference committee tightly controlled by the Governor. Then, both houses will have to approve the conference report by a two-thirds margin.
Signs that our phone banks were effective began surfacing early in the debate as the first speaker, [redacted] gave an interesting speech. [redacted] a liberal Democrat and close ally of the teacher unions, was targeted by our telephone banks after telling our lobbyist that he was inclined to vote for the bill because it raised taxes on gamblers. [redacted] represents a conservative, predominantly Baptist district on the Arkansas border.) In response, we sent [redacted] 109 "patch-through" calls in the last 24 hours. [redacted] began his speech by saying (in his country voice) "You know, I've been doing a lot of thinking overnight."
To paraphrase, he then said the following: I've been thinking that this bill is really no-big deal. It only raises teacher salaries by $21 per week. Why, that's not enough money for a man to take his wife to 'Catfish King' on Saturday night. What we really need is a new tax on oil and gas to bring our teacher pay to the national average.
The reason he had "done much thinking" overnight was the 109 phone calls from constituents in his district.
Another liberal Democrat representing a conservative North Louisiana district, [redacted] told legislators that he had heard from a lot of his constituents and (looking at Republican [redacted] the gambling floor leader in the chamber)"they all seem to be Republicans." Of course, we used a Republican voter list to transfer the patch-throughs to him as well. A Senator with a long record of support for gambling, McPherson railed against gambling and the gamblers who had taken over the Capitol. It was a theme echoed by other senators throughout the debate. "Who's really running this state?" This question was asked over and over throughout the afternoon, with the gambling industry as the implied answer. One senator spoke of a black Lincoln parked outside of the Capitol by the rear entrance with a gambling lobbyist inside. "When I looked inside, I realized that fella used to be a sgt.-at-arms here," [redacted] said.
Everything is now up in the air. We'll have to see how skillful the Governor is at putting this deal back together. In the past, he has been effective.
I'll keep you updated.

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

---------- Headers ----------
Return-Path: <abramoffj@[redacted]
Received: from rly-zd03[redacted]rly-zd03.[redacted]) by air-zd03[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Tue, 20 Mar 2001 18:34:37 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted] (ns1[redacted] by rly-zd03.n[redacted](v77_r1.21)
with ESMTP; Tue, 20 Mar 2001 18:34:05 1900
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted]with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <HKQGQR3Z>; Tue, 20 Mar 2001 18:33:49 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47889F4B@wdc-srv01[redacted]>
From: abramoffj@[redacted]

Subj: **conference fight**
Date: 03/20/2001 5:44:49 PM Central Standard Time

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

Ralph just told me that, as we expected, there will be a conference fight over this. We need to keep pounding away to make sure we don't get screwed at the last minute. He is out of money. He has asked to get another $250K asap, which he believes will get us through the conference. The wire process, as you recall, was difficult. If you can work this through cashiers checks, or whatever you finally used to get it moving, it would be a big help. Please let me know. Thanks.

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]

[illegible] 03/20/2001 10:03:41 PM Central Standard Time

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

The House did not accept the Senate bill. They are going to conference tomorrow and then try to run the bill (with the amendment on barges stripped) through both chambers. They must do so before Sunday since the Regular session starts Monday. It is possible, (though extremely unlikely) that the Governor could call another special session to run concurrently with the Regular session, but he probably does not have the votes for that. They cannot raise taxes in a regular session in an odd year (this according to Ralph. So, we need to wage the war hard through the weekend. Here is. Ralph's budget. Please call me as soon as you have had a chance to review this. We are going to need to move funds tomorrow to make this work.

-----Original Message-----
From:
Sent: Tuesday, March 20, 2001 10:58 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: FW: LA

The budget for the remainder of the special session, is as follows:

Statewide Radio Buy (5.5 frequency) $93,000

Patch through calls (approx. 8,000) $45,000

Grassroots Direct Mail
(60,000 hh X .47 ea.) $27,600

Hypotenuse phone calls
(55,000 x .26 x 3) $42,900

Legislative Counsel $10,000

Coalitions $40,000

TOTAL: $258,000

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-xd05[redacted]rly-xd05[redacted] by air-xd01.[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Tue, 20 Mar 2001 23:03:41 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted](ns1[redacted] by rly-xd05[redacted](v77_r1.21)
with ESMTP; Tue, 20 Mar 2001 23:03:12 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted] with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <HKQGQTFS>; Tue, 20 Mar 2001 23:02:46 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47889FB2@wdc-srv01[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: LA
Date: Tue, 20 Mar 2001 23:02:45 -0500
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service [redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

DEPOSIT TICKET
FOR CLEAR COPY, PRESS FIRMLY

DATE 3-27-01

	DOLLARS	CENTS
CURRENCY		
COINS		
CHECKS LIST EACH SEPARATELY		
1 AIC	200000	00
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
SUBTOTAL (IF ANY)		
TOTAL		

PLEASE BE SURE ALL ITEMS ARE PROPERLY ENDORSED

TOTAL ITEMS

CHECKS AND OTHER ITEMS ARE RECEIVED FOR DEPOSIT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNIFORM COMMERCIAL CODE OR ANY APPLICABLE COLLECTION AGREEMENT. DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

CENTURY STRATEGIES, LLC 12-99

[redacted]

$ 200000.00

[redacted]

American International Center

96

63-122/540

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies

DATE 3/22/01

$ 200,000

Two Hundred Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

[redacted]

FOR [redacted]

6415

********** -COMM. JOURNAL- ********** DATE MAR-21-2001 ***** TIME 15:41 *** P.01

MODE = MEMORY TRANSMISSION START=MAR-21 15:39 END=MAR-21 15:41

FILE NO.= 135

STN NO.	COM	ABBR NO.	STATION NAME/TEL.NO.	PAGES	DURATION
001	OK	S	17572262775-0710	004/004	00:01'45"

********** - ***** - *********

CENTURY STRATEGIES

[redacted]

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

TO: Pat Robertson

FAX: [redacted]

FROM: Ralph Reed

[redacted] (Telephone)
[redacted] (Fax)

PAGES (including cover): 4

6441

DATE: March 21, 2001

MESSAGE: Pat, attached is a memo and a phone script on a riverboat casino bill we are helping the pro-family forces fight in Louisiana. Jerry Falwell has done a message to 55,000 households, and we would love to have a message from you. You may recall we did this in VA and defeated the riverboats. Thanks, friend. I appreciate your leadership for our values so very much.

— Ralph

Forwarded Message:

Subj:	**FW: LA**
Date:	03/21/2001 9:20:54 AM Central Standard Time

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

They need $. Please let me know asap. Thanks.

----Original Message----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 21, 2001 10:15 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: LA

today we went dark on radio. The radio has been generating hundreds of calls a day. need to get back up ASAP. conference committee could report out Foster-backed, House-passed version any time.

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-yg03[redacted](rly-yg03.[redacted] by air-yg05.[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Wed, 21 Mar 2001 10:20:54 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted]ns1.[redacted] by rly-yg03.mx.[redacted] (v77_r1.21)
with ESMTP; Wed, 21 Mar 2001 10:20:41 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02.[redacted]with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <HKQGQXD5>; Wed, 21 Mar 2001 10:20:23 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47889FF0@wdc-srv01[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: LA
Date: Wed, 21 Mar 2001 10:20:18 -0500
MIME-Version: 1.0

Thursday, March 22, 2001 [redacted] KVanhoof

X-Priority: 1
MIME-Version: 1.0

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 11:29 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: VICTORY

You are the greatest!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 11:45 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: VICTORY
Importance: High

We have won. The barges are dead and the N. Louisiana boats have had their taxes increased. The final vote on the conference committee report was 33-5 in the Senate and 88-12 in the House. Special session has adjourned sine die.

>
>

Subj: **FW: VICTORY**
Date: 03/22/2001 12:14:52 PM Central Standard Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 11:45 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: VICTORY
Importance: High

We have won. The barges are dead and the N. Louisiana boats have had their taxes increased. The final vote on the conference committee report was 33-5 in the Senate and 88-12 in the House. Special session has adjourned sine die.
>
>

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-zb04.[redacted](rly-zb04.[redacted]by air-zb03.[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 13:14:52 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted] (ns1.gtlaw.com[redacted]by rly-zb04.[redacted]
with ESMTP; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 13:14:24 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted] with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <HMP1ACM2>; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 13:14:02 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47CDC6AD@wdc-srv01.[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: VICTORY
Date: Thu, 22 Mar 2001 13:14:01 -0500
Importance: high
X-Priority: 1
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service (5.5.2653.19)
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

Subj: CREA
Date: 03/22/2001 6:15:06 PM Central Standard Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

I met with the Interior guys today and they were ecstatic that the tribe was going to help. If you can get me a check via federal made out to "Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy" for $50K that would be great. This is really going to help. We'll chat tomorrow.

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-xa05[redacted]n (rly-xa05[redacted]) by air-xa04.[redacted]
(v77_r1.21) with ESMTP; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:15:06 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted] (ns1[redacted]) by rly-xa05.[redacted](v77_r1.21)
with ESMTP; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:15:02 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted]with Internet Mail Service [redacted].
id <HMP1AJR5>; Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:14:46 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC4788A0BE@wdc-srv01.[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: CREA
Date: Thu, 22 Mar 2001 19:14:43 -0500
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service [redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

MEMORANDUM

Date: March 27, 2001
To:
From: Ralph Reed

The following plan outlines the strategy for stopping HB 514 in the Texas House of Representatives. The bill has been reported out of the Criminal Jurisprudence committee and currently rests in the Calendars Committee where there will be a vote on whether or not to send it to the full house. Century Strategies recommends the following plan to immediately target the members of the Calendars Committee and prevent HB 514 from getting to the floor for a vote. Based on our winning battles against similar bills in Alabama and Louisiana, we believe this program will be highly effective.

Telemarketing

Patch-Through, Tape Recorded Message and Call to Action Phone Calls. All eleven members of the Calendars Committee will receive phone calls from their constituents. The message of these patch-through calls will be tailored based on the position taken by each individual member. Additional calls containing tape-recorded messages and live voices with a call to action will be made to mobilize conservative activists. All key committee members will be asked to stop the expansion of legalized gambling in Texas.

Targeted Mail

Using social conservative mailing lists and Texas voter files, the House districts of targeted representatives will be mailed a 6x11 Postcard asking them to call and/or write their representative to request that they not send HB 514 to the House floor.

Legislative Counsel & Local Management

The Century Strategies plan calls for collecting up to the minute intelligence in the Texas Legislature, getting accurate head counts on the Calendars Committee and quickly and effectively mobilizing social conservative forces on the ground in Texas. All of this is required in order to effectively target and deliver the correct message to key legislators. In order to manage this effort locally, legislative counsel and grassroots management will be required.

Rallies & Petitions

Supporters will be identified and encouraged to attend a rally on the steps of the Texas State Capitol in Austin. The rally will in turn launch a petition drive encouraging all officials to stop the expansion of gambling in Texas. Hundreds of signatures will be collected and delivered to legislators. Pastors of local churches will be encouraged to speak at the rally and encourage people to attend.

Budget

Item	Rate	Estimated Cost
Legislative Counsel & Local Management	$10,000	$10,000
Rallies & Petition	300-500 Person Rally on the steps of the Texas State Capitol-Transportation, collateral material, etc.	$5,000
List Rental for Telemarketing & Mail	150,000 @ $0.10	$15,000
Targeted Mail	75,000 @ .50	$37,500
Telemarketing	Approximately 50-75,000 Patch-Through, Recorded Message & Call to Action	$50,000
Century Strategies Management Fee	$25,000	$25,000
Total Budget		**$142,500**

Targets

Initially, all members of the Calendars Committee will be targeted. As we are able to discern which members of the committee are opponents or supporters of the bill, targeting will be refined to focus on those members who need extra attention. The members of the Calendars Committee are Representatives:

Barry Telford (Chair)
Paul John Hilbert (Vice-Chair)
[Mr.] Kim Brimer
Debra Danburg
Harold Dutton
Brian McCall
Paul Sadler
Jim Solis
Senfronia Thompson
Sylvester Turner
Gary Walker

Subj: **FW: TX**
Date: 03/28/2001 1:49:18 PM Central Standard Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 28, 2001 2:44 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: TX

it could happen tomorrow. let them know that. and they're getting no influx of heavy calls.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 28, 2001 2:38 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

Here is the latest from TX. Calendars Committee could vote on this as early as tomorrow. We need to turn on the phones in TX now.

The next scheduled meeting is March 29 (no time listed) They could conceivably vote on the 29th to move this bill to the floor. Chuck Anderson at the Coalition is calling Rep. Kim Brimer and other members of the Calendars Committee. As you can see from below, Rep Brimer offered the motion to keep HB 514 in committee and not report to the full house. I'm working some other angles to find out if they're going to vote on Thursday. But if we can get budget approval we MIGHT be able to rifle some patch through calls into the committee on Thursday.

Representative Brimer moved that the following measures not be placed on the calendar at this time: HB00002, HB16, HB103, HB223, HB230, HB234, HB236, HB247, HB255, HB299, HB310, HB319, HB323, HB334, HB377, HB423, HB432, HB462, HB475, HB476, HB479, HB514, HB533, HB596, HB598, HB606, HB613, HB642, HB651, HB674, HB678, HB694, HB706, HB772, HB884, HB889, HB891, HB920, HB995, HB1033, HB1051, HB1059, HB1103, HB1104, HB1105, HB1109, HB1115, HB1118, HB1245, HB1254, HB1267. The motion prevailed by the following record vote: Ayes: Representatives Telford; Brimer; McCall; Solis, Jim; Turner, Sylvester; Walker (6). Nays: None (0).

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]

Texas Gambling Legislation

Background & Summary

Senate Bill

The Indian Casino gambling bill (HB 514) was amended and passed the state House on Wed. 4-25 and is on the way to the Senate. The senate companion bill, S 253, has been favorably reported out of the Criminal Jurisprudence Committee. The loss in the Democrat controlled House, while not a complete surprise, came more quickly than anticipated. Our prospects are better in the Senate, where Republicans have a 16-15 advantage. In order for either bill to get to the floor of the senate for a full vote it must get a 2/3 vote, or 21 of 31 possible votes. Since one Republican and seven Democrats are sponsoring S 253, there are 15 possible Republicans to oppose the bill and 8 possible Democrats. We need 11 of those 23 votes.

The Lieutenant Governor has historically opposed gambling legislation and word in the capitol is that he is opposed to Indian gambling casinos. The key question is: will he use his exceptional power in the Senate to stop the casino bills?

A House-Senate conference committee is meeting right now in an effort to add back language authorizing dockside barges. If the Louisiana pro-family forces, succeed, it will either sink the riverboat gambling bill or transform it into a tax increase on the riverboats, which would be a major victory.

What's Being Done To Stop The Indian Casino Bills

A rally of pastors and their congregations will be held. In addition, the Christian Coalition will send approximately 60,000 pieces of mail to members across state and possibly run radio ads statewide.

A taped message from Dr. Robertson would be very helpful in generating thousands of calls to the Capitol switchboard at a critical time.

Texas Gambling Legislation

Summary

Senate Bill

The Indian Casino gambling bill (HB 514) was amended and passed the state House on Wed. 4-25 and is on the way to the Senate. The senate companion bill, S 253, has been favorably reported out of the Criminal Jurisprudence Committee. The loss in the Democrat controlled House, while not a complete surprise, came more quickly than anticipated. Our prospects are better in the Senate, where Republicans have a 16-15 advantage. But several lobbyists have told us that the odds are against us. In order for either bill to get to the senate floor for a full vote, it must get a 2/3 vote, or 21 of 31 possible votes. Since one Republican and seven Democrats are sponsoring S 253, there are 15 possible Republicans to oppose the bill and 8 possible Democrats. We need 11 of those 23 votes. An initial head count has been difficult to obtain due to the fact that most senators refuse to take a position. Preliminary indications are that we do not have the votes to prevent the bill from getting to the floor for a final vote (we likely need 3-4 more). We are currently working to retain a more accurate count. Eric Criss, Century Strategies VP, is flying to Texas on Monday morning to meet with the staff of the governor and attorney general, as well as the Christian Coalition Executive Director and Director of Public Policy for the Baptist State Convention of Texas.

The Lieutenant Governor has historically opposed gambling legislation and word in the capitol is that he is opposed to Indian gambling casinos. The key question is: will he use his exceptional power in the Senate to stop the casino bills? It seems possible that he may do so considering he is involved in a three-way GOP primary in the Lieutenant Governor Race. Ralph presently has a call into the Lieutenant Governor's office.

What's Being Done To Stop The Indian Casino Bills

- 100,000 Pieces of "Call-To-Action" Mail to Social Conservatives
- Statewide Radio Buy
- Patch-Through Phone Calls Directly to Senate Offices
- Tape Recorded Phone Messages from High Profile Conservatives
- Professional Representation in the Capitol
- "On-Site" Management by Century Strategies Staff
- Social Conservative Rally at the Capitol (time permitting)

"Rolling The Dice With Texas Families" 60 Seconds

{Mother: female voice over sounds of a playground}

Mother: May I share some urgent news with you? As I speak, the gambling lobbyists in Austin are trying to legalize casinos in Texas and they've nearly convinced the legislature to roll the dice with Texas families. One gambling bill has already passed the Texas House

Now it's up to the Senate to decide whether or not they'll sell out Texas and cave in to the gambling lobbyists. Legalized gambling in Texas would have devastating affects on our children and communities. Where gambling casinos go, violent crime, addiction and prostitution are soon to follow. Texas deserves better—our children deserve better.

Please call your state senator today at xxx-xxx-xxxx and tell them to fight against gambling casinos in Texas. Again the phone number is xxx-xxx-xxxx. Please call your state senator today. Tell them to oppose Senate bill 253 and all Indian Gambling Casinos.

{Mother over the sound of coins}

Mother: Tell 'em: Texas is not for sale.

Announcer: Paid for by Christian Coalition of Texas.

Texas Senate Telephone Script

Hello (MR/MS) _____. This is (agent name) and I'm calling on behalf of Citizens Against Gambling Expansion. We have an emergency in the Texas Legislature. I am not calling to ask for money.

Gambling lobbyists and some politicians in the Texas Legislature are trying to legalize Gambling Casinos. In fact, one bill has already passed the House. A great debate is raging in the senate even as we speak. Would you be willing to help us fight the expansion of gambling in Texas by asking your state senator to oppose all gambling casino bills currently under consideration in the senate?

(If yes) That's great! Would you mind if I transfer you, at no cost to you whatsoever, to your Texas State Senator in Austin so that you can tell them that you oppose Senate Bill 253 and all efforts to expand gambling in Texas?

Great! Please hold while I transfer you to the office of Senator _____ in Austin.

Texas Telephone Script

Hello this is (Your Name) calling on behalf of the Texas Christian Coalition to ask if you can help us stop an effort in our legislature to legalize casino gambling in Texas. Out of State gambling interests want to expand gambling by legalizing casinos on Indian Reservations. House Bill 514 has passed the Criminal Jurisprudence Committee and could be voted on soon in the Texas House unless you can help us to stop it.

May I connect you to Representative _____ so you can urge him/her to **Vote Against** House Bill 514? Tell him/her that a vote for House Bill 514 is vote for casino gambling and against Texas families and communities.

(IF YES): While I'm connecting you would you like to give me you email address so the Christian Coalition of Texas can keep you updated on this issue and other important votes?

Please hold and I'll connect you now so you can state your opposition to House Bill 514. Thank you.

Texas Telephone Script

Hello this is (Your Name) calling on behalf of the Committee Against Gambling Expansion to ask if you can help us stop a Las Vegas style casino from opening in our community. The gambling lobby, one of the most powerful special interests in America, plans to open an illegal full-scale casino in Livingston on the Alabama-Coushatta Indian reservation.

Governor Rick Perry has a strong record of opposing gambling and standing up for Texas families. May I connect you to Governor Perry's office so you can urge him to **stop the illegal casino in Livingston?** Please thank him for his work on behalf of our Texas families and communities and urge him to STOP the illegal Indian Casino in Livingston.

(IF YES): Thank you. Please hold and I'll connect you now so you can state your opposition to the Alabama Coushatta gambling casino and ask Governor Perry to close it down.

DEPOSIT TICKET
FOR CLEAR COPY, PRESS FIRMLY

DATE 4-9-01

	DOLLARS	CENTS
CURRENCY		
COINS		
CHECKS VERIFICATION		
1		
2		
3		
4		
5	AIC	198000 00
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
PLEASE PRINT TOTAL HERE	TOTAL	

PLEASE BE SURE ALL ITEMS ARE PROPERLY ENDORSED

TOTAL ITEMS

CHECKS AND OTHER ITEMS ARE RECEIVED FOR DEPOSIT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNIFORM COMMERCIAL CODE OR ANY APPLICABLE COLLECTION AGREEMENT. DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

CENTURY STRATEGIES, LLC 12-99

[redacted]

REDACTED

$ 202506.70

[redacted]

REDACTED

American International Center 100

68-122/540

DATE 4/3/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 198,000

One Hundred Ninety Eight Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

[redacted]

FOR Professional Services

[redacted]

6421

Subj: **FW: TX**
Date: 03/30/2001 9:11:14 AM Central Daylight Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

FYI

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 30, 2001 8:37 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

the calendars committee did not vote to report the bill yesterday. they meet again next tuesday. in the meantime, we are laying in 8000 patch-through calls into the committee and dropping a mail piece to 100,000 hh statewide that will land tomorrow. should light up the switchboard. CC is also doing a statewide email and blastfax alert to all its chapters. will keep you posted.

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-yg03.[redacted] (rly-yg03.[redacted] by air-yg05.[redacted] (v77_r1.36) with ESMTP; Fri, 30 Mar 2001 09:11:13 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02.[redacted]ns1.[redacted]) by rly-yg03.[redacted]v77_r1.36) with ESMTP; Fri, 30 Mar 2001 09:10:58 -0500
Received: by mia-srv02.[redacted]ith Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <H7VA5WCF>; Fri, 30 Mar 2001 09:10:21 -0500
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47CDCA77@wdc-srv01.[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: TX
Date: Fri, 30 Mar 2001 09:09:55 -0500
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service [redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

Subj: **FW: TX update**
Date: 03/31/2001 11:23:17 PM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

Hi Kathy. Please review the legislation they note below and let me know if this is something you guys care about. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, March 30, 2001 6:41 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX update

from a TX operative:

There was no movement on our bill today due to the fact that the legislators went home for the weekend. We did make approximately 1,000 calls into the Calendars Committee today with many, many more to follow on Monday and Tuesday (they'll be meeting again on Tuesday). Our postcard will drop in the mail tomorrow and land on Monday-first class pre-sort in most cases. My contact in the Attorney General's office just told me about a bill that we may want to track: HB 2479. It would codify certain rules relating to video poker. Grant Sparks and Bob Kelly, who work in the illegal gambling area with the AG, both consider it a "pro-gambling" bill. You can use the link below to check out the bill-it reads innocently enough, but then they always do. The bill is scheduled for a hearing in the Licensing and Administrative Procedures Committee on Tuesday. One interesting fact: Representatives Debra Danburg and Kim Brimer are the bills co-sponsors-and also happen to be on the Calendars Committee where HB 514 is waiting for approval to go to the floor.

(

Texas Legislature Online - Bill History 77(r) HB 2479
<http://www.capitol.state.tx.us/cgi-bin/db2www/tlo/billhist/billhist.d2w/report?LEGw&SESS=R&CHAMBER=H&BILLTYPE=B&BILLSUFFIX□479>

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-yh04.mx[redacted] (rly-yh04[redacted]) by air-yh05.[redacted]

sponse UnLimited - Brokerage

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Fax [redacted]

Confirmation No. 47617

Date:	3/16/01	Brokered	
Status:	Cancelled	Rental	
As Of:	3/16/01		

ier: 387	Century Strategies	Client P.O.:	VERBAL	
Offer:	Telemarketing Anti-Gambling	Vend/Job #:		
		Wanted By:	3/16/01	
Client: 780	[redacted]	Mail Date:	3/17/01	
		Contact:	Scott Faircloth	Ext: Scott Fair
		Ship Via:	E-mail	
Attn To:	Eric Cress	Third Party		
	[redacted] Fax:	Way Bill #		
Ship To:	Email	Mark As :	LIST, MAILER, QTY, PO#	

Attn To:	DATA@[redacted](SEE BELOW)
	Fax:
List: 1098	Conservative and Christian Interactive Database
Segment:	LOUISIANA WITH PHONES
Order Is:	Test Universe:
Key(s):	
Material:	E-Mail
antity:	52,905 Nth Cross Section
ice :	$75.00 / M
	$25.00 / M Phones
	$50.00 / F Email
	$5.00 / M State Select

MEDIA OWNER: Upon completion of Order, please send invoice to us showing our order number, name of mailer and exact quantity addressed or inserted. We will rebill mailer on your behalf and upon receipt of payment remit less commission. We act only as an agent for the owner and do not guarantee payment from the mailer, who is solely responsible for payment on this order.

MAILER: Mailer guarantees that these names are to be used for one mailing only for the offer indicated and may not be used again without written consent from the list owner.

IMPORTANT: Please notify us at once if this order is not in accordance with your wishes. Unless we hear by return mail/fax we will assume the order is correct as written.

Omits:

Cancellation
could not get the order out in time. 3/16/01 (s.f.)

4286

List Owner / Manager / Mailer - This order covers a one-time use only, unless otherwise stipulated.
Keep a record of names used to avoid duplication on future mailings.

Response UnLimited - Management

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Fax [redacted]

Invoice No. 47601

Invoice Dated:	3/19/01
Client P.O. No.:	VERBAL
Vendor/Job #:	
Mail Date :	3/15/01
Due Date :	4/14/01
Status :	Active
As Of :	
Salesperson No.	1 Philip Zodhiates
	Managed
	Rental

Bill To: Eric Criss
780 Millenium Marketing
[redacted]

Mailer:	387	Century Strategies
Offer:		Anti-Gambling
List:	123	Conservative/Evangelical Political Alliance Donors
Segment:		LOUISIANA WITH PHONES
Keys:		
Ordered:		31,553
Shipped:		31,553 Shipped Date: 3/14/01
Deducts:		0 Via: E-mail
Adj Gross:		31,553
Mailed Qty:		0

Bill Quantity		Price	Extension
31,553		$45.00 / M	$1,419.89
31,553	Phones	$20.00 / M	$631.06
31,553	Telemarketing Surcharge	$35.00 / M	$1,104.36
31,553	State Select	$5.00 / M	$157.77
1	Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
1	2nd Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00

2nd email charge omitted on first invoice by mistake.

Shipping Charge

This invoice paid with credits from the following invoices:

45780	$ 2,783.08
45794	$ 520.62
45770	$ 20.00
45662	$ 39.37

Invoice Amount	$3,413.07
Cash/Adjustments	$3,363.07
Balance Due	$50.00

4256

Terms: Net 30 days from scheduled mail date unless otherwise guaranteed.
No Adjustments accepted without prior approval. Computer verification must accompany all short payments. Please return (1) copy with payment.

Response UnLimited - Management

[redacted]
[redacted] Fax [redacted]

Invoice No. 47601

Invoice Dated:	3/19/01
Client P.O. No.:	VERBAL
Vendor/Job #:	
Mail Date :	3/15/01
Due Date :	4/14/01
Status :	Active
As Of :	
Salesperson No.	1 Philip Zodhiates
	Managed
	Rental

Bill To: Eric Criss
780 Millenium Marketing
[redacted]

Mailer:	387	Century Strategies
Offer:		Anti-Gambling
List:	123	Conservative/Evangelical Political Alliance Donors
Segment:		LOUISIANA WITH PHONES
Keys:		
Ordered:		31,553
Shipped:		31,553 Shipped Date: 3/14/01
Deducts:		0 Via: E-mail
Adj Gross:		31,553
Mailed Qty:		0

Bill Quantity		Price	Extension
31,553		$45.00 / M	$1,419.89
31,553	Phones	$20.00 / M	$631.06
31,553	Telemarketing Surcharge	$35.00 / M	$1,104.36
31,553	State Select	$5.00 / M	$157.77
1	Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
1	2nd Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
		Shipping Charge	

2nd email charge omitted on first invoice by mistake.

This invoice paid with credits from the following invoices:

45780	$ 2,783.08
45794	$ 520.62
45770	$ 20.00
45662	$ 39.37

Invoice Amount	$3,413.07
Cash/Adjustments	$3,363.07
Balance Due	$50.00

4257

Terms: Net 30 days from scheduled mail date unless otherwise guaranteed.
No Adjustments accepted without prior approval. Computer verification must accompany all short payments. Please return (1) copy with payment.

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLAN, APLC

[redacted]
TELEPHONE [redacted]
FACSIMILE [redacted]
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoof@[redacted]

March 28, 2001

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NUMBER TRANSMITTED TO: [redacted]

To:	Erick LaRocque
Of:	Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
From:	Kathryn Fowler Van Hoof
Client/Matter:	Check request for CREA poll on behalf of Secretary of Interior

CONFIDENTIAL

Attached is an email from Jack Abramoff with the firm of Greenberg Traurig, recently retained by the Tribe for assistance with governmental affairs. Coushatta and Mississippi Band of Choctaw have agreed to each pay ½ the cost of a poll conducted by the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy, which is being conducted on behalf of Gayle Norton, Secretary of Interior.

Please immediately prepare a check made payable to the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy in the amount of $50,000.00 and forward to my office by Federal Express. I will then Fed-X the check to Mr. Abramoff.

Cc: Chairman Lovelin Poncho

Approved:_____
Chairman Lovelin Poncho
Date: 3/28/01

The information contained in this facsimile message is information protected by attorney-client and/or the attorney/work product privilege. It is intended only for the use of the individual named above and the privileges are not waived by virtue of this having been sent by facsimile. If the person actually receiving this facsimile or any other reader of the facsimile is not the named recipient or the employee or agent responsible to deliver it to the named recipient, any use, dissemination, distribution, or copying of the communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the above address via U.S. Postal Service.

Mar.29. 2001 4:32PM No.1743 P. 1

Response UnLimited - Management

Proforma Invoice No. 47725

[redacted] Fax [redacted]

Invoice Dated:	3/29/01
Client P.O. No.:	VERBAL
Mail Date:	4/2/01
Due Date:	3/29/01
Status:	Active
As Of:	

Bill To: 780 Millenium Marketing
[redacted]

Attention: Eric Crias

Philip Zodhiates
Managed
Rental

Mailer: 387 Century Strategies [redacted]
Offer: Anti-Gambling
Anti-Gambling
List: 91 Christian Coalition of Texas
Segment: SCF'S 781, 793, 770, 785, 758, 760, 772
Ordered: 69,145
Keys:
Via: E-mail
Deducts:
Adj Gross:

Bill Quantity		Price	Extension
69,145		$85.00 / M	$5,877.33
1	Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
8,828	Phones	$20.00 / M	$176.56
8,828	Telemarketing Surcharge	$30.00 / M	$264.84
		Shipping Charge	
		Invoice Amount	$6,368.73
		Cash/Adjustments	
		Balance Due	$6,368.73

YOU HAVE A
CREDIT OF $1310.29
PLEASE FAX CHECK
ASAP —
THANKS —
SCOTT

TOTAL CHECK DUE: $5058.44

4240

Terms: Due on receipt.
Please return (2) copy with payment.

Response UnLimited - Management

[redacted]

[redacted] Fax [redacted]

Invoice No.	47725
Invoice Dated:	4/2/01
Client P.O. No.:	VERBAL
Vendor/Job #:	
Mail Date:	4/2/01
Due Date:	5/2/01
Status:	Revised
As Of:	3/30/01
Salesperson No.	1 Philip Zodhiates
	Managed
	Rental

Bill To: Eric Criss
780 Millenium Marketing
[redacted]

Mailer:	387	Century Strategies	
Offer:		Anti-Gambling	
List:	91	Christian Coalition of Texas	
Segment:		SCF'S 761, 793, 770, 785, 756, 750, 772	
Keys:			
Ordered:		69,145	
Shipped:		69,145	Shipped Date: 3/30/01
Deducts:		0	Via: E-mail
Adj Gross:		69,145	
Mailed Qty:		0	

Bill Quantity		Price	Extension
69,145		$85.00 / M	$5,877.33
1	Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
1	2nd Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
8,828	Phones	$20.00 / M	$176.56
8,828	Telemarketing Surcharge	$30.00 / M	$264.84
69,145	SCF Select	$7.50 / M	$518.59
$1,318.29 applied from invoice #47638.		Shipping Charge	

Invoice Amount	$6,937.32
Cash/Adjustments	$6,368.73
Balance Due	$568.59

4236

Terms: Net 30 days from acceptance; mail date unless otherwise guaranteed.
No adjustments accepted without prior approval. Computer verification must accompany all short payments. Please return 1 copy with payment.

Response UnLimited - Management

[redacted]
[redacted] Fax [redacted]

Invoice No. 47725

Invoice Dated:	4/2/01
Client P.O. No.:	VERBAL
Vendor/Job #:	
Mail Date:	4/2/01
Due Date:	5/2/01
Status:	Revised
As Of:	3/30/01
Salesperson No.	1 Philip Zodhiates
	Managed
	Rental

Bill To: Eric Criss
780 Millenium Marketing
[redacted]

Mailer:	387	Century Strategies	
Offer:		Anti-Gambling	
List:	91	Christian Coalition of Texas	
Segment:		SCF'S 761, 793, 770, 785, 756, 750, 772	
Keys:			
Ordered:		69,145	
Shipped:		69,145	Shipped Date: 3/30/01
Deducts:		0	Via: E-mail
Adj Gross:		69,145	
Mailed Qty:		0	

Bill Quantity		Price	Extension
69,145		$85.00 / M	$5,877.33
1	Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
1	2nd Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
8,828	Phones	$20.00 / M	$176.56
8,828	Telemarketing Surcharge	$30.00 / M	$264.84
69,145	SCF Select	$7.50 / M	$518.59
$1,310.29 applied from invoice #47638.		Shipping Charge	

Invoice Amount	$6,937.32
Cash/Adjustments	$6,368.73
Balance Due	$568.59

4237

Terms: net 30 days from scheduled mail date unless otherwise guaranteed.
No adjustments accepted without prior approval. Computer verification must accompany all short payments. Please return this copy with payment.

Response UnLimited - Management

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] Fax [redacted]

Invoice No. 47725

Invoice Dated:	4/2/01
Client P.O. No.:	VERBAL
Vendor/Job #:	
Mail Date:	4/2/01
Due Date:	5/2/01
Status:	Revised
As Of:	3/30/01
Salesperson No.	1 Philip Zodhiates
	Managed
	Rental

Bill To: Eric Criss
780 Millenium Marketing
[redacted]

Mailer:	387	Century Strategies	
Offer:		Anti-Gambling	
List:	93	Christian Coalition of Texas	
Segment:		SCF'S 761, 793, 770, 785, 756, 750, 772	
Keys:			
Ordered:		69,145	
Shipped:		69,145	Shipped Date: 3/30/01
Deducts:		0	Via: E-mail
Adj Gross:		69,145	
Mailed Qty:		0	

Bill Quantity	Price	Extension
69,145	$85.00 / M	$5,877.33

1	Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
1	2nd Email	$50.00 / F	$50.00
8,828	Phones	$20.00 / M	$176.56
8,828	Telemarketing Surcharge	$30.00 / M	$264.84
69,145	SCF Select	$7.50 / M	$518.59
		Shipping Charge	

$1,310.29 applied from invoice #47638.

Invoice Amount	$6,937.32
Cash/Adjustments	$6,368.73
Balance Due	$568.59

4245

Terms: Net 30 days from scheduled mail date unless otherwise guaranteed.
No Adjustments accepted without prior approval. Computer verification must accompany all short payments. Please return (1) copy with payment.

Subj: **FW: HELP STOP CASINO GAMBLING**
Date: 04/02/2001 11:36:25 PM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

Our friends in action.

-----Original Message-----
From: texascc@[redacted] [mailto:texascc@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, April 02, 2001 4:12 PM
To: TXCC UPDATE
Subject: HELP STOP CASINO GAMBLING

TEXAS CHRISTIAN COALITION APRIL 2, 2001
TEXAS UPDATE Circulate Until 4/13/01

HELP STOP CASINO GAMBLING

House Bill 514, introduced by Representative Juan Hinojosa (D-McAllen) in the Texas House, would allow gambling casinos to operate legally on Indian reservations. Representative Hinojosa's legislation would provide a legal defense for Indian tribes, many of whom exist on federal land as soveriegn nations, to operate gambling casinos that are illegal under Texas law.

Proponents of this legislation claim that illegal gambling casinos provide needed economic support for Indian tribes riddled with poverty. However, it is important that concerned Christians look at the deeply personal suffering that legalized gambling often brings: high rates of divorce, unemployment, bankruptcy, gambling addictions, and criminal activity. Casino gambling itself can cause the very problems Indian tribes wish to overcome.

It is also very important that gambling interests not be allowed a legislative victory in our state. For the gambling lobby to gain a foothold in Texas could be disastrous, as it could lead to the eventual legalization of all forms of gambling. Ample evidence has demonstrated that any economic benefits derived from legal gambling are vastly outweighed by its destructive consequences on families and society.

It is important that we oppose HB 514, and help stop casino gambling before it starts.

ACTION NEEDED

---

1. Call your State Representative and urge him/her to oppose HB 514 and all forms of legalized gambling.

The number for the Capitol switchboard in Austin is (512) 463-4630.
You can be connected with your State Representative from there.

If you are unsure who your State Representative is, then click here:

http://www.capitol.state.tx.us/fyi/address.htm

Subj: **FW: TX**
Date: 04/02/2001 11:55:24 PM Central Daylight Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, April 02, 2001 6:37 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

from a TX operative:

As we discussed, I am moving forward with the following:

1. Visiting with the staff of Rep. Talmadge Heflin to see where Rep. Heflin is on the HB 514,

2. Meeting with Christian Coalition, TX Family Policy Council, Eagle Forum to make sure that HB 514 has the total focus of the conservatives, and

3. See who out of Reps. Talton, Corte, Heflin and Wohlgemuth is close to Rep. Walker to see if they are willing to call Rep. Walker to get the bill held up in Calendars Committee.

Additionally, you are waiting to hear from Chuck whether the Governor has

1. Conveyed to the Calendars Committee that he does not want this out of committee, or

2. That he will veto the bill if it makes it through the process.

Either one of these moves by the Governor would probably freeze the committee and the Speaker.

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-xc03[redacted](rly-xc03.[redacted] by air-xc03.[redacted]

Subj: RE: Norton, appropriations request
Date: 04/05/2001 6:30:55 PM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *KVanhoof@*[redacted]
CC: *vasells@*[redacted]*n, rudyt@*[redacted] *scanlonm@*[redacted]

Not set yet, but probably the candidate from Oklahoma. They seem to be pulling out all gaming issues from BIA and sending it to the Secretary, which will be good for us, once the Dep Sec is in place (the fellow who we helped with the CREA project). Regarding the approps, I can't recall if you had given us detailed descriptions (including budgets) for the request for funds. Do you have these? Get us as much detail about these projects and we'll get it moving.

-----Original Message-----
From: KVanhoof@[redacted] [mailto:KVanhoof@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 3:35 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Norton, appropriations request

Mike will visit Tuesday and Wednesday of next week. Any word on the appointment for Asst. Secy over BIA?

One of the tribal council members asked me to speak with you again about appropriations for the tribe. He remembered that you indicated such requests should be in by this month. Their interests include additional funding for the local public schools in Elton, Louisiana; the tribal preschool; and the four laning of Hwy 190 between Opelousas, Louisiana and DeQuincy, Louisiana. Let me know anything further you need.

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]

Subj: **FW: Texas Casinos**
Date: 04/05/2001 12:22:52 PM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 05, 2001 8:59 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: FW: Texas Casinos

Our intel is that the Calendars committee will likely report this bill out
today:
>
>
> Andrew Biar reports that the House Calendars Committee has delayed meeting
> until tomorrow. He has learned from Calendars staff that HB 514 is on the
> list being circulated for a vote to report the bill to the full house. We
> are still firing calls into key targets on the committee (over 2500 so
> far) and will continue to call through tomorrow's vote.
>
>

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-yc04.[redacted](rly-yc04.r[redacted] by air-yc04.[redacted]
(v77_r1.36) with ESMTP; Thu, 05 Apr 2001 13:22:52 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02[redacted](ns1.[redacted]by rly-yc04.[redacted]v77_r1.36)
with ESMTP; Thu, 05 Apr 2001 13:22:44 -0400
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted]n with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <2FGRRBN0>; Thu, 5 Apr 2001 13:22:29 -0400
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47012D2FCD@wdc-srv01.gtlaw.com>
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: Texas Casinos
Date: Thu, 5 Apr 2001 13:22:27 -0400
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service [redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

Subj: **FW: TX**
Date: 04/06/2001 9:15:43 AM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, April 06, 2001 10:07 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

from a TX operative:

Yesterday we succeeded in keeping HB 514, the Indian Casino bill, bottled up in the Calendars Committee. It was not reported out. According Chuck at the Texas Christian Coalition, he has received many calls from offices of committee members. We patched through 4,000 phone calls between Friday and Thursday, blitzed Christian and conservative talk radio, and mailed 50,000 anti-gambling action alerts.

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-zc04.[redacted] (rly-zc04.[redacted]) by air-zc01[redacted]v77_r1.36)
with ESMTP; Fri, 06 Apr 2001 10:15:43 -0500
Received: from mia-srv02[redacted] (ns1[redacted]) by rly-zc04.[redacted]v77_r1:36)
with ESMTP; Fri, 06 Apr 2001 10:15:22 -0400
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted] with Internet Mail Service [redacted]
id <2FGRRPAK>; Fri, 6 Apr 2001 10:15:08 -0400
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47012D30BD@wdc-srv01.[redacted]>
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: TX
Date: Fri, 6 Apr 2001 10:15:07 -0400
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service [redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

Subj: **FW: TX**
Date: 04/06/2001 9:20:00 AM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]

Don't you love this guy!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, April 06, 2001 10:11 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

One of our operatives attends the same church with the Vice-Chair of the Calendars committee, state Representative Barry Telford. He called the pastor's wife yesterday and she said that her husband happened to be in Austin that day on other business, and she gave him his cell phone number. Our operative then called the pastor yesterday and got him on his cell phone and got him to drop by the Vice-Chair's office at the state capitol and urge him to vote against the casino bill. This happened just hours before the Calendar Committee met to consider the casino bill!

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-yh03.[redacted] (rly-yh03.[redacted]) by air-yh01.[redacted]
(v77_r1.36) with ESMTP; Fri, 06 Apr 2001 10:20:00 -0400
Received: from mia-srv02[redacted](ns1.[redacted]) by rly-yh03.[redacted]r1.36)
with ESMTP; Fri, 06 Apr 2001 10:19:36 -0400
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted]with Internet Mail Service[redacted]
id <2FGRRPD9>; Fri, 6 Apr 2001 10:19:23 -0400
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47012D30C1@wdc-srv01[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: TX
Date: Fri, 6 Apr 2001 10:19:15 -0400
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service[redacted]
Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]u=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2001 9:06 AM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

Seriously, I'll get you $10K this week or next from a source which owes me money.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, April 12, 2001 9:46 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

Reed for Chairman, Suite 575, 3235 Satellite Boulevard, Duluth, GA 30096. cashiers checks only, please.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 10:15 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

Ha ha ha. Make sure you get me the proper committee name.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 10:45 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

The actual committee is "The Reed Family Retirement and Educational Foundation." It is a 501(c)(3). The address is 200 Bay Drive, Grand Cayman, BCI, R59876.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 10:46 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

Sure. Give me the name of the entity.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 10:28 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

i agree.

Jack, would you be willing to contribute personally to my state chair campaign? This race is costing me $50-100K, and i'm asking my friends to help.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 10:19 AM
To: Ralph Reed

Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

If we can keep the LA think to $10K for now, that would be good. I might just pay for this out of my pocket. I hate to go to them for something this small, since every time I go it's an ask used up. OK?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 9:41 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

i agree. i think it builds tremendous good will for the future on the cheap.

[redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 9:36 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

Ok, do it and we'll get it approved.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 11, 2001 9:27 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

sure. if we can help them they will kill for us for years to come. and it is not expensive. probably $10-20K for the phones.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, April 10, 2001 5:49 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: LA, HB 1780

I'll see what we can do. Right now they are focused on Texas, as you can imagine.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 10, 2001 3:07 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: LA, HB 1780

from a LA operative:

House Bill 1780, by House [redacted], authorizes The Fairgrounds, a horse racetrack in New Orleans, to operate up to 700 slot machines. Other horse racetracks in the state currently have slot machines. The bill has been referred to the House Committee on Administration of Criminal Justice.

[redacted], the Louisiana Legislature's anti-gambling leader, has requested that we get involved by making more patch-through calls. He believes that we have some time and can defeat this measure. Scoring another major victory against gambling expansion may end additional attempts for expansion for the remaining three years of the legislative term. The defeat of language allowing riverboat casinos to convert to barges has completely changed the environment at the capitol.

Subj: Coushatta political program
Date: 04/12/2001 10:20:02 PM Central Daylight Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]

I still do not have the budget for the complete effort, but Mike believes we cannot wait any longer for the on ground effort, so I need to get this to you for approval in advance of the rest (which will not be anywhere near as much). Please let me know if I can give Mike the go ahead. I trust his visit was fruitful.

Coushatta Political Program- Budget
The following budget provides a brief description of the specific activity, the costs for each component of the political plan, and an estimated date for the completion of each component.

1 Organization:
Description:
There are two phases of the organizational component. The first phase taps into the natural resources of the tribe and organizes them into a politically active unit(employee lists, vendors, customers etc). The second phase identifies previously unidentified supporters of the tribe across the state of Louisiana via a variety of survey methods.
We then combine the natural resources unit and the newly identified allies into a political database. This database can be used for any political effort deemed appropriate by the tribal decision makers. It remains permanently under the control of the tribe and can only be activated at the direction of tribal decision makers.
Completion:
Ordinarily this process can take from 90 days to six months to complete. Due to the time constraints surrounding this effort, the project will be accelerated and completed in 45 days.
Cost:
$200,000

2 Mobilization
Description:
Once we have our organization in place we can mobilize for any political effort deemed necessary by the tribe. From a "sense of the county" referendum, to mobilizing in favor of electing a different Police Jury we can activate the organization in under 24 hours.
For the compact issue I recommend the following:
Project 10,000 is high quality grassroots program that is designed to directly contact each of our targeted audiences at least 10,000 times over the next 10 weeks with a message supporting the compact renewal. These contacts will be made by phone, in person, by mail, by petition and through the Internet.
Project 10,000 is unique in that we will contact each target through a different avenue or a blend of avenues, thereby creating a political effort that truly resemble a peoples movement. Because we control the database we can ensure that there are no duplicated calls or other mistakes that will make our effort seem like a paid political operation

Completion Date.
May 31, 2001. Although we have until July to get the compact signed, we need to complete the contacts prior to that point to give ourselves as much cushion as possible.
Cost:
$287,500.00

3 Research - Qualitative

DEPOSIT TICKET
FOR CLEARING PURPOSES ONLY

4-19-01

DATE		CURRENCY	DOLLARS	CENTS
		COINS		
		CHECKS		
	1	A/C	100000	00
	2			
	3			
	4			
	5			
	6			
	7			
	8			
	9			
	10			
	11			
	12			
	13			
	14			
	15			
	16			
	17			
	18			
	19			
	20			
	21			
	22			
	23			
	24			
	25			
	26			
	27			
	28			
		TOTAL		

PLEASE BE SURE ALL ITEMS ARE PROPERLY ENDORSED

TOTAL ITEMS

CHECKS AND OTHER ITEMS ARE RECEIVED FOR DEPOSIT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNIFORM COMMERCIAL CODE OR ANY APPLICABLE COLLECTION AGREEMENT. DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

CENTURY STRATEGIES, LLC 12-99

[redacted]

[redacted] 061000052

REDACTED

$ 155000.00

[redacted]

1001

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01

[redacted]

15-122/540
BRANCH 00201

4/17/01 DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 100,000 —

One hundred thousand Dollars and —— xx/100 DOLLARS

[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Professional Services / ADS/AL

[redacted]

[redacted]

REDACTED

6423

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLAN, APLC

[redacted]
TELEPHONE [redacted]
FACSIMILE [redacted]
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoof@[redacted]

April 18, 2001

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NUMBER TRANSMITTED TO: [redacted]

To:	Erick LaRocque
Of:	Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
From:	Kathryn Fowler Van Hoof KFV
Client/Matter:	Check request for AIC re slots at New Orleans fairgrounds

CONFIDENTIAL

Chairman Poncho has approved a request by Jack Abramoff with the firm of Greenberg Traurig, which was recently retained by the Tribe for assistance with governmental affairs. The Tribe has agreed to contribute $10,000.00 toward lobbying efforts of American International Center to deter slot machines at the New Orleans fairgrounds.

Please immediately prepare a check made payable to AIC in the amount of $10,000.00 and forward to my office by Federal Express. I will then Fed-X the check to Mr. Abramoff.

Cc: Chairman Lovelin Poncho

Approved: Lovelin Poncho
Chairman Lovelin Poncho
Date: 4/19/01

The information contained in this facsimile message is information protected by attorney-client and/or the attorney/work product privilege. It is intended only for the use of the individual named above and the privileges are not waived by virtue of this having been sent by facsimile. If the person actually receiving this facsimile or any other reader of the facsimile is not the named recipient or the employee or agent responsible to deliver it to the named recipient, any use, dissemination, distribution, or copying of the communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the above address via U.S. Postal Service.

KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

[redacted]

TELEPHONE [redacted]
FACSIMILE [redacted]
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoof[redacted]

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLAN, APLC

April 18, 2001

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX NUMBER TRANSMITTED TO: [redacted]

To:	Erick LaRocque
Of:	Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
From:	Kathryn Fowler Van Hoof KFV
Client/Matter:	Check request for AIC re slots at New Orleans fairgrounds

CONFIDENTIAL

Chairman Poncho has approved the governmental affairs budget request by Jack Abramoff with the firm of Greenberg Traurig. Attached is a copy of an email received from the firm which briefly summarizes the program funding. The first payment due is $200,000, to cover the organizational program.

Please immediately prepare a check made payable toCapitol Campaign Strategies in the amount of $200,000.00 and forward to my office by Federal Express. I will then Fed-X the check to the company at the address indicated. Alternatively, the funds can be wired as indicated on the email. Just let me know which the tribe would rather.

Cc: Chairman Lovelin Poncho

Approved: Lovelin Poncho
Chairman Lovelin Poncho
Date: 4/19/01

The information contained in this facsimile message is information protected by attorney-client and/or the attorney's work product privilege. It is intended only for the use of the individual named above and the privileges are not waived by virtue of this having been sent by facsimile. If the person actually receiving this facsimile or any other reader of the facsimile is not the named recipient or the employee or agent responsible to deliver it to the named recipient, any use, dissemination, distribution, or copying of the communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please immediately notify us by telephone and return the original message to us at the above address via U.S. Postal Service

Subj:	**Re: Political Program funding**
Date:	04/18/2001 5:00:39 PM Central Daylight Time
From:	Mpsscanlon
To:	KVanhoof

Here is the schedule that I outlined. Sorry for the confusion.

The total for the program is $539,000.
In order to get started the tribe will need to pay $200k up front to cover the organizational program. After that the tribe will need to then make two payments in May for mobilization efforts. One on the first for $143,750 and another $143,750 on the 20th of May.
The other costs (polling and research) are billed on the back end so there is a lot of cushion there (the tribe will need to pay for them roughly 30 days from when the projects are completed).

There are no fees associated with the PAC. Any administrative fees can be taken out of PAC funds. Some folks like it this way, some like to have keep as much money in the PAC as possible. The fees are nominal they range fron $1,000 a month to $5,000 a month depending on the size and the amoutn of acitivy.

I hope this makes more sense. Sorry for the confusion! If thre is any way to get the initial money out today it would be great!

Michael Scanlon

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES
Attorneys and Counselors at Law

KATHRYN FOWLER VAN HOOF
JOHN J. ZACHARY

OF COUNSEL
LOUIS WELLAN, APLC

[redacted]
TELEPHONE [redacted]
FACSIMILE [redacted]
SENDER'S E-MAIL: kvanhoof@[redacted]

April 23, 2001

Mr. Jack A. Abramoff
Greenberg Traurig
[redacted]
Suite 500
Washington, DC 20006

VIA FEDERAL EXPRESS

Re: Governmental Affairs funding regarding New Orleans fairgrounds slot machines
Political Program Funding

Dear Jack:

Please find enclosed Check No. 29707 from the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana General Fund made payable to the American International Center in the amount of $10,000.00, representing a contribution toward funding of the effort to prevent slot machines at the New Orleans fairgrounds. It was my understanding that you will forward the check to the American International Center on behalf of the tribe.

Also enclosed is Check No. 29708 from the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana General Fund made payable to Capitol Campaign Strategies in the amount of $200,000.00, representing payment for the first phase of the Coushatta Political Program Budget, as outlined in your e-mail of April 12, 2001.

The tribe very much appreciates all of your efforts on their behalf. We are all learning a great deal in a short amount of time and appreciate your willingness to immediately focus your time and effort on issues that are so important to the future of the tribe.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely,

VAN HOOF & ASSOCIATES

By: Kathryn
Kathryn Fowler Van Hoof

KFV:jms
Enclosures

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 9:50 AM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: update

Let's discuss (from Coushatta).

—Original Message—
From: KVanhoof@[redacted]mailto:KVanhoof@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 8:29 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: update

Hi, Jack. Yesterday I faxed a letter to you regarding a request for assistance w/ the tribe's land claim settlement. This has been an ongoing battle for BIA release of settlement funds to the tribe. I thought it may be helpful to the chairman's campaign if the process for release of funds could begin soon after the visit to Washington. Election is May 26th. Please let me know your thoughts on this.

Don't forget to send the schedule of events for the chairman's visit to the White House as soon as possible. I met with the chairman yesterday and he is asking questions about the visit. We need to make the arrangements to secure the tribe's plane/jet charter, the driver, and for the hotel, etc. He has asked me to accompany him, so I will be along too, except, of course, for the visit to the White House, which I realize is a single invitation. I've had some difficulty making that point with the chairman, though.

Had a good meeting w/ Mike Scanlon yesterday. We're working hard on kicking off the chairman's campaign. Very interested to see any response from the state on compact negotiations. It's very quiet. No discussions at all.

I am in need of a mediator suggestion. Under the terms of the compact, we're to be in mediation now over the revenue sharing dispute. Any suggestions for persons who are knowledgeable of tribes, revenue sharing in compacts?

Thanks for your help.

Subj: **FW: TX budget**
Date: 04/25/2001 8:43:52 PM Central Daylight Time
From: abramoff@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
File: txbudget.doc (23040 bytes) DL Time (28800 bps): < 1 minute

Here is the budget from Ralph:

Texas Anti-Gambling Project Budget

April-May, 2001

Direct Mail
100,000 hh. X .52 ea. $52,000

List Rental
100,000 hh @ $95/m 9,500

Rally/Bus Rental 15,000

Statewide Radio
10 days @ 5.5 frequency 124,000

Legislative Counsel 50,000

Grassroots Phone Banks
Patch-through calls, 900 hrs. x $32/hr. 28,800
Live operator calls, 70,000 c.calls @ .63 ea. 44,300
Hypotenuse calls, 70,000 x 2 calls x .24 ea. 33,600

Management Fee 40,000

TOTAL. 397,200

Mail 100,000 pieces @ .52 $52,000
List Rental 100,000 hh. x $95/m $ 9,500
Rally/Bus Rental $15,000
Radio Statewide campaign-10 Days $144,000

Legislative Counsel $50,000
Grassroots Phone Banks Patch-through calls 300 hrs x

Total $175,000

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, April 25, 2001 5:33 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX budget

<<txbudget.doc>> NEED APPROVAL ASAP

<<txbudget.doc>>

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

---------- Headers ----------
Return-Path: <abramoffj@[redacted]
Received: from rly-xb01.mx[redacted]rly-xb01.mail.[redacted] by air-xb05.mail.[redacted]
(v77_r1.36) with ESMTP; Wed, 25 Apr 2001 21:43:52 2000
Received: from mia-srv02[redacted]ns1[redacted] by rly-xb01.mx[redacted](v77_r1.36)
with ESMTP; Wed, 25 Apr 2001 21:43:15 -0400
Received: by mia-srv02[redacted]with Internet Mail Service[redacted]
id <J4WWLGXA>; Wed, 25 Apr 2001 21:42:55 -0400
Message-ID: <A1D9C9209B2DB94CA56326253F95AC47012D3A91@wdc-srv01[redacted]
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Subject: FW: TX budget
Date: Wed, 25 Apr 2001 21:42:54 -0400
MIME-Version: 1.0
X-Mailer: Internet Mail Service[redacted]
Content-Type: multipart/mixed;
boundary="----_=_NextPart_000_01C0CDF2:3621FA30"

DEPOSIT TICKET
FOR CLEAR COPY, PRESS FIRMLY

DATE 5-7-01

	DOLLARS	CENTS
CURRENCY		
COINS		
CHECKS VIEWED SEPARATELY		
1 AIC	398000	00
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
TOTAL		

PLEASE BE SURE ALL ITEMS ARE PROPERLY ENDORSED

TOTAL ITEMS

CHECKS AND OTHER ITEMS ARE RECEIVED FOR DEPOSIT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNIFORM COMMERCIAL CODE OR ANY APPLICABLE COLLECTION AGREEMENT. DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

CENTURY STRATEGIES, LLC 12-99 [redacted]

[redacted]

ACH R/T 061000052

$ 398000.00

[redacted]

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01 1006

[redacted]

April 30, 2001
DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 398,000.00

Three hundred ninety-eight thousand and no/100 DOLLARS

[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR

⑈0001006⑈ [redacted]

6428

NATIONAL MEDIA, INC.

[redacted]

PHONE: [redacted]
FAX: [redacted]

DATE: May 1, 2001 NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 2

TO: Sandra Fraro
Fax #: [redacted]
Company: Century Strategies

FROM: Peter O'Donnell
Phone #: [redacted]

Comments:

Attached is an invoice for radio media buys, April 27 – May 4, totaling $8,000.05 for the Committee Against Gambling Expansion. Please send National Media, Inc. a check for $7,600.00 (85%+10% commission).

Please call me if you have any questions.

National Media, Inc.
[redacted]

Invoice

RADIO MEDIA BILLING

INVOICE R-05-2000
PAGE 1

INVOICE DATE MAY1/01
DUE DATE MAY1/01

COMMITTEE AGAINST GAMBLING EXP
C/O CENTURY STRATEGIES
[redacted]
ERIC CHRIS

ADVERTISER CAGE COMM AGNST GAMB EXPA
PRODUCT GAMB COMMITEE AGAINST GE
ESTIMATE RGA2 APR 27-MAY 4

STATION

GAMB-COMMITEE AGAINST GE $50,670.05

GROSS AMOUNT $8,000.05

** AMOUNT DUE ** $8,000.05

WIRE INFORMATION:

NATIONAL MEDIA, INC.
[redacted]
ABA # [redacted] ACCT # [redacted]
PR. # [redacted]

4233

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2001 10:35 AM
To: Roseman, Courtney (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: accounting

Greenburg
eceipts.xls (13 KB)...

Please print for me.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2001 10:19 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: accounting

per your request.
>
>
> <<Greenburg receipts.xls>>
>
>

Check Date	Check Number	Amount	Project
03/22/01	96	200,000	Louisiana
03/16/01	cashier's check	350,000	Louisiana
03/16/01	98	100,000	[redacted]
03/16/01	95	50,000	[redacted]
03/16/01	97	45,000	[redacted]
04/03/01	100	198,000	Texas
04/17/01	1001	100,000	[redacted]
04/30/01	1006	398,000	Texas
		1,441,000	

AMERICANS FOR TAX REFORM

GROVER G. NORQUIST
PRESIDENT

May 1, 2001

Chief Lovelin Poncho
c/o Kathy Van Hoof
[redacted]

Dear Chief Poncho:

Thank you very much for your generous support of our work at Americans for Tax Reform. I have received your contribution of $25,000.

ATR has been working with state legislatures around the country calling on them to pass resolutions in support of President Bush's tax cut package. We have had great success with this program. To date, resolutions have been passed in 21 legislative bodies, 13 states in all. The resolution has passed in both houses in the following states, Michigan, Oregon, Utah, Montana, Kentucky, Idaho, West Virginia and Iowa.

Again, thank you for your support and I look forward to sharing our progress with you.

Sincerely,

Jennifer

Jennifer Kuhn

Contributions to Americans for Tax Reform, a 501c4 organization, are not tax-deductible.

COUSH-MiscKVH-0001664

[redacted] Phone [redacted] Fax [redacted] www.atr.org

DEPOSIT TICKET
FOR CLEAR COPY, PRESS FIRMLY

DATE 5-8-01

	DOLLARS	CENTS
CURRENCY		
COINS		
CHECKS VERIFICATION REQUIRED		
1 2 ALC	750000	00
3 4 ALC	100000	00
5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28		
TOTAL		

PLEASE BE SURE ALL ITEMS ARE PROPERLY ENDORSED

TOTAL ITEMS

CHECKS AND OTHER ITEMS ARE RECEIVED FOR DEPOSIT SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE UNIFORM COMMERCIAL CODE OR ANY APPLICABLE COLLECTION AGREEMENT. DEPOSITS MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL.

CENTURY STRATEGIES, LLC 12-99 [redacted]

[redacted] ACH R/T [redacted]

$ 85000000

[redacted]

1007

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01

[redacted]

[redacted] BRANCH 00201

5/2/01 DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 100,000.00

One Hundred Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

[redacted] Org. 052 R/T [redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Professional Serv / Ala

⑈0000 1007⑈ ⑆[redacted]

1008

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC 03/01

[redacted]

[redacted] BRANCH 00201

5/8/01 DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 750,000.00

Seven Hundred Fifty Thousand Dollars DOLLARS

[redacted] Org. 052 R/T [redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Professional Services / Ala

⑈0000 1008⑈ ⑆[redacted]

Subj: **Political contributions matrix**
Date: 05/04/2001 7:19:26 AM Central Daylight Time
From: *abramoffj@*[redacted]
To: *kvanhoof@*[redacted]
File: **1N8T01!.doc** (43008 bytes) DL Time (28800 bps): < 1 minute

As we discussed, in order for the tribe to get positioned quickly as a political force in DC, we believe we need to get the tribe very active quickly in some political giving. Though it is going to be impossible to totally make up the fact that the tribe has not been active like some of the other politically powerful tribes, we believe the attached would get us most of the way there.

In addition, as we discussed, it would be wise for the tribe to join Choctaw and Chitimacha in hosting a wealth of fund raising events, by co-sponsoring the sports suites at the baseball (Orioles), hockey (Caps), basketball (Wizards) and football (R-dskins) venues in the DC area.

This year, each tribe paid $223,679 toward the sports venues (breakdown: hockey/basketball $110,813; football $65,270; baseball: $47596). This translates into approximately 400 fund raising opportunities. Virtually all of these are used by Members of Congress or their organizations. The huge leverage in doing this is that the tribe not only gets the political credit for making available the sports suite, but gets credit with the Member for all funds raised in that evening. To give you an idea of how much benefit each participant receives from their sponsorship, many of these events raise in excess of $25,000, and some have raised as much as $100,000. Since the cost to the tribe per event is less than $1,000, this is good leverage.

The events which are not used as fund raisers are utilized by Congressional staff and Members, so every game results in tremendous benefits politically.

Choctaw and Chitimacha are both happy for you guys to join them as sponsors, and one of our other sponsors will be withdrawing (company was bought a few months ago and is being dismantled).

Please let me know if you can participate. We can work out a cash flow arrangement to enable you to fit this more easily into your budgeting if that would help. Our fourth participant (the folks from the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) does this, though it is slightly front loaded so I don't wind up having to bear too much of a financing burden. By the way, the suites are leased by me and your participation check should be written to "Jack Abramoff -- Sports Suites Account".

Please let me know when you can on this, and the contributions attached below.

Thanks.

<<1N8T01!.doc>>

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the

Jack Abramoff - Sports Suites Acct

Subj: RE: sports suites
Date: 05/11/2001 6:10:50 PM Central Daylight Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: KVanhoof@[redacted]

The tribe will be able to replace my Russian clients, who will withdraw (it their American company, but they are nervous people are confusing it). At this point of the year, the tribe should do $185,000, which covers the rest of the year. They will be a full partner with the others involved (which include the Chitimachas, Choctaws, Marianas guys and, at a lesser amount the firm and me personally). It would be nice to have someone from the tribe at the big events, but since there are literally over 300 events over the course of the year, it's tough to be at all or most. Terry Martin attends events whenever he is in town. Choctaw very rarely. The Marianas guys never – actually once over 4 years. The Russians, oddly, came quite a bit. Weird. In any event, it helps when you attend, but if you are not there, we still make a big deal about you guys being their hosts and we spend a lot of time discussing the tribe. We would need from you something about or from the tribe framed to put on the walls of the football and MCI suites (2 items) so the suite is identified as yours. We'll get you a schedule for the remainder of this year or at least what we have (which is Orioles, Mystics and Redskins; the Capitals, Power (professional lacrosse) and Wizards schedules for next season are not out yet).

Please send the contribution checks to me so we can personally walk them over to these members and use the occasion to discuss the tribe. I am not sure when we can next get you guys back here, but even better would be for you to be present, but again, like the sports suites, while better, it is not necessary.

In terms of the next steps, Mike, Tony, Shawn and I are meeting next week to finalize the next phase and we'll get on the phone with you then.

Regards.

-----Original Message-----
From: KVanhoof@[redacted]mailto:KVanhoof@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, May 11, 2001 5:02 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: sports suites

Reviewed your 5/4 email with the chairman. The tribe is interested in participating, but needs to know what the tribe's contribution would be, considering that Choctaw and Chitimacha have already paid $223,679 each. Do tribal representatives attend these fund raising opportunities as well? Is there a schedule for remaining events? How does it work?

I've sent the check requests in to the tribe for the other contributions you recommended and the chairman approved. Should the contributions be forwarded to you for distribution?

Other than the plans we're coordinating w/ Mike Scanlon for the grassroots program, what's the next step?

Thanks,
Kathy

The information contained in this transmission may contain

privileged and confidential information. It is intended only

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 25, 2001 4:40 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sports suites

I think $185K and it's a one timer.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 25, 2001 10:10 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sports suites

How much? Will it be a one-time or split up over time?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 25, 2001 7:46 AM
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sports suites

Yes, she is sending a check.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 25, 2001 7:45 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sports suites

Sorry...Coushatta.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov) <laner@[redacted]
Sent: Fri May 25 07:44:03 2001
Subject: RE: Sports suites

Who are they?

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AdmAst-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, May 25, 2001 6:56 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sports suites

What are the chances that they will be a contributor?

COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA GENERAL FUND 3058

Payee Jack Abramoff - Sports Suites Account 30580
Vendor ID 05/25/2001

Check Description	Amount
Sports suites sponsorship Washington D.C.	$185,000.00

COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA GENERAL FUND [redacted] 3058[redacted]

[redacted] 30580

****One Hundred Eighty Five Thousand and 00/100 Dollars

DATE 05/25/2001 AMOUNT $185,000.00

PAY TO THE ORDER OF:

Jack Abramoff - Sports Suites Account

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

⑈030580⑈ [redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, June 04, 2001 4:41 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: Louisiana Gambling

I am not sure our guys care about this. let me check.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 04, 2001 4:26 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: Louisiana Gambling

LA wars ongoing. We are on it. If HB 1457 should pass the House, we will need a budget to kill. We've been subsidizing this ourselves up to now. From our top LA operative:

HB 1457 is expected to be considered on the House floor today and Tony thinks we have a slight margin, but enough to kill it. If it does pass the House, it will still have to go to the Seante.

HB 1364 has passed the House and is in a Senate Committee (Judiciary B). The bill was on the committee's 5/31 agenda, but was not considered on that day. Jud B meets again tomorrow morning and consideration of the bill would be in order.

ADDITIONALLY:
HB 532, authorizing slot machines at horse race tracks in Orleans Parish has passed the House and remains in a Senate Committee with stiff opposition from some pro-gambling leaders. Tony Perkins had requested money last month to kill this bill. We transferred more than 2,000 calls to targeted senators in preparation for the vote.

Here are some articles regarding the two House bills you referenced:

HB 1364

5-15-01 Editorial in "The (Baton Rouge) Advocate"

BILL WOULD ADD MORE GAMBLING

Still another expansion of gambling in Louisiana is proposed in a bill approved by a House committee Wednesday.

The bill would allow the state's charitable bingo halls to offer a lottery-type "pick 8" game of chance with a progressive-type "mega jackpot" of up to $50,000.

It's just one more expansion of gambling in a state that already has far, far too much.

The bill to authorize the gambling expansion, HB1364 by Rep. Jack Smith,

D-Patterson, was approved by the House Committee on Criminal Justice by a 7-4 vote. It goes to the House floor.

The bill requires approval of the local governing body before the game could be offered by a bingo hall, but that provides little protection for the citizens of the state.

The "pick 8" game involves players picking eight numbers from among 75 on a card. The numbers are then scanned into a computer, which stores the numbers and prints out a ticket with a serial number which is given to the player. At the appointed time, 18 numbered balls are drawn from a bingo machine. Matching eight of the 18 balls would win a prize of up to $50, but matching eight of the first 17 drawn would win the "mega jackpot" of up to $50,000.

Even bingo hall operators are split over the game. One testified most of the profit would go to the company running the game and take away from the traditional bingo, while another said it would be good for bingo halls that are losing patrons to other forms of gambling.

Whether it is good for the bingo halls or not, more gambling is bad for the people of Louisiana. A new "game" might entice new customers to wager their hard-earned cash and create more problem gamblers.

It's time to call a halt to expansions of gambling, and to hold those lawmakers who vote for expansions accountable at the polls.

HB 1457

5-24-01 Editorial in "The (Baton Rouge) Advocate"

BILL WOULD CREATE LIVINGSTON COMMITTEE

A bill by a New Orleans legislator would allow a casino to open in Livingston Parish under the pretext of promoting horse racing in the state.

The bill, HB1457 by Rep. Arthur Morrell, D-New Orleans, was returned to the calendar Monday in the House after it encountered opposition from the five state representatives who represent parts of Livingston Parish.

We hope it will remain on the calendar or be withdrawn from the files of the House. It's a bad bill, backing a bad project.

The bill is designed to rejuvenate the long-controversial Livingston Downs race track. After years of rancor and court action, Al Ransome, owner of the track was licensed by the Louisiana Racing Commission in 1993 to operate a horse race track on land adjacent to I-12 at Livingston. The horse race track was never built, and the license has since been rescinded.

Former Gov. Dave Treen told a House committee that he is assembling a group of investors to secure financing to revive the horse race track plans. Treen declined to identify the investors and said he has not decided whether to become an investor. Ransome was at the House committee hearing to push Morrell's legislation.

Preliminary plans call for a $10 million track and a $50 million slot machine casino, Treen said.

The move is nothing more than a sham to build another casino in the state and expand gambling into an area where it is limited.

The gambling industry seems to know no limits in its constant efforts to expand gambling and suck more cash out of the state. Unfortunately, it too often has willing accomplices in the Louisiana Legislature and in present and former state officials who avow an opposition to gambling while abetting its expansion.

Sadly, the bill was pushed through the House committee by Treen, who told the committee he has "a personal problem with gambling," but nevertheless talked about putting together investors to build the casino and track.

It's not the first time Treen has lobbied for gambling interests while professing to be against gambling.

In 1998 he lobbied for a new contract for the land casino in New Orleans. At the time, he said he still opposed the lottery, video poker and riverboat gambling, but the issue was whether the state's obligations would be met.

During his term as governor from 1980-84, Treen was a staunch opponent of gambling and vowed to veto any legislation that would bring it to the state.

That's quite a change: from staunch opponent to hired gun twisting arms to support gambling and leaving open the possibility he might be an investor in a gambling operation.

Morrell's bill cleared the House committee on a 4-1 vote, but the legislation ran into trouble when it reached the House floor. A number of legislators questioned why Morrell was handling a bill involving Livingston Parish, and the five lawmakers who represent portions of the parish expressed their opposition to the measure.

Morrell then returned his legislation to the calendar, where we hope it languishes for the remainder of the session.

Get your FREE download of MSN Explorer at http://explorer.msn.com

GTG-E000022153

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, June 05, 2001 1:11 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: FW: Louisiana Gambling

Not sure I understand what this bill is all about. Is this the slots on the fairgrounds thing? Please let me know so I can discuss with the tribe. They don't seem to understand what this bill is about either.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, June 04, 2001 4:26 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: Louisiana Gambling

LA wars ongoing. We are on it. If HB 1457 should pass the House, we will need a budget to kill. We've been subsidizing this ourselves up to now. From our top LA operative:

HB 1457 is expected to be considered on the House floor today and Tony thinks we have a slight margin, but enough to kill it. If it does pass the House, it will still have to go to the Seante. HB 1364 has passed the House and is in a Senate Committee (Judiciary B). The bill was on the committee's 5/31 agenda, but was not considered on that day. Jud B meets again tomorrow morning and consideration of the bill would be in order.
ADDITIONALLY:
HB 532, authorizing slot machines at horse race tracks in Orleans Parish has passed the House and remains in a Senate Committee with stiff opposition from some pro-gambling leaders. Tony Perkins had requested money last month to kill this bill. We transferred more than 2,000 calls to targeted senators in preparation for the vote.

Here are some articles regarding the two House bills you referenced: HB 1364 5-15-01 Editorial in "The (Baton Rouge) Advocate" BILL WOULD ADD MORE GAMBLING Still another expansion of gambling in Louisiana is proposed in a bill approved by a House committee Wednesday. The bill would allow the state's charitable bingo halls to offer a lottery-type "pick 8" game of chance with a progressive-type "mega jackpot" of up to $50,000. It's just one more expansion of gambling in a state that already has far, far too much. The bill to authorize the gambling expansion, HB1364 by Rep. Jack Smith, D-Patterson, was approved by the House Committee on Criminal Justice by a 5-4 vote. It goes to the House floor.The bill requires approval of the local governing body before the game could be offered by a bingo hall, but that provides little protection for the citizens of the state. The "pick 8" game involves players picking eight numbers from among 75 on a card. The numbers are then scanned into a computer, which stores the numbers and prints out a ticket with a serial number which is given to the player.
At the appointed time, 18 numbered balls are drawn from a bingo machine. Matching eight of the 18 balls would win a prize of up to $50, but matching eight of the first 17 drawn would win the "mega jackpot" of up to $50,000. Even bingo hall operators are split over the game. One testified most of the profit would go to the company running the game and take away from the traditional bingo, while another said it would be good for bingo halls that are losing patrons to other forms of gambling. Whether it is good for the bingo halls or not, more gambling is bad for the people of Louisiana. A new "game" might entice new customers to wager their hard-earned cash and create more problem gamblers. It's time to call a halt to expansions of gambling, and to hold those lawmakers who vote for expansions accountable at the polls.

HB 1457
5-24-01 Editorial in "The (Baton Rouge) Advocate"
BILL WOULD CREATE LIVINGSTON COMMITTEE

A bill by a New Orleans legislator would allow a casino to open in Livingston Parish under the pretext of promoting horse racing in the state. The bill, HB1457 by Rep. Arthur Morrell, D-New Orleans, was returned to the calendar Monday in the House after it encountered opposition from the five state representatives who represent parts of Livingston Parish. We hope it will remain on the calendar or be withdrawn from the files of the House. It's a bad bill, backing a bad project. The bill is designed to rejuvenate the long-controversial Livingston Downs
race track. After years of rancor and court action, Al Ransome, owner of the track was licensed by the Louisiana Racing Commission in 1993 to operate a horse race track on land adjacent to I-12 at Livingston. The horse race track was never built, and the license has since been rescinded. Former Gov. Dave Treen told a House committee that he is assembling a group
of investors to secure financing to revive the horse race track plans. Treen declined to identify the investors and said he has not decided whether to become an investor. Ransome was at the House committee hearing to push Morrell's legislation. Preliminary plans call for a $10 million track and a $50 million slot machine casino, Treen said. The move is nothing more than a sham to build another casino in the state and expand gambling into an area where it is limited. The gambling industry seems to know no limits in its constant efforts to
expand gambling and suck more cash out of the state. Unfortunately, it too
often has willing accomplices in the Louisiana Legislature and in present
and former state officials who avow an opposition to gambling while abetting its expansion. Sadly, the bill was pushed through the House committee by Treen, who told the committee he has "a personal problem with gambling," but nevertheless talked about putting together investors to build the casino and track. It's not the first time Treen has lobbied for gambling interests while professing to be against gambling. In 1998 he lobbied for a new contract for the land casino in New Orleans. At the time, he said he still opposed the lottery, video poker and riverboat gambling, but the issue was whether the state's obligations would be met. During his term as governor from 1980-84, Treen was a staunch opponent of gambling and vowed to veto any legislation that would bring it to the state. That's quite a change: from staunch opponent to hired gun twisting arms to support gambling and leaving open the possibility he might be an investor in a gambling operation. Morrell's bill cleared the House committee on a 4-1 vote, but the legislation ran into trouble when it reached the House floor. A number of legislators questioned why Morrell was handling a bill involving Livingston Parish, and the five lawmakers who represent portions of the parish expressed their opposition to the measure. Morrell then returned his legislation to the calendar, where we hope it languishes for the remainder of the session.

Get your FREE download of MSN Explorer at http://explorer.msn.com

The Coushatta Political Program

Michael Scanlon
June 26, 2001

COUSH-MiscKVH-0000197

The Coushatta Political Program

What We Have Built

- We have constructed a state of the art political database containing roughly 20,000 individuals who will take action on behalf of the tribe.

- We have organized and defined every vendor, employee, tribe member, and political supporter, by election district. From State Senate to School Board, the tribe now knows who their supporters are, where they live and how to reach them.

- We have compiled a state-of-the-art qualitative research database, which can identify allies and adversaries by "quote".

- We have compiled an anti-gaming database, which identifies individuals who will take action in opposition to any gaming facility.

The Coushatta Political Program

How We Built It

- We custom built a computer program to house the different types of supporters associated with the tribe (tribe members, vendors, employees, etc).
- By downloading lists you provided to us into your custom built database, we are able to tap your "natural resources" and use them as the cornerstone of an electronic, grassroots political network.
- We then grew your database by identifying over 14,000 politically active supporters by telephone survey (see next page).
- Once in place the Coushatta Political Program was used to mobilize the different classifications of supporters, using similar messages, hitting pre-determined targets.

DEPOSIT TICKET
FOR CLEAR COPY, PRESS FIRMLY

DATE 7-19-01

	DOLLARS	CENTS
CURRENCY		
COINS		
CHECKS (BY ENDOR. BANKING)	225	00
TOTAL		

TOTAL ITEMS

CENTURY STRATEGIES, LLC 12-99

[redacted]

REDACTED

$ 268350.00

[redacted]

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC 01/01 1131

[redacted]

DATE 7/16/01

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Century Strategies $ 46,350.00

Fourty six thousand three hundred fifty 00/100 DOLLARS

[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR Mississippi

⑈00001131⑈ [redacted]

[redacted]

REDACTED

NATIONAL MEDIA, INC.

[redacted]

PHONE: [redacted]
FAX: [redacted]

DATE: June 28, 2001 NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 2

TO: Glen Wilkins/Sandra Fraro
Fax #: [redacted]
Company: Century Strategies

FROM: Jon Ferrell
Phone #: [redacted]

Comments:

Attached is an invoice for the Committee Against Gambling Expansion media buys, June 27-28, totaling $13,618.02. Please send a check to National Media for $12,120.04 (85+4% commission).

Please call me if you have any questions.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, August 20, 2001 8:56 AM
To: 'mike@[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Landrieu Letter to Byrd and Burns Regarding Coushatta Health Care Funds

Importance: High

Yes

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
To: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Aug 20 09:50:19 2001
Subject: Re: FW: Landrieu Letter to Byrd and Burns Regarding Coushatta Health Care Funds

I need 10 mins - is ok?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Aug 20 09:54:31 2001
Subject: Re: FW: Landrieu Letter to Byrd and Burns Regarding Coushatta Health Care Funds

Call my cell

Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
To: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Mon Aug 20 09:20:39 2001
Subject: Re: FW: Landrieu Letter to Byrd and Burns Regarding Coushatta Health Care Funds

Actually- should we focus on saving the retainer instaed of give me five?

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]

MEMORANDUM

TO: KATHY VANHOOF
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: COUSHATTA POLITICAL PROGRAM
DATE: 8/27/2001
CC: JACK ABRAMOFF

Kathy, per our meeting last week, the following is a comprehensive political program designed to tackle the issues and situations we discussed. In designing this strategy I wanted to make sure that two specific topics were addressed. First, I wanted to make sure that under no circumstances would the tribe find itself behind the political eight ball ever again. This program is designed to make the Coushatta Tribe a politician's best friend – or worst political nightmare. Most of all, it is designed to ensure that you can fight this way ahead of the curve, as opposed to behind the curve.

Second, this strategy is macro rather than micro. It is not built for one specific issue or campaign, but built to put you in a position to impose your political will on virtually any issue or candidate, and not just in SW Louisiana, but statewide, and across stateliness as well. Having these two components allows you to fight on any issue, at anytime, and in any location statewide or in Texas (I'll explain the Texas topic in detail a little later). As we mentioned in the meeting last week, this strategy represents the political catbird seat.

While this program is much larger than the one we developed for the compact fight, you will see that it includes many of the same tactics and follows the same development process. In my opinion if you execute this program, you will be in position to achieve all of your political objectives. Below is a description of each phase of the program along with a budget request.

Phase One:

State-Wide and Local Polling

The first thing I would like to do is an in-depth polling program that will allow us to see how the tribe is viewed post-compact fight. We never did a poll on this issue, and I think we should see how the public views the tribe in each of the media districts we were active in.

In addition I would like to a large statewide poll that will be a vulnerability study. Specifically, I want to find out what arguments will work best for our opposition, this will allow us to cover any Achilles heels we turn up, or to determine where the enemy will attack next.

I think it is also important to poll locally to see how the Sheriff and District Attorney are doing politically. This information will help us in our election activity next year.

Completion Deadline: ASAP

Cost: $40,000.00

Louisiana Political Targeting Program

As we discussed, I think it is a very wise move to take what you built for the compact fight and extend its reach even further. Our ultimate political objective is to control both houses of the state legislature and the Governor's Mansion. In order to do so, we need to modify your political database into a statewide format.

To that end, we will identify supporters and issue voters in every state legislative, state senate and municipal election district in Louisiana (we may want to limit the municipal districts for clarity's sake). This will be done through the same methods that we used for our current database, but we will also identify and classify individuals who have no connection to the tribe. Again, our goal is to ID the requisite number of voters in each district to swing the election. We can use this in a friendly way, to turn out supporters on Election Day, or we can use it to turn out opposition.

Again, this program will make you the dominant political force in every election district in the state. This is an extremely large task, but when completed you will control the political playing field statewide.

Beginning Date: ASAP

Completion Deadline: October 15, 2001

Cost: $1,345,000.00

Political Vulnerability Studies

I believe we should immediately begin compiling the voting histories and other vital information on the State Legislators who have traditional opposed the tribe (opposition research). We will do a comprehensive study on each of theses individuals.

With this information in hand, we should poll all of the election districts where we expect to be active. We can determine which issues cause the most pain politically speaking, determine the strengths and weaknesses of our top targets, and provide the overall blueprint for their defeat.

Launch Date/ Opposition Research: September 13, 2001

Completion Date: September 30, 2001.

Launch Date /Polling: October 1, 2001

Completion Date / Polling: October 8, 2001

Cost Opposition research: $100,000.00 (I am assuming we will target roughly 10 districts)

Cost Polling: $70,000.00

Texas Political Targeting Program

This is the most interesting part of the program, and if I were to rate this part, I would give it a strong recommend. Following our exact model in Louisiana we will build a political program statewide *in Texas*. The logic is as follows: we know that there have been efforts to build Indian casinos in the Houston area in the past. We know these efforts and others if successful would be extremely detrimental to the tribe. We know that we will face this problem again.

Lets put an end to this now, put an end to it for the foreseeable future, and put an end to it on our timetable. I recommend that we build the same political database in *Texas* that we will build in Louisiana. If the tribe does so, we can literally control the fate of class three gaming in Texas. Actually, one could make the argument that this program is more important than the Louisiana program. The only draw back I see is that we couldn't use this program for positive electioneering, as we wouldn't want anybody to know of its existence.

Can you imagine the power of controlling legislative districts in the state of Texas in the same fashion as your home state? Furthermore, we know that the threat of class three gaming in Texas will come again; it is simply sound strategy to get ahead of the curve on this. It will save you a tremendous amount of time and resources in the long run.

Launch Date: September 4, 2001

Completion Date: October 15, 2001

Cost: $1,550,000.00

Budget Summary:

Post Compact Polling:	$40,000.00
Louisiana Statewide Targeting Program:	$1,345,000.00
Vulnerability Studies/Opposition Research	$100,000.00
Vulnerability Studies/Polling:	$70,000.00
Texas Statewide Targeting Program	$1,650,000.00
Total	**$3,205,000.00**

Program Summary

This program encapsulates everything we talked about in our last meeting with the exception of the river boats (I am waiting for some research to come back before outlining that component). Once completed this program will make you *the* dominant political force in the state, and in Texas for that matter. I believe that the Louisiana program is a very wise move that you must conduct simply because you are located in Louisiana. However, the Texas program will be the wisest political investment you could make. The folks over there will constantly try to advance their casino, and we will know with a very high degree of certainty that it will be in vain.

On the budgetary side, I would say that if you needed to cut the overall costs, I would propose limiting the Louisiana program to districts where you are certain you want to be active. This will make it much more difficult to lend the database to statewide candidates, but you could cut the cost of that portion by roughly 30%.

Please feel free to give me a shout on any portion of this. Talk to you soon.

Mike

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)

Sent: Friday, September 07, 2001 4:30 PM

To: 'GRHalpern@[redacted]

Subject: RE: Livsar-my meeting of 9/5/01 with Jeff May

COMMENTS BELOW

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern@[redacted]mailto:GRHalpern@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, September 07, 2001 2:00 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Livsar-my meeting of 9/5/01 with Jeff May

Livsar: In brief we discussed the following:

1. Are there any Virginia resident partners/members. I need to know for tax purposes. DON'T THINK SO

2. The start up costs will be capitalized/amortized depending what they are. We need a good accounting/bookkeeping of all these costs. For now, until the restaurant has a billing system, Quickbooks will be good enough. OK, I'LL FOLLOW YOUR LEAD

3. Operating Agreement-are Rodney and the other partner giving services for their ownership. If it is structured with consideration instead of services, then not taxable. OTHER PARTNER? I THINK RODNEY IS IT. BY NOT TAXABLE, DO YOU MEAN UPON DISPOSITION OF ASSET? IS THAT A BASIS COMMENT?

4. Partners/members get "guaranteed payments" not salaries. will anyone be getting payments? RODNEY DEFINITELY. YOU AND I HAVE TO FIGURE OUT WHEHER I WAN TO TAKE A SALARY,OR ONLY HAVE REVENUE

5. The question you asked regarding the contribution of Capital Campaign services-the answer from Jeff is as I suspected. either you report as income personally (pay taxes), give money to pam, and pam contributes, or if CCS contributes to restaurant and later gets services for this money, this is called prepaid income and the LLC reports it as income. perhaps with the start up costs and other expenses this is the better alternative. we also need to examine income tax rates. I AGREE. WE NEED TO HAVE ENOUGH EXPENSES SO THAT THERE ARE NO TAX EVENTS FROM THE CCS MONEY.

If you or Rodney can give me numbers to work this, I can figure out which alternative is cheaper. 1. You reporting as income. 2. or the restaurant as income. IT'S AROUND $660K

6. Rodney should set up separate bank account for the LLC. Is there any payroll issues yet? if not yet, then at what point will that happen, date? YES, YES. WE HAVE PAYROLL QUESTIONS RIGHT NOW. CHECK WITH RODNEY

7. Most important of all, in managing a restuarant, when a person other than the owner is managing, you need to have a tight control of inventory and

cash. both these 2 items walk away very easily or get "eaten" up. I won't bore you yet, since you might have thought about this and done research. I was glad to hear that Jeff has restaurant experience from the accountant's side. He has a contact in Micros and he gave me his card. Micros is the touch screen inventory/billing/ordering system. (I think I saw the Fleishik restaurant use this system towards the end or something similar. Friday's and the big chains all use this system). It is very costly. This entire area is worth researching. Have you and Rodney talked about it yet? NO, BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT HE IS NOT ALREADY DOING IT (AND JUST HAS NOT TOLD ME). CAN YOU BE IN TOUCH WITH HIM DIRECTLY ON THIS ONE?

Who will be the Restaurant Manager? MIKE (I FORGOT HIS LAST NAME) AND RODNEY WILL BE HAVING A SIMILAR ROLE TOO.

Jeff will only take Livsar on as a client if you/owners are willing to sit down with him and Judy Barnhard and set up audit controls. Judy is the audit partner at May and Barnhard. Jeff says that most of his restaurant clients who don't have internal controls and a good inventory/ordering system have gone bust (and can't even pay his accounting bill!) I SURE DON'T WANT TO GO BUST, SO RODNEY SHOULD SIT DOWN WITH HIM AND GET THIS WORKED OUT.

Jack, I think this last point is most significant in making a profitable restaurant. I need to know where you and Rodney are in this issue in order to help you out. Please email me or let's set up a conference call. RODNEY IS RUNNING THE WHOLE THING FOR ME AND REPORTING TO ME. PERHAPS YOU SHOULD START WITH A CALL WITH HIM. DO YOU WANT TO CONTACT HIM, OR SHOULD I HAVE HIM CONTACT YOU?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, August 28, 2001 9:07 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: tax issue

reply

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, August 28, 2001 8:02 PM
To: GRHalpern@[redacted]
Subject: - tax issue

The restaurant will be owned by Livsar Enterprises, which will be owned primarily by Pam, per our other emails (do I have this right?). it is an LLC.

A company called Capital Campaign Services has several hundred thousand which they are going to put into the restaurant for me (they owe me money, though there is no written arrangement - they have already transferred the money to Livsar so the trust issue is not a problem). They are not going to be getting a share of the restaurant. I was wondering if we could structure this transaction in the following way:

Livsar invoices CCS for services in the amount they are transferring. The services can be of any nature (I think Livsar was set up for general business purposes). CCS is a political, lobbying, campaign company, certainly one which uses fine dining etc. Livsar would take that money as income and spend it in the course of business, on the restaurant. If at the end of the year Livsar has expended that money, is there a tax event?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 9:29 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: for planning purposes

ANY INCOME ON THIS

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 9:18 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: for planning purposes

Coushatta is an absolute cake walk. Your cut on the project as proposed is at least 800k. The next wire we get from choctaw you have another 350
- which should be in this week, then if they send the final payment which should come around october 1- your cut will be 400. Totals still out there for you are: 800 - coushataa
350- choctaw 2
400 - chocataw 3
Total 1.5 mil on top of the 660. For a toal of 2.1. Not bad :):)!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Sep 10 07:31:04 2001
Subject: for planning purposes

Can you let me know how much more (than the current +/-$660K) we would each score! should Coushatta come through for this phase, and Choctaw continue to make the transfers. I need to assess where I am at for the school's sake. Thanks Mike.

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)
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 11:47 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: for planning purposes

Amen!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 12:19 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: for planning purposes

Ill take the man title for now- but not tommorow, you return to being the man at midnight! Let's grow that 2.1 to 5!!! We need the true give me five!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Sep 10 10:28:31 2001
Subject: RE: for planning purposes

How can I say this strongly enough: YOU IZ DA MAN

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 9:18 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: for planning purposes

Coushatta is an absolute cake walk. Your cut on the project as proposed is at least 800k. The next wire we get from choctaw you have another 350
- which should be in this week, then if they send the final payment which should come around october 1- your cut will be 400. Totals still out there for you are: 800 - coushataa
350- choctaw 2
400 - chocataw 3
Total 1.5 mil on top of the 660. For a toal of 2.1. Not bad :):)!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Sep 10 07:31:04 2001
Subject: for planning purposes

Can you let me know how much more (than the current +/-$660K) we would each score should Coushatta come through for this phase, and Choctaw continue to make the transfers. I need to assess where I am at for the school's sake. Thanks Mike.

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.

MEMORANDUM

TO: KATHY VANHOOF

FROM: MIKE SCANLON

SUBJECT: POLITICAL OPERATIONS

DATE: 09/20/2001

CC:

Kathy, attached are cost breakouts for the two components of the new political program we spoke about earlier. I will call to give you a verbal explanation on the more sensitive points.

Louisiana Polling

The polling component will look at how the tribe is viewed overall, post compact fight. Will also poll each media market where we fought to determine the effects/ lasting impressions of our advertising campaign. In addition we will poll locally to determine the political strengths and weaknesses of the DA, Sheriff and other targeted officials.

Cost $40,000.00

Texas Program Break Out

This is a two-pronged program. One tier is grass-tops and the other is grassroots. On the grassroots level we will build the same type of database we built in Louisiana during the compact fight but this time we will recruit *enemies* of gaming and Indians, where as our unit draws on allies of the tribe. On The grass tops level we will work through third parties with elected leaders, clergy, and community leaders. Like Louisiana, part of the program is organizing and the other part is mobilizing.

TX State wide polling

We will conduct the following polling:

- Identification polls: We will need to identify the most appropriate vehicle (referendum, bill, constitutional amendment etc), the arguments (pro and con) and messaging.
- Tracking polls: We will need to conduct tracking polls to monitor the progress of the effort.
- Publicity / Whole sale polls: We will conduct polls specifically for distribution to media outlets and to convince elected officials to join our efforts.

Polling Cost: $100,000

TX Qualitative Research

We will need to gather intelligence on the elected officials and entities that will oppose our efforts, and the entities that pose continual threats to our operations. This will be comprehensive program looking at three separate tribes, their political allies and their financial backers.

The information uncovered will make the case for why eliminating gaming in the state of TX is necessary. Therefore particular attention will need to be paid to this part of the program.

Cost $150,000

Individual Ally Identification & Recruitment

We will identify and recruit average voters who oppose gaming or dislike Indians via telephone and mail survey. The respondents who qualify as "active" (those who will call or write elected officials at very high frequencies" will be placed in a the same computer model used in Louisiana. We will know every opponent of class III gaming and the Indian tribes in TX, where they live, how they vote and how to mobilize them. One completed, the tribe will be able to mobilize a massive army in TX for or against any issue the see fit. Like the Louisiana program, you will own and have access to this army at any time.

Cost 550,000.00

Third Party Ally Program

The tribe will be working with leaders in the Christian community, and the vehicle that is chosen to reach our objective will be fully supported by its leaders. In addition, once then effort is waged; Christian activists will call and write in support of the action.

I expect to generate over 20,000 calls and letters from this segment alone, as well as public statements and letters of support from the Christian community leaders.

Cost $250,000.00

[redacted]

Cost: $150,000.00

Mobilization Phase

Once we are in full swing we will generate the traditional calls, letters, and advertising to support the effort. Estimated break down:

- 30,000 patch through calls to elected officials.
- 50,000 postcards to targeted elected officials.
- 5,000 letters from businesses.
- 50 letters *from* elected officials.
- 20 opinions maker letter to elected officials.
- 2 weeks of radio advertising at high frequency (optional).
- 2 weeks of television (Houston, Austin, Dallas Ft. Worth) (optional).

Cost $400,000.00

Cost Summary

Louisiana Polling	$40,000.00
Texas Polling	$100,000.00
TX Qualitative Research	$150,000.00
Ally Identification and Recruitment	$550,000.00
Third Party Ally Program	$250,000.00
Minority Outreach Program	$150,000.00
Mobilization Phase	$400,000.00
Total Cost:	**1,640,000.00**

COUSH-MiscKVH-0001105

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Sunday, September 30, 2001 3:00 p.m.
[redacted]

The American International Center Board of Directors met in a regular session on the above date. A quorum was present to begin the meeting. The members present were as follows:

Present:
Brian J. Mann, Director
Michael Scanlon, Director

Absent:
David Grosh, Director

I. CALL TO ORDER: Director Mann called the meeting to order at 3:00 P.M. with Director Scanlon as Chair and Director Mann as Secratary

II. APPROVAL OF THE MINUTES: Moved by Director Scanlon, SECONDED by Director Mann that the minutes of the previous meeting be approved as amended. MOTION CARRIED, all in favor.

III. NEW BUSINESS: 1.) **Board Restructuring** – Both Directors, Mann and Scanlon MOVE and SECOND That due to circumstances beyod his control, Director David Grosh had relinquished his position with the AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER. 2.). **Roles and Resposibilities** - Director Scanlon moved that Director Mann take over day to day operations of the AIC. Director Mann seconded the motion. MOTION passed unanimously. 3.) **Salaries** – MOTION was made and SECONDED that Director Mann receive $1500.00 a month for his role and responsibilities as Director of day to day operations of the AIC.

IV. ANNOUNCEMENTS: Next meeting scheduled for October.

V. ADJOURNMENT: Director Mann MOTIONED to adjourn, Dircector Scanlon SECONDED.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER

MINUTES OF THE MEETING
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Sunday, October 30, 2001 3:00 p.m.

[redacted]

The American International Center Board of Directors met in a regular session on the above date. A quorum was present to begin the meeting. The members present were as follows:

Present:
Brian J. Mann, Director
Michael Scanlon, Director

I. **CALL TO ORDER:** Director Mann called the meeting to order at 3:00 P.M. with Director Scanlon as Chair and Director Mann as Secretary.

II. **APPROVAL OF THE MINUTES:** Moved by Director Scanlon, Seconded by Director Mann that the minutes of the previous meeting be approved as amended. MOTION CARRIED, all in favor.

III. **NEW BUSINESS:** 1.) Mr. Scanlon put forth the question of what to do about renting the previous office space that the AIC now occupies. Mr. Scanlon suggested that a lease be worked out with Michael Archino(Owner of the property) to re-rent the property all the way through September of 2002. 2.) Director Mann requested that he be reimbursed for office furniture that totaled $1166.00. Director Mann also requested that he be reimbursed the sum total of $400.00 for the month of November's rent. The grand total that Director Mann is requesting is $1566.00.

IV. **ADJOURN:** There being no further business to discuss, a motion was made by Mr. Mann, seconded by Mr. Scanlon, to adjourn. With no opposition, the motion was unanimously adopted.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 3:23 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Check for Khaled Saffuri

Did this get done?

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 1:11 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Check for Khaled Saffuri
Importance: High

Does it matter if Mike cuts him a check from CCS or does it have to come from AIC? The reason I ask is because the Malaysia check won't clear for another 7 days. If you want to go CCS then Mike can write a check from AIC to reimburse CCS later.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 5:17 PM
To: 'Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)'
Subject: RE: for planning purposes

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 8:47 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: for planning purposes

Did I get all this money?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 9:18 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: for planning purposes

Coushatta is an absolute cake walk. Your cut on the project as proposed is at least 800k. The next wire we get from choctaw you have another 350
- which should be in this week, then if they send the final payment which should come around october 1- your cut will be 400. Totals still out there for you are: 800 - coushataa
350- choctaw 2
400 - chocataw 3
Total 1.5 mil on top of the 660. For a toal of 2.1. Not bad :):)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Sep 10 07:31:04 2001
Subject: for planning purposes

Can you let me know how much more (than the current +/-$660K) we would each score should Coushatta come through for this phase, and Choctaw continue to make the transfers. I need to assess where I am at for the school's sake. Thanks Mike.

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) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, October 06, 2001 10:26 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE:

We have to get that LA project moving. Let's discuss how to make that happen.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 6:27 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE:

Yes and no. 800k was your cut of the combined LA and TX projects. But they did not go for the LA project so your cut shrunk to 400K from texas alone. But we came in way under budget bumping your total on the texas project up to 600k. If they go for the LA project, tack another 400 onto your end. Does this make sense? Long story short, you made an additional 200k on the texas project.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@scanlongould.com>
Sent: Fri Oct 05 18:22:19 2001
Subject: RE:

Is that already part of the calculation for the rest of the year, as noted in this email:

From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, September 10, 2001 9:18 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: for planning purposes

Coushatta is an absolute cake walk. Your cut on the project as proposed is at least 800k. The next wire we get from choctaw you have another 350 - which should be in this week, then if they send the final payment which should come around october 1- your cut will be 400. Totals still out there for you are: 800 - coushataa
350- choctaw 2
400 - chocataw 3
Total 1.5 mil on top of the 660. For a toal of 2.1. Not bad :):)!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 4:47 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE:

We split 1.2 mil.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]ramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Oct 05 16:46:13 2001
Subject: RE:

Sounds good. How much are we getting for it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]

Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 4:33 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE:

My thought exactly! Just tell ralph to get it done for 100 or so and we are happy!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Oct 05 16:32:30 2001
Subject: RE:

And if they are not, they can hire us to beat it!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 1:17 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE:

They are legal for class 2, we are trying to get them a class 3 compact. I sure as hell hope they are legal for class 2, they are advertising in san antonio on tv and billboards!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Oct 05 13:15:45 2001
Subject: RE:

They are legal? Then why are we trying to get them a compact? I don't understand that one, I guess.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 12:51 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE:

No they are legal, they will be carved out in the language anyway. They will be fine.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Oct 05 12:50:37 2001
Subject: RE:

Won't this hurt Kickapoo? Aren't they illegal?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 12:25 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject:

The objective of the Texas program is to block the Alabama Coushatta tribe from securing a gaming facility by proactively pushing a political or legislative vehicle making approval of Indian gaming in Texas next to impossible. We have dafts of the language, but we are still batting around the final documents. What we need now is for the Gov, Lt Gov and AG to issue the vehicle and publicly support it. Here are our ideas, and if Ralph can slam it home it would be great! I am assuming it wont be a real heavy lift since Perry et al are anti gaming, but we only have a couple of weeks on this.

An executive order from the Governor that will deny any illegal gaming facilities access to any public utilities such as water, gas or electricity.

A Gubernatorial Proclamation reiterating that any gaming operations undertaken that

are not currently sanctioned will be considered rouge casinos, and all powers of the office will be brought to bear to stop their physical construction including mobilization of the national guard.

An executive order that calls for rescinding the licenses of any state licensed contractors who provide services to illegal gaming operations.

A proposed constitutional amendment requiring a two-thirds vote of both house of the state legislature to approve any additional gaming rights within the state of Texas.

A bill to rescind official state recognition of the Alabama Coushatta tribe. A proclamation which calls for immediate termination of all state aid to the tribe if they construct any gaming facility on their land not approved by the state legislature.

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]

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]

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]

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.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2001 5:16 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: FW:

Call Ralph and get him moving. He'll do it for the $100K. we'z in the money!!! Let me know (via fax to house [redacted]) AND email how the call goes in great detail.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2001 5:51 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE:

I'm going to have scanlon call u to get it moving.
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
To: Linda Ingram <linda@[redacted] Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
[redacted]
Sent: Mon Oct 08 17:45:36 2001
Subject: RE:

yes.
-----Original Message-----
From: Linda Ingram
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2001 5:27 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW:

-----Original Message-----
From: laner@gtlaw.com [mailto:laner@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, October 08, 2001 5:26 PM
To: Linda Ingram
Subject:

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, October 07, 2001 9:57 AM
To: ralph@censtrat.com <mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Subject: Texas

Ralph, can you do what Mike asks below? The budget is $100K. can you make it work for that?
-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
<mailto:[mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 05, 2001 12:25 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted] <mailto[redacted]
Subject:

The objective of the Texas program is to block the Alabama Coushatta tribe from securing a gaming facility by proactively pushing a political or legislative vehicle making approval of Indian gaming in Texas next to impossible. We have dafts of the language, but we are still batting around the final documents. What we need now is for the Gov, Lt Gov and AG to issue the vehicle and publicly support it. Here are our ideas, and if Ralph can slam it home it would be great! I am assuming it wont be a real heavy lift since Perry et al are anti gaming, but we only have a couple of weeks on this. An executive order from the Governor that will deny any illegal gaming facilities access to any public utilities such as water, gas or electricity. A Gubernatorial Proclamation reiterating that any gaming operations undertaken that are not currently sanctioned will be considered rouge casinos, and all powers of the office will be brought to bear to stop their physical construction including mobilization of the national guard. An executive order that calls for rescinding the licenses of any state licensed contractors who provide services to illegal gaming operations. A proposed constitutional amendment requiring a two-thirds vote of both house of the state legislature to approve any additional gaming rights within the state of Texas. A bill to rescind official state recognition of the Alabama Coushatta tribe. A proclamation which calls for immediate termination of all state aid to the tribe if they construct any gaming facility on their land not approved by the state legislature.

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@gtlaw.com
<mailto:postmaster[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@gtlaw.com
<mailto:postmaster[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]

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) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2001 11:22 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: items to review

That would be great. I am free between the end of a 12:30 lunch (2?) and a 4 PM meeting out of the office (have to leave at 3:40 or so). Let me know when you can come.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2001 11:03 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: items to review

you bet. i'm in town tomorrow. may come by to see you.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2001 8:02 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: items to review

I'll get [redacted] paid asap. On Tx, can you invoice Capital Campaign Strategies?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 10, 2001 5:47 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: items to review

1. TX project is underway. assume i invoice as usual. friend is getting us language.

2. Can we please get the [redacted] invoice paid? That now goes back to August. think it dropped throught he hatch when you were out for holidays

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)
Sent: Monday, October 15, 2001 10:09 AM
To: 'mike@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Trips

U dat man!
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
To: abramoffj@[redacted]<abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Oct 15 10:54:08 2001
Subject: Trips

Hey - I will be in Saginaw tommrow and Wednesday - I called Kathy to get me on th ecouncil schedule for next week. In betwen now and then, bad things are bound to happen for the tribe so they wil be primed. I will also bring the invoice for the texas work when I go. Once they pay we let Ralph loose, and bring Texas home.

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:octagon1@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, October 19, 2001 3:45 AM
To: abramoffj@[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 TM-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 bragade 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 pasages,
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
> Nava 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 truriel 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'ezrat 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
>>>
>>>
>>> _____
>>> 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]
>>>
>>
>>
>> _____
>> 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].
>>
>
>
> _____
> 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) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 11:19 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: LDA pump for second half

If not, it'll be a cold day in hell that they get this check from my grubby hands!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 7:36 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: LDA pump for second half

I talked with Kathy - she is taking the approval over to the chairman tomorrow at 10. She is going to call when that happens and we get the green light. I will make sure they cut a check to GT. Are u sure Baggett will let you rip it back out?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 6:42 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: LDA pump for second half

Great. Let me know how it goes. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 2:43 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: LDA pump for second half

No problem. Ill get on the phone with them right now.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted][mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, October 24, 2001 2:26 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: LDA pump for second half

I want to see if we can pump our LDA for the second half to make sure we don't fall out of the top ten. I can achieve this if I can run some of the money for the Coushattas though the firm and then get it to CCS. There will be no reduction, it's just a paperwork transaction. I was thinking of trying to get a million through if that would work. OK with you? If so, can you direct them to put the next million to the firm, and I'll turn it around that day?

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.

From: Mike Scanlon [mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 4:52 PM
To: kvanhoof@[redacted]
Cc: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: invoices

GT Battleground Invoice.doc (1...

Lousiana Invoice on Battle Gro...

<<GT Battleground Invoice.doc>> <<Lousiana Invocie on Battle Ground.doc>>

We broke this into two invoices - one to be paid to Greenberg Traurig for 1m, and one paid to Capitol Campaign Strategies - GT's public affairs entity for the balance. We usually just invoice you through Capitol Campaign Strategies so the Lawyers at the firm rest easy while we are out burning the country side.

In this instance however we plan to do some things through the law firm umbrella due to [illegible] highly sensitive nature and confidentiality reasons. I hate hiding behind lawyers - but we are going to do some crazy stuff on this one - so I guess its ok:):)

INVOICE

GREENBURG TRAURIG LLP
[redacted]

Coushatta Tribe Of Louisiana
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]

For: Public Affairs Services

Amount Due:	1,000,000.00
Total Amount Due	1,000,000.00

PAYABLE UPON RECIEPT

Please Make payable to:
Greenburg Traurig
[redacted]

ATTN: Courtney Roseman

Capitol Campaign Strategies
[redacted]
W: [redacted]
F: [redacted]

INVOICE

DATE: October 23, 20

Payable Upon Recei

To:

Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
Tribal Office Building
[redacted]

	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
10/23	Professional Services	$2,170,000.00
	TOTAL	$2,170,000.00

Wire all funds to: First Union National Bank
Washington, DC
Routing number: [redacted]
Acct. Name: [redacted]
Acct #: [redacted]

MEMORANDUM

TO: KATHY VANHOOF
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: LOUSIANA POLITICAL BUDGET OUTLINE
DATE: 10/23/2001
CC: JACK ABRAMOFF

Kathy,

In today's meeting the council agreed to immediately move forward with the Louisiana program we proposed in August and to immediately launch a program to fight Delta Downs and Pinnacle.

We expressed repeatedly that when we say were going to move – it meant today. To that end, we have already begun our operations on all fronts. As we expressed to the council two battles, plus implementing the already proposed program would be costly. Because we have already contracted our team members on a great deal of this we wanted to send his memo along immediately outlining the specific costs associated with all three efforts. We are calling the three cumulative efforts the "Battleground Program". The overall requested budget for the "Battleground Program" is $3,170,000.00.

The costs and their descriptions are as follows:

Louisiana Political Targeting Program

As we discussed, we are taking what you built for the compact fight and extend its reach even further. Our ultimate political objective is to control both houses of the state legislature and the governor's mansion. In order to do so, we need to modify your political database into a statewide format. But more importantly we need to do this to have the necessary troops to win the battles in Lake Charles and Delta Downs.

To that end, we will identify supporters and issue voters in every state legislative, state senate and municipal election district in the state (we may want to limit the municipal districts for clarity's sake). This will be done through the same methods that we used for our current database, but we will also identify

and classify individuals who have no connection to the tribe. Again, our goal is to ID the requisite number of voters in each district to swing any election OR THE REFERNDUM APPROVING PINNACLE IN TWO MONTHS.

Again, this program will make you the dominant political force in every election district in the state. This is an extremely large task, but very achievable and when completed you will control the political playing field statewide.

Beginning Date: ASAP

Completion Deadline: November 15, 2001

Cost: $1,345,000.00

Opposition Research

On the way to the airport we called 5 of the best oppo researchers in the business. We are conducting a full-blown oppo campaign including detailed O&S on a number of subjects. Outside of O&S we are conducting "standard" political opposition research on the tracks, their associates, families, and financial backers. The same program will be run on Pinnacle.

We are also conducting "political assessment" studies on the referendum campaigns waged by the tracks in previous years. We must know everything about how they turned the corner on a losing issue last time, including who ran their campaign, who they paid off, and who they are paying now.

Without this information our chances are greatly reduced. We actually have members of this team on their way to Lake Charles as I write this.

Cost: $325,000.00

Third Party Allies Program

This part of the program deals primarily with solidifying the support of the Christian conservatives and the minority religious outlets in SW Louisiana. We will provide direct support to these entities.

Cost $575,000.00

BB/LC 017924

Polling and Tracking Polls

We are conducting a series of polls starting on Wednesday in the targeted parishes to get an "honest read" on where both of the projects stand in the court of public opinion. It is imperative that we find out as much as we can about these two projects ***before any money is spent on either side.*** This will give us a "true" benchmark of where things stand.

Monday we will conduct strategic polls testing our lines of attack and theirs. The results of these polls will identify our best lines of attack and our vulnerabilities. Once we have those results in hand we will conduct "messaging" polls. The strategic polls tell us where to attack, but the messaging polls tell us how to best to "phrase" or "package" our arguments for the electorate.

Once this process is complete we will track our progress with bi-weekly tracking polls and "benchmark polls which tell us if we are winning or if they are winning. The tracking and benchmark polls give us a chance to change course if need be, or to increase what we are doing.

Cost: $245,000.000

Mobilization

We plan to use three forms of communications to mobilize and win these battles. Phones, mail and Christian radio. We believe that if you are on TV you are generally losing battles like this. Our mission is to get specifically selected groups of individuals to the polls to speak out AGAINST something.

To that end, your money is best spent finding them and communicating with them on using the modes that they are most likely to respond to. Simply put we want to bring out the wackos to vote ***against*** something and make sure the rest of the public lets the whole thing slip past them. The wackos get their information form the Christian right, Christian radio, mail, the internet and telephone trees.

Mail

We will communicate with our targeted voters 3 times with Christian alert mail pieces.

Cost: $150,000

BB/LC 017925

Phones

We are going to wage several different phone campaigns in this fight. First, we are going to conduct advocacy calls educating or target audience. We expect to complete 100,000 of these.

Next we intend to patch through our targeted voters to the appropriate decision makers and tie up their phone lines. We are going to start with the gaming commissioners office next week voicing overwhelming opposition to the pinnacle license vote on the 20th. We will follow with a specialized list of targeted officials who we believe will move our way. This is a rather large campaign, we expect to have at least 10 individual patch through phone campaigns conducted alone.

We will also run GOTV (Get Out the Vote) phone calls leading up to the referendum date. These calls go to OUR voters and OUR voters only. We tell them when the polls are open – where they go to vote and how to get there. If they need a ride – we will have a van come and get them.

Cost $330,000.00

Christian Radio

Most likely we will need to create a broad buzz among our supporters, and a quick way to do this is by advertising on Christian Radio. We will produce and air at least two radio ads that give biblical reasons why Pinnacle should be blocked and the tracks shut down. These will run at the appropriate times and exclusively on Christian radio.

Cost $200,000.00

Key Influential Support

We definitely expect the need to "bring some influential people/ decisions makers on to our team" as we go through this process.

Cost: $150,000

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 5:22 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Budgets

OK.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 6:16 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Budgets

Well - I think we will need to spend 5 to 5-550 total on that. I think its about right. We actually have to run a referendum - so it may even get a little prier - but we should be ok.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 5:32 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Budgets

That much $?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 5:28 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Budgets

Great! We also we have room for him in La on the track and boats fight - like another 3-350.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 5:25 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Budgets

That's plenty!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 5:18 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Budgets

We have 357 total for him in [redacted] - 100 in TX.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 5:01 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Budgets

Did we do right?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 3:33 PM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: Budgets

$276K for the special session.
$211K for [redacted].
will get you soft copy budgets again if needed.
we need to talk briefly about tx.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 3:26 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Budgets

Go with the full program. Remind me about the number again.
-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ra[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, October 25, 2001 10:40 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Budgets

Moving ahead. Any word on budget?

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]

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]

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, November 02, 2001 10:37 AM
To: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Subject: RE: $1 million check received from Kathy Van Hoof

Hold that in hand until I arrive.

-----Original Message----
From: Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Sent: Friday, November 02, 2001 11:33 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: $1 million check received from Kathy Van Hoof
Importance: High

from Coushatta housing account re: public affairs services.

COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA - HOUSING ACCT.
P.O. BOX 818
ELTON, LA 70532

003664
3664

[redacted]

PAY
****One Million and 00/100 Dollars

DATE 10/30/2001

AMOUNT $1,000,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF

GREENBURG TRAURIG, LLP
800 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
N.W. SUITE 500
WASHINGTON D.C., 20006

AUTHORIZED SIGNATURE

[redacted]

GTG023510-ACCT

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 11:07 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

Mega fast. This is something Alexander and Marina were supposed to get but have not done so. Our permit in Israel depends on it and we are running short of time.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 12:03 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

I'll talk to Bill tomorrow when I have a free moment and see if we can get this letter done. How soon do you need it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 11:51 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

I have the check in hand from Coushatta and just have to work it out with Fred, which I am supposed to do Monday.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 11:49 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

Good. When will we get the $1 million?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 11:48 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

I am very serious about the CAEF stuff. Why not? I don't get anything from ML.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 11:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

I think that's plausible. Will you be serious about the CAF stuff, if I bring that up as a teaser? Right now, you look good on paper but only have 195k in their accounts liquid.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 11:43 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

They can also just give the reference for me, saying that as the principal of First Gate, I am a highly respected and good customer of the bank, that my accounts are in good order and that my commitments to the bank have always been

satisfied, that my companies are well regarded and have integrity, that I have a fine reputation in Washington, DC, that they believe that I have the means and financial backing to undertake a project/transaction in the $5 million range. Do you think they'll do this?

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 11:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

The president is Bill Olsen and he's the guy I dealt with to get our standy letter of credit and the 100k Torah School loan. He's a good guy and can get things done quickly. George Kraven is the puppet VP that opened our account. Not much to work with there (he couldn't even get us a decent corporate credit card for the account). Bill might be willing to do this just as a favor (it's not that big a deal, is it?) but telling him that we're going to beef up the Livsar account by a few hundred thousand and will also open up the CAF immediately and put a million in it, it might grease the wheel a bit.

The big issue here, though, is whether they are going to be willing to give a good reference to a company they don't have a track record with. I will definitely have to tell them that this is simply a favor to you and that they can think of it as giving a good reference to you.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 10:45 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

It's really, really important for me to be able to do this. Who is the banker at the bank we use (forgot his name). can you call him and feel him out as to how we can get something on this? Then I can call if there is a possibility and finish the job. Can you call him tomorrow? Tell him I'll put the $1 million there this week.

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 10:08 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

That might work but it would probably be most effective if you actually had a fair amount of money in their bank. Since Laura is getting us AMEX cards (with no blackouts) for Livsar we ought to move the rest of the dough in there. If there was about 600-700k in the account, Bill might be more receptive.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 12:45 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

How about if the letter just said that I as a principal of First Gate am someone who could do this kind of deal?

-----Original Message-----
From: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, November 04, 2001 12:27 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: first gate

This will be highly difficult, I suspect. Do we have a tax id# for first Gate? How much money would you transfer? A million for CAF sounds great.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, November 03, 2001 10:45 PM
To: Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject: first gate

I need a letter from a banker as follows. Can we get Harbor to do it? We can move money into an account if need be. What do you think? It's vital. By the way, I have $1 million coming into CAEF next week.

Dr. Yehezkiel Druckman
Petroleum Commissioner
[fill in]

Re: First Gate Resources, Inc.

Dear Dr. Druckman:

At the request of First Gate Resources, Inc., we are pleased to advise you that the above-mentioned company is a highly respected and good customer of our bank. The company's accounts, as well as the accounts of certain of its Shareholders are in good order, to the bank's full satisfaction and commitments have always been met promptly as agreed. The company management is well-regarded and of good business integrity.

Based on our experience with First Gate Resources, Inc., we believe that the company has the means and the financial backing to undertake a project/transaction costing $5,000,000.

This letter of reference is given in good faith, merely as a courtesy, based on the company's pat dealings and/or record with us. Nothing herein contained shall obligate the bank to extend any banking facilities to the company nor shall it impose on the bank and its officers the responsibility for any loss to any person acting or refraining from acting as a result of anything herein contained.

Yours faithfully,

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 05, 2001 9:18 AM
To: Baggett, Fred (Shld-Tal-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Coushatta million dollar check

It is burning a hole in my pocket. Please let's chat about this today to get it worked out. Are you going to be in town today?

GTG-E000252969

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 6:56 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Give me five

Mike, take a look at the two excel sheets. There seems to be an inconsistency. One says that $2,568,125 is due to me as of November 5 and the other says that it is only due after the [redacted] funds are received. Which is correct?

-----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!

<<Letter to Abramoff - Amount he is owed.doc>> <<JA Political Nets Updated 2.xls>> <<JA 2001 Distribution Schedule.xls>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 8:29 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Give me five

Do I have it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, November 07, 2001 9:21 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Give me five

No problem - I can run a signed letter over to you today. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, November 06, 2001 6:53 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Give me five

You IZ DA MAN. Can you get me the letter signed when you return? Thanks Mike!!!

-----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!

<<Letter to Abramoff - Amount he is owed.doc>> <<JA Political Nets Updated 2.xls>> <<JA 2001 Distribution Schedule.xls>>

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, November 09, 2001 1:25 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: FW: TX

Now we're talking!!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, November 09, 2001 11:43 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

1. Ed Young, the pastor of Second Baptist in Houston, is calling [redacted] to specifically request that the casino be stopped before it opens. He is going to stress that once it opens they gain a foothold that will be almost impossible to overcome. Young is very close to [redacted] and was just at the [redacted] hosting pastors around the state at the [redacted] request. His church has over 10,000 members.

2. CAGE and TX Christian Coalition are blast-faxing an alert to 100 Houston pastors urging them to contact the AG and Governor with the message to stop the casino before it opens.

3. Pro-family state legislators are being contacted and they will be placing the same calls.

We are in overdrive and all pistons are firing.

Watson, Krista (BStf-DC-Acct)

From:	Schaut, Christine (Mgr-DC-Gen Adm)
Sent:	Friday, November 09, 2001 1:33 PM
To:	Watson, Krista (BStf-DC-Acct)
Cc:	Howe, Denise C. (Bstf-DC-Acct)
Subject:	FW: Wiring Instructions for Jack

We are wiring

I am awaiting contact name and phone number.

Krista:
Can you start memo etc so we have ready to go when funds hit. Also place the bank on alert we are wiring out today.!

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

From:	Lippy, Laura J. (AdmAst-DC-AdGov)
Sent:	Friday, November 09, 2001 1:30 PM
To:	Schaut, Christine (Mgr-DC-Gen Adm)
Cc:	Lane, Rodney (AstDir-DC-Gov)
Subject:	Wiring Instructions for Jack

Capital Athletic Foundation
Account Number [redacted]
[redacted]
Rockville, MD
[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:44 AM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: FW: Texas

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 10:26 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

Town Hall sounds great!
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:31 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Texas

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:28 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: Texas

that was our thought, too. we have over 50 pastors mobilized, with a total membership in those churches of over 40,000---that includes second baptist, which has 12,000 members.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:28 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Cc: mike@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Texas

How about the town hall of the city which could control the site? Mike, what do you think?
-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 9:21 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]'
Subject: RE: Texas

i think so. i'm scheduled to talk to [redacted] today. he has also been called by ed young, pastor of second baptist, a good friend who he is counting on big time in the Senate race. will let you know what he says today. question---we have a group of pastors who want to do a picket or demonstration. problem is casino location is miles from the interstate and we don't know if the media will cover it. what do you think? go to the construction location or do something else at a different location? -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]n [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]]
Sent: Sunday, November 11, 2001 6:58 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW: Texas

Ralph, this is CRITICAL. Can we get it?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, November 11, 2001 5:43 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted] ralph@[redacted]
Cc: Eric@[redacted]
Subject: Texas

Can we get anything out of the [redacted] office on this-this week. This chief is bragging in the newspapers everywhere, calling our client telling them to come over and see the casino, and its in every major newspaper what's going on.
Can we get a statement this week from th[redacted] calling the chiefs bluff (the chief says that its opening but he's a little worried because he wouldn't do so well in jail" Can the[redacted] do a statement saying --- "I don't think you would do so well in jail either - so don't build the casino or that's where you will wind up." Nov. 11, 2001, 12:21AM Despite pitfalls, reservation plans casino opening
By RICHARD STEWART
Copyright 2001 Houston Chronicle
While the Tigua Indians of far West Texas battle in court to keep their lucrative casino open, the Alabama-Coushattas of East Texas are learning to deal blackjack, roll roulette wheels and operate slot machines in what they hope will become the closest gambling hot spot to Houston. The East Texas casino near Livingston could be in operation as early as Christmas, said Kevin Battise, chairman of the tribal council. But that opening is far from certain. It is dependent upon the tribe finding a way around legal opposition to casino gambling by the state government. The attorney general's office would certainly file a lawsuit to block the opening of a casino.
"If we get into trouble over this, I'm the one who's liable," Battise said with a chuckle. "And I don't think I'd do too well in jail." What the Alabama-Coushattas are planning in their "entertainment complex" is modest, Battise said. "We can't afford to start out with a Las Vegas-style resort operation. We have to start out small." He admitted that many members of the combined tribe have no personal love of gambling or the crowds that a casino might bring. They need the money a casino could generate. Two years ago, the tribe voted 201-62 to bring gambling to the reservation.
By that time, their Louisiana cousins had a thriving and growing casino, Grand Coushatta, north of Kinder, La. While the Texas tribe struggled with soaring unemployment, low wages and other problems, they watched their related tribe have full employment and prosperity fueled by gamblers-many of them from Texas-at their casino. The Alabama and Coushatta tribes once inhabited parts of what is now the state of Alabama. While they were separate tribes, they have long lived together and have intermarried over the generations. In the 1760s, many began migrating west. A group of Coushattas remained in western Louisiana. In the 1780s, many Alabamas and a smaller number of Coushattas took up residency in Texas. The Tiguas, one of the Pueblo tribes, started their casino near El Paso in 1993 and now make about $60 million a year. Battise said his tribe could make good use of gambling income. Like many other reservation residents, he once had to commute 85 miles each way to a job in Houston. The tribe closed its tourist facility at the end of the summer, he said. "We hated to do that, because almost all of us had worked there at one time or another. But it was just losing too much money. And I'm not talking about thousands of dollars, I'm talking about hundreds of thousands of dollars," he said.
The tribe could use the money from a casino for education or health benefits, Battise said.
"We have a terrible problem of diabetes among our members. We need money to deal with that."
The prosperity would not be limited to tribal members, he said. "We would employ many people from surrounding communities without regard to race," he said.
Unlike many other Indian casinos, the Alabama-Coushattas plan to operate their casino themselves-at least at the outset-Battise said. It will probably start as a small operation in an existing building at the front of the tribal complex on U.S. 190, 17 miles east of Livingston. The location is not where the tribe really wants its casino to be, he said. The Alabama-Coushattas have purchased 4,000 acres to the west of their 4,600-acre reservation and some of that land adjoins U.S. 59, Battise said. If that land can be declared part of the tribal trust, the tribe would like to put their casino there.
Not only would that keep most of the traffic away from the quiet, wooded area the tribe has long inhabited, but it would make it even more convenient to gamblers from Houston. Battise noted that Interstate 10 is full of buses bringing gamblers from Houston to gambling boats at Lake Charles, 143 miles away, and to the Grand Coushatta casino, which is 175 miles from Houston. The Alabama-Coushatta casino would be half as far. The

Alabama-Coushattas will probably end up in court fighting the state for the right to operate a casino, Battise said.
Texas Attorney General John Cornyn has been outspoken in his opposition to Indian casinos. He has said that casino gambling isn't just illegal for Indian tribes, "Casino gambling is illegal for all Texans," he said. "That law is simple and is grounded in the Texas Constitution: Gambling is illegal in Texas," Cornyn said. "My responsibility as attorney general is to enforce the laws of the state."
Cornyn's office filed a lawsuit against the Tiguas in 1999, claiming that in 1987, the tribe made a legally binding commitment not to establish gambling on its reservation as a condition of becoming a federally recognized tribe.
The Tiguas argued that Texas opened up the state to Indian casinos when it approved bingo and a state lottery. Tribes in several other states have used similar arguments to open reservation casinos. On Sept. 27, U.S. District Judge Garnett Thomas Eisele ruled in favor of the state and gave the tribe until the end of November to cease operation. He has since turned down a request for a new trial, and the decision is being appealed. In the last legislative session, the Texas House passed a bill that would have allowed casinos on Indian reservations, but a similar measure never made it to the floor of the Senate.
"In some states, the government has helped out the Indians," he said. "But, in Texas, there still seems to be this Old West idea of keeping the Indians down."
He noted that with only a little more than 1,000 members, half of them living on the reservation, the Alabama-Coushattas have never had enough votes to be much of a political force.
The Alabama-Coushattas made the same pledge in 1987 to never have gambling on their reservation. That pledge, Battise said, was negated when Texas started to allow certain forms of gambling within the state. It is hypocritical, he said, for Texas to operate a lottery while forbidding the Indians to operate a casino.
There is one alternative to a casino, Battise noted. If the tribe can't open a casino, perhaps it can operate a large-scale bingo operation, similar to those operated by some tribes in Oklahoma. "You know," he said, "some of the Alabamas went to Oklahoma, too."

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].

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].

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)
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 2:02 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: TX

Great.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 3:00 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX

Over 100 pastors received a blast fax today from the pro-family coalition we have formed urging them to contact the AG and Governor and tell them to stop the Livingston casino before it opens.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 9:24 AM
To: 'ralph@[redacted]'
Subject: Re: !!!!

Did he call u?
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]>
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail) <abramoffj@[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Nov 13 10:07:29 2001
Subject: !!!!

i tried to call scanlon. got voicemail. need more info ASAP! [redacted] is on the other line asking for it.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:25 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: FW: Article

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:55 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Article

great work. get me details so i can alert [redacted] and let him know what we are doing to help him. talked to ed young again today. incredibly engaged and excited. he is planning on hosting a breakfast with the top pastors in houston to get them all mobilized and to provide cover for [redacted] we may invite [redacted] to address them.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:54 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW: Article

Remember I mentioned the NIGC today? We are going to get them on the Alabama Coushattas and I told our guy to get them onto the Tiguas as well. [redacted] needs to get Indians to lead the way. Let us help with that.
-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, November 12, 2001 5:11 PM
To: vanhornej@[redacted]
Cc: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Article

John, here is a good backgrounder on what they are up too.
Nov. 11, 2001, 12:21AM
Despite pitfalls, reservation plans casino opening
By RICHARD STEWART
Copyright 2001 Houston Chronicle
While the Tigua Indians of far West Texas battle in court to keep their lucrative casino open, the Alabama-Coushattas of East Texas are learning to deal blackjack, roll roulette wheels and operate slot machines in what they hope will become the closest gambling hot spot to Houston. The East Texas casino near Livingston could be in operation as early as Christmas, said Kevin Battise, chairman of the tribal council. But that opening is far from certain. It is dependent upon the tribe finding a way around legal opposition to casino gambling by the state government. The attorney general's office would certainly file a lawsuit to block the opening of a casino.
"If we get into trouble over this, I'm the one who's liable," Battise said with a chuckle. "And I don't think I'd do too well in jail."
What the Alabama-Coushattas are planning in their "entertainment complex" is modest, Battise said. "We can't afford to start out with a Las Vegas-style resort operation. We have to start out small."
He admitted that many members of the combined tribe have no personal love of gambling or the crowds that a casino might bring. They need the money a casino could generate.
Two years ago, the tribe voted 201-62 to bring gambling to the reservation.
By that time, their Louisiana cousins had a thriving and growing casino, Grand Coushatta, north of Kinder, La. While the Texas tribe struggled with soaring unemployment, low wages and other problems, they watched their related tribe have full employment and prosperity fueled by gamblers-many of them from Texas-at their casino.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 11:48 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: !!!

Great. kill

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 10:19 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: !!!

Yes we have photos. Also they are still unloading them if law enforcwment wants to stop by.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: ralph@[redacted] <ralph@[redacted]>
CC: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Nov 13 09:51:42 2001
Subject: RE: !!!

I told scanlon to call ur cell.
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]>
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]' <abramoffj@[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Nov 13 09:47:31 2001
Subject: RE: !!!

we're on it. have spoken to numerous pastors this a.m. do we have photos or videotape? it would help enormously with the [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, November 13, 2001 9:40 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: !!!

Did you speak with Scanlon? He has a guy on the ground at the Alabama Coushatta reservation watching them unload hundreds of slot machines!! We need to get the AG arresting them RIGHT NOW!! We need to get the pastors rallying right now. This is going to be death for us. Please let me know what we are going to do. Thanks.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, November 30, 2001 9:01 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon[redacted]'
Subject: FW: TX

Sounds like he is earning his money! Make sure you keep Kathy and William up to date on this stuff.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, November 30, 2001 9:40 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: - TX

In approximately 90 minutes, [redacted] will be meeting with 50 pastors led by Ed Young at Second Baptist in Houston, at which they will present a joint letter signed by leading religious leaders in the greater Houston area urging the [redacted] to take immediate action to shut down the AC facility in Livingston. I spoke with Ed Young last night and he will personally present the letter to [redacted] and urge that something be done now. The letter will be signed by him on Second Baptist stationary, which he rarely does. We have also coreographed [redacted] response. The [redacted] will state that the law is clear, talk about how much he wants to avoid a repetition of El Paso, and pledge to take swift action to enforce the law. He will also personally hand Ed Young a letter that commits him to take action in Livingston. We will shortly receive a copy of this letter.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 03, 2001 9:40 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: FW: El Paso Tribe Faces Huge Gambling Loss

Great. We have to shutter Alabama Coushatta and fast.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, December 03, 2001 8:54 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: El Paso Tribe Faces Huge Gambling Loss

We are on it in ways that will greatly please you.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tue Dec 04 00:44:51 2001
Subject: FW: El Paso Tribe Faces Huge Gambling Loss

Don't forget the Kickapoos

-----Original Message-----
From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, December 03, 2001 2:58 PM
To: DCChoctaw
Subject: El Paso Tribe Faces Huge Gambling Loss

El Paso Tribe Faces Huge Gambling Loss
Casino Closing Could Impoverish Indians Again
By Paul Duggan
Washington Post Staff Writer
Monday, December 3, 2001; Page A03

EL PASO -- Before they built a gambling casino in 1993 and began raking in tens of millions of dollars, the Tigua Indians were mired in poverty here for decades. Many of them lived in adobe shacks with no electricity or plumbing, surviving on public assistance and seasonal wages for menial labor in the farm fields. In the last eight years, their Speaking Rock Casino -- 80,000 square feet of slot machines and gaming tables -- has lifted the Tiguas from squalor. The vast profits have allowed the 1,200-member tribe to finance an array of social programs, ending such generations-old Tigua problems as high unemployment, poor health care, substandard housing and inadequate education. But the tribe's luck may be running out.

In a decision that the Tiguas fear will mean a return to hard times for their community, a U.S. district judge has ruled in favor of Texas's attorney general in an emotionally charged lawsuit against the tribe, declaring the casino illegal and ordering it closed by this Friday. But on Tuesday, a higher court agreed to hear the tribe's appeal, scheduling oral arguments for Jan. 9 and allowing Speaking Rock to remain open in the meantime.

Attorney General John Cornyn (R), who filed the case in 1999 with strong backing from then-Gov. George W. Bush, says the dispute is strictly about the law: Although about 200 Indian tribes across the country run nearly 300 casinos, he argues that the Tiguas are prohibited from doing so under the 1987 congressional act that made the tribe eligible for federal aid. The Tiguas and their supporters, however, interpret the 1987 act differently, and say it permits them to run a casino. They describe the suit as political payback, noting that it was filed after the Tiguas contributed more than $100,000 to Democratic opponents of Bush and Cornyn in the 1998 election. Unless the Tiguas gain a reprieve from

the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, Speaking Rock's poker, blackjack and dice tables and its 1,100 slot machines -- which attract gamblers from hundreds of miles around -- likely will fall silent early next year. That would mean "economic devastation" for the tribe, said the Tiguas' governor, Albert Alvidrez, and also would hurt El Paso, one of Texas's poorest cities. "Everything we have will disappear," said Alvidrez, who helped lead about 1,500 tribal members and non-Tigua casino workers in a recent chanting, horn-blaring demonstration outside an El Paso hotel, where Cornyn was giving a speech to the city's Better Business Bureau. "He's not understanding and respecting that Speaking Rock is a vital engine for the Tigua Indians." Cornyn does not dispute the beneficial impact of the casino on the once-destitute tribe. Even U.S. District Judge G. Thomas Eisele, in his ruling favoring the state, acknowledged that the Tiguas "will regrettably suffer significant financial injury and hardship" without Speaking Rock. But the judge said gambling restrictions contained in the 1987 act are "clear and unambiguous." "Certainly the attorney general appreciates what's at stake for the Tiguas," said Cornyn's spokeswoman, Jane Shepperd. "But there is a huge elephant in the middle of the room here, and that is the law. People who live in America and Texas have to abide by the law. And when you engage in illegal gambling, albeit it profitable for your community, you need to be accountable." Total Desperation The Tiguas' prosperity today is "absolutely incredible" compared with the tribe's earlier plight, said El Paso lawyer Tom Diamond, who began representing the Tiguas for free in the early 1960s and helped them gain state and federal aid in the pre-casino decades. When he first visited the Tiguas 40 years ago, Diamond said, "they were totally desperate," living in shacks without heat or running water on their 66-acre reservation surrounded by the city of El Paso. "They were surviving in the 20th century the way they had as aboriginal Indians. They were going out in the desert and hunting jackrabbits to eat. They were digging up mesquite trees so they could make fires to cook their bread." Health conditions "were terrible," Diamond said. Many teenagers quit high school because they had to work to help support their families. Diamond recalled looking for the tribe's chief one day and finding him stooped in a cotton field, "an old man of 80 out there dragging a sack down the rows." Although the tribe's circumstances improved somewhat with state and federal aid in the 1970s and '80s, Diamond said, "I couldn't have imagined in my wildest dreams" the transformation that took place after the Tiguas opened the casino on their reservation in 1993. Last year alone, according to Alvidrez, Speaking Rock generated about $60 million in revenue for the tribe. Through the Tigua government's profit-sharing plan, all tribal members in 1998 got $8,000 from the casino revenue, and $15,000 in each of the last two years. That's only a small part of the revenue; with the rest, the tribe has started other businesses, including a chain of convenience stores, and has built a tribal courthouse, a tribal police station, a health clinic, a recreation center, and a library that offers numerous education programs for children. About 800 of the tribe's 1,200 members live in the El Paso area, most of them on the reservation, Alvidrez said. About half of the 800 are adults. The unemployment rate among that group used to be more than 50 percent, Alvidrez said. Now it is virtually zero, largely because the tribal government has hired scores of them to help administer numerous new social programs. The profit-sharing payments to Tigua children are put in a trust fund, to be withdrawn only after a recipient turns 18 and has a high school diploma or equivalency degree. That education incentive, combined with the library programs and the better jobs now held by parents in the tribe, has lowered the Tiguas' dropout rate from 50 percent to 2 percent, according to the tribe, which annually awards thousands of dollars in college scholarships to members. Earning Independence Of Speaking Rock's 800 employees, only about 50 are Tiguas, Alvidrez said. About a third of the 800 workers were unemployed before the casino opened, and almost all the others held jobs that paid less than their current salaries, according to an economic study commissioned by the tribe. When Evonne Rodriguez, 27, who is not a Tigua, quit her job as a grocery cashier five years ago to become a slot machine supervisor at Speaking Rock, her pay nearly doubled to $10.52 an hour, and for the first time in her working life, she had health insurance. With the pay increase, she said, she was able to buy her first car and move out of her mother's home and into a $600-a-month duplex. "I had a sense of finally being independent," said Rodriguez, the single mother of a 2-year-old girl. Sylvia Granillo, 32, also a single mother, said she was a welfare recipient living in a public housing complex, unable to find a good job in the tough El Paso economy, before she was hired as a clerk by the Tigua government in 1997, with a $27,000 salary, health insurance and other benefits. As a Tigua with a dependable job, she became eligible to buy a house in a 300-acre subdivision the tribe is developing near the reservation. The tract, which the Tigua government bought in 1997, is a former cotton farm where tribal members once toiled for meager wages. Eighty-eight houses with from three to six bedrooms have been built, and 164 more are planned. They are available to tribal members according to need, at prices based on their incomes.

"It's changed my life tremendously," Granillo said. "My worry now is for my children and what their future will be like." For members who do not work for the tribe and do not have health insurance, the Tigua government provides free coverage. There are programs for the elderly that provide regular medical checkups, free meals, and help with rent and utility bills. "What's happened to the Tiguas is just an upside-down total economic revolution," Diamond said. "It's night turned to day." Laws and Politics Sometimes called the "new buffalo" because of the prosperity it has created for many tribes, casino gambling on Indian reservations has become a nearly $10 billion-a-year industry since the 1980s. Congress allows it as a means of promoting economic self-sufficiency for Native Americans who lost much of their ancestral land and resources to centuries of European settlement. Opponents of Indian-run casinos have called them "a racket," saying tribes are no more entitled to profit from gambling than other U.S. citizens. But that is not the issue in Texas's lawsuit against the Tiguas. The case concerns the 1987 Tigua Restoration Act, which allowed the tribe to receive federal aid. Both sides in the case agree that under the act, the Tiguas are allowed to conduct games of chance -- but only games that the Texas government also is allowed to conduct under state law. The provision was included in the federal act at the behest of gambling opponents in Texas. In defending the casino, lawyers for the tribe point to the 1991 state law that established the Texas lottery. They contend that the law is so broadly written that the state government, if it wanted to, could open a gambling hall. As a result, the lawyers say, the Tiguas also should be free to operate Speaking Rock. Cornyn disagrees with that interpretation, and so does the judge who ordered the casino closed. Other Native American tribes across the country run gambling enterprises under the federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, which permits casinos on Indian land. In a separate lawsuit several years ago, the Tiguas defended their casino by arguing that the 1988 act should supersede the gambling restrictions in the Tigua-specific 1987 act. But they lost that case.

"[Cornyn] took an oath to uphold the laws of the state of Texas, and that's what the citizens expect him to do," said Shepperd, the attorney general's spokeswoman. She dismissed the tribe's allegations of political retribution as "nothing more than a conspiracy theory." Bush, when he was governor, also denied any political motive for opposing the casino. "Tribal officials knew full well that they were partaking in illegal gambling," Shepperd said. "And now, unfortunately, the tribal members and casino staff are suffering as a result."

(c) 2001 The Washington Post Company

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) [/o=[redacted]=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2001 10:17 AM
To: 'Mpsscanlon@[redacted]
Subject: RE: are you calling Kathy daily?

Fantastic. I have complete faith in you. Ralph is toast from now on, or we'll only give him a slight scrap. Pathetic. By the way, I chatted with Petras. They are jazzed about our coming. We're rock stars up there. Now it's time to pay for the concert!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mpsscanlon@[redacted] [mailto:Mpsscanlon@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, December 04, 2001 11:05 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: are you calling Kathy daily?

I have been keeping them very up to date - for exgmple i sent them the letter [redacted] wrote to the pastor in time for todays council meeting etc. Also, they are much more concerned with the class 3 facility than this little one. that siad we need a win bad, and i an on it - i wish we didnt send this over to ralph - i think i could have made better use of the month pre-opening - but we did and now we just have to keep the pressure on and tell the client that its going to take a little longer. this fight could go for another month, but i have a few ideas we can bat around tommorow that could end it sooner;

Subj: RE: are you calling Kathy daily?
Date: Mon, 3 Dec 2001 10:40:14 PM Eastern Standard Time
From: abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mpsscanlon@[redacted]

This is scary. We have to deliver something. Have you been sharing all the steps we have taken? Have you assured them that it'll be shuttered very soon? I am worried about this.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2001 8:32 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: TEXAS-Alabama-Coushatta casino now open

Kill kill kill

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2001 5:47 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: TEXAS-Alabama-Coushatta casino now open

Not yey- we will do so now!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]>
Sent: Wed Dec 19 17:48:19 2001
Subject: RE: TEXAS-Alabama-Coushatta casino now open

Have we launched on Cornyn? We need to do so now.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, December 19, 2001 5:43 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Fw: TEXAS-Alabama-Coushatta casino now open

Any day now ralph!

-----Original Message-----
From: Brian J. Mann <brianjmann1@[redacted]
To: Aaron Stetter <aaron@[redacted]; David Flaherty <david@[redacted] Erin Yeatman <erin@[redacted]; Amy Biederman <amy@[redacted]; Patrick Gould <pat@[redacted]; Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]; Chris Cathcart <chris@[redacted]
Sent: Wed Dec 19 17:22:22 2001
Subject: TEXAS-Alabama-Coushatta casino now open

Alabama-Coushatta casino now open
By: Martin L. de VoreDecember 19, 2001
KINGWOOD OBSERVER
In the 1989 Kevin Costner movie Field of Dreams, a mysterious voice tells Costner's character, "If you build it, they will come." That same advice apparently holds true for the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe's new casino as huge crowds have been flocking there since its opening in November.

Tribal official Edwin Battiste said that the number of people visiting the new casino doesn't surprise him. "We would see all those buses full of people heading east to Louisiana. In Louisiana, at the casinos, we'd see all those cars with Texas license plates. We knew that our casino would draw a lot of people. Our fear was that we wouldn't be able to accommodate them all, said Battiste. An attractive building located amid the rolling hills and forests 17 miles east of Livingston, just off U.S. Hwy. 190, the casino features 210 gambling machines -- including nickel slots, quarter slots, dollar slots and video poker -- and six table games. As gamblers play the slots or test their skills against the house in card games, attendants patrol the floor -- providing change, serving refreshments or just providing additional information. The casino is open 24 hours a day. Currently, no liquor is served and no buffet is available. Upon arrival, visitors are

greeted at the front door and directed to either one of two doors. If someone has never been there before, they are directed to the left and a desk where they will be signed up, free of charge, as members of the Royal Rewards Club and issued an identification card on the spot if they are of legal age and have no criminal record. Only club members may gamble and you must have your card with you to enter the gaming facilities. Those who are already members enter the building through the right and may head straight to the gaming area after being checked in. Compared to the Louisiana casinos in the Shreveport and Lake Charles areas, the Alabama-Coushatta facility has less parking and lacks some of the associated amenities such as large hotels and sideline entertainments such as large concerts or Las Vegas type of shows. The nearest large restaurants are located in Livingston or Woodville and there are no gasoline stations on U.S. Hwy. 190 between Livingston and the reservation. On the other hand, the Alabama-Coushatta casino is much closer to the Kingwood, Humble and east Montgomery County areas than its Louisiana counterparts. It is also on dry land so queasiness triggered by the rolling of the casino boats on the water won't detract from visitors' fun. And the relaxing drive through the rolling forested countryside is worth a trip alone. The casino building itself is notable. Blending in seamlessly with both the forest and the architecture of the other reservation buildings surrounding it, the casino boasts tall ceilings, attractive natural Cypress interior walls and carpeting featuring Native American designs. The games and slots are located in two huge rooms that form the shape of an "L." The building also contains bill changing machines, a cashiers' section with multiple windows and a snack area where such treats as pizza, hot dogs, drinks and other sustenance can be obtained. One of the few complaints leveled at the new casino is that there are long lines at each slot machine. However, that's not necessarily so -- it really depends on what day and what time you are there. Weekends are naturally the most crowded days and nights while weekday mornings usually have the lightest traffic. Battiste said that the overcrowding problem might be solved by expansion. "Right now, we only have the small building so we aren't able to completely accommodate large crowds like we would like to," Battiste said. "We feared that would happen so we are planning to build a bigger facility." If built, the facility would probably be located on tribal land adjacent to U.S. Hwy. 59, south of the town of Moscow, Battiste said. To get to the casino from Humble, Kingwood or Montgomery County, head north on U.S. Hwy. 59 to Livingston. At Livingston, take the Business 59 exit and head north on Business 59 until you hit the intersection of U.S. 190. Take a right on 190 and head east for approximately 18 miles. Turn right at the main entrance to the Alabama-Coushatta Indian reservation. The casino will be located on the right side about a third of a mile south of Hwy. 190. You can't miss it -- just look for the parking lot that's full of cars.

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]

PAYER'S name, street address, city, state, ZIP code, and telephone no.
CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES
SCANLON GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS
[redacted]

1 Rents $	2 Royalties $	OMB No. 1545-0115	
3 Other income $	4 Federal income tax withheld $	2002 Miscellaneous Income	
5 Fishing boat proceeds $	6 Medical & health care pmts. $	Form 1099-MISC	
7 Nonemployee compensation $ 211679.00	8 Substitute payments in lieu of dividends or interest $	Copy C For Payer	
9 Payer made direct sales of $5,000 or more of consumer products to a buyer (recipient) for resale ▶ ☐	10 Crop insurance proceeds $	For Privacy Act and Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the 2002 General Instructions for Forms 1099, 1098, 5498, and W-2G.	
13 Excess golden parachute payments $	14 Gross proceeds paid to an attorney $		
15			
16 State tax withheld $ $	17 State/Payer's state no.	18 State income $ $	

PAYER'S Federal identification number: [redacted]
RECIPIENT'S identification number: [redacted]
RECIPIENT'S name (Check to enter separate first and last names.): CAPITOL MEDIA
Street address (including apt no.): [redacted]
City, state, and ZIP code: [redacted]
Account number(optional)
2nd TIN Not. ☐

Form 1099-MISC
DXA
Department of the Treasury - Internal Revenue Service

☐ VOID ☐ CORRECTED

PAYER'S name, street address, city, state, ZIP code, and telephone no.
CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES
SCANLON GOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS
[redacted]

1 Rents $	2 Royalties $	OMB No. 1545-0115	
3 Other income $	4 Federal income tax withheld $	2002 Miscellaneous Income	
5 Fishing boat proceeds $	6 Medical & health care pmts. $	Form 1099-MISC	
7 Nonemployee compensation $ 160811.76	8 Substitute payments in lieu of dividends or interest $	Copy C For Payer	
9 Payer made direct sales of $5,000 or more of consumer products to a buyer (recipient) for resale ▶ ☐	10 Crop insurance proceeds $	For Privacy Act and Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the 2002 General Instructions for Forms 1099, 1098, 5498, and W-2G.	
13 Excess golden parachute payments $	14 Gross proceeds paid to an attorney $		
15			
16 State tax withheld $ $	17 State/Payer's state no.	18 State income $ $	

PAYER'S Federal identification number: [redacted]
RECIPIENT'S identification number: [redacted]
RECIPIENT'S name (Check to enter separate first and last names.): DEMOCRACY DATA & COMMUNICATIONS
Street address (including apt no.): [redacted]
City, state, and ZIP code: [redacted]
Account number(optional)
2nd TIN Not. ☐

Form 1099-MISC
DXA
Department of the Treasury - Internal Revenue Service

☐ VOID ☐ CORRECTED

PAYER'S name, street address, city, state, ZIP code, and telephone no.
CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES
[redacted]

1 Rents $	2 Royalties $	OMB No. 1545-0115	
3 Other income $	4 Federal income tax withheld $	2002 Miscellaneous Income	
5 Fishing boat proceeds $	6 Medical & health care pmts. $	Form 1099-MISC	
7 Nonemployee compensation $ [redacted]	8 Substitute payments in lieu of dividends or interest $	Copy C For Payer	
9 Payer made direct sales of $5,000 or more of consumer products to a buyer (recipient) for resale ▶ ☐	10 Crop insurance proceeds $	For Privacy Act and Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the 2002 General Instructions for Forms 1099, 1098, 5498, and W-2G.	
13 Excess golden parachute payments $	14 Gross proceeds paid to an attorney $		
15			
16 State tax withheld $ $	17 State/Payer's state no.	18 State income $ $	

PAYER'S Federal identification number: [redacted]
RECIPIENT'S identification number: [redacted]
RECIPIENT'S name (Check to enter separate first and last names.): [redacted]
Street address (including apt no.): [redacted]
City, state, and ZIP code: [redacted]
Account number(optional)
2nd TIN Not. ☐

Form 1099-MISC
DXA
Department of the Treasury - Internal Revenue Service

Jack Abramoff
[redacted]

January 2, 2002

Ralph Reed
Century Strategies, LLC
[redacted]

Dear Ralph:

Please give me a call once you've received this.

Regards,

Jack Abramoff

Jack Abramoff
Senior Director
Governmental Affairs

JA:ab

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC 1403

Century Strategies 1/2/2002 250,000.00

Checking 250,000.00

CAPITOL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES LLC 1403

Century Strategies 1/2/2002 250,000.00

MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: AC
DATE: 1/6/2002
CC: JACK A.

Gentlemen,

Victory is ours. As a result of our political pressure, the Texas Attorney General filed a lawsuit in federal court on Friday to shut down the Alabama Coushatta's "entertainment center" in Livingston.

This means that the threat of a class III facility near Houston has been completely eliminated AND the smaller facility will be shut down as well. To put this in perspective, the Tigua's facility has been open an operating illegally in Texas for 6 years. We shut down The Alabama Coushatta Facility in roughly ninety days.

Mike

m: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2002 4:23 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Super!! Where are you?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2002 4:28 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Yeah baby!!! I verified the article in tx and faxing to william now-- weeez gonna be rich!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 06 15:13:14 2002
Subject: RE: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

REDACTED

Jack Abramoff

---Original Message-----
m: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
To: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 06 13:29:00 2002
Subject: RE: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Are you sure this is authentic- I tried to find it on line and couldn't. I just want to make sure given how bad this thing has gone.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 06 09:48:48 2002
Subject: RE: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, January 06, 2002 9:16 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Yeah baby! The timing couldn't be better!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 06 09:00:47 2002
Subject: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

Jack Abramoff

GTG006974-JA

312423

-----Original Message-----
m: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@[redacted]
: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
CC: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasells@[redacted] Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted] Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@[redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 06 01:00:56 2002
Subject: Fw: jack will be happy to know...

This is from my roommate you helped out, Jack.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Robert Turner, HNIC <rturner@[redacted]
To: Todd Boulanger <boulangerT@[redacted]
Sent: Sun Jan 06 00:56:22 2002
Subject: jack will be happy to know...

http://www.austin360.com/statesman/editions/today/metro_state_6.html

State seeks to close Indian casino

LUFKIN -- Texas Attorney General John Cornyn went to federal court Friday to try to close a casino the Alabama-Coushatta tribe opened in November on its East Texas reservation. Cornyn's office asked for a permanent injunction to close the casino in response to a lawsuit the tribe filed against the state shortly before the casino opened. The tribe claims a state law that permits the lottery opened the door to casino-style gaming under federal law, which allows Indian gambling only in states where similar forms of gaming are legal.

Cornyn's office also is trying to shut down a casino run by the Tigua Indians in El Paso. A federal court in West Texas ruled that the Tiguas must close their casino, but the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals allowed the casino to remain open while the tribe appeals. The Tiguas and Alabama-Coushattas are governed by the 1987 Restoration Act, which brought them back under federal supervision. The federal act prohibits reservation gambling that is otherwise illegal in a state.

Robert Turner, II
rturner@[redacted]
Publisher & Editor-in-Chief
HillZoo.com
[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.

reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 11:35 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Van Horne

Do this

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 11:42 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Van Horne

Cool - no problem here.
-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 9:09 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Van Horne

I told him we'd kick him $20K from CCS. When we score next, let's do so.

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) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 9:31 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon alt'
Subject: FW: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 24, 2002 10:20 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

1. push as hard as you can because our influence there is based on our ability to generate grassroots and coalition support. this is really not a big budget given that we're talking about closing a $60 million a year facility.
2. [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 23, 2002 6:50 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

I know and am pushing. I wish these people would take orders better! -----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 23, 2002 6:41 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

please do... we're getting asked for cover and support and organization in el paso and livingston and I can't subsidize it since we ran out of the first budget. understand what you are facing but want you to know it is an ask. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 23, 2002 6:41 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

I'm pushing, but until that place is shuttered it is going to be very hard to get any more money from them. they are very unsophisticated and it is hard to make them understand that we are almost there. I'll continue to push.
-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 23, 2002 6:34 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

let me get on it immediately and we'll do it for as little as possible. can you get me the budget for TX? we're dry there. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 23, 2002 6:32 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

Ralph, can you get to the [redacted] guys and make sure that, under NO circumstance should they support or give any land to these crooks. This non-gaming thing is a TOTAL lie. If they get a reservation or any land like this, they will convert it to a casino. No doubt. Could we do this for $40-50K? but we need to make sure they are publicly out there against them and fast. The client is nervous that this might happen.

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

Subject: FW: Indian Country Update, January 23, 2002

In [redacted], the Jena Choctaw Tribal nation reportedly has announced they want to establish a reservation in [redacted] with non-gaming economic development projects even if the residents of the county do not want a casino.

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]

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]

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) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 25, 2002 3:42 PM
To: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Year End Lobbying Report

Get it to me before it is submitted. You have to include expenses in addition to fees, don't forget.

-----Original Message-----
From: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, January 25, 2002 9:35 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Year End Lobbying Report

Shawn and I sat down and initially went through it. We edited some things and I sent it back up to be corrected. I did not know about the $1 million. I will look over the forms again and get it done.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, January 25, 2002 8:34 AM
To: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Year End Lobbying Report

Are you doing Coushatta? If so, please remember to add on the extra $1M in expenses which they had politically this year. See me if you have any questions. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 12:54 PM
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Year End Lobbying Report

Please note that you will be getting LDA forms for these clients below. If you feel that one or more should not be done by you, please let me know asap. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bozniak, Allison R. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 12:10 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Year End Lobbying Report

The following people have received these year end reports:

American International Center - Alan Slomowitz
Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana - Shawn Vasell
City of Lincoln - Kevin Ring
CNMI - Kevin Ring
Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana - Stephanie Leger
Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians - Shawn Vasell
PRIMEDIA, Inc. - Alan Slomowitz
Saipan Garmet Manufacturers Association - Kevin Ring
Voor Huisen Project Management - Alan Slomowitz

Allison Bozniak

Executive Assistant
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs
Greenberg Traurig, LLP
800 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20006
ph: 202.533.2371

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]u=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2002 8:27 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Coushatta political contributions and sports suites money

You can have tickets to anything and everything you want, personal or business. work with Ilisa to get a floor game for your nephew and that hippie crap.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 30, 2002 8:37 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Coushatta political contributions and sports suites money

I'm all over it. By the way I have a couple of asks on the sports suites - but they are personal in nature. I promised my nephew I would get him on the floor to see Jordan for Christmas. Any chance I could get 4 on the floor anytime soon?

Also any chance I could get 4 tix to The hippie Band Dave Mathews Band? You da man!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 29, 2002 11:38 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Coushatta political contributions and sports suites money

Please be sure to get this to me as soon as you can. Thanks.

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]

Clerk of the House of Representatives	Secretary of the Senate
Legislative Resource Center	Office of Public Records
B-106 Cannon Building	232 Hart Building
Washington, DC 20515	Washington, DC 20510

LOBBYING REPORT

Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (Section 5) -All Filers Are Required to Complete This Page

1. Registrant Name
Greenberg Traurig, LLP

2. Registrant Address ☐ Check if different than previously reported
Address 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 500
City Washington State/Zip (or Country) DC 20006

3. Principal Place of Business (if different from line 2)
City State/Zip (or Country)

4. Contact Name Telephone E-mail (optional) 5. Senate ID #
Jack A. Abramoff 202-331-3100

7. Client Name ☐ Self 6. House ID #
Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

TYPE OF REPORT 8. Year 2001 Midyear (January 1-June 30) ☐ OR Year End (July 1-December 31) ☒

9. Check if this filing amends a previously filed version of this report ☐

10. Check if this is a Termination Report ☐ >> Termination Date _____ 11. No Lobbying Activity ☐

INCOME OR EXPENSES - Complete Either Line 12 OR Line 13

12. Lobbying Firms

INCOME relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period was:

Less than $10,000 ☐

$10,000 or more ☒ >> $ $1,760,000.00
Income (nearest $20,000)

Provide a good faith estimate, rounded to the nearest $20,000 of all lobbying related income from the client (including all payments to the registrant by any other entity for lobbying activities on behalf of the client).

13. Organizations

EXPENSES relating to lobbying activities for this reporting period were:

Less than $10,000 ☐

$10,000 or more ☐ >> $ _____
Expenses (nearest $20,000)

14. REPORTING METHOD. Check box to indicate expense accounting method. See instructions for description of options.

☐ **Method A.** Reporting amounts using LDA definitions only

☐ **Method B.** Reporting amounts under section 6033(b)(8) of the Internal Revenue Code

☐ **Method C.** Reporting amounts under section 162(e) of the Internal Revenue Code

Signature _____ Date 1/30/2002

Printed Name and Title Jack A. Abramoff - Senior Director of Government Affairs

GTG000080-EP-CS

Registrant Name: Greenberg Traurig, LLP

Client Name: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

LOBBYING ACTIVITY. Select as many codes as necessary to reflect the general issue areas in which the registrant engaged in lobbying on behalf of the client during the reporting period. **Using a separate page for each code,** provide information as requested. Attach additional page(s) as needed.

15. General issue area code GAM (one per page)

16. Specific Lobbying issues
S.832 -- A bill to amend the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act
H.R. 103 -- To amend the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act t protect Indian tribes from coerced labor agreements.
H.R. 2244 -- To amend the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act to require State legislature approval of new gambling facilities, to provide for minimum requirements for Federal regulation of Indian gaming, to set up a commission to report to Congress on current living and health standards in Indian coutry, and for other purposes.

17. House(s) of Congress and Federal agencies contacted ☐ Check if None
Department of the Interior
House of Representatives
Senate

18. Name of each individual who acted as a lobbyist in this issue area

Name	Covered Official Position (if applicable)	New
Abramoff, Jack A.		No
Boulanger, Todd A.		No
Crisler, Linsey		Yes
Leger, Stephanie	Legislative Counsel, Senator John Breaux	Yes
Platt, Ronald L.		No
Ring, Kevin A.		No
Rudy, Tony C.	Dep. CoS & Gen. Counsel, Majority Whip	No

19. Interest of each foreign entity in the specific issues listed on line 16 above X Check if None

Signature Date 1/30/2002

Printed Name and Title Jack A. Abramoff - Senior Director of Government Affairs Page 2 of 8

GTG000081-EP-CS

Registrant Name: Greenberg Traurig, LLP

Client Name: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

Item	Description	Data
18a	Lobbyist Name	Slomowitz, Alan
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Smith, Michael D.
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Vasell, Shawn
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Wilson, Padgett R.
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No

Registrant Name: Greenberg Traurig, LLP

Client Name: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

LOBBYING ACTIVITY. Select as many codes as necessary to reflect the general issue areas in which the registrant engaged in lobbying on behalf of the client during the reporting period. Using a separate page for each code, provide information as requested. Attach additional page(s) as needed.

15. General issue area code IND (one per page)
16. Specific Lobbying issues

17. House(s) of Congress and Federal agencies contacted ☐ Check if None
Department of the Interior
House of Representatives
Senate

18. Name of each individual who acted as a lobbyist in this issue area

Name	Covered Official Position (if applicable)	New
Abramoff, Jack A.		No
Boulanger, Todd A.		No
Crisler, Linsey		Yes
Leger, Stephanie	Legislative Counsel, Senator John Breaux	No
Platt, Ronald L.		No
Ring, Kevin A.		No
Rudy, Tony C.	Dep. CoS & Gen. Counsel, Majority Whip	No

19. Interest of each foreign entity in the specific issues listed on line 16 above X Check if None

Signature _____ Date 1/30/2002

Printed Name and Title Jack A. Abramoff - Senior Director of Government Affairs

Registrant Name: Greenberg Traurig, LLP

Client Name: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

Item	Description	Data
16	Lobbying Issues	H.R. 2217 -- Interior Appropriations for FY 2002 S.344 -- A bill to amend the Transportation Equity Act of the 21st Century to make certain amendments with respect to Indian tribes. S.832 -- A bill to amend the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. H.R. 103 -- To amend the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act to protect Indian tribes from coerced labor agreements. H.R. 2244 -- To amend the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act to require State legislature approval of new gambling facilities, to provide for minimum requirements for Federal regulation of Indian gaming, to set up a commission to report to Congress on current living and health standards in Indian coutry, and for other purposes. H.R. 2299/S.1178 -- Transportation Appropriations for FY 2002
18a	Lobbyist Name	Slomowitz, Alan
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Smith, Michael D.
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Vasell, Shawn
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Wilson, Padgett R.
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No

Registrant Name: Greenberg Traurig, LLP

Client Name: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

LOBBYING ACTIVITY. Select as many codes as necessary to reflect the general issue areas in which the registrant engaged in lobbying on behalf of the client during the reporting period. **Using a separate page for each code,** provide information as requested. Attach additional page(s) as needed.

15. General issue area code TAX (one per page)
16. Specific Lobbying issues
    Economic Stimulus Package

17. House(s) of Congress and Federal agencies contacted ☐ Check if None
    Department of the Interior
    House of Representatives
    Senate

18. Name of each individual who acted as a lobbyist in this issue area

Name	Covered Official Position (if applicable)	New
Abramoff, Jack A.		No
Boulanger, Todd A.		No
Crisler, Linsey		No
Leger, Stephanie	Legislative Counsel, Senator John Breaux	Yes
Platt, Ronald L.		No
Ring, Kevin A.		No
Rudy, Tony C.	Dep. CoS & Gen. Counsel, Majority Whip	No

19. Interest of each foreign entity in the specific issues listed on line 16 above ☒ Check if None

Signature Date 1/30/2002

Printed Name and Title Jack A. Abramoff - Senior Director of Government Affairs

Registrant Name: Greenberg Traurig, LLP

Client Name: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

Item	Description	Data
18a	Lobbyist Name	Slomowitz, Alan
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Smith, Michael D.
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Vasell, Shawn
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Williams, Michael E.
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No
18a	Lobbyist Name	Wilson, Padgett R.
18b	Covered Official Position	
18c	New Lobbyist	No

Registrant Name: Greenberg Traurig, LLP

Client Name: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

Information Update Page - **Complete ONLY where registration information has changed.**

20. Client new address

21. Client new principal place of business (if different from line 20)

City State/Zip (or Country)

22. New general description of client's business or activities

LOBBYIST UPDATE

23. Name of each previously reported individual who is no longer expected to act as a lobbyist for the client
Scanlon, Michael
Shiffman, Gary M.

ISSUE UPDATE

24. General lobbying issues previously reported that no longer pertain

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

25. Add the following affiliated organization(s)

Name	Address	Principal Place of Business (city and state or country)

26. Name of each previously reported organization that is no longer affiliated with the registrant or client

FOREIGN ENTITIES

27. Add the following foreign entities

Name	Address	Principal Place of Business (city and state or country)	Amount of contribution for lobbying activities	Ownership % in client

28. Name of each previously reported foreign entity that no longer owns, or controls, or is affiliated with the registrant, client, or affiliated organization

Signature _____ Date 1/30/2002

Printed Name and Title Jack A. Abramoff - Senior Director of Government Affairs

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: MIKE "SAUSAGE KING" SCANLON

FROM: DF AND CC

SUBJECT: LA

DATE: 2/6/2002

Our number one goal is to win at the federal level, to do that we have several recommendations, some of which are already in progress. In addition, we can create havoc in the state ranks (while providing cover for our federal efforts) by patching through to state legislators from Christians across Louisiana.

I. Feds
- A. Letters – Grasstop influencers; c/o Burger and Lunde
  1. Secy. Norton
  2. Cong. Vitter
  3. Cong. John
  4. Sen. Landrieu
  5. Sen. Breaux
- B. Phones
  1. Cong. John
  2. Cong. Vitter
  3. Sen. Landrieu
  4. Sen. Breaux

Time line: Wednesday, February 6 – Friday, February 8

II. State Anti-Gaming Legislators (see attached list)
- A. Anti-Gaming Legislators (in order of seniority)
  1. Secure letters from state reps to Norton – Burger and Lunde
  2. Provide sufficient grassroots cover to support it
     - a. Phones – Direct patch-throughs to district offices
     - b. Letters – Global Christian Outreach Network direct mail
- B. Willie Mount
  1. Phones – patch-throughs to her starting Thursday - continuing indefinitely- making it impossible to support another casino in Calscasieu Parish (see attached script)

573-

Timeline: Thursday, February6 – Wednesday, February13

III. Media
- A. Christian Radio – See attached script
  - 1. Message: "Call Norton"

Timeline: Friday, February 8 – Friday, February 15

IV. Christian Grasstops
- A. Christian Letters from influential clergymen to Norton (state legs?) – Century Strategies?

Timeline: Thursday, February 7 – Tuesday, February 12

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 8:34 PM
To: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Legal Memo

Does he suspect we are doing this? blame Ralph big time.

—Original Message—
From: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 5:45 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Legal Memo

Will do if he'll talk to me!
—Original Message—
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 5:43 PM
To: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Legal Memo
Call him innocently and ask what's up with this, sounding excited that someone is doing something. Tell him that you heard that Haley Barbour is lobbying for the Jena's and that Ralph Reed and the Christian Coalition are getting into this, so that's whom he may have heard from.

—Original Message—
From: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 5:38 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); 'mike@[redacted]Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis)

Subject: FW: Legal Memo

Do not forward please -- this is from [redacted] -- I told him it wasn't me. However, I had thought of getting the family to call but thought too many Legers calling would be obvious. Just trying to be funny since I can't read his tone in the e-mail.

—Original Message—
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 5:27 PM
To: 'legers@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Legal Memo
thanks. We were getting phone banked in opposition to a new indian casino this afternoon. Your doing?
—Original Message—
From: legers@[redacted] (mailto:legers@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 5:21 PM
To: [redacted],
[redacted],
[redacted]
Subject: Legal Memo

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 8:51 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Louisiana Press

Let me know when Dobson hits him. I want to savor it

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 12:40 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Louisiana Press

yes. there's a history there.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 12:42 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Louisiana Press

I just found out that it is Haley lobbying Members on this deal! We have to get that out nationally as soon as possible. can you get Dobson on the radio on this, hitting Haley?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 12:24 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: Louisiana Press

we're getting this in the water down there:

> Alexandria Town Talk Editorial (One of top 7 papers in state)
>
> Governor too secretive over casino
> Posted on February 6, 2002
> Gov. Mike Foster has given the green light to a fourth Indian gambling
> casino in the state, and if his spokesman is in fact speaking for him, it
> is
> none of anyone's business where the Jena Choctaws want to put a casino.
>
> The Associated Press reported Tuesday that Foster had signed a compact
> - an agreement between the state and an Indian tribe for a casino
> which in Louisiana only the governor can negotiate - with the Jena
> Choctaws within the last two weeks.
>
> The tribe, granted federal recognition years ago through the efforts
> of
> then-U.S. Sen. Bennett Johnston, D-La., owns only a small tract of land in
>
> Grant Parish.
>
> However, the tribe has tried, unsuccessfully so far, to put a casino
> at
> Rapides Station in Rapides Parish, in Natchitoches and in two counties in
> Mississippi - Greene and Tishomingo.
>
> Patrick Martin, an attorney for Foster, told the AP that the compact

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 06, 2002 8:51 PM
To: Mike Scanlon alt
Subject: ralph and dobson

He got to Dobson who is going to mail Louisiana and get on the radio! He is going to hit Haley by name! he is going to encourage people to call Norton and the WH. This is going to get fun.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 08, 2002 1:58 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: Governor Foster

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 08, 2002 10:34 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: Governor Foster

good stuff. i talked to the LA CC leader yesterday, who sits on the national board. he is livid and says there will be an explosion as this gets out.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted][mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 07, 2002 10:03 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: FW: Governor Foster

<< File: 1X@R01!.DOC >>

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only for the use of the person(s) named above. If you are not the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any review, dissemination, distribution or duplication of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender by reply email and destroy all copies of the original message.

To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@[redacted]

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY
PRESIDENT

February 11, 2002

EAGLE FORUM

Leading The Pro-Family Movement Since 1972

EDUCATION CENTER: 7800 BONHOMME AVE., ST. LOUIS, MO 63105, (314) 721-1213, fax (314) 721-3373
CAPITOL HILL OFFICE: 316 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., S.E., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003, (202) 544-0353, fax: (202) 547-6996
OPERATIONS CENTER: P.O. BOX 618, ALTON, IL 62002, (618) 462-5415, fax (618) 462-8909, eagle@eagleforum.org

Secretary Gale Norton
U.S. Department of Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton:

I recently became aware that Louisiana Governor Mike Foster signed a compact with the Jena Band of Choctaws allowing the further expansion of casino gambling in Louisiana. I also am aware that the Jena have submitted a request for a reservation to your bureau. I would ask that you seriously consider rejecting their request.

Secretary Norton, there is no question that you are a leader of integrity and honesty — and the American people have benefitted from your leadership. Please consider the negative consequences that additional gambling will have in Louisiana: crime, poverty, and the harmful effect on Louisiana businesses.

Members of Eagle Forum and many Republican leaders throughout Louisiana feel very strongly about this issue. They believe that Louisiana has more to offer its people, its tourism and its children than gambling casinos. With regard to the Choctaw casino, let the Department of Interior show the kind of high moral leadership you have shown on other issues. Please stand in opposition to the expansion of gambling for the benefit of all concerned.

Thank you for your consideration on this important issue.

Sincerely,

Phyllis Schlafly

cc: Sandy McDade, Louisiana Eagle Forum

** TOTAL PAGE.01 **

GTG002312-SS-CS TOTAL P.03

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 5:56 PM
To: 'Ralph Reed'
Subject: RE: TX--victory

This is great, but they are not going to do a thing until that AC casino is shut. This is a good step, but these hicks are adamant and get upset every time I raise it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@censtrat.com]
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 5:12 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: TX--victory
Importance: High

Supremes deny petition. can we now get an "attaboy" budget to give these guys air cover?

> Associated Press : Texas Wire
> Tigua Indians request for stay refused by U.S. Supreme Court
> By CHRIS ROBERTS (Associated Press Writer)
> The Associated Press
> Web Posted : 02/11/2002 2:38 PM
> The U.S. Supreme Court on Monday refused to grant a stay that would have
> allowed the Tigua Indians to continue operating their Speaking Rock Casino
> as they appeal lower court rulings that will require it to close.
> Without explanation, Justice Anthony M. Kennedy handed down the refusal.
> The Tiguas have been fighting Texas Attorney General John Cornyn who filed
> a lawsuit against the casino in 1999 claiming it violates state law. A
> federal district court and the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals agreed
> with the attorney general and the Tiguas are still appealing those
> rulings.
> The casino, which pulls in about $60 million each year and is the main
> source of income for a tribe that lived in poverty less than 10 years ago,
> also employs about 800 people who aren't tribal members.
> The tribe had argued that closing the casino before the appeals process is
> finished would create economic hardship for the tribe and the local
> economy.
> The appeals court ruling that the casino is illegal has been sent to the
> federal district court in El Paso where it must be processed before it
> becomes official, which could take a few days.
> MORE
> 02/11/2002
>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 10:42 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: LA

That's our client. We did this release.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 11, 2002 9:56 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: LA

>February 10, 2002
>
>Coushattas: Jena Choctaw's compact with state illegal
>By SHAWN MARTIN
>(Lake Charles) AMERICAN PRESS
>
>ELTON -- The Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana says the compact Gov. Mike
>Foster signed with the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians is illegal.
>
>The Coushattas also may ask for a federal investigation into Foster's
>dealing with the Jena-based tribe.
>
>"Since the governor is willing to play the odds and make deals with
>tribes who do not meet federal and state regulatory requirements, we
>presume he would be more than willing to sign a compact with a tribe
>that does meet these requirements," said William Worfel, Coushatta vice
>chairman.
>
>The Coushattas maintain that Foster cannot sign a compact with the
>Choctaws because they are not a federally officially recognized tribe
>that had land in trust by 1990 as required by federal law.
>
>Federal law says the governor can only enter into compacts with
>federally recognized tribes with reservation land before July 25, 1990.
>
>Worfel said the Choctaws have no land and the land they want to buy in
>Vinton did not meet the July 25, 1990 deadline. He also said Choctaws
>were not federally recognized until 1994.
>
>"In our opinion, there is relatively no chance of this compact being
>approved by the Department of Interior," he said. "There is a set of
>rules that all tribes must play by and the Jenas, along with the
>governor, appear not to be playing by them."
>
>Foster has said he had no choice but to sign a deal that could allow a
>new Indian casino in Vinton. He said federal law requires states to
>negotiate in good faith with federally recognized Indian tribes that
>want to open gambling casinos.
>
>Based on Foster's signing of the Choctaw compact and his willingness to
>negotiate with the Choctaws, Worfel said the Coushattas have "decided
>to roll the dice and try its hand at securing a second compact."
>
>Worfel said the Coushattas are interested in signing a "third, possibly
>fourth compact" if Foster is willing.

>
>"The Coushatta Tribe intends to maintain an open dialogue with the
>governor's office and submit a compact application at the earliest
>possible date," Worfel said.
>
>If Foster fails to acknowledge the Coushatta's request, Worfel said the
>tribe is prepared to ask for a federal investigation of his handling of
>the Choctaw compact and the renewal of the Coushatta's compact last
>summer.
>
>"It's against the law for the governor to do what he's done with the
>Jenas. The governor needs to find new legal counsel so he can get
>better advice," he said. "We want to be treated fairly like everyone
>else."
>
>The Coushatta Tribe owns and operates the reservation-based Grand
>Casino Coushatta near Kinder.
>
>Worfel said the Coushattas have a 35-acre site in East Baton Rouge
>Parish on the Mississippi River and are willing to build a new casino
>if Foster will sign a second compact with the tribe.
>
>"We can accept the river boats in Lake Charles and the slot machines at
>Delta Downs, but we cannot accept another native tribe moving into
>Southwest Louisiana ... our home," he said. "We have been good
>neighbors to Southwest Louisiana and this is how we are repaid."
>
>Worfel said if the Choctaws are allowed to build a Vinton casino, it
>will "kill" economic development from Lake Charles to Kinder.
>
>"We employ more than 3,000 people from a nine- parish area and provide
>more than $70 million in business to area business," Worfel said. "We
>are not going to sit still for another tribe to come into Southwest
>Louisiana that's illegally there."
>
>Worfel said the Choctaws have the support of people who want to hurt
>the Coushatta Tribe. He declined identify those people.
>
>"It's clear there is a conspiracy against my tribe and that's why we
>may have to have a federal investigation to clear the air," he said.
>"Who are the players involved in this? Some are from Alexandria and
>some are from Southwest Louisiana and at one time or another, all of
>them have had dealings with the Coushattas."
>
>
>
>
>**********
>****
>To find out everything that the politicians don't want you to
>know go to: www.Forgotston.com
>**********

Get your FREE download of MSN Explorer at http://explorer.msn.com/intl.asp.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 8:42 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: [redacted]

I know you (we!) hate him, but it does give us good cover and patter to have him doing stuff. Let's give him a list of things we want, especially on Jena, and give him some chump change to get it done. I hope you agree. can you give me a list on the Jena? On this one below, what should we do? Offer him a token?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 14, 2002 8:57 AM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: [redacted]

update below from our senior op in [redacted] the house caucus is on board. we can move our bill out of rules. We believe it can pass with a grassroots effort and some media. If we take it to the floor and lose, the defeat will be bad. we need a decision this week or it dies for this session. This is what you asked us to do so all we need is a green light:
I met with the Caucus Chair and his staffer today. Our legislation is ready to go. The new legislation was drafted (they took our draft points up there right after I left at 11:00) and we should be ready to bring to a Committee vote within a week.
The Caucus staff is also working on my proposed agenda and this legislation will be one of two agenda items under the broader "theme" of "Social/Moral issues." There is our issue of banning state contracts to casino vendors and then the other issue is the Ten Commandments. We are likely to see the Caucus come forward with their agenda within the next week with a press conference and releases.
Let me know where we stand on budget with your client. I think that there is an opportunity to show a lot of progress quickly, especially with this being new legisation: We can get co-sponsors/signers onto the bill as soon as it is filed/introduced...then we can begin our ground war with the CC putting pressure on D's to sign on ("election year" pressure should work in many cases).

STATE OF LOUISIANA
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TONY PERKINS
DISTRICT 64

4846 GROOM ROAD, SUITE C
BAKER, LOUISIANA 70714
PHONE (225) 775-4400
1-800-408-9784 (LA)
FAX (225) 771-8150
E-MAIL
ARPERKINS@AOL.COM

ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
ENVIRONMENT
RETIREMENT

February 19, 2002

Secretary Gale Norton
US Department of Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton,

This letter is being written to express my displeasure regarding the possibility of a gambling casino being built in Vinton, LA.

Secretary Norton, there is no question that you are a leader of integrity and honesty and that is why I am asking you to stand in opposition to this expension. Please consider the negative consequences that gambling will have on our state: crime, divorce, child abuse, and the harmful penalties to Louisiana businesses. I ask you to think about how this will affect our state and its families.

Please help Louisiana show that it has more to offer its people, its tourists and its children than gambling. Once again I ask that you please stand in opposition to the expansion of gambling for the citizens of Louisiana.

Thank you for your consideration on this important issue.

Sincerely,

Tony

Tony Perkins

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 7:54 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: high-level soco contacts

Thanks. This is key. Time is running out.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 3:42 PM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: high-level soco contacts

yes, we're negotiating that now. don't have a green light yet, but they are very interested. we will rain down thousands of calls.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]n [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 3:18 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: Re: high-level soco contacts

Can we get dobson on the air?
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail) <abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 19 15:16:54 2002
Subject: high-level soco contacts

called dobson this a.m. letters are going to norton, copied to others, from the following:

- Jim Dobson
- Gary Bauer
-Phyllis Schlafly

calls from falwell and robertson. will get copies and forward.

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)
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 10:20 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: FW: coushatta

Tell me about this one. I'd love to ream him.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 12:30 PM
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com
Subject: RE: FW: coushatta

Please tell ralph, that if I or anyone in my office gets another call from Sandra like the one we received yesterday, two weeks turn around will start turning in to two years. We are not their bank, and they should be very thankful of the relationship they have with us.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 12:22 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: FW: coushatta

OK, I'll get it all together.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 10:35 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: FW: coushatta

Anything you have send over - the more info the better.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 19 09:09:51 2002
Subject: RE: FW: coushatta

Also for the sports suites? Do you need another one of those invoices too?

Should we also get him the January and February GT invoices, which have languished with Kathy?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 19, 2002 8:37 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: coushatta

Yeah- just need to fax him instructions, does. I need that revised list of contributions can you get that over to me today?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike@[redacted]>
Sent: Mon Feb 18 23:16:41 2002
Subject: FW: coushatta

Did you ever get William?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 15, 2002 7:07 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: coushatta

Cool - Ill call wiliam tomorrow at home. I don think it will be a problem at all. -----
Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted]m [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 15, 2002 5:32 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: coushatta

I need to get this stuff sorted out. What do you suggest?
-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 13, 2002 11:12 AM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: coushatta

Since we didn't see them, we could not get the monthly
GT invoice issue dealt with. Also, we need to finalize the sports suites issue and the
contributions. Can you please get this done on Friday?

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]

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]

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

AMERICAN FAMILY ASSOCIATION

Office of the President
DR. DONALD E. WILDMON

Post Office Drawer 2440 A Tupelo, MS 38803
Phone (662) 844-5036 Fax (662) 842-7798 URL http://www.afa.net

February 19, 2002

Secretary Gale Norton
U.S. Department of Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton:

It has come to my attention that the Governor of Louisiana, Mike Foster, has signed a compact with the Jena Choctaw Indians to allow a new Indian gambling casino in Vinton, Louisiana. This essentially amounts to an expansion of gambling in that state.

On behalf of the American Family Association and our affiliates in Louisiana, I am asking that the U.S. Department of Interior reject any agreement with the Jena Choctaws, which would lead to a new Indian casino. Our belief is that gambling is detrimental to families and to the overall health of communities. Furthermore, the area targeted for the new casino is already saturated with other gambling interests. Just recently, the Delta Downs Racetrack in that area added 1500 slot machines to its gambling offerings.

Gambling costs much more in both economic and social costs than it benefits. Money spent on gambling is money, which is diverted from other businesses. An increase in gambling outlets brings with it an increase in addiction and the negative behaviors associated with gambling addiction. According to a University of New Orleans study, the social cost of gambling disorders in Louisiana in 1998 was approximately $485 million. Young people are not immune to addiction either. A Harvard Medical School researcher believes that more children are experiencing the adverse symptoms of gambling than drugs. The gambling industry brings with it crime and corruption and sends a bad message to children about how to acquire wealth. Corruption surrounding government officials and business people involved in the gambling industry has plagued Louisiana.

For these reasons and others, we respectfully request that the U.S. Department of Interior help to stem the tide of gambling in Louisiana and in other states as well. A good start in this effort would be the rejection of the Jena Choctaw request. Thank you in advance for anything you can do to support the families and businesses of Louisiana.

Sincerely,

Donald E. Wildmon

8978 Explorer Drive, Colorado Springs, CO 80920 • (719) 531-3400

February 20, 2002

Secretary Gail Norton
U.S. Department of Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton,

In recent days, concerned citizens in Louisiana have asked us to write to you about an important issue you are now considering — the proposal to allow development of an Indian casino in Vinton. This is of great concern to us because gambling is a destroyer of families and communities. We know this from countless letters sent to us by individuals whose lives have been ruined by the seductive lure of gambling's get-rich-quick lie. In 1999, Focus on the Family President Dr. James Dobson was on the National Gambling Impact Study Commission, whose findings revealed an enormous amount of evidence that gambling is addictive and progressive in nature, and certainly not something our government should be promoting.

Contrary to the gambling industry's claims that this expansion will improve the economy, any limited revenue gained is overwhelmingly offset by the social costs of gambling. Gambling's highly addictive nature, its seduction of young people, and its links to a host of other detrimental effects on society — including crime, bankruptcy, divorce, child abuse and suicide — all demonstrate that this "quick" economic fix causes more problems than it solves. Recent research demonstrates this fact. An independent report supplied to banks and lenders reveals that personal bankruptcies are on the rise and one main contributor is the growth of gambling in America, according to George Yacik, of SMR Research Corporation. "Counties that have more casinos tend to have higher bankruptcy filing rates than those with fewer casinos," Yacik said.

Louisiana already has an alarming number of gambling establishments, which include land-based casinos run by Indian tribes and non-Indian organizations, video poker machines, stationary riverboat gaming, race tracks, slot machines and lottery outlets. In light of this, the continued expansion of gambling will be counter-productive to the future of Louisiana's families. I hope you will take the time to read the research paper I am enclosing on the tragic history of gambling in Louisiana. Rather than rolling back the damage by restricting gambling, this latest Indian casino proposal would expand the danger to families. A new casino will only affect *greater* numbers of Louisiana families, causing more crime and corruption, more addictions, more bankruptcies, more divorces, more child abuse, more suicides.

In Dr. Dobson's summary of the National Gambling Impact Study Commission Report, he says, "We must reject the fantasy that wagering is innocuous entertainment and deal earnestly with the destruction and pain that it causes to individuals, families and society." Fortunately in this case, there is time to do just that by rejecting this proposal. I hope that you will thoughtfully consider the harm that this new casino would bring to the state of Louisiana if it is allowed to move forward.

Sincerely,

Tom Minnery

Tom Minnery
Vice President, Public Policy

TM/kdr

Enc.

cc: Mr. Andrew Card

TOTAL P.03

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2002 1:53 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Cc: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: Ralph Reed

We'll take care of it. Chris, please call me.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, February 21, 2002 2:46 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Cc: Chris Cathcart
Subject: RE: Ralph Reed

Sounds Good - Chris can you work with Jack on this?

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, February 20, 2002 8:18 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: Ralph Reed

He wants a budget for radio in the state. I am inclined to say yes, so we can get this Dobson ad up. We'll then play it in the WH and Interior. He asked for $150K. I told him not even half. Maybe we'll do $60K?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 20, 2002 5:53 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: Ralph Reed

He may have finally scored for us! Dobson goes up on the radio on this next week! He thinks he can get Dobson to cut a radio spot on this for Louisiana too. I'll have more detail soon.

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].

FEB-05-2002 15:42 MASTERWRITERS 719 548 5735 P.02

COLORADO SPRINGS, CO 80908 • (719) 531-3181

February 22, 2002

Secretary Gail Norton
U.S. Department of Interior
1849 C Street Northwest
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton:

A warm greeting to you from Colorado! I'd like to take a moment of your time to address an issue of great concern to me and my colleagues in the pro-family movement. It has recently come to my attention that the Choctaw Indian tribe has proposed the development of a casino in Vinton, Louisiana. Although Governor Foster has already signed an agreement that would allow this endeavor to move forward, the Department of the Interior must give final approval before the project can commence. I urge you not to bring another gambling establishment to the state of Louisiana. Please allow me to explain.

As you may know, from 1997 through 1999 I served on the National Gambling Impact Study Commission. During the course of its work, the commission studied the issue of gambling from all angles and discovered that the industry has had a decidedly *negative* impact on individuals, families, and communities nationwide. In fact, an astounding 15 million Americans are already pathological gamblers, and their behavior in turn has an adverse effect on millions more of their family members, employers, colleagues, and fellow taxpayers. Proponents of legalized gambling claim that it will vastly improve the economy of any area to which it is introduced. However, research shows that not only are the economic perks marginal (the construction of the Vinton casino could actually result in the loss of hundreds of jobs and millions of dollars in tax money), but the negative social impact of gambling far overshadows any perceived financial upshot. Communities in which gambling is a firmly entrenched presence face higher rates of bankruptcy, crime, divorce, child abuse, and other social problems than do areas without gambling. Studies also confirm that gambling is highly addictive in nature, especially for young people and poor families who have believed the lie that gambling will lead them to financial freedom. On the contrary, it pushes them further into economic slavery.

Secretary Norton
February 22, 2002
Page 2

The Bayou State is already host to a number of different forms of gambling, including lotteries, Indian casinos, riverboat casinos, race tracks, and more. Please, Secretary Norton, for the sake of Louisiana's families, don't add more fuel to the fire by allowing the development of the Vinton casino. Thanks once more for your time. Best wishes to you in the days and weeks ahead.

Sincerely,

James C. Dobson, Ph.D.
President

JCD/dmd

cc: Governor Mike Foster

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 11:45 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: William

I got a call from Griles basically accusing Ralph and me of having our finger prints on an anti-Norton effort. I denied it of course, but it is clear that I have taken a hit here.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 11:23 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: William

I read you on Norton - We will block it all the way doen the line. Lets chat later.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 11:11 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: William

Get William a meeting with Norton? We don't want to do that! Tell him that we are bombing her (Ralph is going to use his $ for phones and radio on her from Christians) and we don't want her to think it's us. let's discuss.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike@[redacted]
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 10:05 AM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: William

Hey - the reason William is coming up is because Foster declares that he is meeting with Norton on Monday. We better get him in there as well.

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
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]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 3:52 PM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Visit next week

Which story? I hope we are not in it, nor Ralph. Are we OK?

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 4:48 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Visit next week

Post is on this story
Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@[redacted] Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <legers@[redacted]; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted]; Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 22 16:30:40 2002
Subject: RE: Visit next week

I just got a call from Griles all upset that Ralph Reed and I are bashing Norton! I told him this was a total lie and that the bashing is from the religious right (Dobson) who don't like me or Ralph anyway. Plus, they are not publicly bashing Norton at this point because Ralph has been keeping a lid on them. I assured him that I was working FOR and WITH them, but that there is a lot of anger out there because of the [redacted] thing. He said he talked to [redacted] (Kevin is this true?) and that the problem there was the way that Doolittle wrote the bill and that the community supported the tribe. Whatever. He seemed to be distinguishing how Norton would handle Jena (I hope!). in any event, we have to be mega careful as to how we proceed. At this point, I do not think we should have anyone other than Stephanie involved with the group which is coming up, and we are not going to try to get anyone a meeting with Norton or Griles. Things are too hot right now. Plus, the AG Ieyoub is a D running for Governor, no? so we have to be careful.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 10:30 AM
To: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Visit next week

They should be meeting with Norton, Griles and the rest. Period.

-----Original Message-----
From: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 10:29 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Visit next week

The group from Louisiana that is coming up next week to meet with BIA (Paula Hart -- Skabine is traveling) includes AG Ieyoub, Lt. Gov. Blanco, some Police Jurors from Calcasieu, and Port of Lake Charles officials. The woman that represents the Port is a former Breaux staffer (she worked with and for him for over 25 years). She is including me in the meeting. Would it be improper for us to see if there's anyway we can help get them a meeting with someone above Paula since the Gov will be meeting with Norton?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, February 23, 2002 6:12 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Visit next week

I think he could fuck us a lot worse than we could fuck him.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 5:34 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Visit next week

Fuck steph griles

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@[redacted]>; Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <legers@[redacted] Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted] Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt@[redacted]
Sent: Fri Feb 22 16:30:40 2002
Subject: RE: Visit next week

I just got a call from Griles all upset that Ralph Reed and I are bashing Norton! I told him this was a total lie and that the bashing is from the religious right (Dobson) who don't like me or Ralph anyway. Plus, they are not publicly bashing Norton at this point because Ralph has been keeping a lid on them. I assured him that I was working FOR and WITH them, but that there is a lot of anger out there because of the [redacted] thing. He said he talked to [redacted] (Kevin is this true?) and that the problem there was the way that Doolittle wrote the bill and that the community supported the tribe. Whatever. He seemed to be distinguishing how Norton would handle Jena (I hope!). in any event, we have to be mega careful as to how we proceed. At this point, I do not think we should have anyone other than Stephanie involved with the group which is coming up, and we are not going to try to get anyone a meeting with Norton or Griles. Things are too hot right now. Plus, the AG Ieyoub is a D running for Governor, no? so we have to be careful.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 10:30 AM
To: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Visit next week

They should be meeting with Norton, Griles and the rest. Period.

-----Original Message-----
From: Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 22, 2002 10:29 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Visit next week

The group from Louisiana that is coming up next week to meet with BIA (Paula Hart -- Skabine is traveling) includes AG Ieyoub, Lt. Gov. Blanco, some Police Jurors from Calcasieu, and Port of Lake Charles officials. The woman that represents the Port is a former Breaux staffer (she worked with and for him for over 25 years). She is including me in the meeting. Would it be improper for us to see if there's anyway we can help get them a meeting with someone above Paula since the Gov will be meeting with Norton?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 8:12 AM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: RE: Call to [redacted]

Great, where are we with Falwell, Robertson, Dobson, etc? we need to see some action in DC. That's what I sold them for the $100K.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 9:00 AM
To: 'abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: FW: Call to [redacted]

Good grasstops contact.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Eric Criss <eric@[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph@[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 26 11:17:53 2002
Subject: FW: Call to [redacted]

FYI...

[redacted]

Send and receive Hotmail on your mobile device: http://mobile.msn.com

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 3:27 PM
To: Ralph E. Reed, Jr.
Subject: FW: Fw: Re: FW: LA update

At this point just fed ex it to me. they left.

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 8:12 AM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Re: Fw: Re: FW: LA update

Coming in just a bit.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net) -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 26 00:12:37 2002
Subject: Fw: Re: FW: LA update

Can u get this for me? We meet them 10 am tomorrow.
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]
To: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Feb 25 18:32:57 2002
Subject: Re: FW: LA update

Jack- a copy of the ad would be nice for our clinet meeting- can you have them email the radio spot- beam it to you? Also we need copies of the religous letters for that meeting. Also can you have italia confirm that foster and norton acutally met? -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]
Sent: Mon Feb 25 18:10:27 2002
Subject: FW: LA update

FYI.
-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 5:40 PM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Fw: LA update

Wow. Phone calls deluged the Secretary's ofice while foster was there!

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net) -----Original Message-----
From: Glen Wilkins <glen[redacted]
To: Ralph Reed <ralph[redacted]; Eric Criss <eric@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Feb 25 20:46:45 2002
Subject: LA update

Ralph - Foster met with Norton this morning. A contact in the office has confirmed this. The switchboards have been absolutely swamped by anti-gaming callers responding to our phone calls and radio. 10-12 heavy hitters called the secretary's office during the actual meeting to express their views. The letter program has been completed and only

retrieval is left which should be completed by mid-week. Bauer has sent a letter which we are working on retrieving. Glen

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@gtlaw.com.

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@gtlaw.com.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 9:47 PM
To: Mike Scanlon office
Subject: FW: $160k FED EX TO YOU TODAY

Didn't those checks get fed ex'd to him yesterday?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 26, 2002 10:05 PM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: $160k FED EX TO YOU TODAY

Did not receive. Please expedite. Radio already paid for.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 25, 2002 3:18 PM
To: Ralph Reed
Subject: $160k FED EX TO YOU TODAY

Both for the Jena campaign.

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 postmaste[redacted]

American Values

Gary L. Bauer, President

March 4, 2002

Honorable Gale Norton
Secretary of the Interior
U.S. Department of Interior
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton,

It has come to my attention that the Jena Choctaw have applied for a permit to build a casino in Vinton Mississippi. This is disturbing news Madame Secretary. Not only has it been proven that casinos have contributed to all manner of social and community ills, granting a license for the Jena Choctaw to operate a casino is contrary to President Bush's pro-family vision for America.

I want you to know that I am opposed to this gambling request in the strongest terms possible. This administration must not cave in to those who only have special interests at heart when they would benefit at the expense of the community as a whole.

If the Jena Choctaw need development assistance it would be far wiser to address those concerns through programs designed to imbue sustainable economic development via worthwhile activities. I am of the considered opinion that by helping the Jena Choctaw take a high road to their own needs both the city of Vinton and the tribe would benefit. To enhance the economic status of one at the expense of the other simply makes no sense.

Sincerely,

Gary L. Bauer

Gary L. Bauer

[illegible] Washington Blvd. • Suite [illegible] • Arlington, VA 22[illegible]
Phone [illegible] • Fax [illegible]
www.[illegible]

TOTAL P.02

GTG000007-MS-CS

[redacted] Check Image

Check #: Date Cleared: Amount:

[redacted] 03/12/2002 300000

COUSHATTA TRIBE OF LOUISIANA GENERAL FUND

[redacted]

PAY: Three Hundred Thousand and 00/100 Dollars

DATE AMOUNT

03/12/2002 $300,000.00

TO THE ORDER OF

Jack Abramoff Sports Suites
Jack Abramoff

[redacted]

[redacted]

Deposit #: 70116 761
Record Sports Suites Record

DO NOT WRITE, STAMP OR SIGN BELOW THIS LINE

[redacted]

COUSH-MiscFin-0000427

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 1:55 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Coush

Great.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 2:48 PM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Subject: RE: Coush

Ok- also talked with vanhorne we are all set for meeting.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]
Sent: Tue Mar 12 14:50:42 2002
Subject: RE: Coush

It's great, but don't give the option of shaving costs. Of course they should do them all at once, and there are no savings!!! Otherwise, we'll sacrifice $2M that they would otherwise gladly pay. OK?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, March 12, 2002 1:45 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Coush

<< File: Coush - WM Post Jena Fight Memo.doc >> Here is what is going down to William

<<Coush - WM Post Jena Fight Memo.doc>>

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
(202)547-3600
(202)547-0084 (fax)
(202)841-3077(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 postmaste[redacted]

From: Ralph Reed [ralph[redacted]
Sent: Friday, March 22, 2002 3:08 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: FW: Texas Plan

Texas 2002.doc (34 KB)

here is the TX political plan we discussed earlier. Sanchez has said he opposes closing casinos, and a Democrat legislature would act quickly to reopen the Tigua casino. The stakes could not be higher.

>
>
> <<Texas 2002.doc>>

DRAFT

Texas 2002

The longevity of recent legislative and judicial gambling victories in Texas will depend on the outcome of elections in Texas next November. A January 26 El Paso Times article stated "Neither of the top two Democratic candidates for governor wants the Tiguas' Speaking Rock casino shut down..." The article continued, "Tigua Gov. Albert Alvidrez said the tribe will consider multiple legislative strategies and do "whatever it takes" to protect Indian sovereignty and the ability to continue its gaming enterprise."

To preserve our hard fought victories in Texas, we recommend active involvement in the 2002 elections in an effort to defeat pro-gambling candidates for governor and the state legislature. Republicans currently enjoy a one-vote margin in the state senate. Presently, no incumbent Republicans in that chamber are considered vulnerable. There are several potentially vulnerable Democrats, including Senators Cain, Whitmire, and Barrientos.

The nearly evenly split House of Representatives is a key target as well. With a slim six-seat majority (78-72), Democrats face the prospect of losing their majority in 2002. Democrats will have to manage 15 retirements, while Republican vacancies to date total only 8. We recommend targeting 5-8 state house seats based upon data currently available and further analysis.

State Senate Effort

We suggest targeting the following Senate Democrats for defeat:

District 14 Gonzalo Barrientos
District 2 David Cain
District 15 John Whitmire

The following criterion were used to compile this list:

- Incumbent who has voted consistently on the pro-gambling side.
- District demographics that make the incumbent vulnerable.
- Mistakes, mis-statements or votes out of step with district that make the incumbent vulnerable.
- Incumbents who are unprepared – low cash on hand totals, weak campaigners, etc.

Each targeted incumbent meets at least two or more of these four criteria. Redistricting for the state legislature has been completed and is not expected to alter our plans. The final decisions can be made as late as Labor Day so we have time to continue probe for weaker incumbents. We will mount individualized campaigns uniquely designed for each district. Depending on the district and the incumbent we will use direct mail, telephone banks, grassroots organization, coalition building, paid media and earned media.

State House Effort

We suggest targeting the following House Democrats for defeat:

District 5 Bob Glaze
District 137 Debra Danburg
District 34 Jamie Capelo
District 48 Ann Kitchen

We suggest targeting the following House Republicans for Victory:

District 9 Wayne Christian
District 68 Rick Hardcastle
District 59 Sid Miller

The following criterion were used to compile this list:

- Incumbent who has voted consistently on the pro/anti-gambling side.
- District demographics that make the incumbent vulnerable.*
- Mistakes, mis-statements or votes out of step with district that make the incumbent vulnerable.*
- Incumbents who are unprepared – low cash on hand totals, weak campaigners, etc.*

* In the case of our anti-gambling allies, we see a clear potential to overcome these liabilities and therefore recommend targeting them for victory.

Each targeted incumbent meets at least two or more of these four criteria. Redistricting for the state legislature has been completed and is not expected to alter our plans. The final decisions can be made as late as Labor Day so we have time to continue probe for weaker incumbents. We will mount individualized campaigns uniquely designed for each district. Depending on the district and the incumbent we will use direct mail, telephone banks, grassroots organization, coalition building, paid media and earned media.

Budgets will vary by state senate and state house district. Texas is a particularly diverse state and we'll have to make allowances for that fact as we develop plans for GOTV and media. After the March primaries we'll begin developing grassroots and coalitions plans and begin executing them in May and June. In the final three months of the campaign we will execute coordinated mail, phones and media plans. We recommend spending an average $ 90,000 per senate district and $55,000 per house district.

Statewide Campaigns

Texas Governor Rick Perry is narrowly leading in head-to-head match-ups against his potential Democrat opponents. However, Republican insiders privately express concern

over a series of minor mis-steps to adversely affect the Perry campaign. These facts, combined with Perry's narrow margin of victory in the 1998 Lieutenant Governor's race, provide incentive to take action in the Governor's race. With Governor Bush at the top of the ticket, garnering 69% of the vote and a record 49% of the Hispanic vote -- and Republicans winning every statewide race -- Perry beat his Democrat opponent, John Sharp with only 50.9% of the vote. Sharp is not challenging Perry, having chosen to seek the office of Lieutenant Governor instead.

Democrat nominee Tony Sanchez starts with two important factors on his side, a Hispanic surname and the ability to finance much of his own campaign. Sanchez, who made his money in oil, gas and banking, now has a very lucrative venture capital enterprise.

Fortunately, Perry is well funded. His most recent report, released in January shows over $13 million cash on hand. Sanchez has raised little money other than loans from himself and his family. Again, given his ability to self-finance through a $700,000,000 personal fortune, money is not expected to be a problem for Sanchez.

We estimate a statewide network television buy in the summer or fall of 2002 will cost approximately $1.2 million for 500 gross rating points, and $1.4 million for 1000 GRPs. In lieu of a television campaign, a less expensive option would be a statewide radio buy. By targeting selected media markets this amount can be cut to fit a smaller budget.

A second, more traditional approach would dictate a fall strategy focused on the final weeks of the campaign using both paid media and direct mail targeted to swing and independent voters.

The advantages of this approach are that it would deliver our message at a time when the majority of voters are paying attention to the race and when Perry is under the heaviest fire from his opposition.

Direct mail under either option would cost the same amount per piece. The mail would be aimed at targeted swing voters groups such as suburban women, non-primary rural voters, senior citizens, etc. The mail would allow us to further target our message to these swing voters while beefing up and explaining further the television campaign.

Budget

Legislative Campaigns 5 state senate campaigns at an average of $ 90,000 per district.	**$450,000**
7 state house campaigns at an average of $55,000 per district	**$385,000**

[redacted]

Statewide Television	**$1,275,000**
Using a three week statewide buy with 500 GRPs in for the fall buy.*	
Statewide Radio	**$ 437,500**
Using a three week statewide buy with 5-7 frequency	
Television Production	**$45,000**
Includes creative, filming, editing and shipping Of two to three television ads.	
Statewide Direct Mail	**$418,100**
Four different mail universes: Targeted social conservatives (480,000 households), suburban high-propensity general election swing voters (260,000 households), non-primary rural voters in swing counties (390,000 households) and at $0.37 per mail piece.	

* estimates based on 2001 numbers; 2002 numbers are not yet out.

[redacted]

From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Monday, April 22, 2002 10:37 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: AC/tigua language

Sorry this took so long. Some of my emails are not retreivable from home.

The language we suggest using is as follows: "Public Law 100-89 is amended by striking sections 107 and 207 (101 Stat. 668, 672)."

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, April 18, 2002 11:18 PM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: tigua language

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, April 18, 2002 10:34 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: tigua language

Okay. First thing in the morning.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoff[redacted]
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <vanhorne[redacted]
Sent: Thu Apr 18 22:28:37 2002
Subject: RE: tigua language

If you can get it to me then, that would be great.

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, April 18, 2002 6:57 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: tigua language

Sure. We just add a section number to what we already have. Do you need it tomorrow?

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoff[redacted]
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <vanhorne[redacted]
Sent: Thu Apr 18 18:48:29 2002
Subject: tigua language

Can you get me language which also repeals section 207? I might have worked the deal with the Alabama Coushattas. Don't tell anyone for now. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, June 02, 2002 8:46 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: FW: Coushatta: Voters approve casino, reject off-track betting

They are ripe for more pickings. We have to figure out how. Can you meet tomorrow?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, April 09, 2002 9:34 AM
To: abramoff[redacted]
Subject: Re: FW: Coushatta: Voters approve casino, reject off-track betting

We lost this fight - there is no more money there my man. Sorry. -----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoff[redacted]
To: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]
Sent: Tue Apr 09 09:33:01 2002
Subject: FW: Coushatta: Voters approve casino, reject off-track betting

We have to put together a plan to whack these guys and Delta.
-----Original Message-----
From: Crisler, Linsey C. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Monday, April 08, 2002 11:48 AM
To: DCCoushatta
Subject: Coushatta: Voters approve casino, reject off-track betting

The Associated Press State & Local Wire
April 6, 2002

Voters approve casino, reject off-track betting
Louisiana's 15th and final riverboat casino has been licensed and plans are being drawn for a $225 million gambling complex in Lake Charles. But the project passed its final test Saturday when voters in Calcasieu Parish gave it the final go-ahead.
Final returns showed 57 percent, or 20,413, voted in favor of the riverboat project, while 43 percent, or 15,321, voted against it.
California-based Pinnacle Entertainment Inc. will join the casino fray in southwestern Louisiana with a project that will include a gambling riverboat, a hotel and a championship golf course. Although Calcasieu Parish was the first in Louisiana to see a riverboat casino open, the project had to win local voter approval because of a 1996 constitutional amendment requiring a referendum to expand existing forms of gambling.
Pinnacle will compete against four riverboat casinos in Lake Charles, plus an Indian reservation casino operated by the Coushatta tribe in Kinder, for gamblers from southeastern Texas.
A group calling itself Concerned Citizens Against Gaming Expansion reportedly spent more than $50,000 on advertisements, urging rejection of the riverboat project. Little was known about the group.
Coushatta tribal vice chairman William Worfel said his tribe was not behind the group. "We live with the boats," he said. "If another comes that means we will just have to make what we offer bigger and better."
The Coushattas strongly opposed a gambling compact signed in January between the Jena Band of Choctaws and Gov. Mike Foster for a reservation casino at Vinton. The federal Interior Department rejected the compact last month. Another gambling proposal was not so lucky.
Louisiana Downs at Bossier City asked voters to give the go-ahead for an off-track wagering facility, but the proposal was defeated by a 75 percent majority. Final returns showed 2,339 voting against the proposal, with 785 in favor.
Had Webster Parish voters approved off-track betting, Louisiana Downs said it would have built an entertainment complex in Minden, including a restaurant, sports bar, and big

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 9:00 PM
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capital Athletic Foundation

Great! can you email Petras on the Sag chip request (it'll look better coming from you as a former DeLay COS). We'z gonna make a bundle here.

-----Original Message-----
From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 06, 2002 11:49 AM
To: Edlin, Richard A. (Shld-NY-CP)
Subject: FW: Capital Athletic Foundation

Do you think stoli can help with this delay request?
Tony Rudy

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudyt[redacted]
Sent: Thu Jun 06 11:47:30 2002
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Hi Tony. Did you get the message from the guys that Tom wants us to raise some bucks from Capital Athletic Foundation? I have six clients in for $25K. I recommend we hit everyone who cares about Tom's requests. I have another few to hit still. It's a tax deductible foundation doing some issues education (they do NO lobbying at all), so it's easier (though it did not matter to the tribes). I think that, if we can do $200K, that would be good. Let me know.

From: Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:16 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Capitol athletic foundation

Your senses are good.

If you have to say Leadership is asking, please do. I already have.

I owe you a check for this morning

-----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 Sag-Chips 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 Coushatta request list that I'm putting together during the July 4th recess... or I can split it up 1/2 to Coushatta and 1/2 to Choctaw so

it doesn't dillute your other requests.

Sags 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

GTG-E000254779

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 9:43 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

totally

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 10:35 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Amen! You got it boss - we have many years ahead! I will call Candice in the am on the issues - It will be tight

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 8:45 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Thanks so much! You are a great partner. What I love about our partnership is that, when one of us is down, the other is there. we're gonna make $ for years together! On AC, can you call Candace and get her take on the issues they want to hear about from us during our presentation? Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 8:39 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: I'm not coming in today

Hey - good day all around - we wrapped up the Sag chip crap - We hit Coush - I think for 3 mil - and we are working gon Acaliente presentation - should be tight.

Rest up - Ill talk to you in the am.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 1:19 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: i'm not coming in today

Talk to me baby. Good stuff? Can you call me at home?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, June 20, 2002 1:14 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: i'm not coming in today

Do you smell that?

The information contained in this transmission may contain privileged and confidential information. It is intended only

.n: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [redacted] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:24 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Section 207

They are TOTALLY interested in appropriations. Who said they weren't? thanks for all you do (go to bed!!!). :)

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 2:21 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Section 207

I had heard that! Congratulations!! I also heard they weren't much interested in getting approps. That may make our policy work all that more important.

We are having the interns prepare short backgrounders on each tribal client (history, culture, statistics, etc.). After client review, we will have them printed up as hand outs for things like pre-meetig briefings for staff and members as well as educating ourselves. I will add Agua Caliente to the list. I am thinking we could make some subtle distinctions in what we prepare for the high paying clients (add photographs, maps, stuff like that--nothing too obvious).

This is in addition to what we are doing on various policy issues. We have had several meetings this week with the group that I need to summarize for you.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 02:09:38 2002
Subject: RE: Section 207

By the way, landed Agua Caliente today for a biggie ($150K/month).

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 1:59 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Section 207
Importance: High

I will need to get it from my files at work. First thing in the morning okay?

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 01:56:20 2002
Subject: Section 207

Jon, please get me language asap which includes the Alabama Coushatta in the repeal of the anti-gaming provisions of the reorganization act. I believe we have come to terms with them, though Neil Volz, you and I might be the only ones who will know about this on our

side. Please get it to me on email asap. thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 9:10 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: Re: urgent

Yes if that will pass perpetuity muster with nigc
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 10:07:12 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

Can the general form of the agreement be a consulting agreement?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 9:57 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: Re: urgent

It would be far better to sort it out right now. I don't trust these guys and this is moving mega fast. I need to get them the doc cob today and we need it to be what will stay forever. Can u do it and check all the non profit issues today? Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 09:49:08 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

Legally doing the perpetual thing (i.e., infinitely renewable contract) is (relatively) easy; keeping it in place politically is the challenge. I think the Foundation idea makes it easier for the tribe internally and externally to justify the payments. Also the payments need to be net after management fees if any to avoid NIGC sniffing about. That way it is essentially a percentage of what the tribe gets and cannot be confused with a management agreement. Actually I just thought of something that makes it even more vital to use a foundation (or something like that). IGRA has limitations on what the tribe can spend its net on; although NIGC has seldom questioned tribal uses, it is on the books and using a foundation would make it much more likely that the payments can be challenged. Foundations can be set up with self perpetuating boards and if we don't try to claim a lot of tax advantages (e.g. 501c3 status), my impression is that the foundation has substantial latitude on what it does with its funds. I suggest we have a contract with a for profit entity now while we sort this out. Suggestion: NA Consultants, Inc. (as in Native American).

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 9:00 AM
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: urgent

If we set up a Native American Political Foundation (and put in the contract that the foundation had total discretion and no reporting requirements to the tribe) could we do the perpetual thing?

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

From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 8:55 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: urgent

I was thinking of a Native American Political Foundation that had a broad charter to do stuff including grass roots organizing, etc. Primary purpose would be to give the A-C political cover for long term payments. One could have a for profit consultant/manager that was taking a share off as fees, not from the tribe, but from the foundation. For right now I suggest the contract be with a for profit corp with the right to assign the payments to another entity. Also I think having the payments be perpetual would be a political disaster when it becomes public. Actually now that I think about it, SAYING that payments are perpetual is the problem. I will make payments extend for the term of the contract and the contract renewable in some fashion.

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 08:39:32 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

I would prefer ultimate flexibility, since some of the money would not be used for Indians. Would having a non-profit help us in some way? how so?

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 8:37 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: urgent

How about a foundation/not for profit? Would all expenditures relate to Indians?

Sent from my BlackBerry Wireless Handheld (www.BlackBerry.net)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis) <Van_horneJ[redacted]>
Sent: Thu Jun 27 08:25:46 2002
Subject: RE: urgent

No. I need the money into the company so we can draw fees from it if we want, or we can spend it on grass roots stuff as well. plus, they can only give $5K to a PAC. I want it to be a transfer to a corp (or LP if that would somehow make it easier in maintaining the perpetuity of the matter).

-----Original Message-----
From: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: Thursday, June 27, 2002 6:24 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: urgent

Somehow I didn't see this last night. Question: If the tribe created a PAC and let XYZ Corp. manage it as their political advisor and agreed to put 10% into it, would you have sufficient flexibility in spending the money?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
To: van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis)
Sent: 6/27/2002 1:56 AM
Subject: urgent
Importance: High

I need you to draft an airtight agreement between XYZ corporation (to be named later) and the Alabama Coushatta Tribe of Texas with the following points:

1. The tribe will instruct their attorneys, lobbyists and representatives immediately to cease all activity in Washington, DC and or with the federal government to obtain permission to operate casino gaming.
2. Said cessation of activities shall remain in effect until two weeks after the United States Congress recesses for the summer in August 2002.
3. If, during the period of cessation noted above, the tribe obtains permission from the federal government (other than through the courts) to operate casino gaming, through any means, including but not limited to any Executive Branch Administrative Act or Congressional legislation, the tribe agrees to pay XYZ corporation 10% of the gaming EBITDA.
4. Said payment shall be made in perpetuity (Jon, is this possible? how can we characterize the payment? Can we make it consulting fees?

The basic deal is that if we get them legal, they have to pay into a fund which we control 10 percent of their gaming revenue (is ebitda the best approach here? What is done with other percentage deals with tribes?) and we will use those funds at our complete discretion. We'll use them for political costs and contributions. I intend to get them to hire us separately.

Anyway, please let me know how we can do this asap. I have to get this papered immediately.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, July 08, 2002 2:41 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: three items

I did not want to discuss it on the phone with the council, but I really need to get clarity from you on the three items we have outstanding:

1. the document with the Alabama Coushatta. If we don't have something from them, we are not going to put them into that bill and decision time is coming. Are they reviewing it? can we get them to do a letter? As soon as they are clear on the language and let us know, I'll give you the entity. Thanks.
2. Scotland trip. I am really getting nervous about how long this is taking. If you think there is a problem, please just let me know so I can figure out how to get this sponsored. Thanks.
3. DeLay contribution. I am getting daily calls on this. when they return tomorrow, I have no doubt Tom himself is going to call. Please let me know.

Marc, please call me on cell as soon as you know any of this. thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, July 23, 2002 5:18 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: FW: DeSoto Parish

Forget Ralph, but this poll is very interesting. Can you get to William and get us some $ so we can fight this?

-----Original Message-----
From: Ralph Reed [mailto:ralph[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, July 23, 2002 6:12 PM
To: Jack Abramoff (E-mail)
Subject: DeSoto Parish

here is the DeSoto parish website, scroll down to the online poll and look at current results. 60% say they support the casino, and the Desoto Parish Police Jury will not tell our supporters on the ground the timeline for a vote. That suggests we may want to put a more substantive grassroots campaign against the casino into gear so we don't get surprised by a last-minute vote that is effectively rigged against the pro-family forces.

http://www.desotoparish.net/index.htm
<<DeSoto Parish.url>>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]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, 24, 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
>

GTG-E000020108

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, July 31, 2002 7:03 PM
To: 'Chris Petras -- Saginaw Chippewa'
Subject: Capital Athletic Foundation

Just wanted to remind you about getting the Capital Athletic Foundation contribution to me asap per the delay request. Thanks so much.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] 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
> DeLay thing. Than ks.
>
>
> _____
> 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: 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.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 9:41 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); van Horne, Jon (Shld-DC-Legis); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: great dinner with Griles

Jena and Huron are going our way: "it will be a long, long time before they are ever able to open a casino for Huron". Jena is in even worse shape with them. he is very excited about the proposed legislative fix.

Tigua-water issue he is looking into.

[redacted] discussion was great.

Great dinner.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 9:51 PM
To: 'Marc Schwartz'
Subject: water issue

Just finished meeting with the Dep Secretary. He is supposed to get his people to report to him tomorrow on this issue so he can help us. I'll keep you posted.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 2:47 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Hey

I agree. we need to be better at following up leads, like the Trump thing. Can you get on that? I am reeling in [redacted] We really need to meet at least once a week or more. This business is too big to let slip, and if we don't meet, we don't push each other forward. when are you next in DC?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, September 09, 2002 8:33 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Hey

hey there- Just wanted to let you know a check will be coming over today for a little over 2 million like 2.25 or so. Also was on the phone with all clients except for Nell this weekend all is good!

We have more cash coming in soon from AC and Choctaw - but our pool is getting shallow - we need to reload my man!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
mike[redacted]

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.

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM WOERFUL
FROM: MIKE SCANLON
SUBJECT: LOUSIANA 2002 POLITICAL PROGRAM
DATE: 9/21/2005
CC: JACK ABRAMOFF

William,

Sorry for the brief delay in getting this to you but with so much at stake this year we wanted to make sure that we paid particular attention to the strategy, budget and timeline for the campaign we are waging.

As we outlined in our overall strategy, this years political circumstances, if not addressed correctly, will literally cost the tribe hundreds of millions of dollars. The goal of the program we are waging is to modify the political landscape to ensure future stability for the tribe.

As we discussed this program will be expensive, but we have recognized extremely desirable results in other states where a lot less was on the line politically for those tribes. In addition we want to inform you in advance that by launching this you have covered all of your political operations for the year. This means that most any threat to your market share, or any campaign you want to effect on the state level is covered under this plan. The program we have already started waging as of last Saturday is a global plan, meaning it is designed to effect any political situation. The only area that is not touched by the plan is direct contributions to candidates for public office (as these fall under its own set of regulatory guidelines).

Overall Program

The exact program cost is hard to pin down at this point due to the fact that we are early in the election cycle. However, I can state that to do this program properly we need to budget 9.3 million on the bottom end and 11.3 on the top end.

To put this in perspective, while this funding level may seem high, the tribe spent more than this amount battling efforts on the state and federal level last year alone. In addition, when you look at the fact that the tribes stands to loose several hundred million dollars, the program costs are well worth the risk.

We ask that the 9.3 million be authorized immediately, and in order to ensure that we have the proper flexibility down the road, the additional amount be available at a moments notice later in the year (on or near October 1).

For reasons you outlined in our meeting, we have attached invoices that direct the funds to several different entities that will play different roles in this campaign along with a letter from Me/CCS informing the tribe that I will no longer be providing the political services to the tribe as I have in the past.

William, while we agree that breaking the funding up over several entities is a wise move for you, we want to assure you that you will receive the same level of service we have provided in the past. We understand that what you are paying for is Myself and Jack, and we will deliver the same way we have in the past.

That said, the entities are using will technically execute operations of the campaign – OR WILL CONTRACT WITH other companies to cover the costs associated with the campaign, with Jack and I doing the work. In other words, the tribe will be invoiced by an entity and once funded that entity will in turn hire firms such as CCS or (Jack and I for example)to execute the program. The entities are simply intended to cover you and Lovelin politically.

As we discussed, CCS will not be executing any operations on behalf of the tribe directly this year, as it will make it easier to operate in the current political climate within the tribe.

The Following outlines the entities we will be using in the first phase of the campaign, the functions of each entity, and the funding levels for each.

Atlantic Research& Analysis (ARA)

ARA will be the entity to conduct all the market analysis, polling, district research, opposition research and general strategy. ARA will also be the primary funding entity for the campaign; Meaning that this is where the lions share of the money will go, and then ARA can sub- contract or hire CCS to conduct strategic functions for the campaign.

Put plainly, ARA will be responsible for researching and building the entire operation, and developing the overall strategy. Please be advised these figures are our best estimates as of today, these numbers will shift around as usual, and as you know we need that flexibility to implement the program properly. Here is the general budget we are requesting for ARA and the areas where we feel the funds will be dedicated. Again, we ask that this budget request be funded in full as soon as possible:

Polling in all districts -	$400,000.00
Opposition research – all targets -	$750,000.00
Messaging research -	$650,000.00
Coalition Building -	$650,000.00
Third Party Allies recruitment-	$525,000.00
Candidate recruitment	$150,000.00
Targeted District polling	$700,000.00
Coalition Advocacy	$400,000.00
Mail (estimated)	$100,000.00
Phones (estimated)	$100,000.00
Third Party Allies	$250,000.00
Third Round of Polling	$600,000.00
General Strategic Implementation	$850,000.00
ARA Total	*$6,125,000.00*

Recommendation: Because it is hard to pin down the exact costs of each function of the campaign this early, and to ease internal political pressures I recommend Hiring AR&A for the amount stated and for the services stated to conduct these tasks under the umbrella of an Economic and Political Market Analysis. This analysis will of course be all related to the campaign, and ARA will report to you in the same way I have done in the past, I am simply recommending packaging it this way this based on what you recommended to me in our meeting.

Greenberg Traurig

I have enclosed an Invoice for $2,000,000.00 for Greenberg Traurig. GT will simply serve as another funding entity to ease budgetary issues. GT will turn that funding around to cover costs associated with the campaign.

The National Center for Public Policy Research

NCPR will be used in similar manner as GT. We are invoicing the tribe $1,175,000.00. We will use this entity to ease budgetary issues while the funding will be redirected to offset strategic costs of the campaign.

These three entities will be used for initial funding. We have additional entities available to us if you would like us to split it up a little more for budgetary/ internal political reasons – just let me know. These entities once funded will cover the overall low budget figure we stated of 9.3 million.

At this point in time, we do not now if we will even need the full 11.3 million we believe it may take to reach our overall objective. In addition, if we do need that additional 2 million, it will not be needed until much later in the year.

Summary

What we have constructed is an all encompassing program that will effect the outcome of the state legislative races in both chambers, the Governors race, and the Sheriff's race while maintaining the political flexibility to shift our support to alternative candidates at any given point in time.

Put Plainly, right now we have a general idea of who we want to back and what it takes to help them get elected. But in the political arena a lot of things happen that are unforeseen. For example, a candidate of our choosing may simply back out of a race without warning, this would ordinarily leave us in a bind.

However, in this program what we do is build a statewide apparatus that can support any candidate of our choosing, even if that candidate changes late in the game. What we do is build the support mechanism, and then insert the candidate – with the system being able to support just about any candidate. This ensures the best chance for success, while protecting your financial investment at the same time. It would be absolutely foolish for example to build a statewide apparatus specifically made for one individual – that could not be used for someone else of our choosing in the event of something extremely unforeseen happened.

For example, lets say we wanted to fully back Mike Foster for Governor and we spend millions and months building a statewide operation to get him (specifically) elected, and then he were to die in a plane crash on the campaign

trail (which has happened to candidates in the last two election cycles). All that money and time are out the window. So what we do is build the operation around a candidate – but make it flexible enough to insert someone else incase we need to abandon that candidate or the candidate abandons us.

Attached are invoices for the entities we are making available. Also attached is a letter of agreement from ARA. We are providing this to you in the event your financial people need documentation on the effort.

Ill call to follow up, as we talked about – we are well under way with polling both in the South West of the state and stated wide. Please let me know if you want to make any modifications to what I have put together.

Mike

MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM

FROM: MIKE S.

SUBJECT: CURRENT CAMPAIGN

DATE: 10/9/2002

CC: JACK A.

William,

The effort currently being is looking very good for our side. However, recently the Jean have received an enormous amount of funding to back there political/on the ground operations and in addition have beefed up their lobbying team in D.C. as well.

We are NOT concerned with the D.C. lobbying aspect, but I am growing very concerned about their on the ground efforts, the money they are spending, and where these funds are coming from. I can say without any hesitation that this is the most significant and well run effort the Jena have waged to date. In addition I believe it is abundantly clear that they have hired several high caliber political strategists to execute this operation that is designed similar to the efforts we wage.

Given these facts I strongly believe that we need more budget authority to achieve our objectives. I would like an addition $950,000.00 to beef up our field team for the petition drives, add more staff to our opposition research team, and to increase the level of letters and call we generate to Secretary Norton over the next few weeks.

In all of our time working together we have never come back to you with a request for additional budgeting, so please know that we would not being making this request unless it were absolutely necessary. We believe that we will have the campaign wrapped up within three weeks, and these additional funds will contribute greatly to our success.

Please call with any questions. I'll send additional updates in the immediate future.

Mike

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 11:36 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.

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 yearll '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 generously 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]

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: 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

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]

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) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, November 15, 2002 3:16 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: RE: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana audit confirmation

Remember this thing? They called today. I told them that I never issued instructions, directives or any such thing about anything like this and that they should talk to CCS. He doesn't even have your phone number (dope)!. Anyway, heads up. He's on a deadline for some reason, so if he can't find you, well....

-----Original Message-----
From: Erick LaRocque [mailto:Erick[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, October 31, 2002 12:01 PM
To: 'abramoffj[redacted]'
Cc: Steve Meier; Donita Helms (E-mail)
Subject: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana audit confirmation

<< File: JackAbramoff confirmation.doc >> Mr. Abramoff-

Please review attached memo and send your responses to my email address below. Thank you.

Erick LaRocque
Controller
Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
[redacted]
erick[redacted]

MEMORANDUM
TO: Jack Abramoff
FROM: Steve Meier, CFO Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana
SUBJECT: Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana Financial Audit
DATE: 11/15/2002
CC: Lovelin Poncho, Chairman
William Worfel, Vice Chairman

Our auditors are in the process of concluding the audit of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana for the year 2001, and have asked for some clarification of the nature and other particulars relating to some expenditures that you advised us to make in order to further our efforts and protect our market position. During the year 2001 and 2002, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana was directed by you to expend $5,686,500 and $11,510,000, respectively to Capitol Campaign Strategies. Additionally, the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana was instructed by you to expend $1,363,200 during the year 2001 to American International Center. For the purposes of financial reporting for the years 2001 and 2002, please confirm that the above transactions were for demographic surveys and studies and other professional campaign consulting fees. Additionally, please confirm that as of December 31, 2001 and the date of this email, there were no contracts in place with the above mentioned professional groups that would obligate the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana to any future amounts at either date.

==========
The information contained in this E-mail message is privileged, confidential, and protected from disclosure. If you think that you have received this E-mail message in error, please forward this message to "Administrator[redacted]".
==========

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 2:51 PM
To: 'Chris'
Subject: RE: Thanks for a great year

Thanks Chris. The meeting with Griles went well. We have a lot to do, but we'll get there.

—Original Message—
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, December 12, 2002 2:21 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: Thanks for a great year

Jack, I know that politics and especially DC get very stressful and demanding. However, I just wanted to let you know that you are truly a great inspiration and leader. I am really looking forward to another great year. We will create a stronger presence in Michigan and get the message out. The SCIT has never had a presence like the current in DC and we want to keep it going. Take care.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, December 17, 2002 4:48 PM
To: 'GRHalpern[redacted]
Subject: RE: VERY IMPORTANT. PLS READ ASAP.

I have almost $1M coming over tomorrow for CCS.

-----Original Message-----
From: GRHalpern[redacted] [mailto:GRHalpern[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, December 17, 2002 1:38 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: VERY IMPORTANT. PLS READ ASAP.

re: 11K LOAN TO BEN

Jack, I want you to be aware that you are not in a good cash situation. you will be emptying out your account basically to CAF next week (1 Million).

Ben already owns you $220K. Rodney just paid him 5K from Sigs. BEN IS ON YOUR PAYROLL.

Ben got $5,000 and $1,200 from you last month for travel expenses. we asked him for the receipts and he has not yet provided them and has been "snippy" to Laura, when I asked Laura to pursue it with Ben.

I had a phone conference with Rodney yesterday so we can try to put together your cash needs. You will need about $500K between the two restaurants from Jan to March. that's a worse case scenario and hopefully Sigs won't need that much.

You will be funding this with your bonus check and with the balance of your JA personal account.

YOU DO NOT HAVE ANY OTHER FUNDS UNTIL YOU GET SOME MORE CCS INCOME.
when I met w/Ben last month, our meeting was interrupted many times w/calls from his real estate agent. Ben said he was about to sell the house in FL and he would pay you back partially at that time.

2 start up businesses in one time period, consume alot of your resources. Not to mention the school, which consumes more than the 2 restaurants combined. Please take that into account when making these loans.

(this was one of the things I wanted to talk w/you re Ben when we next get together. Please don't get too upset w/me for being so forward.)

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, December 18, 2002 10:15 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: can you get me the check for the money which came in from Agua ASAP?

What do we do about this Nell shortage? When are we meeting????

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, December 18, 2002 10:47 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: can you get me the check for the money which came in from Agua ASAP?

Nell's coming through but way short - like 500k - and says she cant do anything till next spring earliest - I don't think there will be a problem getting a little over a mil to you in the next 48 hours.

The next big money we have coming our way is Coushatta, and that will be early January - the exact amounts I'm still hammering out.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, December 17, 2002 11:58 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: can you get me the check for the money which came in from Agua ASAP?

OK, thanks. I hope it lands. I need it badly. Other than AC, what's next on the money train? Nell coming through soon?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, December 17, 2002 8:02 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: can you get me the check for the money which came in from Agua ASAP?

No money in yet - still waiting on the wire - ill send it over as sson as it comes in - Its cool - all approved and everything - just not been executed yet. Ill get it over as soon as it comes in - should be before Friday.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, December 17, 2002 5:41 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: can you get me the check for the money which came in from Agua asap?

I'm actually in a bad cash position.

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

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]

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 diblitating. 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 survivor. 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 have 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

>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]
[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.

11:35 PM
09/10/03
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	6/30/2002	1057	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	June 16-30	Harbor Capita...	2,940.50	25,342.00
Check	7/15/2002	1002	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	July 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	28,282.50
Check	7/31/2002	1009	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	July 16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	31,223.00
Check	8/15/2002	1024	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Aug 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,940.50	34,163.50
Check	8/30/2002	1032	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Aug 16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	37,093.00
Check	9/15/2002	1042	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Sept 1-15	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	40,022.50
Check	9/30/2002	1050	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services Sept 15-30	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	42,952.00
Check	10/15/2002	1059	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 10/1-15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	45,881.50
Check	10/31/2002	1067	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 10/16-10/31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	48,811.00
Check	11/15/2002	1075	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 11/1-11/15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	51,740.50
Check	11/30/2002	1086	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 11/16-11/30/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	54,670.00
Check	12/15/2002	1099	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/1-12/15/02	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	57,599.50
Check	12/31/2002	1107	Rabbi David Lapin-1099	Services 12/16-31	SunTrust Bank	2,929.50	60,529.00
Total Rabbi D. Lapin						60,529.00	60,529.00
Real Estate Deposit							0.00
Bill	2/12/2002	6325 ...	Eshkol Academy	VOID: Deposit, 6325 Griffith Road	Accounts Pay...	0.00	0.00
Check	2/25/2002		Rifkin, Livingston, Levi...	Deposit on site for school-later forfeit...	Harbor Capita...	40,000.00	40,000.00
Total Real Estate Deposit						40,000.00	40,000.00
Travel							0.00
Check	5/31/2002	1045	Rabbi D Lapin	Travel reimbursement	Harbor Capita...	703.81	703.81
Check	7/15/2002	1004	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Travel	SunTrust Bank	468.50	1,172.31
Check	8/20/2002	1026	American Express	Reimburse Air Tix	SunTrust Bank	742.80	1,915.11
Check	8/15/2002	1041	Rabbi D Lapin		SunTrust Bank	0.00	1,915.11
Check	9/18/2002	1044	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Travel	SunTrust Bank	323.50	2,238.61
Check	10/3/2002	1055	Rabbi D Lapin	Trips to DC from LA	SunTrust Bank	1,192.90	3,431.51
Check	10/15/2002	1061	Rabbi D Lapin	Trips to DC from LA-Oct 2002	SunTrust Bank	3,347.50	6,779.01
Check	11/1/2002	1070	Rabbi Eric Paul	Travel exp-Seattle/DC	SunTrust Bank	463.86	7,242.87
Check	11/19/2002	1082	American Express	VOID: Various Business Expenses	SunTrust Bank	0.00	7,242.87
Check	12/3/2002	1089	Rabbi D Lapin	Travel reimb	SunTrust Bank	416.00	7,658.87
Check	12/5/2002	1093	Ilan Kowalsky	Travel exp & fees	SunTrust Bank	272.00	7,930.87
Check	12/6/2002	Wire	Ilan Kowalsky	Tickets to/from Israel	SunTrust Bank	8,328.00	16,258.87
Check	12/9/2002	1096	Rabbi D Lapin	Reimb Lapin's AmEx	SunTrust Bank	2,207.59	18,466.46
General Jou...	12/31/2002	DON...		Keygold paid Lapin's airfare to LA	Jack Abramoff	1,407.00	19,873.46
Total Travel						19,873.46	19,873.46
Eshkol Academy - Other							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy - Other							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy						1,857,703.91	1,857,703.91
Kollel Ohel Tiferet Sec Enhance							0.00
General Jou...	1/1/2002	DON...		Donation of Thermal Imager	SPLIT	18,007.00	18,007.00
Check	1/23/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	23,007.00
Check	2/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	25,007.00
Check	3/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	27,007.00
Check	4/5/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	29,007.00
Check	5/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	31,007.00
Check	5/7/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	1,000.00	32,007.00
Check	6/4/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	34,007.00
Check	8/12/2002	1049	Allison Bozniak	Books & Videos	Harbor Capita...	844.44	34,851.44
Check	8/18/2002	1052	Allison Bozniak	Books & Videos	Harbor Capita...	54.44	34,905.88
Check	8/28/2002	1060	American Express--De...	ReimbA Bozniak-Tapes for IBP	Harbor Capita...	198.45	35,104.33
Check	7/5/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	Harbor Capita...	2,000.00	37,104.33
Check	7/9/2002	1063	American Express--De...	ReimbABozniak-books & tapes for S...	Harbor Capita...	513.75	37,618.08
Check	7/29/2002	1012	Hillel Broder	Expense reimbursement, sundry items	SunTrust Bank	135.51	37,753.59
Check	7/29/2002	1013	Holly Bowers	Reimburse Shmuel orders	SunTrust Bank	1,501.00	39,254.59
Check	7/30/2002	1014	Allison Bozniak	Reimburse CD's	SunTrust Bank	269.80	39,524.39
Check	8/2/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	2,000.00	41,524.39
Check	8/2/2002	1018	Holly Bowers	Books, Videos, Supplies	SunTrust Bank	1,920.70	43,445.09
Check	8/12/2002	1021	Holly Bowers	Reimburse for Books, videos	SunTrust Bank	1,400.87	44,845.96
Check	8/12/2002	1022	Hillel Broder	Reimburse; VCR equip / books	SunTrust Bank	816.67	45,662.63
Check	8/13/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	For new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	14,600.00	60,262.63
Check	8/15/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	3,120.00	63,382.63
Check	8/19/2002	1025	Allison Bozniak	VOID: Reimburse CD's	SunTrust Bank	0.00	63,382.63
Check	8/20/2002	1027	Holly Bowers	Reimburse for Books, videos	SunTrust Bank	1,653.49	64,036.03
Check	8/23/2002	1030	Laura Lippy	Reimburse for Camera	SunTrust Bank	2,146.27	67,082.30
Check	8/26/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	4,919.00	72,001.30
Check	8/29/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	75,561.30
Check	8/29/2002	1034	Laura Lippy	Reimburse for Camera, addl amt	SunTrust Bank	600.00	76,161.30
Check	9/24/2002	1046	Laura Lippy	Light / Photon supplies	SunTrust Bank	1,241.66	77,402.96
Check	9/26/2002	1048	Allison Bozniak	Flashcards/Maps/Schmuel	SunTrust Bank	1,315.38	78,718.34
Check	10/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi 1	Add'l. for new Jeep	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	82,278.34
Check	10/17/2002	1063	Laura Lippy	Custom suit expense	SunTrust Bank	1,349.95	83,628.29
Check	11/1/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	87,188.29
Check	11/18/2002	1080	Laura Lippy	Custom suit expense	SunTrust Bank	1,373.80	88,562.09
Check	11/27/2002	Wire	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	92,122.09

MB-001952

11:35 PM
09/10/03
Accrual Basis

Capital Athletic Foundation, LLC
General Ledger
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Split	Amount	Balance
Check	12/6/2002	1095	Allison Bozniak	Lights & alarms exps	SunTrust Bank	625.00	92,948.09
Check	12/26/2002	WIR...	Shmuel Ben Zvi	Transfer to Israel Discount Bank	SunTrust Bank	3,560.00	96,508.09
General Jou...	12/31/2002	DON...		Cabela's purchases for Schmuel-Kay...	Jack Abramoff	491.88	96,999.97
Total Kollel Ohel Tiferet Sec Enhance						96,999.97	96,999.97
Scotland Fundraiser							0.00
Travel							0.00
Check	7/8/2002		American Express	Acct # 3713 892917 14002	SunTrust Bank	42,276.01	42,276.01
Check	7/25/2002	Wire	Air Travel Network, LLC		SunTrust Bank	91,465.00	133,741.01
Check	9/6/2002	1040	American Express	Various Business Expenses	SunTrust Bank	14,383.54	148,124.55
Check	10/10/2002	1057	American Express		SunTrust Bank	1,334.80	149,459.35
Check	11/5/2002	1072	American Express	Air Charter expenses	SunTrust Bank	1,571.55	151,030.90
Total Travel						151,030.90	151,030.90
Expenses							0.00
Check	7/26/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdock 1	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	2,833.95	2,833.95
Check	8/15/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdock 1	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	1,066.01	3,899.96
Check	8/22/2002	1028	Neil Volz	VOID; Scotland Expenses	SunTrust Bank	0.00	3,899.96
Check	8/23/2002	1029	Neil Volz	Scotland Expenses	SunTrust Bank	4,226.79	8,126.75
Check	8/28/2002	1035	Mike Williams	Scotland Reimbursement Expenses	SunTrust Bank	5,486.23	13,612.98
Check	10/16/2002	Wire	Jason D. Murdock	Scottish Trip	SunTrust Bank	793.00	14,405.98
Check	12/3/2002	Trans...	Jason D. Murdock	Scottish Trip Expenses-$750 US$	SunTrust Bank	1,197.38	15,603.36
Total Expenses						15,603.36	15,603.36
Independent Contractors							0.00
Total Independent Contractors							0.00
Scotland Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Scotland Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Scotland Fundraiser						166,634.26	166,634.26
Spy Museum Fundraiser							0.00
Expenses							0.00
Check	12/16/2002	1102	Invitations Plus by Ro...	Deposit	SunTrust Bank	6,825.00	6,825.00
Check	12/16/2002	1103	Advocacy Ink	CAF fundraiser programs	SunTrust Bank	3,000.00	9,825.00
Total Expenses						9,825.00	9,825.00
Independent Contractors							0.00
Check	1/9/2002		Mark D. Zachares		Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	5,000.00
Check	2/7/2002	Wire	Mark D. Zachares		Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	10,000.00
Check	3/7/2002	1001	David Litwack		Harbor Capita...	5,000.00	15,000.00
Check	7/17/2002	1006	Evan Litwack	CAF Photos	SunTrust Bank	360.00	15,360.00
Check	8/8/2002	1019	Connections Consulting	Fundraiser services	SunTrust Bank	10,000.00	25,360.00
Check	9/4/2002	1037	Evan Litwack	CAF Brochure	SunTrust Bank	500.00	25,860.00
Check	10/1/2002	1053	Connections Consulting	Spy Museum Fundraiser	SunTrust Bank	10,000.00	35,860.00
Check	10/1/2002	1054	Monty Warner	Spy Museum Fundraiser	SunTrust Bank	15,000.00	51,860.00
Check	12/4/2002	1092	WMR Consulting, Inc.		SunTrust Bank	6,000.00	57,860.00
Total Independent Contractors						57,860.00	57,860.00
Spy Museum Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Spy Museum Fundraiser - Other							0.00
Total Spy Museum Fundraiser						67,685.00	67,685.00
Tuition Assistance							0.00
Bill	1/21/2002	Ruge...	Taylor University	Student Rugemal fees	Accounts Pay...	5,452.34	5,452.34
Total Tuition Assistance						5,452.34	5,452.34
Charitable Activities - Other							0.00
Total Charitable Activities - Other							0.00
Total Charitable Activities						2,194,475.48	2,194,475.48
Contract Labor							0.00
Total Contract Labor							0.00
Contributions							0.00
Eshkol Academy							0.00
Total Eshkol Academy							0.00
Contributions - Other							0.00
Check	1/3/2002	811	Jewish Federation of ...		Merrill Lynch ...	5,000.00	5,000.00
Check	1/3/2002	812	Committee for Wester...	VOID:	Merrill Lynch ...	0.00	5,000.00
[illegible]	3/5/2002	03-05...	Yoram Ettinger		Accounts Pay...	10,000.00	15,000.00
[illegible]ck	3/8/2002	1003	GIFT School		Harbor Capita...	14,500.00	29,500.00
[illegible]	3/8/2002	1004	PPF	Savimbi Memorial Dinner	Harbor Capita...	500.00	30,000.00

MB-001953

58 AM
01/20/03
Accrual Basis

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
Alexander Strategies Group, Inc.			
Check	Alexander Strategie...		120,000.00
Total Alexander Strategies Group, Inc.			120,000.00
Anton Design			
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	200.00
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	912.52
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	891.87
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	375.00
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	440.00
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	383.75
Check	Anton Design	Sag Chip	383.75
Total Anton Design			3,586.89
Ayers, MCHenry and Associates			
Check	Ayers, MCHenry an...		50,000.00
Total Ayers, MCHenry and Associates			50,000.00
Basswood Research			
Check	Basswood Research	MS Survey	17,682.00
Check	Basswood Research	DE Survey	15,586.00
Check	Basswood Research	LA Survey	7,560.00
Check	Basswood Research	LA Survey/LA...	28,567.67
Check	Basswood Research	NY/MI	28,369.00
Check	Basswood Research	NM/MS	20,895.00
Check	Basswood Research	NM	7,610.00
Check	Basswood Research	MI	8,128.00
Check	Basswood Research	CA	17,280.00
Total Basswood Research			151,677.67
Baum Communications, LLC			
Check	Baum Communicati...	LA Auto Calls	6,362.72
Check	Baum Communicati...	VOID: LA Aut...	0.00
Check	Baum Communicati...	NM ID and LI...	17,288.27
Check	Baum Communicati...	Sandia	7,710.75
Check	Baum Communicati...	Sag Chip	3,216.56
Check	Baum Communicati...	Sandia	12,650.40
Check	Baum Communicati...	MS	1,450.55
Check	Baum Communicati...	NM	1,350.30
Check	Baum Communicati...	Cali ID	7,803.00
Total Baum Communications, LLC			57,832.55
Brian A. Gould			
Check	Brian A. Gould	Jan. Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	Feb. Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	March Resea...	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	April Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	May Research	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	June	500.00
Check	Brian A. Gould	June	500.00
Total Brian A. Gould			3,500.00
Capitol Media			
Check	Capitol Media		51,679.00
Check	Capitol Media	Radio Buy - LA	60,000.00
Check	Capitol Media	LA Proj. Man...	100,000.00
Total Capitol Media			211,679.00
Chris Cathcart			
Check	Chris Cathcart	Expenses	67.56
Total Chris Cathcart			67.56

D00737

AM
1/20/03
Accrual Basis

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
Democracy Data and Communications			
Check	Democracy Data an...	Invoice Numb...	7,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Invoice Numb...	7,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	coushatta	3,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Choctaw	3,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Saginaw Chi...	9,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...		9,500.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Managment f...	7,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Tigua Key pu...	276.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	DB Invoices	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Telematch S...	1,535.76
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Check	Democracy Data an...	Databases	14,000.00
Total Democracy Data and Communications			160,811.76
Don Woodruff			
Check	Don Woodruff	Database Set...	2,500.00
Check	Don Woodruff	Database Ph...	2,500.00
Total Don Woodruff			5,000.00
Frabrizio and McLaughlin Associates			
Check	Frabrizio and McLa...	NM Poll 2	10,000.00
Check	Frabrizio and McLa...	NM Poll 2	3,500.00
Total Frabrizio and McLaughlin Associates			13,500.00
Glover Associates International			
Check	Glover Associates I...	First Retainer...	6,000.00
Check	Glover Associates I...	Final Paymen...	34,291.16
Total Glover Associates International			40,291.16
GOP Market Place .Com			
Check	GOP Market Place	Inv. #17	432.32
Total GOP Market Place .Com			432.32
Kevin Kelly			
Check	Kevin Kelly	VOID: Datab...	0.00
Total Kevin Kelly			0.00
Kirk-Whitney Data			
Check	Kirk-Whitney Data	Sag Chip Pos...	451.50
Check	Kirk-Whitney Data	Sag Chip Pos...	731.34
Check	Kirk-Whitney Data	Sag Chip Pos...	493.12
Total Kirk-Whitney Data			1,675.96
Lunde & Burger			
Check	Lunde & Burger	LA	25,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	LA - Jena	30,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	LA	75,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	MS Bonus	50,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Tigua	50,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Sandia	30,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Sandia	44,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	Sandia	26,000.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	VOID: MI/LA/...	0.00
Check	Lunde & Burger	NM/MI/LA - o...	287,500.00
Check	Lunde & Burger		34,150.00
Check	Lunde & Burger		175,000.00
Total Lunde & Burger			826,650.00

8:58 AM
01/20/03
Accrual Basis

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
Matthew J. Stetter			
Check	Matthew J. Stetter	EIS Deposit	1,658.00
Check	Matthew J. Stetter	EIS Deposit ...	9,623.75
Check	Matthew J. Stetter	EIS Huron	5,133.00
Total Matthew J. Stetter			16,414.75
McGuire Woods			
Check	McGuire Woods		125,000.00
Total McGuire Woods			125,000.00
Red Sea			
Check	Red Sea	Alabama - Ra...	4,194.42
Check	Red Sea	media	33,600.00
Check	Red Sea	media	116,680.00
Check	Red Sea	media - LA	18,330.80
Total Red Sea			172,805.22
RST Marketing Associates			
Check	RST Marketing Ass...	Sag Chip	1,486.72
Total RST Marketing Associates			1,486.72
Southwest Computer Bureau			
Check	Southwest Compute...	Data Key Pu...	1,731.08
Check	Southwest Compute...	Data Key Pu...	297.44
Total Southwest Computer Bureau			2,028.52
Trakker Solutions			
Check	Trakker Solutions	Database - S...	5,000.00
Check	Trakker Solutions	Database	5,000.00
Total Trakker Solutions			10,000.00
United States Post Master			
Check	United States Post ...	Sag Mailer	455.49
Total United States Post Master			455.49
Weber Company			
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	12,613.75
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	10,782.00
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	5,300.09
Check	Weber Company	Prof Services...	41,634.96
Check	Weber Company	LA I.D.	21,256.86
Check	Weber Company	NY, CT, OH ID	20,681.80
Check	Weber Company	FL, CA, MD	13,966.60
Check	Weber Company	MI ID, LA Poll...	12,027.81
Check	Weber Company	MI Patch Thr...	28,700.32
Check	Weber Company	MI, LA, Electi...	33,211.16
Check	Weber Company	MI	6,357.00
Total Weber Company			206,532.35
No name			
Check			10,000.00
Deposit		Deposit	-10,000.00
Total no name			0.00
TOTAL			2,181,427.92

D00739

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC
Transactions by Account
As of December 31, 2002

Type	Name	Memo	Amount
ADP			
Check	ADP		49.11
Check	ADP		59.75
Check	ADP		47.39
Check	ADP		10.00
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		50.83
Check	ADP	P/R 2/28	50.83
Check	ADP	P/R 2/28	50.83
Check	ADP	Amendment	159.75
Check	ADP	P/R 2/28	150.00
Check	ADP	P/R 3/31	50.83
Check	ADP		57.83
Check	ADP		50.53
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		10.00
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		52.56
Check	ADP		65.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		48.40
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		10.00
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		66.73
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		57.01
Check	ADP		58.73
Check	ADP		58.73
Check	ADP		51.55
Total ADP			1,818.70
Jon Van Horne			
Check	Jon Van Horne	Legal Work - ...	20,000.00
Total Jon Van Horne			20,000.00
Joseph Regan			
Check	Joseph Regan		392.00
Check	Joseph Regan		560.00
Check	Joseph Regan		595.80
Check	Joseph Regan		580.00
Check	Joseph Regan		500.00
Total Joseph Regan			2,627.80
Mark W. Diehl, CPA			
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	January	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	January	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	March	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	March	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	May	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	June	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Check	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	CCS	3,000.00
Total Mark W. Diehl, CPA			36,000.00

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 4:06 PM
To: 'Italia Federici'
Subject: RE: help??!!

Absolutely. We'll get that moving asap. the Coushattas are coming to DC next Thursday so I'll hit them immediately. By the way Gov Foster (Louisiana) just sent Gale another letter pushing a new compact he signed for jena. Can you make sure Steve knows about this and puts the kibosh on it? thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 3:15 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: help??!!

Hi Jack:

I hate to bother you with this right now, but I was hoping to ask about a possible contribution for CREA. As usual, we budgeted and spent all of our money from last year, on last year, and have started out the new year with practically nada. I thought I'd see if there was any way you could help us reach out to some of your folks who were so generous last year? (...and just after you praised our budgeting skills!)

Thanks Jack!
--Italia

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]

Italia Federici

From: Italia Federici [italia[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 5:40 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: help??!!

I will tell him where they are now - and with whom. Thanks Jack!

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 5:29 PM
To: italia[redacted]
Subject: RE: help??!!

Absolutely. We'll get that moving asap. [redacted] are coming to DC [redacted] so I'll hit them immediately. By the way Gov Foster (Louisiana) just sent Gale another letter pushing a new compact he signed for jena. Can you make sure Steve knows about this and puts the kibosh on it? thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia[redacted]]
Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 3:15 PM
To: Jack Abramoff
Subject: help??!!

Hi Jack:

I hate to bother you with this right now, but I was hoping to ask about a possible contribution for CREA. As usual, we budgeted and spent all of our money from last year, on last year, and have started out the new year with practically nada. I thought I'd see if there was any way you could help us reach out to some of your folks who were so generous last year? (...and just after you praised our budgeting skills!)

Thanks Jack!
--Italia

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 10:03 AM
To: 'mike[redacted]
Subject: Re: Coushatta

Call cell. I'll be at doctors for morning but if I can I'll grab call. Important Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon <mike[redacted]>
To: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Jan 21 10:59:01 2003
Subject: RE: Coushatta

Hey Ill call in abit - but the documenatation went out on this over the weekend. Ill call - maybe we can change it.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, January 21, 2003 9:20 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Coushatta

Give me a call asap. I have some thoughts on this which I need to share. It means more $$$$ for us!

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) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 14, 2003 9:07 AM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Sam Hook and the grant program

we better meet on this. I am not sure this is what I want to have happen. we might have to just jam this harder.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 14, 2003 9:52 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

I think the Saginaw would be open to it...we should get 1 or 2 in before we approach them, however.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 13, 2003 7:13 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Sam Hook and the grant program

As you may know, we are going to move Sam off site to a grant foundation to work on the grant program for our clients. This is being done in large part to cut costs on this for the clients. If we continue to run the grant program through the firm, we will either continue to eat up too much of the retainers or not be able to deliver. Neither are an option of course. Therefore, we are going to have the grant foundation charge each client a fixed lower amount to get this work done. we have to decide, on a client by client basis, how to do this. one option is to have a fixed amount come from the client retainers (say $10K/month) or to clear with the clients adding this on as a separate expense. Please tell me your thoughts on which of these two methods is preferable for the client you are running. In the case of Choctaw, the situation might be different. Kevin/Sam?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)

Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 11:31 AM

To: 'Mike Scanlon'

Subject: RE: latest news...

Thanks. I am actually at rock bottom and have a payroll to meet on Thursday for the restaurant. Can you get this to me today or tomorrow? It's really urgent. thanks Mike.

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 11:20 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: latest news...

Coush Cash is in. Ill process ASAP.
---Original Message---
From: abramoffj[redacted][mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 8:24 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: FW: latest news...

---Original Message---
From: Chris [mailto:cpetras[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 7:41 AM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Cc: boulangert[redacted]
Subject: latest news...

Good morning, I was informed yesterday that a group of Michigan Tribal officials are meeting next week in DC to lobby against the Bay Mills and Sault Tribe land-swap proposals. I believe there are five to six Tribes participating. Also, the Governor's office wants to meet with Tribal officials on March 3, 2003 to discuss the possibility of the Tribes reopening their compacts to pay monies to the state. I spoke with Bryant about this issue last month and he indicated that he did not believe the state could do that legally even if a Tribe agreed to reopen. I will keep you posted. Take care.

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:49 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

:)

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Haahahhhaah. I love how we all act: You team...and the rest of greenberg. It's gotta piss them off.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 15:01:50 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sock it to them.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 3:01 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

I'm gonna sink some of the costs to the firm..screw them. I used $500 in Bus Dev money last year!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[redacted]
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:59:17 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Or here!

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:59 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

They are going to be rescheduling it, but I sucked up some losses on Jess's ticket. Oh well. There are worse things than being stuck in Vegas until thursday.. I could be stuck at Saginaw.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Feb 18 14:57:04 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Sorry to hear it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 2:36 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Staff trip got canceled because of weather. I'm heading home wed night/thirday morning...this sucks.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Feb 18 12:48:39 2003
Subject: RE: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

Neither rain, nor slow, nor the heat of day will keep him from his appointed idiocy.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 18, 2003 11:41 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Fw: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

This is one of his best one's!!!!!

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Chris <cpetras[redacted]>
To: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]>
CC: boulangert[redacted] <boulangerT[redacted]>
Sent: Tue Feb 18 11:42:59 2003
Subject: state rep running for Congressman Smith's seat

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

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 3:36 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

Sorry I got nuts, but it's a little crazy for me right now. I am not kidding that I was literally on the verge of collapse. I hate all the shit I'm into. I need to be on the Caribbean with you!

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 3:25 PM
To: abramoffj[redacted]
Subject: RE: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

Calm down. I told you would get it today. Chris is out of the loop.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 1:07 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: Fw: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

Mike!!! I need the money TODAY! I AM BOUNCING CHECKS!!!
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Laura Lippy <lauralippy[redacted]>
To: abramoffj[redacted] <abramoffj[redacted]>
CC: Rodneylane[redacted] <Rodneylane[redacted]>
Sent: Wed Feb 19 13:01:36 2003
Subject: RE: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

Chris said they are working out some details down South & we should have it by the end of the week.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 12:30 PM
To: lauralippy[redacted]
Cc: Rodneylane[redacted]
Subject: please call Chris Cathcart in Scanlon's office

And track when we are supposed to get our check today from CCS for Kaygold.

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]

[redacted]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 2:17 PM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

Around 5

-----Original Message-----
From: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Thursday, February 20, 2003 2:39 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

when are you free today?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 6:14 PM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis); Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Sam Hook and the grant program

We need to strategize on this tomorrow.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 6:12 PM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Cc: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

sounds good. to me. on Agua, we can split the bill with others on Alerts. Can bill separately from non-profit for grant applications after the first one.

-----Original Message-----
From: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 1:46 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

My opinion - either way Sam should stay on the GT roles if they will let him as a temp or part-time (then he also stays on the network, BB etc). If you make him a contractor it will come out as expenses on the bills - unless like Coushatta - is gets absorbed that could be an issue. Allow someone like Greg or Doug who bill significantly less to do the alerts and run them by Sam. Sam does whatever we promised on the grant writing front as hours when necessary and anything else runs through the grant business on a case by case to be paid either directly by the tribes or billed to GT as appropriate or as hours on a new matter (which helps the LDA numbers as well). We could set up separate matters under the tribes so we can move time around if the client manager want. Money still need to be committee to get the grant business up and running but this may ease us into that.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 1:39 PM
To: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

What is the solution to this problem?

-----Original Message-----
From: Tesler, Shana (Assoc-DC-Legis)
Sent: Wednesday, February 19, 2003 1:10 PM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

Not that I want to butt into this but just remember that in order for Sam to bill hourly for the stuff already advertised there needs to be a formal arrangement with GT - either he is a contractor or he stays a part-time employee (which would not be bad for other access reasons). Grant writing takes a minimum of 50 hours per grant. 10-15 hours per week for the alerts is reasonable depending on the week and if we are just doing new announcement or program announcements as well. If we do everything I would say more like 20-25 - which is still not bad.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 14, 2003 10:32 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: DCAguaCaliente
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

needs to be structured like this: grant announcement/alerts are part of the service. This should take no longer than 10-15 hours per week. If we split that with 4 clients, it is nothing significant.

First grant is free.

Subsequent grants are priced independently and go through the foundation.

Very simple.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 14, 2003 10:23 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

Given the reaction so far, we are going to have to have a client managers meeting and make a decision whether we want this grant operation or not.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 14, 2003 9:50 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

remember, the grant service was advertised as being absorbed by all clients, not just Agua. And it is in your/our interest to set some limits as to the number of hours spent on this--and distribute it across the clients who use it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 14, 2003 9:33 AM
To: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

OK, if they want it, Sam will bill hourly. We'll figure out a rate for that.

-----Original Message-----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 14, 2003 9:07 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Short, Stephanie

Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Sam Hook and the grant program

Agua will not want to pay extra. This was presented to them as part of the service they get for the monthly fee they now pay–meaning the grant alerts only. I also told them that we will do one grant application for them as part of the retainer. This was based on a discussion with Sam. If Agua is interested in a grant beyond that, they know that they will pay on a grant by grant basis.

Therefore, I do not think that we should take more money out of the retainer for this basic service of providing the grant alerts. They should pay on a case by case basis for grant applications (beyond the first application) if they want Sam to do the grant.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, February 13, 2003 7:13 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Sam Hook and the grant program

As you may know, we are going to move Sam off site to a grant foundation to work on the grant program for our clients. This is being done in large part to cut costs on this for the clients. If we continue to run the grant program through the firm, we will either continue to eat up too much of the retainers or not be able to deliver. Neither are an option of course. Therefore, we are going to have the grant foundation charge each client a fixed lower amount to get this work done. we have to decide, on a client by client basis, how to do this. one option is to have a fixed amount come from the client retainers (say $10K/month) or to clear with the clients adding this on as a separate expense. Please tell me your thoughts on which of these two methods is preferable for the client you are running. In the case of Choctaw, the situation might be different. Kevin/Sam?

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 9:39 PM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Let's discuss. You in town next week?

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Saturday, March 01, 2003 8:54 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Sag Chip

Cool - well talk it over. He tried that - well give you a bid project bullshit on us last year - and we wound up spending 100k of AC money to beat back the tracks - and he never even presented our proposal to the council.

He pretty much full of shit. I would rather squeeze him for retainer work - as I don't believe we will get a project from them. Hes a loser.

---Original Message---
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 5:42 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Sag Chip
I spoke with him. I am not sure this is the right strategy here. let's chat on the phone about this perhaps on Sunday. I think we might be able to get some more big sums from these guys. the trick right now should be to get their shit work done as quickly and painlessly as we can and set up a plan right now for future efforts. That way we know there is a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I told him that this was the only way to get you involved because you have just too many other clients putting $10M deals in front of you. he said they would do this. let's discuss.

---Original Message---
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Friday, February 28, 2003 11:15 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Sag Chip

Hey Man - you will probably get a call from Petris - But here is the long and short - Our shop is not under contract with them for PR - we have done it for them as part of programs in the past - but we aren't doing any work for them - and we will not until they hire us as their PR firm of Record.

For the past 4 months we have spent out of pocket to cover their PR - or used agua or Coushatta money to cover the cost of every little thing that comes down their pike,

We sent them a letter saying we will do no more PR work until we establish a retainer arrangement in late December. We want a 100k a month - but will work for 85 - and we wil not do their meetings - continue to fly staff out there - do all their mail - press reeleases and events until we get it.

To tell you the truth - we would rather not work for them any more - but if we get the retainer gig - that wil do.
NO CASH - NO INK BABY!

Michael Scanlon
Scanlon Gould Public Affairs
[redacted]
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]

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 11:13 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

You going to be here?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 9:57 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

I don't think so - but it cant hurt.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 9:02 AM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

Do we need to meet with him?

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, March 13, 2003 8:50 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

I have no idea - He didn't say anything to me about it.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2003 5:05 PM
To: shortsl[redacted]
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

So William will be here?

-----Original Message-----
From: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2003 5:03 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

Nest Thursday -- sorry. This is the meeting Jessica set up with Vishal Agarwal regarding financing of their energy project.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2003 4:44 PM
To: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Re: Grant Applications

Thursday? Tomorrow? Huh?
Jack Abramoff

-----Original Message-----
From: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm) <shortsl[redacted]
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
CC: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <hooks[redacted]
Sent: Wed Mar 12 16:31:31 2003
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

Just spoke to William. They are interested in paying the non-profit directly but wants to discuss it further on Thursday when they are in town. Sam, I'll let you know what time they are scheduled to meet with Jessica regarding the energy project and we can schedule something before or after that. Jack, do you need/want to be in as well?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 10, 2003 3:28 PM
To: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Grant Applications

Per my other email.

----- Original Message -----
From: <hooks[redacted]
To: <cpetras[redacted]
Cc: <abramoffj[redacted]; <boulangerT[redacted]>
Sent: Tuesday, March 04, 2003 5:14 PM
Subject: Grant Applications

> Chris,
>
> Over the course of the last several months we have been working on
> grant applications for the Tribe. For our other tribal government
> clients, we write one grant application for free, but with SCIT we
> have agreed to
draft
> two grant applications under the current retainer. As we near the end

> of the second grant, I wanted to get instructions from you on how to
> proceed with future grant work.
>
> There are a few ways we can structure the grant work going forward.
> After the first free grant application, most of the tribes do one of
> two things:
>
> 1) They pay a flat retainer (usually approximately 10,000 a month
depending
> on the number of grants that are drafted) to a separate non-profit
> entity that we have set up for this purpose.
>
> We have set up the non-profit to handle our grant applications for two

> reasons. First, we have found that grant officers in agencies are
> more comfortable dealing with a non-profit entity than with a lobbying

> firm. Second, it is more cost effective and cost the clients less to
> have the non-profit draft the grants because of the non-profit's lower

> overhead . Additionally, SCIT will be able to tap into the non-profit
> for grant administration purposes if you so desire.
>
> 2) The client opens a new representation matter at Greenberg either on

> a hourly basis or at some agreed upon fixed rate which is usually

> greater
than
> $10,000. Greenberg will then contract with the non-profit who will
> assist in the drafting of the application as well as assist in
> administration or Agency contact when needed.
>
> Most of the other tribes chose the first option since it is less
> costly
for
> the tribes in the long run, but you may wish instead to avail
> yourselves
of
> the second option.
>
> We want to make sure you are successful in maximizing the amount of
> grants and money through the grant process, so lets discuss how you
> would like to proceed as soon as it is convenient for you.
>
> Sam Hook
> Greenberg Traurig
> [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]

_____
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]

_____
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.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, March 14, 2003 12:10 PM
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

Not sure. I should call him. let's do it Monday.

-----Original Message-----
From: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, March 14, 2003 11:36 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Grant Applications

How do you want to follow up with saginaw?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
To: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <hooks[redacted]>
Sent: Wed Mar 12 18:43:48 2003
Subject: FW: Grant Applications

Let's lock this one up fast! $$$$

-----Original Message-----
From: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, March 12, 2003 4:32 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Hook, Sam (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Grant Applications

Just spoke to William. They are interested in paying the non-profit directly but wants to discuss it further on Thursday when they are in town. Sam, I'll let you know what time they are scheduled to meet with Jessica regarding the energy project and we can schedule something before or after that. Jack, do you need/want to be in as well?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 10, 2003 3:28 PM
To: Short, Stephanie Leger (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: FW: Grant Applications

Per my other email.

----- Original Message -----
From: <hooks[redacted]>
To: <cpetras[redacted]>
Cc: <abramoffj[redacted]>; <boulangerT[redacted]>
Sent: Tuesday, March 04, 2003 5:14 PM
Subject: Grant Applications

> Chris,
>
> Over the course of the last several months we have been working on
> grant applications for the Tribe. For our other tribal government
> clients, we write one grant application for free, but with SCIT we

GTG-E000027705

> have agreed to
draft
> two grant applications under the current retainer. As we near the end
> of the second grant, I wanted to get instructions from you on how to
> proceed with future grant work.
>
> There are a few ways we can structure the grant work going forward.
> After the first free grant application, most of the tribes do one of
> two things:
>
> 1) They pay a flat retainer (usually approximately 10,000 a month
depending
> on the number of grants that are drafted) to a separate non-profit
> entity that we have set up for this purpose.
>
> We have set up the non-profit to handle our grant applications for two
> reasons. First, we have found that grant officers in agencies are
> more comfortable dealing with a non-profit entity than with a lobbying
> firm. Second, it is more cost effective and cost the clients less to
> have the non-profit draft the grants because of the non-profit's lower
> overhead . Additionally, SCIT will be able to tap into the non-profit
> for grant administration purposes if you so desire.
>
> 2) The client opens a new representation matter at Greenberg either on
> a hourly basis or at some agreed upon fixed rate which is usually
> greater
than
> $10,000. Greenberg will then contract with the non-profit who will
> assist in the drafting of the application as well as assist in
> administration or Agency contact when needed.
>
> Most of the other tribes chose the first option since it is less
> costly
for
> the tribes in the long run, but you may wish instead to avail
> yourselves
of
> the second option.
>
> We want to make sure you are successful in maximizing the amount of
> grants and money through the grant process, so lets discuss how you
> would like to proceed as soon as it is convenient for you.
>
> Sam Hook
> Greenberg Traurig
> [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]
>

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]u=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Wednesday, March 19, 2003 9:23 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon'
Subject: RE: did we get the Coushatta money?

Thanks my friend.

-----Original Message-----
From: Mike Scanlon [mailto:mike[redacted]]
Sent: Wednesday, March 19, 2003 9:52 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: did we get the Coushatta money?

I will do so - I am speaking to William today about cutting this.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj[redacted]]
Sent: Tuesday, March 18, 2003 11:01 PM
To: Mike Scanlon
Subject: did we get the Coushatta money?

Can you please please please get it written to Eshkol Academy? Tell them that's our front group to cover some of this. OK?

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].

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM WORFEL

FROM: MIKE SCANLON

SUBJECT: LOUSIANA 2003 CAMAPIGN

DATE: 3-24-03

CC: JACK ABRAMOFF

William,

The following memo is intended to update you on our progress to date, detail certain things on the political landscape and plot the next few steps in our 2003 program.

Progress to Date:

1) Database Build-up

We are well underway in what is the most significant part of the 2003 program, and quite frankly the most expensive part of the program thus far. Per our initial meetings and strategy discussions, we are focusing on building up in the targeted state House and state Senate districts, but most importantly we have been focusing on tailor-making the database for use in the Sheriff's race.

Our modeling/programming work on this will be completed as early as today and certainly no later than the end of the week. At that time, we invite you to take a look at your database on-line to review the work product. Following this we will be actively building up the records in the re-vamped database so we can effectively use them in our effort. That process will take up to a month to complete and most likely, we will be conducting this throughout the year on a rolling basis.

On the gubernatorial level, we will also be designing and implementing a major overhaul around the Richard Ieyoub campaign, per your direction. We are a bit behind schedule on this, as we are waiting for more accurate poll results to initiate this process (due to the war we have been experiencing difficulties getting good responses in our polling). We believe we will have solid results tomorrow and we will begin our modeling this week. After that is complete, we will start building up our records statewide.

Report

(7265)

We expect to have this whole process completed by the end of April. After that point we will simply need to add to it as necessary and conduct maintenance and modifications as required.

2) Polling

I have attached the first set of initial polling data to this memo for your review (in case you needed to refresh your memory). As we discussed, we are prepared to go back in and poll harder on Hal Turner at any time. We had this poll scheduled for earlier in the month, but you asked us to hold off for a bit. We are awaiting your go-ahead to take a harder look at the head-to-heads in the sheriff's race.

We also have a statewide poll ready for your review tomorrow. We apologize for the delay in getting this to you; we simply haven't had the level of response that we were looking for due to the war. We feel that people are simply not interested in talking to us as they would rather watch war coverage on TV.

As I said, we will have complete data for you tomorrow. This poll will give us a very good look at the initial strength of Richard Ieyoub and other candidates. In addition, this poll will tell us geographically where he is weak and strong, giving us the initial data we will need to help him. For example, if it shows him doing poorly in the southwest part of the state, we will focus on identifying and cataloguing supporters for him in this area more so than in those areas where he is doing well.

Following the initial statewide poll we will immediately conduct another poll to get more in-depth information on Richard Ieyoub's strengths and weaknesses. This is very similar to the second Sheriff's poll we are waiting to conduct. Following these two polls we will launch our state House and Senate polling. We will have the questionnaires on these ready for you by the 4th of April.

3) Qualitative Analysis

This part of the program gives us a general non-polling look at specific targets such as their vote history, their opponents and the money they have raised. We are a bit behind on this part of the project as we expect many people have yet to file for individual races, and on-line access to campaign finance reports in Louisiana is weak at best.

We are doing our very best to gather this information and we will get it to you as soon as possible. I expect that we can complete this by the end of the week, but to ensure the highest quality research, it may take us until mid next week. We apologize for the delay; we will remain vigilant on this part of the program and will get the results to you ASAP.

4) Political Infrastructure

As part of the program, we would very much like to file papers for a political action committee (PAC) as well as another entity to conduct political activity. The PAC filing will simply help you corral contributions from vendors; we do not necessarily need any of the funds that go into this PAC for political purposes, but we believe it will help ease the political burden of writing checks from the tribal accounts. You can essentially donate the money you raise so members cannot argue that you are spending the tribe's money on political donations.

On the other committee, we need to file these documents as we will be influencing the outcomes of elections this year. Although we believe the filing requirements are ambiguous at best, we believe that in order to avoid criticism we should be proactive in filing paperwork for a political committee that, if inquires are made, will essentially take responsibility for political activity. We will have several recommendations on this issue for you by the end of the week.

5) Opposition Research

We need to discuss at length who you would especially like to focus on, outside of the sheriff. As part of the program, we will take an in-depth look at whomever you choose. I would like to discuss this with you in detail in the next few days.

6) New Political Developments

First, we need to discuss Texas gaming legislation. Attached is an article about the advancements they have been making in the legislature. As we discussed earlier in the year we chose to focus solely on Louisiana in 2003, but perhaps we should re-visit our strategy. It looks like they are making some serious headway over there.

Second, Jena has really stepped up their effort in DC. They have hired Breaux's former chief of staff and have been working to influence Interior in very overt ways. I have been in touch with Jack on this daily and his guys are fighting it out over there pretty hard. I wish my team had more we could do at this point, but Jack's team is ultimately the one that is going to win this now that it is at such high levels. I will keep you informed.

I will get all of data and information outlined in this memo to you ASAP. We are currently on track and will continue to charge forward. Please let me know about Texas and if you want to launch that second poll in the sheriff's race. Look for poll results on Richard Ieyoub tomorrow morning.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=[redacted]ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sunday, March 30, 2003 10:25 AM
To: 'Mike Scanlon office'
Subject: better for the Coushatta money to go to CAF than Eshkol

Just found that out. Thanks.

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2003 4:34 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Griles

BIA is sending a letter and they want one back from [redacted] I think.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, March 31, 2003 5:33 PM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Griles

What letter? They sent a letter to the House, or they want us to get a letter?

How much more ammo do they need? [redacted] and [redacted] are going to be far stretched to sign a letter for the Saginaw Chippewa in Michigan. It just doesn't look good for either of them. I'll ask.

Mike, see message below.

Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj@[redacted]
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov) <boulangerT@[redacted]
Sent: Mon Mar 31 17:27:49 2003
Subject: Griles

He just called me. they are going to have to do the letter, because of the difference (he says) between the House saying no more schools and the Senate saying fund this. He said we have to get the Members in the House to respond to their letter that this should be funded and then it will be done. He will not do otherwise, since their council has told him that this is what he needs to do. I know this sucks, but that's all we have. We have to get around the bad House staffer and get a letter which helps us. Griles will get me the letter once it is drafted so we have a head start.

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM
FROM: MIKE
SUBJECT: POLITICVAL PROGRAM
DATE: 4/18/2003
CC: JACK ABRAMOFF

William,

The following memo is to bring you up to date on the political program for 2003.

First I wanted to recap the billing side for your records. Specifically, I wanted to address where the money has been sent to. Originally you asked that we use a different corporate entity (other than CCS) for financial billing /internal political purposes.

To recap this issue, following the unanimous vote by the council, the initial funding actually was directed to CCS. We wanted to remind you of this given the political nature of the tribe.

For the second payment you asked us to invoice you from an entity other than CCS. We sent you and Invoice from the AIC which is merely an entity I direct which was used to conduct public relations activities for various clients. As we discussed, the AIC will pay for operations conducted by CCS (myself and my team) and Jack or other vendors and staff.

The third installment has not yet been made, we will wait to hear from you on this payment and follow your directions in that regard. We have yet to totally expend the amount already pain in so there is no big hurry to get those funds in.

Operations:

To date we have:

a) Increased the size of your database per your direction.
b) Conducted background research on your behalf.
c) Conducted all polling
d) Conducted all targeting on the gubernatorial level
e) Conducted all targeting on the legislative level
f) We are operating in Texas
g) We are researching and analyzing the rules and regulations regarding advocacy operations in Louisiana.
h) We are researching the rules and regulations surrounding the establishment of a new PAC per your request.
i) Conducted local opposition research on the Sheriff.
j) Conducted preliminary polling on the Sheriff.
k) We have began examining parish election laws and how they relate to our intended activity.
l) Have conducted the tribal communications program with regard to the Louisiana HB's that are detrimental to the tribe.

We have completed most of these items and we have them for your review, and have transmitted some of them to you. If there is ANY portion of this you would like to review again, or if you would like us to explain any of it in greater detail please don't hesitate to call.

On the operations side we are not yet settled on the apparatus under which we will conduct outward/public/advocacy activity. We want to absolutely ensure, without a shadow of a doubt, that we are in compliance with all state and local elections laws before expending any advocacy money.

We do not believe that the database build up, targeting, polling and research fall under any regulations so we have charged ahead with these efforts. On the financial side, the lion's share of your effort this year is for database build up, and voter targeting, and staff time.

We currently have seven staff members working on this project including myself. Most of the staff will be exclusively working on your program for the rest of the year. Jack is also involved heavily on a daily/weekly basis. We have full reports for you that we would like to transmit, but they are voluminous so we would like some direction on where to send the boxes, or if you prefer we can store them in DC and you can review them on one of your visits. As usual we would be happy to come down anytime to brief you an the Chairman at a moments notice.

Back to the outward operations, We believe that we will have nailed down the proper structure for public activity within one week to 10 days and we will report back at that time.

On the state legislative level, we would like to discuss the hiring of a local lobbyist to help defeat the passage of the legislation we are facing. Of course the funds for this will be from the pool you have already sent us.

In addition, we did not have a line item estimate for that function it the original plan, and we assume that we have the ordinary flexibility in redirecting funds under situations like these. However, we feel it necessary to get approval on this individual from you, or approval in general given the way word travels fast in Baton Rouge politics.

As I mentioned we will these send those recommendation and any of thew work product to you per your instruction, just let us know what you would like to review and where you would like us to send it to. Of course our doors are always open in DC if you want to go over it when you come back up here, we just want to ensure that you are informed every step of the way.

Talk to you soon.

Mike

P.S.
I have tried calling several times lately but haven't gotten to you. I think you mentioned you were going on vacation. If that's the case, give me a shout when you return so I can brief you verbally.

ROY BLUNT
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
DISTRICT, MISSOURI

MAJORITY WHIP

COMMITTEE ON
ENERGY AND COMMERCE

STEERING COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

217 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4836
FAX: (202) 225-4004

OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY WHIP
H-329, THE CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-0197
FAX: (202) 225-1314

May 21, 2003

The Honorable Gale Norton
Secretary
United States Department of the Interior
1849 C Street, NW
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton:

I am concerned with recent developments in off-reservation gaming. The increase and nature of attempts by some Native American tribes to procure off-reservation casinos must be addressed.

When Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act ("IGRA") in 1988, they did not intend to authorize "reservation shopping" by Indian tribes. Indeed, IGRA presumptively prohibits gaming on all after-acquired lands and only permits off-reservation gaming under extremely limited circumstances. However, some Native American tribes are attempting to take advantage of IGRA's provisions and move into lucrative casino markets far from their reservations or lands with present or historical connection.

It is my understanding the Jena Band of Choctaws is trying to establish a casino in Logansport, LA, which is over 100 miles away from their home base and in an area where they have no historical ties. My colleague, Congressman Jim McCrery, represents Logansport. I understand his concerns and concur that this proposal represents a needless precedent to allow a tribe to shop for a suitable gaming location without regard to their traditional homeland.

Thank you for your time and consideration on this very important matter.

Sincere regards,

Roy Blunt

Roy Blunt
Majority Whip

RDB:jrb

2745-B EAST SUNSHINE
SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI 65804
(417) 881-1900
FAX: (417) 881-8313

DC@mail.house.gov
www.house.gov/blunt
MajorityWhip@house.gov

101 RANGE LINE ROAD, BOX 23
JOPLIN, MISSOURI 64801
(417) 781-1414
FAX: (417) 781-2232

GTG003127-SS-CS

400

Capitol Campaign Strategies

General		
wire	3/15/2002	3,405,000.00
wire	2/6/2002	1,200,000.00
wire	4/3/2002	2,100,000.00
Housing		
wire	1/18/2002	1,500,000.00
wire	7/6/2001	102,000.00
wire	7/6/2001	292,500.00
Education		
wire	1/24/2002	800,000.00
wire	6/29/2001	850,000.00
wire	10/31/2001	2,170,000.00
Health		
wire	1/18/2002	1,505,000.00
wire	1/18/2002	1,000,000.00
wire	7/26/2001	97,500.00
wire	10/5/2001	940,000.00
wire	10/31/2001	700,000.00
General		
30479	5/21/2001	287,500.00
29708	4/19/2001	200,000.00
30366	5/15/2001	30,000.00
30367	5/15/2001	17,000.00
		17,196,500.00
	2002	11,510,000.00
	2001	5,686,500.00

American International Center

General			
wire	3/21/2001	258,000.00	
Housing			
wire	4/27/2001	397,200.00	
Education			
wire	3/15/2001	400,000.00	Southern Underwriters
wire	3/30/2001	298,000.00	
Health			
General			
5/1/1981	4/19/2001	10,000.00	
		1,363,200.00	
		1,363,200.00	

Insurance Co. owned by Aubrey Temple

Coushatta Management (CEO)

Jack Abramoff Sports Suite

General			
wire	3/4/2002	300,000.00	
		300,000.00	18,859,700.00
		300,000.00	11,810,000.00
		-	7,049,700.00
			18,859,700.00

Total spent in 1 year

Jun-10-03 02:10pm From- 202-225-0697 T-342 P.002/001 F-411
05/01/93 15:42 :02/03 NO:954

J. Dennis Hastert
Fourteenth District
Illinois

(202) 225-0500

Office of the Speaker
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

June 10, 2003

The Honorable Gale A. Norton
Secretary
United States Department of Interior
1849 C Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton:

We write to express our concerns over recent attempts of certain Indian tribes to develop off-reservation casino sites. We strongly believe that these attempts run counter to Congressional intent and pose a serious threat to the current regulatory scheme that governs Indian gaming.

When Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act ("IGRA") in 1988, they did not intend to authorize "reservation shopping" by Indian tribes. Indeed, IGRA presumptively prohibits gaming on all after-acquired lands and only permits off-reservation gaming under extremely limited circumstances. However, some Indian tribes are apparently attempting to take advantage of IGRA's provisions and move into lucrative casino markets far from their reservations and lands where they have a historical connection.

This problem is not new to the Interior Department. During the negotiation for the tribal-state compact between the State of New York and the Seneca Tribe, you stated, "Tribes are increasingly seeking to develop gaming facilities in areas far from their reservations, focusing on selecting a location based on market potential rather than exercising governmental jurisdiction on existing Indian lands...IGRA does not envision that off-reservation gaming would become pervasive...I am extremely concerned that the principles underlying the enactment of IGRA are being stretched in ways Congress never imagined when enacting IGRA." We agree with your statement; "Congress in enacting IGRA, struck a delicate balance between State and tribal interests that did not create an absolute right to off-reservation gaming."

The delicate balance of which you spoke is now being tested. We strongly urge the Department of Interior to enforce IGRA and to carefully scrutinize all efforts to acquire off-reservation land to acquire a favorable casino location. This matter has received a great deal of attention recently because of the ongoing attempt by the Jena

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

Band of Choctaw Indians to take off-reservation land into trust for gaming, but there are many similar attempts already in force across the country with more certain to come.

If the Department of Interior permits Indian tribes to establish a reservation, take lands into trust and build a casino in areas with little or no present or historical connection, the Department of Interior will effectively sanction reservation shopping. This would establish a dangerous precedent whereby tribes could, and would, locate casinos in any state where gaming is allowed.

We strongly urge you to consider the consequences of allowing tribes to construct gaming facilities in areas where they have no historical connection. Thank you for your time and consideration of this important matter.

Sincerely,

J. Dennis Hastert
Speaker

Tom DeLay
Majority Leader

Roy Blunt
Majority Whip

Eric Cantor
Chief Deputy Whip

Congress
of the
United States
House of Representatives

DEBORAH PRYCE
OHIO
15th DISTRICT

September 12, 2003

The Honorable Gale Norton
Secretary
United States Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240

Dear Secretary Norton,

I write to express my concern over recent attempts by Indian tribes to secure off-reservation land for gaming purposes. Through these efforts to develop off-reservation casinos, the tribes endeavor to circumvent congressional intent and undermine current regulations governing Indian gaming.

When Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act ("IGRA") in 1998, there was no intention to authorize "reservation shopping" by Indian tribes. Indeed, IGRA presumptively prohibits gaming on all after-acquired lands and only permits off-reservation gaming under extremely limited circumstances. However, it appears some Indian tribes are attempting to take advantage of IGRA's provisions and move into lucrative casino markets far from their reservations and lands where they have a historical connection.

Recent attention has focused on the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians and their attempt to develop a casino over 100 miles away from the tribe's designated home reservation in an area of Louisiana where they have no historical ties. This is but one example of a growing problem.

[illegible]

GTG003125-SS-CS

Allowing tribes to regularly establish off-site casinos would set forth a dangerous precedent by the Department of Interior. Reservation shopping would then effectively be sanctioned by the Department, and tribes would be able to secure land and build casinos in nearly any location in any state where gaming is legal.

Federal regulation should allow tribes to prosper in their native areas, but I urge you to weigh carefully the consequences of allowing tribes to establish new gaming facilities in areas where they lack any historical connection. Thank you for your time and consideration of this matter.

Very truly yours,

Deborah Pryce
Member of Congress

GTG003126-SS-CS

To: Tribal Council

From: Jack Abramoff

Date: December 15, 2003

Re: Sports Suite Participation

A unique feature of our representation of Tribal clients is the ability to participate in the sports suite program that we have developed. This program has proven to be very effective. Select clients pool participation in event venue boxes, luxury and premium tickets suites at Camden Yards (baseball in Baltimore), FedEx Field (football and concerts in Maryland), and the MCI Center (hockey, basketball and specialty events in Washington).

The total cost of the program is $1,500,000. Each of the four participating groups contributes $375,000 as its share for 2004. Participants include the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (who have participated in this program for six years), the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (same), the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana (participating for the third year) and, we hope, the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians.

At the Suites at each of these locations, we provide catering and beverages, which enable us to have fund raising events for Members of Congress and their political and policy organizations.

This program gives us the unique ability to host events including Congressional office outings, political fundraisers, and receptions for clients. The events can be built around a concert, a hockey game, a football game, a baseball game, or any number of other fun and different forms of entertainment.

Sports suite events often provide a regional flare. A Congressman might hold a fundraiser in the sports suite at a game where his home team is playing in Washington. This type of fundraiser is attractive to fans from that area who work in Washington and support that Congressman. Generally these political events garner a higher return for the campaign than traditional fundraisers that are held in sterile banquet room settings with bad food. In the past, fundraisers for dozens of Congressmen and Senators, including each of the House and Senate leaders from both parties, chairmen of Indian Affairs, Resources, Interior Appropriations and other relevant committees have been held in the suites.

Additionally, the sporting events environment provides a relaxed forum to build relationships and discuss politics and policy with Congressmen, key staff, and political advisors, within the guidelines of the ethics rules.

Sports suites have proven to be a very useful tool in lobbying. Attention is captured and relationships are built through bonding that occurs at a football game,

hockey, game, or other event. Just as relationships drive most business situations, they drive lobbying. Successful lobbying is built on successful relationships, and the sports suite option is one tool in garnering that success.

Clients that participants in Sports Suites, LLC, can, if they choose, get recognition as participants. Some clients have framed pictures or information about the Tribe available in the suite. Another option is to provide small pieces of Tribal art to hang on the wall of the suites. We strongly encourage the Tribe to provide us with something which would highlight the achievements of the Tribe to the many Members of Congress who visit our suites.

With your continued participation, this very successful tool will continue to be available.

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Sent: Friday, February 13, 2004 7:18 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: so it looks like the Post story may be running tomorrow or Sunday

And now the story. Bia can't say they weren"t warned. Sending from the regional office.

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@[redacted]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted]>
Sent: Fri Feb 13 20:16:49 2004
Subject: Re: so it looks like the Post story may be running tomorrow or Sunday

Interesting

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted]>
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@[redacted]>
Sent: Fri Feb 13 20:14:27 2004
Subject: Re: so it looks like the Post story may be running tomorrow or Sunday

Griles did it.

-----Original Message-----
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@[redacted]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted]>
Sent: Fri Feb 13 20:12:36 2004
Subject: Re: so it looks like the Post story may be running tomorrow or Sunday

Good work.....but frankly, I'm suprised they did. Jack owes u big on that

-----Original Message-----
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted]>
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@[redacted]>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@[redacted]>; Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd@[redacted]>
Sent: Fri Feb 13 19:59:02 2004
Subject: Re: so it looks like the Post story may be running tomorrow or Sunday

FYI: BIA sent the letter to Coushatta tonight reaffirming that Poncho is chief.

-----Original Message-----
From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@[redacted]>
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn@[redacted]>; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme@[redacted]>; Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd@[redacted]; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk@[redacted]>
Sent: Fri Feb 13 18:20:12 2004
Subject: RE: so it looks like the Post story may be running tomorrow or Sunday

don't forward this with my name please guys!!!!!!

-----Original Message-----
From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Friday, February 13, 2004 6:15 PM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: so it looks like the Post story may be running tomorrow or Sunday

From: Matt DeMazza [mattdemazza[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 11:24 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

Why, would you slide into his spot?? (I misinterpreted what you meant when you talked about "moral compass." ... I thought you meant everyone should leave so as to distance themselves from this; I'm guessing you just meant those directly involved.)

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]>
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]>
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 12:14 PM
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

If he goes, I won't have to.

-----Original Message-----
From: Matt DeMazza <mattdemazza[redacted]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]>
Sent: Sun Feb 22 12:17:52 2004
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

will you? too early to say?

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]>
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]>
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 12:10 PM
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

Others will leave if firm has any moral compass.

-----Original Message-----
From: Matt DeMazza <mattdemazza[redacted]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]>
Sent: Sun Feb 22 12:14:42 2004
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

So have you been thinking that you would leave the firm, or is it just something that you hope to distance yourself from and stay?

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]>
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]>
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 12:07 PM
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

I don't think mine is. But impact will be felt by everyone... Unsettling after buying new house.

I know more than article and the truth is worse.

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

From: Matt DeMazza <mattdemazza[redacted]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
Sent: Sun Feb 22 12:09:03 2004
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

That's what I gathered from the story, but I wasn't sure if you knew something that the reporter didn't know ...

So is your future with G.T. in question?

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]>
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]>
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 11:59 AM
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

Jack is equally to blame. He talks tribes into hiring Scanlon.

-----Original Message-----
From: Matt DeMazza <mattdemazza[redacted]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
Sent: Sun Feb 22 12:02:42 2004
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

So is it 100% Scanlon's fault, or is Jack partially to blame?

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 11:55 AM
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

Hurts Jack and firm. Firm is losing clients because of Scanlon. Firm doesn't appreciate that. I expect corrective action by firm or something will have to give.

-----Original Message-----
From: Matt DeMazza <mattdemazza[redacted]
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]>
Sent: Sun Feb 22 11:58:44 2004
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

And what of the Michigan Chippewas that have canceled contracts? How much does that hurt your firm and/or Abramoff and Scanlon?

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 11:50 AM
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

They are paying our fees because our firm does good work, but they are paying the bulk to this outside vendor on our reputation and jack's recommendation. The firm doesn't see the money, but it seems the others are dipping. Not legit.

-----Original Message-----
From: Matt DeMazza <mattdemazza[redacted]
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
Sent: Sun Feb 22 11:53:20 2004
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

so are these Redskins just blindly paying these exhorbitant fees based largely on Jack's PAST successes, and not what's going on now?

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]>
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 11:30 AM
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

Awful.

-----Original Message-----
From: Matt DeMazza <mattdemazza[redacted]>
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
Sent: Sun Feb 22 11:34:06 2004
Subject: Re: Here's the story.....

that's a lotta cake.

----- Original Message -----
From: <ringk[redacted]
To: <mattdemazza[redacted]; <davidcirasuolo[redacted]
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 12:59 AM
Subject: Fw: Here's the story.....

Now what do you think of my partner Jack? Not too shady, eh?

-----Original Message-----
From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]>
To: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd[redacted]; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme[redacted]
Sent: Sat Feb 21 22:46:47 2004
Subject: Here's the story.....

washingtonpost.com

A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes
Lobbying, PR Firms Paid $45 Million Over 3 Years

By Susan Schmidt
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, February 22, 2004; Page A01

A powerful Washington lobbyist and a former aide to House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) persuaded four newly wealthy Indian gaming tribes to pay their firms more than $45 million over the past three years for lobbying and public affairs work, a sum that rivals spending to influence public policy by some of the nation's biggest corporate interests.

Touting his ties to conservatives in Congress and the White House, lobbyist Jack Abramoff persuaded the tribes to hire him and public relations executive Michael Scanlon to block powerful forces both at home and in Washington who have designs on their money, according to tribe members.

Under Abramoff's guidance, the four tribes -- Michigan's Saginaw Chippewas, the Agua Caliente of California, the Mississippi Choctaws and the Louisiana Coushattas -- have also become major political donors. They have loosened their traditional ties to the Democratic Party, giving Republicans two-thirds of the $2.9 million they have donated to federal candidates since 2001, records show.

The payday for the GOP is small though, compared with the $15.1 million the tribes have paid Abramoff and his law firm, Greenberg Traurig, which has rocketed to the ranks of top lobbyists on the fees it has charged gaming tribes, lobbying records show.

And those fees -- 10 or 20 times what the tribes paid their former lobbyists -- are about

FAX TRANSMISSION

To:	Jack Abramoff
Fax Number:	[redacted]
From:	Gail R. Halpern, C.P.A., P.F.S
Phone Number:	[redacted]
Fax Number:	[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.

02/15/2004 23:49 PAGE 22
Apr 16 03 10:15a P.1

GAIL HALPERN

[redacted]

1103

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER INC m/n

[redacted]

4/10/03 DATE

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Kay Gold LLC $ 991,000.00

Nine hundred ninety one thousand and 00/100 DOLLARS

First Union National Bank firstunion.com

[redacted]

CUSTOM BUSINESS BANKING

FOR [redacted]

GTG-E000011341

From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Sunday, February 22, 2004 7:55 AM
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

hahahahaha, I'm sure you've got some good reading material

---Original Message---
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sun 2/22/2004 8:53 AM
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc:
Subject: Re: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

Soon as I get off the can!!

---Original Message---
From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme[redacted]; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]; Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd[redacted]

Sent: Sun Feb 22 08:52:37 2004
Subject: RE: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

yep

---Original Message---
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sun 2/22/2004 8:51 AM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm); Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc:
Subject: Re: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

We still on for 9:00

---Original Message---
From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]; Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme[redacted]; Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd[redacted]

Sent: Sun Feb 22 00:55:43 2004
Subject: Re: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

I just woke up and read it. Lots of damning facts in there. To be very honest, the Scanlon stuff makes me sick to my stomach -- buying up property in cash. I am glad she did not no more about AIC, but the firm does. If

people start chiming in with stupid quotes like Duane's, I am going to snap. Talk to you guys in the AM.

—Original Message—
From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme[redacted]; Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd[redacted]; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]

Sent: Sun Feb 22 00:01:24 2004
Subject: RE: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

I second that - just got a call from a friend who read the article - his quote, "bad news".

—Original Message—
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Sat 2/21/2004 11:52 PM
To: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Cc:
Subject: Re: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

Same here! But they are R's!!

What about this statement from the article....

"In terms of Mike or any other third party, the firm does not have any formal relationship to my knowledge with any third-party vendor used by any of the tribes for some of their activities," he said.

—Original Message—
From: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd[redacted]
To: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme[redacted]>; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]>; Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]

Sent: Sat Feb 21 23:49:34 2004
Subject: Re: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

This is a total embarrasment. My friends all have it on their bberry's and are asking a ton of questions. This goes from here to roll call to the hill and on.

Michael D. Smith
Greenberg Traurig
[redacted]

—Original Message—
From: Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov) <williamsme[redacted]
To: Smith, Michael D. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <smithmd[redacted]; Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ringk[redacted]; Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]

Sent: Sat Feb 21 23:46:22 2004

Subject: Fw: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

Is he tone deaf or is it me?? Shouldn't the mention of the FBI alarm a legal eagle like him?

----Original Message----
From: Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm) <gibsond[redacted]
To: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]; DCCasino <DCCasino[redacted]
CC: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]>
Sent: Sat Feb 21 23:40:01 2004
Subject: Re: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

Not all that bad...
Duane R. Gibson
Greenberg Traurig
[redacted]
gibsond[redacted]

----Original Message----
From: Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm) <volzn[redacted]
To: DCCasino <DCCasino[redacted]
CC: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoffj[redacted]
Sent: Sat Feb 21 22:48:52 2004
Subject: FYI - Post Story is online, running in the AM.....

washingtonpost.com

A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes
Lobbying, PR Firms Paid $45 Million Over 3 Years

By Susan Schmidt
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, February 22, 2004; Page A01

A powerful Washington lobbyist and a former aide to House Majority Leader Tom DeLay (R-Tex.), persuaded four newly wealthy Indian gaming tribes to pay their firms more than $45 million over the past three years for lobbying and public affairs work, a sum that rivals spending to influence public policy by some of the nation's biggest corporate interests.

Touting his ties to conservatives in Congress and the White House, lobbyist Jack Abramoff persuaded the tribes to hire him and public relations executive Michael Scanlon to block powerful forces both at home and in Washington who have designs on their money, according to tribe members.

Under Abramoff's guidance, the four tribes -- Michigan's Saginaw Chippewas, the Agua Caliente of California, the Mississippi Choctaws and the Louisiana Coushattas -- have also become major political donors. They have loosened their traditional ties to the Democratic Party, giving Republicans two-thirds of the $2.9 million they have donated to federal candidates since 2001, records show.

The payday for the GOP is small though, compared with the $15.1 million the tribes have paid Abramoff and his law firm, Greenberg Traurig, which has rocketed to the ranks of top lobbyists on the fees it has charged gaming tribes, lobbying records show.

And those fees -- 10 or 20 times what the tribes paid their former lobbyists -- are about half of what Scanlon has taken in. Scanlon, 33, himself a former Greenberg lobbyist who was recommended by Abramoff, has been paid $31.1 million, according to documents and interviews with tribal members.

The fees are all the more remarkable because there are no major new issues for gaming tribes on the horizon, according to lobbyists and congressional staff. The tribes' payments for lobbying and public affairs work are comparable to what large corporations spend on lobbying in Washington: General Electric Co. paid more than two dozen lobbying firms $30.4 million over the same three-year period, according to federal records. The nation's top four pharmaceutical companies paid dozens of lobbying and law firms $34.8 million between mid-2002 and mid-2003, according to the records.

"Those fees would certainly stand out as greater in magnitude than what rank-and-file tribes pay," said Phil Hogen, chairman of the National Indian Gaming Commission, which regulates Indian gaming. "I guess they have been persuaded there is some value or return for that, but what that is, I'm not aware," Hogen said.

Abramoff has also advised tribes to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to obscure groups whose connections to Indian concerns are unclear, according to documents and numerous tribe members. One of those organizations, located at a Scanlon property in Rehoboth Beach, Del., paid $1.5 million in lobbying fees to Greenberg Traurig over a recent two-year period.

The spending by tribal leaders has spawned passionate battles within the tribes. Audrey Falcon, newly elected chief of the Saginaw Chippewas, told tribe members in a letter last week that "$14 million of your dollars was spent for lobbyists that yielded little or no results for our tribe."

Her predecessor, Maynard Kahgegab, defended the spending in an interview. Abramoff won federal funds for the tribe and Scanlon built a database "market protection program" to try to defeat the slot machines of other tribes and at racetracks, he said.

Chris Petras, who was ousted last month from his job as legislative director of the Saginaw Chippewas, said Greenberg Traurig "really established the tribe in Washington as a serious entity in terms of being a policy player." He said Abramoff got funding for several projects earmarked for the tribe, including a $1.2 million residential treatment facility and $3 million for a new school.

Abramoff declined to catalogue the accomplishments he has brought the tribes. Asked what he provides the tribes for the fee of $180,000 a month that each pays , he said: "I think we bring an order of magnitude in terms of our success and our approach on behalf of the tribes. A lot of these tribes who have thrown off the relatively inexpensive lobbyists basically come to us with the comment of 'you get what you pay for.' "

Scanlon declined to be interviewed, but he said in a faxed statement that some newly elected tribal leaders have criticized him because they "want to send business to their own guys."

"The bottom line is that my firm delivers. We provide expensive services, in an expensive industry and we get the job done," his statement said.

Abramoff's lobbying fees must be publicly reported under federal laws, but Scanlon's revenue is largely hidden from public scrutiny. Nowhere must Scanlon disclose his fees for public relations and grass-roots organizing. Copies of some of the contracts he has entered into with the tribes have been provided to The Washington Post by tribal members and sources close to the tribes who are outraged by the fees they are paying .

Tribal spending is seldom scrutinized by federal law enforcement authorities, who regulate gaming but must be careful about trampling on tribal sovereignty. In recent months, however, the FBI has stepped up an investigation into alleged spending irregularities by one of Abramoff's clients -- the 800-member Louisiana Coushatta tribe, which takes in hundreds of millions of dollars yearly from its casino. Last week, FBI agents in Michigan also interviewed members of the Saginaw Chippewas, tribal sources there said.

Abramoff's work for the tribes is not the first time he has encountered controversy in connection with gaming interests. In 2001, a federal magistrate ruled that a $23 million down payment put up by Abramoff and a partner as part of the $147 million purchase of Florida-based SunCruz Casinos was never actually paid. Abramoff declined to comment on SunCruz, citing ongoing litigation.

The rise of Indian gaming over the past 15 years has brought riches to some tribes long mired in poverty. Democrats were the first to make inroads in courting tribal leaders often unfamiliar with Washington politics. More recently, Republicans have tapped into growing tribal largess. In 1990, Indian tribes gave no money to Republicans; now tribes are giving much more overall, and almost half of it goes to Republicans.

Abramoff's conservative-movement credentials date back more than two decades to his days as a national leader of the College Republicans, along with Grover Norquist, an anti-tax activist close to the Bush White House, and Ralph Reed, former head of the Christian Coalition. He spent nearly a decade as a Hollywood producer before finding his niche in the 1990s as a Washington lobbyist, with entree to the conservatives who were taking control of Congress. He enjoys a close bond with DeLay.

Abramoff counts as a major success his 1995 efforts to persuade DeLay and other Republicans to defeat a proposed tax on Indian gaming. Tribes don't want to be taxed, he said, and in that sense they are "engaged in the same ideological and philosophical efforts that conservatives are -- basically saying, 'Look, we want to be left alone.' "

Abramoff currently represents seven gaming tribes. Scanlon represents four of the wealthiest in that group.

But some members of the tribes in Louisiana and California have begun to complain that they are getting little for their money.

New members of Michigan's Saginaw Chippewa tribal council have gone a step further. They canceled Abramoff's contract two months ago and have just terminated a contract with Scanlon that would have paid him another $2.7 million this quarter. In just over two years, the tribe paid $3.9 million to Greenberg Traurig and $10 million to Scanlon's firm, according to lobbying reports, contracts and tribal documents obtained by The Post. The fees accounted for 25 percent of the tribe's entire budget in 2002.

"Tribes are gullible," said Bernard Sprague, a Saginaw Chippewa tribal council member who has led the effort to cancel the contracts. "These guys come in and say, 'They are going to take your sovereignty or your land or your livelihood unless you pay us outrageous amounts of money.' They need to be exposed because tribes

don't know."

The Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians in Palm Springs, Calif., hired Abramoff's firm in mid-2002, and a year later had paid $1.68 million in lobbying fees. At Abramoff's direction, tribe members said, the tribe hired Scanlon to build a database of political supporters and to conduct a $7.4 million letter-writing campaign designed to win support from then-Gov. Gray Davis (D) for more slot machines. That unsuccessful effort generated about 2,000 letters, according to sources close to the tribe -- at a cost of $3,700 per letter.

"There are people here, just like at other tribes, concerned about the fees and whether they are appropriate for what they are getting for the tribes," said Barbara Gonzales Lyons, vice chairman of the Agua Caliente tribal council.

In Michigan and in Louisiana, a few tribal council leaders sometimes made spending decisions without disclosing the details to others, according to the minutes of council meetings and interviews with tribe members. "We were dishing out huge amounts of money for campaigning and lobbying. We're trying to find out what we were paying for," said David Sickey, who was elected in June to Louisiana's Coushatta Choctaw tribal council.

That tribe has spent $32 million on unspecified "lobbying" costs since 2001, according to an internal memo prepared in May by outgoing tribe comptroller Erick LaRocque. Complaining that "documentation of the nature of these expenditures is very limited," LaRocque's memo said that "approximately $24 million of these funds were taken from the funds designated for health, housing and education of tribal members," and that the council had obtained a $10 million line of credit to cover other expenditures.

"It's disturbing -- it is a huge sum," said Sickey, adding that the "lion's share" of the money went to Scanlon's Capital Campaign Strategies public affairs firm. The Daily Town Talk newspaper in Alexandria, La., has reported that an internal tribe audit shows that the firm received $13.7 million during a one-year period ending in 2002. "Tribal members were not aware of this, not at all," Sickey said.

"We got involved with them around 2000 when we had to get a gaming compact renewed with the state of Louisiana," said Bert Langley, who then served as the Coushattas' secretary-treasurer. "Scanlon and Jack were around for a few meetings. They said they had a good network going. They would mention Tom DeLay and all that bunch, but I'm not sure what they did or who they talked to."

Langley said that Abramoff and Scanlon dealt primarily with tribal council member William Worfel.

Worfel issued a statement praising Scanlon's database and public relations work, saying he helped the Coushattas win a potentially costly compact fight with another tribe seeking to build a casino nearby. "The reports of how much the tribe paid Capital Campaign Strategies and other firms are completely inaccurate," the statement said. He did not return calls seeking an interview.

A fourth tribe, the Mississippi Choctaws, has paid Greenberg Traurig $4.5 million since 2001. A spokeswoman said the tribe also employs one of Scanlon's firms, but she declined to say how much it has been paid.

In addition to recommending political contributions, Abramoff advised the tribes to give hundreds of thousands of dollars to groups whose connection to Indian issues is unclear, according to tribe members. One of those, American International Center (AIC), described itself on its Web site as an "international think tank" that "seeks to expand the parameters of international discourse in an effort to leverage the combined power of world intellect."

The Coushatta audit cited by the Louisiana paper found that AIC received $566,000 in tribal funds. The AIC address listed in Delaware corporate records is a property owned by Scanlon in Rehoboth Beach. AIC's telephone has been disconnected. Reports filed in Congress show that AIC was one of Greenberg Traurig's biggest lobbying clients from 2001 to 2003, paying the law firm fees totaling $1.5 million.

Abramoff declined to comment, citing client confidentiality both for the tribes and AIC. He also declined to comment on a $25,000 donation that tribe documents show the Saginaw Chippewas made to the Capital Athletic Foundation, a local charity he supports.

Tribes have given to two political organizations associated with Norquist; one of the groups, the Council for Republican Environmental Advocacy, was founded by Interior Secretary Gale A. Norton, whose department oversees Indian affairs. Norton is no longer part of the organization. Abramoff said he recommends that tribes contribute to conservative groups.

Scanlon was still paying off student loans when he left his job as a DeLay press spokesman to join the lobbying world of K Street three years ago, court records show. He worked with Abramoff first at the Preston Gates law firm, then followed him to Greenberg Traurig, where he was a registered lobbyist for the Coushattas before establishing two public affairs firms, Capital Campaign Strategies and Scanlon-Gould Public Affairs. The address on company correspondence is a mail drop on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Property and divorce records reveal that Scanlon or his companies have purchased at least $14 million worth of real estate since 2001 , including a $6.3 million Delaware office park and a seaside mansion in Rehoboth Beach that he bought for $4.7 million in cash. In 2002, he took a $17,000-a-month apartment at the Ritz Carlton in Washington's West End.

Abramoff said in an interview that he does not have an ownership interest in any of Scanlon's firms. He refused to discuss his business dealings with Scanlon, or respond to tribal members' assertions that he advised the tribes to hire Scanlon. In an interview attended by five colleagues from Greenberg Traurig, Abramoff said the firm has no official ties to Scanlon's companies.

"In terms of Mike or any other third party, the firm does not have any formal relationship to my knowledge with any third-party vendor used by any of the tribes for some of their activities," he said.

Scanlon's companies are incorporated in Delaware, where privacy laws shield corporations from disclosing ownership.

Asked whether Greenberg Traurig knew of Abramoff's work with Scanlon, Jill Perry, a spokeswoman for the law firm, said: "At this time we have no comment."

Sprague, a Saginaw Chippewa tribal council member, and David Otto, a former member, contend that in 2001, before Scanlon was hired, his firm provided mailings for council members facing election.

"Michael Scanlon's company sent out election mailers to tribal members promoting the election of the 'Slate of Eight,' " said Otto, who was on the slate. "It was kind of like, 'We'll do this for you, and we'll talk about -- once you get in office -- doing work for you.' "

Federal law bars the use of tribe resources for election campaigns. "If we have evidence that the fees are for activities that benefit individuals rather than the tribe as a whole, we would investigate that as a possible misuse of gaming revenues," said Alan Fedman, director of enforcement for the National Indian Gaming Commission.

Research editor Margot Williams contributed to this report.

© 2004 The Washington Post Company

From: Thomas, Christine (AstDirDC-Gov Adm)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 8:42 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Cc: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); jon[redacted]
Subject: Washington Post

Here are the first three letters - the fourth one from Chitimacha is almost done but I thought I'd send you these first. They are all a bit different, as you asked for, but we can definitely switch around the authors as you see fit. just put in the names randomly, but you may want to change this.

Let me know if/how you would like me to edit these pieces, or if there are any arguments you would like me to leave out or build upon. I was working all day on this, so I haven't been able to run any drafts through Jon or anyone since you were all asleep!

An Attack on Tribal Autonomy

-Lovelin Poncho, The Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana

The Washington Post did a great injustice to Native American tribes by publishing its February 22 article entitled, "A Jackpot from Indian Gaming Tribes." In this article, reporter Susan Schmidt compares the dollar amounts that certain tribes have spent on federal lobbying efforts with the amounts spent by some of the nation's largest corporations. The article is full of racial prejudice, as Schmidt approves of the large amounts spent by General Electric and several pharmaceutical companies on their D.C. representation, but disapproves of the amounts spent by certain tribes. As Chairman of the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana, one of the tribes mentioned in the article, I was able to listen to the taped interview between Schmidt and Jack Abramoff, the conservative lobbyist that is one of the targets of her baseless attack. In this interview, she stated that tribes are "unsophisticated" entities that are less capable than big corporations in making these sorts of decisions. Notwithstanding her obvious anti-Indian stance and cavalier disregard for the truth, the article provides aid and comfort to the opponents of tribal self-determination. And for this reason, I feel that it is my obligation to respond.

It is up to each sovereign tribe to decide how best to spend its own dollars to provide for the general welfare of its citizens. Each tribe must find ways to fund its essential services, such as education, health care, housing, legal systems, and infrastructure improvement. In addition, each tribe must make the choice of whether or not to seek outside representation, whether it be in Washington D.C. or elsewhere. When General Electric exercises its freedom to choose its federal lobbyists, no one questions that this judgment is made with the utmost care and highest level of sophistication. An assumption is made that the General Electric directors are well-informed individuals, capable of handling such a complex and expensive decision. To question the decisions made by tribes goes against the very premise of tribal autonomy and self-rule.

Historically, Native Americans have suffered from terrible unemployment rates, high levels of poverty, and a lack of economic and educational opportunities on Indian homelands. However, through tribal self-determination efforts in recent years, tribes have been able to slowly pull themselves out of abject poverty and become a considerable economic force, contributing to the prosperity of those on Indian reservations and in the surrounding communities. Once restricted by limited opportunities in business and education, more and more tribal leaders now have the ability and sophistication to manage complex tribal enterprises and partner with private sector businesses. This has enabled American Indians to take their rightful place as full participants in the economic and political life of America. Most importantly, it has restored to American Indians a sense of pride and self-respect.

Through her racist remarks, it seems that Ms. Schmidt would have liked to maintain the status quo of history by keeping Native American tribes as political and cultural outsiders, marginal to her Beltway universe. She sees tribes as hungry children looking in through a picture window on the feasts of the powerful. Native Americans have had to endure centuries of this very kind of prejudice, and at a very great cost. Once again, after some initial steps of success for tribes, attacks such as this recent one in the *Washington Post* show that racism often lies just below the surface. Indians today continue to struggle to overcome the scars of a terrible

history. Susan Schmidt's article brings us back about a hundred years by questioning the ability of Native American tribes to make our own financial decisions regarding our future.

It seems that the *Washington Post* has a record of ridiculing groups or ideas that it does not agree with. The current article is reminiscent of the controversial 1993 story in which reporter Michael Weisskopf described the Christian right as "poor, uneducated and easy to command." Those comments created a giant uproar in that community, and the author was forced to amend his statement. I strongly urge the *Post* and Susan Schmidt to do the same in this case.

Dangerous Racism

-Richard Milanovich, Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians

In her February 22 article entitled, "A Jackpot from Indian Gaming Tribes," *Washington Post* reporter Susan Schmidt attempts to accuse D.C. lobbyist Jack Abramoff of unfairly persuading gullible Indian tribes to retain his lobbying services. As Chairman of the Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, one of the primary tribes mentioned in the article, I was permitted to listen to the taped interview between Schmidt and Abramoff. If her written words had left any room for doubting her racial prejudices against Native Americans, this interview surely put that hesitation to rest. During the interview, Schmidt referred to Native Americans as an "unsophisticated" group of people, implying that they were incapable of making wise choices regarding their own political representation in the nation's capital. Unfortunately, Schmidt's statements have only exposed her own lack of sophistication, and her total disregard for the hard-earned progress that Native American tribes have made over the years. I am shocked that the *Washington Post* would allow such an article to go to print, and on the front page of the Sunday newspaper nonetheless.

In her article, Schmidt compares the dollar amounts spent on federal lobbying by several Indian tribes versus that spent by some of the nation's biggest corporate interests, such as General Electric and the nation's top four pharmaceutical companies. She remarks disapprovingly that, "the tribes' payments for lobbying and public affairs work are comparable to what large corporations spend on lobbying in Washington." With a parental and judgmental tone, Schmidt somehow feels justified to argue that, while it is okay for traditionally "white" businesses like drug companies to protect themselves in the federal policymaking arena, it is *not* okay for Native American tribes to do exactly the same thing. Her racist notions completely undermine the concept of tribal self-determination.

Susan Schmidt's article perpetuates stereotypical and inaccurate images of Native Americans. In today's world of "Pocahontas" and "Dances with Wolves" images about Indians, it is difficult to educate the wider public to accept Native Americans as they really are. Many non-Indians still prefer seeing Native Americans as they were in the nineteenth century – as helpless and dependent caricatures of the past, and not as real people that are capable of a prosperous and vibrant existence in today's society. Native Americans have had to endure these kinds of racial prejudices throughout history, and at a massive cost. However, through recent tribal self-determination efforts, they have managed to make great strides towards a more equal playing ground. Many tribes have been able to slowly pull themselves out of the deepest mires of poverty through increasing opportunities in business and education. Tribal leaders now have the capability of managing complex tribal enterprises and partnering with private sector businesses. This has given American Indian tribes the opportunity to finally begin to participate in the economic and political life of the United States.

Unfortunately, it seems that attacks against Native Americans have grown louder in direct proportion to the success of some tribes. Until recently, few people took interest in the fate of Indian tribes because no one envisioned that tribal communities might someday have a commercial or growing future. Articles such as this one remind us that racism will always rear

its ugly head and, that if Native Americans are to be contended with from a doctrine of fairness, then the concept of tribal self-determination must be fully understood. Otherwise, the repetition of past failures will be guaranteed.

It seems that the *Washington Post* clearly has a problem with belittling groups or efforts that it doesn't agree with. Many readers may still remember the 1993 front page story on Christian conservatives, in which reporter Michael Weisskopf famously dismissed this significant demographic as "poor, uneducated and easy to command." Uproar ensued and members of this particular class telephoned and faxed their bona fides, noting their degrees from accredited and mainstream universities. Weisskopf was forced to amend his highly controversial story, explaining he meant that "most" evangelicals are poor, uneducated and easy to command. Naturally, that only brought more objections from the same class of people. Today, nearly eleven years after that controversy, the *Post* does not seem to have learned its lesson. Its levels of sensitivity and tact have not improved, and it cannot continue to get away with these types of dangerous insinuations.

Undermining Tribal Self-Determination

-Chief Martin, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians

Susan Schmidt's Sunday attack on Jack Abramoff and his D.C.-based lobbying group constitutes a vicious and baseless assault on the liberty and independence that Native Americans across the country have fought so hard to obtain. As Chairman of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, one of the tribes mentioned in the article, I am deeply offended by Schmidt's total disregard for the decision-making capabilities of the members of my Tribe in choosing our own representation in the nation's capital. And, as a Native American who knows first-hand the struggles that our people have had to endure throughout the centuries in order to make slow strides toward self-improvement and development, I am extremely disturbed that such highly racist remarks would be endorsed by the Washington Post. Leaving her words uncontested would not only be dangerous, it would be an injustice to the hard-earned progress of my people.

Schmidt reports that certain Native American tribes have spent a considerable sum over the past three years for lobbying and public affairs work – one that "rivals spending to influence public policy by some of the nation's biggest corporate interests." With her racially prejudiced disapproval of these dollar amounts, Schmidt calls into question the ability of tribes to make sound financial decisions, thereby undermining tribal sovereignty and self-determination. She thinks it is okay for traditionally white corporations such as General Electric and some of the largest pharmaceutical companies to spend money on protecting themselves at the federal level, but it is not okay for Native American tribes to precisely the same thing. Furthermore, in the taped interview between Schmidt and Abramoff, which I was able to personally review, Schmidt describes Native Americans as "unsophisticated." If her article was not enough to convince me of her racist attitudes, the interview made her bias very clear.

This article is nothing more than a sad attempt at stirring an unnecessary and unjustified controversy. Ms. Schmidt twisted the facts and took many people's words completely out of context in order to further her own political agenda. However, her greatest crime has been against American Indians themselves. Given the desperate struggle that our people have endured in order to gain independence and respect, I will not stand idly by in the face of such ignorance.

By meddling in the internal affairs of tribes, it is clear that Schmidt does not comprehend the inherent right of an Indian tribe to determine the course of its own future. Schmidt's position on this issue is both substantively and legally weak, and her statements display a major lack of understanding about the concepts of tribal sovereignty and self-determination. These concepts can be traced back to three U.S. Supreme Court cases from the early 1800's involving the Cherokee Nation and the State of Georgia. In one case, Chief Justice John Marshall looked at the history of relations between Indian tribes and European nations, and later the United States. He noted that, from the beginning, tribes were treated as sovereigns, as shown by treaty-making between the parties. In deciding that Georgia laws did not apply within Cherokee territory, Marshall concluded that Indian tribes have powers of self-government and sovereignty subject only to the superior authority of the federal government.

Tribal self-determination efforts have enabled tribes to begin the long march back from poverty and hopelessness to prosperity and a better future. This has provided hope and the opportunity for governmental and economic self-reliance to a once invisible, disenfranchised people. Tribal leaders have slowly begun to acquire the knowledge, skills and self-confidence needed to build strong tribal governments, and for the first time in generations, provide for the well-being of their own people. More Indian children are graduating from elementary schools, high schools, community colleges and universities than ever before. Many tribes have begun to diversify their economies to develop manufacturing companies, bottling plants, resort hotels, banks, retail shopping malls, service stations, and other businesses. Tribes are providing jobs, education, and health care to millions of American Indians, and are generating funds for housing, recreational programs, schools, hospitals, clinics and cultural centers. Tribal governments have also become leaders in charitable giving, donating millions of dollars to various causes.

Today, even after more than five hundred years of interaction with Native Americans, some people still find it difficult to understand and, in some cases, accept the fact that tribal self-determination exists. Failure to correct this is extremely dangerous, and articles such as Susan Schmidt's will only serve to perpetuate the ignorance if they are left undisputed. For those Americans who truly care about Indian justice, that should be the bottom line.

From: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 10:27 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Maynard defends lobbying article

you are taking years off my life with this crap. it's going to be a pricey year for you come xmas.....:)

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 11:23 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Maynard defends lobbying article

Agree.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 11:17 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Maynard defends lobbying article

not that I'm aware of. I'm not sure it's a good idea anyway. the opeds are good because it is our clients. once the door is slammed in MI, that's a good story too.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 11:16 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Maynard defends lobbying article

I take it they are not trying to get something in Rollcall this Thursday.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 10:48 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Maynard defends lobbying article

probably not. this is helping maynard back there and we are getting better press in LA now too.....I'm going to give Brody all the dirt when the recall goes through and he can pounce on it with full access.

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 10:47 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Maynard defends lobbying article

Do you think it's positive enough? We cannot have anything in DC which is not 100% with us.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 10:44 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: RE: Maynard defends lobbying article

are you going to get this in the washing times? shoud we send this to our friends?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 10:43 AM
To: Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: FW: Maynard defends lobbying article

-----Original Message-----
From: RightFAX E-mail Gateway
Sent: Tuesday, February 24, 2004 8:47 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Subject: Maynard defends lobbying article

2/24/2004 8:42:28 AM Transmission Record
Received from remote ID: [redacted]
Inbound user_ID ABRAMOFFJ, routing code 135
Result: (0/352;0/0) Successful Send
Page record: 1 - 3
Elapsed time: 04:16 on channel 1
Fax Images: [double-click on image to view page(s)]

2:39 PM
07/15/04
Accrual Basis

American International Center, Inc.
Transaction Detail By Account
January 1, 2001 through June 22, 2004

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Account	Amount
Jan 1, '01 - Jun 22, 04						
Deposit	3/6/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	200,000.00
Deposit	3/16/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	400,000.00
Check	3/16/2001	95	Century Strategies		Professional Services	-50,000.00
General Journal	3/16/2001				Professional Services	-350,000.00
Check	3/19/2001	94	Capitol Campaign S...		Professional Services	-25,000.00
Check	3/20/2001	98	Century Strategies		Professional Services	-100,000.00
Deposit	3/21/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	258,000.00
Check	3/22/2001	96	Century Strategies		Professional Services	-20,000.00
Check	3/22/2001	97	Century Strategies		Professional Services	-45,000.00
Deposit	3/30/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	298,000.00
Check	3/30/2001	99	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-125,000.00
Check	4/3/2001	100	Century Strategies		Professional Services	-198,000.00
Check	4/3/2001	1001	Century Strategies	ADS/AL	Professional Services	-100,000.00
Deposit	4/18/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	150,000.00
Deposit	4/26/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Deposit	4/27/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	397,200.00
Check	4/29/2001	1004	Brian Mann	April Salary	Subcontractors	-500.00
Check	4/29/2001	1005	David Grosh	April Salary	Subcontractors	-500.00
General Journal	4/30/2001				Bank Charges	-36.00
Check	4/30/2001	1006	Century Strategies		Professional Services	-398,000.00
Check	5/2/2001	1007	Century Strategies	Ala	Professional Services	-100,000.00
Deposit	5/9/2001			Deposit	Professional Services	175,000.00
General Journal	5/9/2001				Bank Charges	-12.00
Check	5/10/2001	1010	Century Strategies	Alabama	Professional Services	-750,000.00
Deposit	5/11/2001			Deposit	Professional Services	960,654.00
Check	5/20/2001	1013	Capitol Campaign S...		Professional Services	-185,800.00
Check	5/30/2001	1014	Brian Mann	May Salary	Subcontractors	-750.00
Check	6/5/2001	1015	Brian Mann	June Salary	Subcontractors	-750.00
General Journal	6/11/2001				Bank Charges	-12.00
General Journal	6/11/2001			Error #96 Cor...	Professional Services	-180,000.00
Check	6/16/2001	1016	Michael Archino	June Rent	Rent	-5,020.00
Check	6/21/2001	1020	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-120,000.00
Deposit	6/29/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	300,000.00
Check	7/1/2001	1021	Greenberg Traurig		Professional Services	-100,000.00
Deposit	7/5/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	30,000.00
Check	7/5/2001	1017	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-1,250.00
Check	7/5/2001	1018	Verizon		Telephone	-763.73
Check	7/21/2001	1022	David Grosh	June/July Sal...	Subcontractors	-1,500.00
Check	8/1/2001	1025	VCSI		Professional Services	-3,558.40
Check	8/1/2001	1027	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-40,000.00
Check	8/14/2001	1026	Greenberg Traurig		Professional Services	-200,000.00
Check	8/17/2001	1028	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-1,250.00
Check	8/17/2001	1029	Verizon		Telephone	-179.45
Check	8/17/2001	1030	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-30,000.00
Check	8/24/2001	1032	Saul Ewing, LLP		Legal/Professional	-316.12
Deposit	8/24/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	20,000.00
Deposit	8/29/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	1,500,000.00
Check	9/4/2001	1023	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-1,250.00
General Journal	9/5/2001			Reverse wro...	Consulting Fees	-1,500,000.00
Check	9/7/2001	1024	Verizon		Telephone	-211.59
General Journal	9/13/2001				Bank Charges	-12.00
Check	10/8/2001	1033	Khaled Saffyri		Subcontractors	-90,000.00
Check	10/8/2001	1034	Greenberg Traurig		Professional Services	-210,000.00
Check	10/8/2001	1035	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-4,500.00
Deposit	10/8/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	300,000.00
Deposit	10/8/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	20,000.00
Check	11/2/2001	1036	Verizon		Telephone	-363.39
Check	11/2/2001	1037	Brian Mann	reimburse bri...	Utilities	-1,566.00
Deposit	11/9/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Check	12/5/2001	1038	Michael Archino	June Rent	Rent	-10,000.00
Check	12/5/2001	1038	Michael Archino	June Rent	Utilities	-425.33
Check	12/18/2001	1040	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-60,000.00
Deposit	12/18/2001			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
General Journal	12/31/2001				Depreciation	-3,666.85
Check	1/3/2002	1041	Khaled Saffyri		Professional Services	-45,000.00
Deposit	1/3/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	300,000.00
Check	1/18/2002	1042	Delaware Secretary...		Licenses & Permits	-20.00

2:39 PM
07/15/04
rual Basis

American International Center, Inc.
Transaction Detail By Account
January 1, 2001 through June 22, 2004

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Account	Amount
Check	1/25/2002	1043	Brian Mann	Jan 02	Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	1/25/2002	1044	Verizon		Telephone	-359.32
Check	1/25/2002	1049	Ben Macklin		Subcontractors	-2,125.00
Check	1/30/2002	1051	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-10,000.00
Deposit	1/30/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Check	1/30/2002		First Union		Bank Charges	-16.04
Check	2/1/2002	1045	Brian Mann	Feb 02	Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Deposit	2/19/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Check	2/21/2002	1048	Brian Mann	March 02	Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	2/21/2002	1052	Ben Macklin		Subcontractors	-1,750.00
Check	2/21/2002	1053	Greenberg Traurig	4832700200	Professional Services	-245,000.00
Check	2/21/2002	1046	Verizon		Telephone	-176.82
Check	2/21/2002	1047	Brian Mann	March 02	Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	2/21/2002	1047	Brian Mann	March 02	Utilities	-250.00
Deposit	2/28/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	1,000,000.00
Check	2/28/2002		First Union		Bank Charges	-12.00
Deposit	3/13/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	300,000.00
Check	3/15/2002	1055	Dision of Revenue	DE Bus Lic	Licenses & Permits	-75.00
Check	3/15/2002	1056	IRS	2001 Fed Ta...	Taxes	-549.00
Check	3/15/2002	1057	Dision of Revenue	2001 DE Taxes	Taxes	-319.00
Check	3/15/2002	1058	Khaled Saffyri		Professional Services	-45,000.00
Check	3/15/2002	1059	Greenberg Traurig	4832700200 ...	Professional Services	-255,000.00
Check	3/15/2002	1054	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-1,000,000.00
Deposit	3/19/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Check	5/2/2002	1064	Brian Mann	March 02	Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	5/2/2002	1066	Brian Mann	March 02	Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	5/2/2002	1065	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	5/22/2002	1060	Verizon		Telephone	-186.62
Check	5/22/2002	1062	Brian Mann	March 02	Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	5/22/2002	1063	Verizon		Telephone	-181.00
Deposit	5/22/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Deposit	6/10/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Deposit	6/13/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	5,000.00
Check	7/29/2002	1075	Verizon		Telephone	-383.74
Check	7/29/2002	1076	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-10,000.00
Deposit	8/14/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	5,000.00
Deposit	9/12/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	5,000.00
Check	10/2/2002	1067	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	10/2/2002	1068	Michael Archino	June Rent	Rent	-400.00
Check	10/2/2002	1069	Verizon		Telephone	-204.85
Deposit	10/3/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	5,000.00
Check	10/31/2002	1070	Michael Archino	June Rent	Rent	-400.00
Check	10/31/2002	1071	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Check	10/31/2002	1077	Capitol Campaign S...	Fundraising	Professional Services	-207,859.72
Check	11/14/2002	1072	Brian Mann		Subcontractors	-2,500.00
Deposit	11/15/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	5,000.00
Deposit	11/15/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	5,000.00
Check	12/9/2002	1073	Michael Archino	June Rent	Rent	-400.00
Deposit	12/11/2002			Deposit	Consulting Fees	170,000.00
Check	12/11/2002	1074	Verizon		Telephone	-493.03
Check	2/4/2003	1078	Michael Archino	June Rent	Rent	-400.00
Check	2/4/2003	1079	Verizon		Telephone	-640.07
Check	2/4/2003	1080	Connective		Utilities	-612.68
Check	2/4/2003	1081	Dision of Revenue	DE Bus Lic	Licenses & Permits	-20.00
Check	2/4/2003	1083	Direct TV		Utilities	-72.59
Check	2/4/2003	1084	Verizon		Telephone	-116.03
Check	2/4/2003	1085	U-Store		Storage	-996.00
Deposit	2/15/2003			Deposit	Consulting Fees	10,000.00
Check	3/1/2003	1086	Michael Archino	June Rent	Rent	-800.00
Check	3/1/2003	1087	Rob Jennings		Advertising	-450.00
Check	3/1/2003	1088	Cory Caroll		Advertising	-387.50
Check	3/1/2003	1089	Verizon		Telephone	-954.07
Check	3/1/2003	1090	Verizon		Telephone	-90.71
Check	3/1/2003	1091	Direct TV		Utilities	-72.59
Check	3/1/2003	1092	Comcast		Utilities	-52.34
Check	3/1/2003	1093	Connective		Utilities	-199.99
Check	3/1/2003	1094	Kati Becker		Advertising	-200.00
Check	3/1/2003	1095	Penn-Del		Repairs	-136.90

2:39 PM
07/15/04
Accrual Basis

American International Center, Inc.
Transaction Detail By Account
January 1, 2001 through June 22, 2004

Type	Date	Num	Name	Memo	Account	Amount
Check	3/1/2003	1097	Mat Kasper		Office Expense	-100.44
Deposit	3/15/2003			Deposit	Consulting Fees	5,000.00
Deposit	3/15/2003			Deposit	Consulting Fees	2,300,000.00
Deposit	3/15/2003			Deposit	Subcontractors	1,083.93
Deposit	3/15/2003			Deposit	Consulting Fees	6,000.00
Check	4/1/2003	1096	Brian Mann		Office Expense	-441.23
Check	4/1/2003	1098	David Richardson		Repairs	-5,000.00
Check	4/1/2003	1099	Michael Archino	June Rent	Utilities	-68.75
Check	4/1/2003	1100	Lighthouse Cleaning		Office Expense	-250.00
Check	4/1/2003	1101	Phil Jack		Landscaping	-595.00
Check	4/1/2003	1103	Kay Gold		Professional Services	-991,000.00
Check	4/1/2003	1104	Verizon		Telephone	-65.70
Check	4/1/2003	1105	Verizon		Telephone	-439.59
Check	4/1/2003	1106	Connective		Utilities	-125.06
Check	4/1/2003	1107	Connective		Utilities	-39.30
Check	4/1/2003	1108	Direct TV		Utilities	-96.79
Check	4/1/2003	1109	Mat Kasper		Office Expense	-841.77
Check	4/1/2003	1110	Wes Fruhauf		Office Expense	-400.00
Check	4/1/2003	1111	Brian Mann		Office Expense	-292.53
Check	4/1/2003	1112	Roger Signs		Advertising	-990.00
Check	4/1/2003	1113	Michael Scanlon		Subcontractors	-15,000.00
Check	4/1/2003	1114	Mat Kasper		Office Expense	-41.00
Check	4/1/2003		Capitol Campaign S...		Professional Services	-1,300,000.00
Check	4/1/2003	1116	Verizon		Telephone	-95.30
Jan 1, '01 - Jun 22, 04						0.00

Capitol Campaign Strategies, LLC

7/15/2004

Register: Checking
From 01/01/2001 through 07/15/2004
Sorted by: Date, Type, Number/Ref

Date	Number	Payee	Account	Memo	Payment	C	Deposit	Balance
02/21/2002		ADP	Legal/Proffessional		50.83	X		5,939,366.86
02/21/2002		Verizon	Telephone	Acct# 0007164...	149.22	X		5,939,217.64
02/21/2002		American Express	-split-	AmEx Bill	9,127.35	X		5,930,090.29
02/21/2002	1495	Lunde & Burger	Professional Campaign...	LA	75,000.00	X		5,855,090.29
02/22/2002			Money Market	Trsf	2,000,000.00	X		3,855,090.29
02/22/2002	1496	Kay Gold, LLC	Referral Expense		2,779,925.60	X		1,075,164.69
02/22/2002	1497	Mark W. Diehl, CPA	Legal/Proffessional	March	3,000.00	X		1,072,164.69
02/25/2002			-split-	Deposit		X	1,955,000.00	3,027,164.69
02/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		21.75	X		3,027,142.94
02/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		13.10	X		3,027,129.84
02/25/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		25.25	X		3,027,104.59
02/25/2002	1498	Capitol Media	Professional Campaign...	Radio Buy - LA	60,000.00	X		2,967,104.59
02/25/2002	1499	Capitol Media	Professional Campaign...	LA Proj. Mana...	100,000.00	X		2,867,104.59
02/25/2002	1500	Eric Insurance	Insurance		682.00	X		2,866,422.59
02/25/2002	1501	PMCC Mortgage Cor...	Shareholder Draw	Loan #01NL01...	3,328.96	X		2,863,093.63
02/25/2002	1502	Jack Lingo Real Estate	Shareholder Draw		22,820.00	X		2,840,273.63
02/27/2002		Federal Express	Shipping		14.45	X		2,840,259.18
02/27/2002	1503	Brian J. Mann	Subcontractors	Professional Se...	2,500.00	X		2,837,759.18
02/27/2002	1504	Robin Axline	Subcontractors		3,000.00	X		2,834,759.18
02/27/2002	1505	JBG Properties	-split-	Rent - 2401 PA...	4,485.00	X		2,830,274.18
02/27/2002	1506	Pepco	Utilities	011250251 3-3...	194.37	X		2,830,079.81
02/27/2002	1507	Webaccess, Inc.	Office Equip:Communi...	Router	1,800.00	X		2,828,279.81
02/27/2002	1508	Vector Security	Office Expense	Security - ACC...	423.00	X		2,827,856.81
02/27/2002	1509	Pepco	Utilities	2401 Penn Ave...	200.98	X		2,827,655.83
02/27/2002	1510	Verizon	Telephone	Acct# 0007164...	283.92	X		2,827,371.91
02/27/2002	1511	Washington Post	Subscription	Annual Subscri...	25.13	X		2,827,346.78
02/27/2002	1512	Connectiv	Utilities	24 West Street ...	167.92	X		2,827,178.86
02/27/2002	1513	Comcast	Utilities	24 West Street ...	67.27	X		2,827,111.59
02/27/2002	1514	Major Transports	Travel:Car Services	S&G 02-02	1,253.50	X		2,825,858.09
02/27/2002	1515	CareFirst BlueCross ...	Insurance:Health	Health Insurance	732.00	X		2,825,126.09
02/27/2002	1516	Wells Fargo Financia...	Computer Lease	Cust. # 421862...	650.46	X		2,824,475.63
02/27/2002	1517	Brian A. Gould	Professional Campaign...	Feb. Research	500.00	X		2,823,975.63
02/27/2002	1518	Waste Management o...	Shareholder Draw	24 West Street ...	57.04	X		2,823,918.59
02/27/2002	1519	Verizon	Telephone	000837837145	773.01	X		2,823,145.58
02/27/2002	1520	Vertex Computer	Office Equipment:Serv...	Service/Equip...	2,664.69	X		2,820,480.89
02/27/2002	1521	Erin Yeatman	Telephone	Cell phone	87.47	X		2,820,393.42
02/28/2002			Consulting Fees	MBCI-MISC		X	1,605,000.00	4,425,393.42
02/28/2002		ADP	Payroll Expenses	P/R 2/28	12,908.39	X		4,412,485.03
02/28/2002		ADP	-split-	P/R 2/28	8,481.95	X		4,404,003.08
02/28/2002			Shareholder Draw		50,000.00	X		4,354,003.08

STRATEGY MEMORANDUM

TO: WILLIAM WOERFUL

FROM: MIKE SCANLON

SUBJECT: NEXT POLITICAL STEPS.

DATE:

CC: JACK A.

William,

With victory achieved on the Jena front I believe that we must immediately capitalize on our victory on several fronts.

Immediately following the compact fight I made the same recommendations, which I now know never made it up the flagpole. I said then, and I will say now – that what you do immediately following a big win like this – is almost more important than the win itself. You have the opposition down, you have a vulnerable governor, you have the ability to wipe out the existing market threats that still exist. We strongly recommend that you immediately flex you muscle in this regard, the environment has never been better, and your team is still on the playing field.

To that end we recommend the following programs, and request the associated budget authority to execute them.

1) Pinnacle Referendum

We strongly recommend going straight for the jugular on Pinnacle. We not only need to beat them in 3 weeks – we need to destroy them. If they get their operation going down there, it will cost you tens of millions of dollars a year at the least. We have the cover of the boats on this project, Pinnacle will think the boats and Delta Downs are behind this, so we have a free shot at them – but only three weeks to make it happen. We are asking for a budget of $1,860,000.00 for this effort.

2) Delta Downs

Although not as time sensitive, and certainly not as vulnerable as Pinnacle, we must turn our guns on Delta Downs again. This may be an expensive and long battle with them, but we remain VERY optimistic that we can this – this year. We are going to need real firepower on this one as they are dug in pretty deep and already open. But, remember they not only pose a threat to your casino - ***but to the tribe as well.*** We plan on executing a series of tactics that include Christian mobilization, state house efforts to tax them, sponsoring our own a parish wide referendum to outlaw or tax them, and several other concepts we can use on the state level. In addition we are

looking at a federal component on this as well. We would like budget authority of $2,300,000.00 to fight this battle.

3) Jena

We would like to continue the effort against the Jena tribe and launch a new effort against the governor as payback. On the Jena front we would like to go to each possible town where they could conceivable land a casino and destroy that option politically. Simply put – we want them out of the state and out of the gaming business all together. We would like to go from town to town and systematically wipe out possible locations. Our recommendation is to finish them off now. If we don't- there is an excellent chance that they will be back sooner than we all think. We ran them out of Mississippi all together – we can do it here as well. We believe that this campaign will run about 8 weeks, and we would like to start immediately while the iron is still hot. We will need a budget of roughly $2,100,000.00 to execute this properly.

4) Foster

We recommend running a statewide campaign to drive Foster into the dirt. We recommend a series of law suits, public relations efforts and our standard grass roots efforts to make Foster the most unpopular politician in the country, Our objective is to have him leave office in disgrace – or at the very least – as the least popular governor in Louisiana history. We are making this recommendation for three reasons, 1) It's payback time. 2) If we do this right NO governor WILL EVER try to screw Coushatta again and 3) Remember when Patrick Martin said that they were going to give Jena a compact because Coushatta were weak and couldn't fight it? Lets not let this happen again, we need to remind everyone what you are capable of, so no one gets any bright ideas. We are requesting a budget of $1,545,000.00 for this effort.

We understand that there are budget constrictions in every operation, and we are sensitive to the fact that you have spent a lot of money in the last battle. However, we firmly believe that if you execute these programs you will save much more money in the long run.

On a political level we believe that the Delta Downs and Pinnacle Programs are the most importantly overall, and we strongly recommend their execution. The Foster and Jena efforts are somewhat secondary, and it may make sense to hold off on those efforts until we complete action on Delta downs and Pinnacle.

There is one other option on the funding side we can pursue if you are interested, but if you want to wage all efforts at once – it will drop the overall price dramatically. We will be using the same vendors, organizations and field staff for all efforts – so we think that will shave off as much as $2 million on the overall prices.

Again, the total cost of these campaigns is not lost on us, but politically speaking the tribe will be dealing with these issues one way or another over the rest of the year, so we would not be doing our job right if we did not put these options in front of you.

We would prefer to go at everything gat once, so we can get you guys on offense for a change, rather than fighting these battles form behind, but please let us know what you want us to focus on, and we will get engaged immediately.

See you soon,

Mike

LOUISIANA -COMMITTEE AGAINST GAMBLING EXPANSION BUDGET		
(Closetly Approximated)		
Radio-James Farwell	$ 15,000.00	Baton Rouge Stations
Radio-National Media	$ 40,000.00	Statewide
List Rental(mail)	$ 425.00	Postcard
	$ 878.00	Postcard
	$ 931.00	Postcard
	$ 457.00	Postcard
	$ 343.00	Postcard
	$ 1,391.00	Postcard
Rhett Mail	$ 25,000.00	app. 50 to 60 thousand postcards
List Rental(phones)	$ 3,074.00	Cherry Phones
Political Solutions Phones & Lists	$ 35,500.00	5000 patch through plus lists
Cherry Phones	$ 2,800.00	app. 500 patch through calls
Rhett Phones	$ 3,600.00	168 man hours through weekend
Falwell Calls	$5,000	app. 50,000 Calls
Falwell Lists	$4,000	50,000 Names
Rhett Davis	$2,500	Management Fee/Phone lists
Legal Counsel/Jim Bopp		501c4 Set-up
Total	**$ 140,899.00**	

'talia Federici

From: abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 1:03 PM
To: italia@[redacted]
Subject: RE: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

Thanks.

-----Original Message-----
From: Italia Federici [mailto:italia@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 12:06 PM
To: abramoffj@[redacted]
Subject: RE: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

Hi Jack: I'm talking with Steve in about 30 minutes and will call you right after. I know he said they don't want her for the job so I don't know what the thought was here but I'll find out. He's calling me back to talk about Mashpee.

-----Original Message-----
From: abramoffj@[redacted] [mailto:abramoffj@[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 9:22 AM
To: italia@[redacted]
Subject: FW: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

HAT?!?! I can't believe they named her.

-----Original Message-----
From: Pierce, Brigham (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)
Sent: Wednesday, January 08, 2003 8:42 AM
To: DCChoctaw
Subject: BIA: Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post - US Newswire

Sec. Norton Names Martin to Indian Affairs Post
U.S. Newswire
7 Jan 12:05
Sec. Norton Names Aurene Martin Acting Assistant Secretary-Indian Affairs-
To: National Desk
Contact: Nedra Darling of the U.S. Department of the Interior <http://www.doi.gov <http://www.doi.gov> >,
202-219-4152
WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 /U.S. Newswire/ -- Interior Secretary Gale Norton has announced her designation of Aurene M. Martin, a member of the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, as acting assistant secretary - Indian affairs.
"Aurene Martin brings solid experience in Indian affairs and a commitment to excellence to her new role," said Secretary Norton. "She will be an able leader for the Bureau of Indian Affairs during its transition into an efficient and effective Indian service."
Martin had served as deputy assistant secretary under Assistant ecretary Neal McCaleb, who recently retired from public service.
"I'm deeply honored to accept Secretary Norton's designation," Martin said, "and I am confident that our efforts to improve the BIA will result in improved services to the trust beneficiaries and the federally recognized tribes."
In October 2001, Martin joined the Interior Department as Counselor to the Assistant Secretary after having served as Republican senior counsel to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 15, 2003 12:00 PM
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Griles

He told me to have Burns call Norton and I asked Will to get that done, and he will.

-----Original Message-----
From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Monday, September 15, 2003 9:24 AM
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: RE: Griles

What about cost share?

-----Original Message-----
From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)
Sent: Tuesday, September 09, 2003 11:19 PM
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Gibson, Duane R. (Shld-DC-Gov/Adm)
Subject: Griles

This cannot be shared with anyone not on this distribution list. I met with him tonight. He is ready to leave Interior and will most likely be coming to join us. He had a nice sized practice before he joined Interior, and expects to get that and more rather soon. I expect he will be with us in 90-120 days. This will restrict what he can do for us in the meantime, but he gave me some suggestions on how to get Meskwati through and the cost share done.

GREENBERG
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
TRAURIG

July 28, 2003

Dear Mr. President,

I am very sorry we will not have an opportunity to meet this weekend and hope that we shall have that chance soon.

Our good friend Roger felt it would be helpful if I were to outline in a letter the current situation relating to the prospects of our working together.

Our firm is one of the very top lobbying and public affairs law firms in the nation. We have a wealth of powerful corporate and governmental clients who keep our team of lobbyists very active. Our success rate is exceptional.

Based on my friendship with Roger, and without advance resources, I have been cautiously working to obtain a visit for the President to Washington, to see President Bush, the Congress and policy and opinion makers in the United States. As you know, we were, in advance of the war in Iraq, able to secure a tentative date for this meeting, however the war cancelled all such scheduled visits, with the exception of the critical US war allies.

Since the time of the war, we have been discussing a rescheduling of the meeting. The major impediment in getting a meeting has been that President Bush has been focusing on the Coalition partners first.

Recently, our firm was approached by a neighboring nation which also desired such a meeting, and indeed much more than a meeting. Of course, our firm's main strength is not in just setting up meetings, but in changing and impacting US policy, so to the neighbor, the meeting is important, but merely the tip of the iceberg.

The neighbor has offered to put up the resources which are necessary to not only secure a meeting, but more importantly, to commence a policy effort in Washington which could impact America's Africa policy in limited ways. These resources are substantial and would be used to build a support network for the neighbor which would enable the decision makers to move the neighbor up on the priority list.

When Roger and I met on July 10, I revealed to him that the firm had been approached by another nation with a significant representation and that,

GREENBERG TRAURIG, LLP
800 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. SUITE 500 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
202-331-3100 FAX 202-331-3101 www.gtlaw.com
MIAMI NEW YORK WASHINGTON, D.C. ATLANTA PHILADELPHIA TYSONS CORNER CHICAGO BOSTON PHOENIX WILMINGTON LOS ANGELES DENVER
FORT LAUDERDALE BOCA RATON WEST PALM BEACH ORLANDO TALLAHASSEE

therefore, since the firm is a business (and not one owned by me alone - rather by 800 partners nationwide), I had no choice but to divert our efforts, and amplify them significantly, toward this new effort. I explicitly told him that I was not telling him this as a way to get Gabon to match any offer, but rather that I would engage in this representation, and when it was concluded, revert to our efforts. It quickly became clear that the unknown (to me) rivalry between the two countries would prevent that. I had to choose.

Roger told me not to make a decision yet, and that we would meet the next day. We did, and he told me that Gabon still wished our services and would match the offer of the neighbor. I told him that I am being called incessantly by the neighbor so, if this was a real offer, we needed to confirm it quickly. I have a fiduciary obligation to the firm to confirm possible representations with great certitude.

Roger came back to me and said that the President would need to see me before any such large project could be commenced. I told Roger that, while that is normally fine, since I have another group (without that requirement) at hand, I could not delay this too long. I suggested that I visit Gabon after my trip to Scotland in mid August, but that in order for me to preserve this and be able to turn down the neighbor's offer, we had to commence the representation, even in small part, perhaps ten percent of the representation. Please bear in mind that the neighbor's proposal was to pay the entire amount up front.

Roger indicated that the President would insist on seeing me before the representation could commence at all, and I responded that I would do everything I could to make that happen, including canceling my schedule for the beginning of this coming week; however, as with all of my clients around the world, if I am required to travel, it must be on the basis by which I travel anywhere, being in a private aircraft, which bears a substantial cost unfortunately. Additionally, since this is an upfront cost which I would have to bear personally, I have always insisted - even to clients whom I have represented for many years - that the costs are covered in advance. Even the best intentions some times go awry and I cannot afford to carry the costs of such an excursion. I frequently defer my fees (as I was indeed doing for Roger earlier in this effort), but the costs must come in advance if they are so substantial.

As you know, we were unable to put together the trip for this weekend. Roger has suggested that we revert to the August plan, but I told him that it is not possible for me to delay the neighbor until then, unless we commence something now. I would be quite unpopular at my firm if I were to forego a multi-million dollar firm offer on the hope of a similar opportunity elsewhere.

I suggested again that we commence with a small amount, so that I can secure the firm, and we can commence what will be a very difficult task of achieving the meeting. Roger suggested that I write to you to outline what has happened and why that approach is necessary.

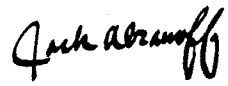
I am willing to visit after my visit to Scotland with the Congressmen and Senators I take there each year. It is possible that they will want to join me in Gabon, which would be an extra bonus. I understand that there is a national holiday on the 17th of August, so I am happy to divert us for a few days to Europe or the Middle East and come when it is appropriate, however, in order to do this, we must commence the effort as soon as possible and I must know that the extra costs of prolonging my trip can be covered in advance.

I am sorry for all of these logistical details, but we are a firm in high demand and it is my responsibility to ensure that our business approach is prudent. I am confident that we will have a long, productive and warm relationship, but good relationships are built on firm understandings at the outset.

I hope we will be able to work together on this matter and look forward to hearing from you through Roger as soon as possible. I do need to resolve this one way or another with the neighbor by next week. At that time, I will have delayed them for almost three weeks beyond when they wished to commence the representation. As you can imagine, I must conclude this either way as soon as possible.

With high regard and much admiration, I am

Sincerely yours,



Jack Abramoff
Senior Director, Government Affairs

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RONNIE THOMAS, CHAIRMAN, ALABAMA-COUSHATTA TRIBE OF TEXAS

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, good morning. My name is Ronnie Thomas, and I am the Chairman of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas. On June 18, 2002, my predecessor, Kevin Battise, addressed this Committee on the subject of the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo and Alabama and Coushatta Indian Tribes of Texas Restoration Act (the "Restoration Act"), and how the Restoration Act had been interpreted by a federal court to prevent our Tribe from gaming under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act ("IGRA"). What Chairman Battise did not know on that day was that Jack Abramoff was actively working on behalf of the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe to undermine our Tribe's efforts to amend the Restoration Act so that we could game under IGRA. When it was all over, Mr. Abramoff would not only successfully derail our efforts before Congress, but he would also cause the Tigua Tribe to convince us to pay $50,000.00 to a foundation controlled by Mr. Abramoff. As this Committee is aware, that $50,000.00 was used to pay for the now infamous golfing trip to Scotland taken by Mr. Abramoff, Congressman Bob Ney and Ralph Reed.

THE RESTORATION ACT

To understand how Mr. Abramoff was able to wreak such havoc on our Tribe, it is first necessary to understand how the Restoration Act has been used to prevent our Tribe from gaming under IGRA, a right enjoyed by nearly every other federally-recognized Indian Tribe. In the late 1980s, both the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua Tribes were struggling for restoration as federally-recognized Indian Tribes. While our people were fighting for schools, healthcare and housing that would support our tight-knit community, the United States Supreme Court issued its opinion in the *Cabazon* matter, finding that states did not have the authority to regulate gaming activities on Indian lands. The State of Texas then spurred a debate in Congress linking the ills of gaming and the restoration of our federal recognition. When Congress did re-authorize both the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua Tribes, it did so with an eye toward quelling the controversy by creating a provision that forbade any gaming that was not legal in Texas. Language in the Restoration Act can be read to prevent both the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua Tribes from gaming without the consent of the State of Texas.

Shortly after the passage of the Restoration Act, Texas legalized gambling in t he form of the Texas lottery, and became the largest gambling promoter in the state. In spite of the fact that the Tigua Tribe opened a casino quickly thereafter, our Tribe refrained from gaming until it became apparent that our economic base could best be improved by entering the gaming market. In late 2001, we opened a small casino on our reservation near Livingston, Texas. As a deeply religious Tribe, we did not serve or otherwise permit alcohol in our casino. Unfortunately for both our Tribe and the Tigua Tribe, the Attorney General of the State of Texas filed suit to shut down the Tigua Tribe's casino and eventually the Fifth Circuit found that neither we nor the Tigua Tribe could conduct gaming without the permission of the State of Texas. Because such permission has not been forthcoming, both Tribes have been forced to shut down their casinos.

ABRAMOFF AND THE LOUISIANA-COUSHATTA TRIBE

How does Mr. Abramoff come into this picture? During the time he worked for the Greenberg Traurig law firm and headed up that firm's lobbying group, the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe was the firm's highest-paying government affairs client. You may not be aware, but when our Tribe came to Texas to help the state in its war for independence from Mexico, our relatives who remained in Louisiana formed what is now called the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe. The Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe operates a successful casino in Kinder, Louisiana. Mr. Abramoff and his co-conspirator, Michael Scanlon, convinced the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe that our little casino in Livingston was a threat to the Louisiana-Coushatta's share of the Houston market, and that the Louisiana-Coushatta needed to pay Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon to shut down our operation.

At first Mr. Abramoff tried to intimidate us from opening our casino, telling one of our outside lawyers that he learned from the White House that we had unloaded slots and that the White House was ready to "cream" us, seeking both federal prosecution and moving Congress to withdraw our federal status. We now know that Mr. Abramoff was able to get several Congressmen, including Tom DeLay, to write to Attorney General John Ashcroft on December 11, 2001, asking Attorney General Ashcroft to take immediate action to close down our fledgling gaming operation.

As I mentioned earlier, the Texas Attorney General had previously filed suit to shut down the Tigua casino. Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon decided to support the Texas Attorney General's efforts, and they enlisted the support of Ralph Reed in this undertaking. Mr. Reed agreed to help and he then asked Ed Young, a pastor with the Second Baptist Church in Houston, to host a breakfast with the top pastors in Houston and get them mobilized to provide political cover for the Texas Attorney General. Additionally, Mr. Reed provided Mr. Abramoff with continued updates on what the Texas Attorney General was planning to do, and regularly asked Mr. Abramoff for money to show the Texas Attorney General an "ataboy."

On June 25, 2002, the Federal District Court in Lufkin, Texas ordered our Tribe to shut down our gaming operation by midnight on July 25, 2002. We complied with that order and our Tribe has not realized any income from gaming since that day.

ABRAMOFF AND THE TIGUA TRIBE

As this Committee heard last November, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon targeted the Tigua Tribe as a client, telling the Tribe that Mr. Abramoff planned to get a federal legislative fix to the Restoration Act, thereby allowing the Tribe to again conduct gaming. What the Committee did not hear was that both the Tigua Tribe and Mr. Abramoff knew that the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe had convinced this Committee to hold a hearing on the Restoration Act on June 18, 2002, and that our Tribe was trying to convince the Tigua Tribe to participate in that hearing. Mr. Abramoff advised the Tigua Tribe against such participation, instead urging the Tigua Tribe to attempt to have the hearing cancelled. Mr. Abramoff told the Tigua Tribe that he had convinced Congressmen Ney to insert a last-minute, secret amendment to the 2002 Election

Reform Act that would strike the language in the Restoration Act preventing the Tigua Tribe from gaming under IGRA. Apparently, Mr. Abramoff was concerned that our effort to address the issue in the light of day and through proper legislative channels would disrupt his secretive plan.

Although the Tigua Tribe was willing to comply with Mr. Abramoff's suggestion that they not participate in our legislative efforts to correct the Restoration Act, they were not willing to comply with his plan to leave our Tribe out of his proposed legislative amendment. The Tigua Tribe believed that it would be a mistake not to include us in such an amendment, because they feared that we would become angry if the Restoration Act was amended only to allow them to game under IGRA. They further believed that our efforts to obtain a similar amendment to the Restoration Act might lead Congress to reverse their secretive fix.

$50,000.00 FOR THE SCOTLAND TRIP

When the Tigua Tribe raised the issue of including the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe in Mr. Abramoff's proposed legislative fix, he replied that our Tribe could not be included in the plan "for nothing." He then gave the Tigua Tribe a "consulting agreement" between our Tribe and an unknown entity and told the Tigua Tribe to obtain our signature to the consulting agreement. Under the terms of the proposed consulting agreement, our Tribe was to agree that if Abramoff was successful in obtaining the right for our Tribe to game under IGRA, we would assign ten percent (10%) of our gaming revenues to a foundation established by Mr. Abramoff.

The Tigua Tribe realized that we would never sign such an agreement. They also realized that they needed to obtain money from our Tribe if they were going to convince Mr. Abramoff to include us in his legislative fix. At this same time, Mr. Abramoff was pressuring the Tigua Tribe to pay $50,000.00 to cover the cost of Congressman Ney's golf trip to Scotland. The Tigua Tribe decided to satisfy Mr. Abramoff's demand for money by having us to pay for Congressman Ney's trip to Scotland.

The Lieutenant Governor of the Tigua Tribe and the Tribe's public relations representative traveled to our reservation to meet with Kevin Battise. They told Chairman Battise that they were working on changes to the Restoration Act, and that Congressman Ney and Senator Dodd had agreed to insert language into a bill that would permit both the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe and the Tigua Tribe to game under IGRA. They also told Chairman Battise that, as a favor to us, they had included our Tribe into the language, and that they would soon be looking for support from us. Chairman Battise understood that the Tigua Tribe was looking for money.

A short time later, the Lieutenant Governor called Chairman Battise and told the Chairman that the Tigua Tribe needed help paying for a golf tirp to Scotland for Congressman Ney. The next day Chairman Battise received a memorandum from the Tigua Tribe, in which the Tigua Tribe stated that Congressman Ney and several of his congressional colleagues had an opportunity to travel to Scotland for a fact-finding mission during the August recess, and that the cost of the trip would be $100,000.00. Even though the Tigua Tribe knew that they were not

going to provide any money for the trip, in the memorandum the Tigua Tribe stated that they were willing to divide the cost of trip with the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe.

Based on the request of the Tigua Tribe, the Alabama-Coushatta Tribal Council voted on July 18, 2002, to make a $50,000.00 donation to the Capital Athletic Foundation to underwrite Congressman Ney's trip to Scotland. Our Tribal Council had no idea that Mr. Abramoff was involved with the Tigua Tribe and they did not know that the Capital Athletic Foundation was controlled by Mr. Abramoff. The Tigua Tribe did not reveal these all-important facts to our Council.

On July 24, 2002, Mr. Reed wrote to Mr. Abramoff and told him that the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals denied our Tribe's appeal from the Federal District Court in Lufkin, and we were required to shut down our casino the next day. In response to Mr. Reed's email, Mr. Abramoff sent an email to Mr. Scanlon telling him to telephone the Chairman of the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe, Lovelin Poncho, and another council member, William Worfel, and claim victory in shutting down our gaming operation. Mr. Abramoff went on to write that Mr. Scanlon should, "*warn that the [Alabama-Coushatta] are not going away . . . they have a ton of money from oil and are working the state very hard.*" Mr. Abramoff then instructed Mr. Scanlon to inform Chairman Poncho and Mr. Worfel that the Tigua Tribe had told Mr. Abramoff that our lobbyist was pushing to get a federal fix to the our gaming problem, and Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon were going to need more money to fight our Tribe's efforts.

Also on July 24, 2002, Mr. Abramoff caused the $50,000.00 he received from our Tribe to be deposited into the Capital Athletic Foundation checking account. Perhaps no single event demonstrates the true measure of Mr. Abramoff's corruption more than this one. **On the same day that he accepted money from our Tribe, purportedly to help convince Congress to provide us with the right to game under IGRA, he was telling his co-conspirator Mr. Scanlon to get money from the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe to fight our efforts in Congress to gain the right to conduct gaming.**

As you know, the 2002 Election Reform Act passed without the proposed "fix" for the Tigua Tribe and our Tribe. In August of 2002, the golf trip continued as planned. But, rather than Congressman Ney traveling with congressional colleagues, he was accompanied on the trip by Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Reed, the very individuals who worked to shut down our gaming operation in the first place.

CONCLUSION

What Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon did to our Tribe is a story that deserves to be told. In the first instance, they convinced the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe, a Tribe that is both related by blood and history to us, to spend millions of dollars, much of it going to Mr. Abramoff, Mr. Scanlon and Mr. Reed, to prevent us from enjoying the same rights to game under IGRA that the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe enjoy. Thereafter, they convinced the Tigua Tribe to solicit money from us to pay for a golf trip to Scotland, claiming that spending the money would help both our Tribe and the Tigua Tribe to gain the right to game under IGRA. In so doing, Mr. Abramoff and

Mr. Scanlon caused the Tigua Tribe to lie to us, telling us that they were also paying for the trip. All this time, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon continued to solicit more money from the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe so that they could continue to fight our efforts to conduct gaming. In other words, Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon pitted Tribe against Tribe in a corrupt effort to line their own pockets.

It has been over three years since Chairman Battise addressed this Committee concerning the inequities of the Restoration Act that prevent our Tribe from gaming under IGRA. Our Tribe appreciates what this Committee is doing to expose Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon and their despicable activities. We only ask that the Committee not lose sight of the problems with the Restoration Act, problems that Mr. Abramoff and Mr. Scanlon exploited to the great detriment of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe. It is time to continue the effort to amend the Restoration Act so that our Tribe can use the right to game under IGRA to improve our economic position, just like other federally-recognized Tribes in this nation.

I would like to once again thank you Mr. Chairman and members of this Committee for the honor of addressing you. I am now available for any questions and or comments which you may have.

LEWIS AND ROCA LLP LAWYERS

Phoenix Office
40 North Central Avenue
Phoenix, Arizona 85004-4429
Telephone (602) 262-5311
Facsimile (602) 262-5747

Tucson Office
One South Church Avenue
Suite 700
Tucson, Arizona 85701-1611
Telephone (520) 622-2090
Facsimile (520) 622-3088

Las Vegas Office
3993 Howard Hughes Parkway
Suite 600
Las Vegas, Nevada 89109
Telephone (702) 949-8200
Facsimile (702) 949-8398

Albuquerque Office
201 Third Street NW, 19th Floor
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87102
Telephone (505) 764-5400
Facsimile (505) 764-5480

Frederick R. Petti
Direct Dial: 602 262-0222
Direct Fax: 602 734-3949
E-Mail: FPetti@lrlaw.com
Admitted in Arizona, Oregon

Our File Number 43630-00002

August 24, 2005

VIA FACSIMILE AND MAIL

Pablo E. Carrillo, Esq.
Chief Investigative Counsel
United States Senate
Committee on Indian Affairs
838 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Re: *Jack Abramoff, Michael Scanlon and the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe*

Dear Mr. Carrillo:

As you know, this firm represents the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas ("Alabama-Coushatta"). The Tribe is aware that the Senate Indian Affairs Committee is scheduled to hold a hearing on the relationship between Jack Abramoff, Michael Scanlon and the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe in either September or October of this year. As we discussed, the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe believes that when the Committee holds such a hearing that there is important testimony that Alabama-Coushatta can offer concerning how Abramoff and Scanlon misled the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe into believing that it was in that Tribe's best interest to work against the efforts of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe to game in Texas. Moreover, the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe can offer further testimony on how the actions of Abramoff, Scanlon and others continue to negatively impact the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe today. To that end, please review the following information about the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe and its unfortunate intersection with Abramoff and Scanlon.

BACKGROUND ON THE ALABAMA-COUSHATTA TRIBE

The Alabama-Coushatta are proud enduring people, with a long and distinguished history in Texas. They fought alongside General Sam Houston's army when he was retreating eastward across Texas during the Texas War for Independence in 1836. Because of the Tribe's bravery and assistance during General Houston's retrograde action against Santa Anna's army, General Houston promised the Alabama-Coushatta that "no white man [would] ever again disturb [them] . . ." and that Texas would always protect them. Later, when settler aggressions put Coushattas

from Louisiana in harms way, the Alabama-Coushatta shared their lands, forming one unified tribe.[1]

Sadly, General Houston's promise to the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe was not kept. After enduring decades of neglect at the hands of the federal government, the Alabama-Coushatta elected to rely on the state of Texas, rather than the federal government, for recognition. That decision turned out to be a poor one, and the Tribe suffered even more under Texas' watch, leading the Tribe to reclaim federal recognition in an effort to end state overreaching into tribal affairs.

The Tigua's And Alabama-Coushatta's Restoration Act

During the struggle for restoration as a federal tribe, the Alabama-Coushatta first became embroiled in a controversy over Indian gaming. Ironically, while the Alabama-Coushatta were fighting for schools, healthcare, and housing that would support their tight-knit Christian community, Texas spurred a debate in Congress about the ills of gaming, something the Alabama-Coushatta had no interest in pursuing at the time. Congress eventually reauthorized the Alabama-Coushatta in the Ysleta del Sur Pueblo (also known as the Tigua Tribe) and Alabama-Coushatta Indian Tribes of Texas Restoration Act. Pub. L. 100-89, 101 Stat. 666, codified at 25 U.S.C. § 731 *et seq.* re Alabama-Coushatta, and § 1300g *et seq.* It did so with an eye toward quelling the controversy by creating a provision that forbade any gaming that was not legal in Texas. The state of Texas shortly thereafter legalized gambling and became one of, if not the largest, gambling promoters in the state. Accordingly, both Tigua and, hesitantly, the Alabama-Coushatta[2] opened tribal casinos.

Unfortunately for the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe, its efforts to improve its economic footing through gaming was short-lived. Texas filed suit in federal court arguing that the language of the Restoration Act forbid the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua Tribes to game under the Indian Gaming Reform Act ("IGRA"), and that the Tribes could only game if Texas permitted them to game. The federal courts agreed with Texas' position, and after only eight months of operation the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe was forced to close its gaming facility.

What the Tribe did not know during this time, however, was that Abramoff and Scanlon were working to shut down the Tribe's gaming facility. Moreover, the Tribe was unaware that Abramoff, even though he and Scanlon had been paid handsomely by the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe to specifically shut down the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe's gaming facility, would soon

[1] Relatives of the Coushatta, who remained in Louisiana, formed what is now called the "Louisiana Coushatta" or the "Coushatta" Tribe, clients of Abramoff and Scanlon.

[2] The Alabama-Coushatta had voted gaming down on various occasions until it became apparent that the Tribe's economic base could be improved only be entering the gaming market. As a deeply religious and Christian tribe, the Alabama-Coushatta did not permit drinking and smoking in the tribe's gaming facility.

concoct a scheme to get money from the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe under the guise of helping the Tribe restore its gaming rights.

Abramoff And Scanlon's Illegal And Unethical Efforts

Greenberg Traurig's highest-paying government affairs client during the time that Abramoff led the firm's lobbying group was the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe. Abramoff and Scanlon had convinced the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe that any casino in Texas, especially in Livingston (where the Alabama-Coushatta are located), was a threat to its Interstate 10 gaming market. Abramoff and Scanlon, often with the help of Ralph Reed, the former director of the Christian Coalition, worked on behalf of the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe to shut down the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua tribal casinos.

Abramoff Tries To Intimidate The Alabama-Coushatta Into Not Opening Its Casino

On November 13, 2001, Abramoff had a conversation with C. Bryant Rogers with the Santa Fe, New Mexico firm of Roth, VanAmberg, Rogers, Ortiz & Yepa about the Alabama-Coushatta's plans to open a casino in Livingston, Texas. Abramoff and Rogers were both representing the Mississippi Choctaw Tribe in connection with a lawsuit filed in a Mississippi state court alleging that the Tribal-State Compact entered into by the State of Mississippi and the Mississippi Choctaw Tribe was invalid. Abramoff knew that Rogers also represented the Alabama-Coushatta. During their conversation, Abramoff told Rogers that Abramoff had learned that the Alabama-Coushatta had unloaded slots that day for its casino, and that White House officials told him that they were ready to "cream" the tribe, seeking at least a Johnson Act prosecution and maybe moving to get Congress to withdraw the Tribe's federal status (*see* November 13, 2001, phone message slip). Abramoff concluded the conversation by stating that the State of Texas might also seek criminal charges and would certainly seek a restraining order against the Tribe (*id.*).

What Abramoff did not tell Rogers was that Abramoff was actively trying to get the Bush Administration to take action against the Alabama-Coushatta. On December 11, 2001, Abramoff was able to get several Congressmen, including Tom DeLay, to write to Attorney General John Ashcroft, asking him to take immediate action to close down the Alabama-Coushatta's fledgling casino (*see* December 11, 2001, letter to John Ashcroft).

Abramoff And Scanlon Work To Shut Down The Alabama-Coushatta And Tigua Casinos

After the Texas Attorney General filed suit in federal district court in El Paso to shut down the Tigua's casino, Abramoff and Scanlon decided to support Attorney General Cornyn's efforts. They also enlisted Reed's support in that effort. On November 12, 2001, Abramoff sent an e-mail to Reed concerning an article in the Houston Chronicle about the Alabama-Coushatta's plan to open a casino (*see* November 12, 2001, e-mail from Abramoff to Reed at 5:54 p.m.). In

his e-mail, Abramoff wrote that he was going to get the National Indian Gaming Commission to "get" the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua Tribes, and would find tribes willing to support the Texas Attorney General in his efforts to shut down tribal gaming in El Paso and Livingston (*id.*). In response to Abramoff's e-mail, Reed wrote that he would inform the Attorney General about how Abramoff was going to help the Attorney General (*see* November 12, 2001, e-mail from Reed to Abramoff at 5:55 p.m.). Additionally, Reed stated that he had spoken with Ed Young, a pastor with the Second Baptist Church in Houston, and that Young was planning to host a breakfast with the top pastors in Houston to get them all mobilized and to provide cover for the Attorney General (*id.*).

On January 7, 2002, Abramoff wrote to Reed and asked if it would be possible to get one of their "guys" in the Texas legislature to introduce a bill which would disqualify any vendor from Texas State contracts who provided goods or services to a casino in Texas (*see* January 7, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Reed at 9:43 a.m.). Reed responded to the e-mail by writing that it was a good idea, but that the Texas legislature only met every other year (*see* January 7, 2002, e-mail from Reed to Abramoff at 9:41 a.m.). Later that day, Reed sent another e-mail to Abramoff in which he informed Abramoff about Reed's discussion with the Attorney General's Office about both the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua litigation (*see* January 7, 2002, email from Reed to Abramoff at 11:48 a.m.). Reed stated that the Attorney General believed that the Fifth Circuit would rule some time that week on the Tigua's appeal from the district court's ruling that the Tribe could not game (*id.*). He went on to state that the Attorney General believed the district court judge hearing the Alabama-Coushatta declaratory judgment suit would not rule until the Fifth Circuit issued its ruling, and that the judge would be bound by that ruling (*id.*). Abramoff replied by stating that the report from the Attorney General's office was "great," and that even though the Texas legislature was out of session they should still get a member to announce that during the next session the member planned to introduce Abramoff's proposed vendor bill (*see* January 8, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Reed at 00:11:31). Reed replied by stating, "Done," and suggesting that they budget for an ataboy for the Attorney General (*see* January 7, 2002, e-mail from Reed to Abramoff at 9:18 p.m.). Abramoff responded by writing that, "it's not shuttered yet," and once the casinos were closed then "we'll see what we can do" (*see* January 7, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Reed at 21:51:36).

On February 5, 2002, Reed sent an e-mail to Abramoff concerning what the Attorney General was planning to do to get the district court in El Paso to shut down the Tigua's casino (*see* February 5, 2002, e-mail from Reed to Abramoff at 5:11 p.m.). Reed also discussed what the Attorney General planned to do concerning the Alabama-Coushatta's casino, writing that, "the AG is considering going back to the judge . . . to request an expedited order to shut down the Livingston casino" (*id.*). Reed wrote further that the Attorney General planned to argue that the judge had no choice based on the Fifth Circuit ruling, and that the Attorney General wanted the Alabama-Coushatta's casino shut down immediately (*id.*). In response to Reed's e-mail, Abramoff wrote Scanlon and stated, "Whining idiot. Close the f'ing thing already!!" (*see* February 5, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Scanlon at 7:26 p.m.).

On February 11 2002, Reed sent an e-mail to Abramoff attaching an Associated Press article concerning Tigua Governor Albert Alvidrez's claim that if the court did not recognize the merits of the Tigua's case, then the Tribe planned to seek a legislative fix (*see* February 11 2002, e-mail from Reed to Abramoff at 1:56 p.m.). In his e-mail, Reed wrote that it was a "major victory" and it was now "on to Livingston" (*id.*). In response, Abramoff wrote, *"Ultimately, as you can imagine, the main target is the AC* [Alabama-Coushatta]. *I wish those moronic Tiguas were smarter in their political contributions. I'd love us to get our mitts on that moolah!! Oh well, stupid folks get wiped out. Now let's get AC"* (*see* February 11, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Reed at 8:03 p.m.) (emphasis added). Reed replied to Abramoff's e-mail by writing, *"Got it. We're talking to our contacts today. Now that we have the supremes on board, we're pushing hard for immediate lower court action on the AC. They want to do that and are willing, but in the end it's up to the judge. If they push too hard and insult the judge, the judge becomes difficult and it backfires. Expect to have an update for you later today"* (*see* February 12, 2002, e-mail from Reed to Abramoff at 9:24).

When U.S. District Court Judge Hannah ordered that the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe shut down its casino by midnight on July 25, 2002, Reed wrote Abramoff, stating that, "this is total victory and should lead friends in Texas 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" (*see* July 24, 2002, email from Reed to Abramoff at 9:24 a.m.). Abramoff then sent an email to Scanlon telling him to telephone the Chairman of the Louisiana-Coushatta Tribe, Lovelin Poncho, and another council member, William Worfel, and claim victory in the shutting down of the Alabama-Coushatta casino (*see* July 24, 2002, email from Abramoff to Scanlon at 11:27 a.m.). Abramoff went on to write that Scanlon should *"warn that the AC are not going away . . . [t]hey have a ton of money from oil and are working the state very hard."* *Id.* Abramoff then told Scanlon to expand on this misstatement concerning the Alabama-Coushatta's purported "oil" money, by instructing Scanlon to inform Poncho and Worfel that Marc Schwartz, the Tigua Tribe's Public Relations representative, had told Abramoff that the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe's lobbyist was pushing to get a federal fix to the Tribe's gaming problem and that Abramoff and Scanlon were going to need more money to fight the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe's efforts.[3] *Id.*

[3] By July 24, 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon were already working with the Tigua Tribe on a possible federal legislative fix to Tigua's Restoration Act to allow the Tribe to game. The fact that Abramoff instructed Scanlon to tell Poncho and Worfel about Schwartz's comments suggests that the Louisiana-Coushatta knew that Abramoff and Scanlon were helping the Tigua, and that the Tribe was okay with that so long as the Alabama-Coushatta did not get their gaming rights restored as well. As you know, Abramoff has made recent public statements that would support this conclusion. *See* Time Magazine: "Jack in a Box," May 9, 2005; NY Times: "A Lobbyist in Full," May 1, 2005.

Abramoff Targets Tigua As A Client

Even as he continued to work with Reed to shut down the Alabama-Coushatta and Tigua casinos, Abramoff began his efforts to get the Tigua Tribe as a client. Abramoff asked C. Bryant Rogers, the same lawyer he had tried to convince that the Alabama-Coushatta should not open their casino, to contact the lawyers for the Tigua to see if the Tribe might be interested in hiring Abramoff and Greenberg Traurig. On February 4, 2002, Rogers telephoned Norman J. Gordon, a lawyer in El Paso whose firm represented the Tiguas, and asked if the "Tiguas were attempting a solution to the (Fifth Circuit's) order that may be outside the courts" (*see* February 4, 2002, memorandum from Norman J. Gordon to Tom Diamond). Rogers told Gordon that Abramoff and Greenberg Traurig were well connected to the Bush Administration and had been effective in the past in efforts for other tribes (*id.*). Rogers also stated that Abramoff was willing to come to El Paso and meet with the Tribal Council at no cost to discuss whether he and Greenberg Traurig could be of assistance to the Tribe (*id.*).

By February 6, 2002, Abramoff was in contact with the Tiguas and attempting to set up a meeting for him and Scanlon. On that day, he sent an e-mail to Scanlon captioned, "I'm on the phone with Tigua!" (*see* February 6, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Scanlon at 10:54 a.m.). In the body of the e-mail Abramoff wrote, "Fire up the jet baby, we're going to El Paso!" (*id.*). In response to that e-mail, Scanlon wrote, "I want all their MONEY!!!" (*see* February 6, 2002, e-mail from Scanlon to Abramoff at 11:40 a.m.).

On February 12, 2002, Abramoff and Scanlon met the Tigua Tribal Council in El Paso. By February 18, 2002, Abramoff sent his and Scanlon's plan to reopen the Tigua casino to Marc Schwartz (*see* February 18, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Scanlon, with attachment, at 10:49 a.m.). Abramoff told Schwartz that he and Scanlon planned to get a federal legislative fix that would allow the Tribe to game again (*id.*). Abramoff also wrote that, "Coupled with this plan, we anticipate that the tribe will have to make approximately $300,000.00 in federal political contributions" (*id.*). The attached proposal, titled "Operation Open Doors," stated that the total cost to the Tiguas would be $5.4 million (*id.*).

On February 19, 2002, Scanlon sent an e-mail to Abramoff attaching an article in the El Paso Times about the fact that the Tigua Tribe was forced to fire 450 people because its was shut down (*see* February 19, 2002, e-mail from Scanlon to Abramoff at 8:38 a.m.). In his e-mail, Scanlon wrote, "This was on the front page of today's paper while they will be voting on our plan!" (*Id.*) Abramoff replied by writing, "Is life great or what!!" (*see* February 19, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Scanlon at 7:46 a.m.). The Tigua Tribal Council decided to hire Abramoff and Scanlon, and on March 5, 2002, the Tiguas agreed to pay Scanlon's company $4.2 million (*see* Contract between Tigua Tribe and Scanlon Gould).

asked the Tiguas to participate in the hearing. Abramoff, however, advised the Tigua against such participation and instead urged the Tigua to use their representatives in Washington to stop the hearing, essentially derailing the Alabama-Coushatta's legitimate legislative efforts (*see* June 5, 2002, e-mail from Schwartz to Abramoff at 10:18 a.m.).

Abramoff Decides To Get Money From The Alabama-Coushatta

Although Abramoff and Scanlon were willing to help the Tigua get gaming, their main focus in working to shut down tribal gaming in Texas was to help the Louisiana Coushatta Tribe by eliminating any competition from a casino operated by the Alabama-Coushatta. To get from Houston, Texas to the Louisiana Coushatta's casino by car, the most direct route goes through Livingston. In other words, the Alabama-Coushatta's casino was only an hour's drive from Houston and it takes about two-and–half hours to reach the Louisiana Coushatta's casino.

The Tiguas did not share Abramoff's view that the Alabama-Coushatta should be left out from any legislative fix of the Restoration Act problem. The Tiguas believed that it would be a mistake not to include the Alabama-Coushatta in any legislation because the Tiguas feared that the Alabama-Coushatta would become angry once it learned that the Tiguas Restoration Act had been amended to permit them to game under IGRA and that the Alabama-Coushatta had not been included in that legislative fix. The Tiguas believed that efforts by the Alabama-Coushatta to get a similar legislative fix after the fact might lead Congress to undo the fix and prevent the Tiguas from gaming under IGRA.

When Schwartz and Carlos Hisa, the Lieutenant Governor of the Tigua Tribe, raised the Tribe's concern that the Alabama-Coushatta were not being included in the legislative fix, Abramoff stated that the Alabama-Coushatta were not going to be included in the fix "for nothing," and he began pressuring Schwartz to get money from the Alabama-Coushatta. Abramoff then sent a "consulting agreement" between the Alabama-Coushatta and an unnamed entity to Schwartz, and asked him to present it to the Alabama-Coushatta (*see* June 28, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Schwartz at 11:50:30 a.m.). The purpose of the "consulting agreement" was to get the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe to agree that if Abramoff was successful in getting the Tribe permission to game under IGRA, the Alabama-Coushatta would agree to assign ten percent of the Tribe's gaming revenues to a foundation established by Abramoff (*id.*). Thereafter, Abramoff sent follow-up e-mails to Schwartz asking him to get the "consulting agreement" executed as soon as possible (*see* June 30, e-mail from Abramoff to Schwartz at 8:43:49 p.m.; and July 2, 2002 e-mail from Abramoff to Schwartz at 6:36:33 p.m.). In one e-mail, Abramoff specifically told Schwartz that if the Alabama-Coushatta did not sign the consulting agreement that, "we are not going to put them into that bill and decision time is coming" (*see* July 8, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Schwartz at 1:54:00 p.m.).

Alabama-Coushatta's $50,000 Payment To The Capital Athletic Foundation

Schwartz and Lieutenant Governor Hisa realized that the Alabama-Coushatta would never sign Abramoff's "consulting agreement," but they also realized that Abramoff was demanding money from the Alabama-Coushatta. At this same time, Abramoff was also asking the Tiguas to pay $50,000.00 to cover the cost of Congressman Ney's golf trip to Scotland (*see* June 7, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Schwartz at 7:53 a.m.; *see also* November 17, 2004, testimony of Schwartz before the Senate Indian Affairs Committee). Abramoff told Schwartz that the Scotland golf trip would be billed through the Capital Athletic Foundation, and that the funds should be sent to him as soon as possible (*id.*). Schwartz and Lieutenant Governor Hisa decided to satisfy Abramoff's demand for money by getting the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe to pay for Congressman Ney's trip to Scotland.

Sometime in late June, Schwartz and Lieutenant Governor Hisa came to meet the then Alabama-Coushatta Chairman, Kevin Battise, on the Tribe's reservation. They told Chairman Battise that they were working on changes to the Restoration Act, and that Representative Ney and Senator Dodd had agreed to insert language into a bill that would permit both the Alabama-Coushatta and Tiguas to game. They stated that the language was very simple, and that it provided that "public law 100-89 is amended by striking sections 107 and 207." Lieutenant Governor Hisa and Schwartz told Chairman Battise that they had put the section 207 clause into the language in an effort to help the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe. Schwartz also stated that at some point, the Tiguas would be looking for support from the Alabama-Coushatta in connection with the legislative fix. Chairman Battise understood that Lieutenant Governor Hisa and Schwartz were asking for money.

On July 15, 2002, Lieutenant Governor Hisa called Chairman Battise and told him that the Tigua Tribe needed some help to pay for a golf trip to Scotland for Congressman Ney. The next day, they faxed a memo concerning the golf trip to Chairman Battise (*see* July 15, fax from Schwartz to Chairman Battise). In that memo, Schwartz wrote that Congressman Ney and several of his congressional colleagues had an opportunity to travel to Scotland for a fact finding mission during the August recess, and the cost of the trip would be $100,000.00 (*id.*). Even though he knew that the Tigua Tribal Council was unwilling to pay for Congressman Ney's trip, Schwartz went on to suggest that the Tiguas and the Alabama-Coushatta divide the cost of the trip ($50,000.00 per tribe) and that such donations would send a strong message to Congressman Ney (*id.*).

On July 18, 2002, Chairman Battise called a Special Meeting of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribal Council. During the meeting, he passed out a copy of the memo he received from Mr. Schwartz. Based on this memorandum and the representations from Schwartz and Lieutenant Governor Hisa concerning the legislative fix that they had in place before Congress, Chairman Battise and the other members of the Tribal Council voted to make a donation to the Capital Athletic Foundation to underwrite Congressman Ney's trip to Scotland. A check made payable to the Capital Athletic Foundation in the amount of $50,000.00 was drafted on that day

from the Alabama-Coushatta Entertainment Center's account with the First State Bank in Livingston (*see* copy of check number 11670).

On July 24, 2002, Abramoff caused the $50,000.00 he received from the Alabama-Coushatta Entertainment Center to be deposited into Capital Athletic Foundation Account at the Sun Trust Bank. Ironically, this was the same day that Abramoff told Scanlon that he needed to call the Louisiana Coushatta Tribe and tell the Tribe that it needed to give Abramoff and Scanlon more money to fight the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe, even as that Tribe was preparing to shut down its gaming facility the very next day (*see* July 24, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Scanlon at 11:27 a.m.). *Perhaps no single event demonstrates the true measure of Abramoff corruption than this one. On the same day that he accepted money from the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe, purportedly to help get Congress to give the Tribe the right to game under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Reform Act ("IGRA"), he was telling his co-conspirator Scanlon to get money from the Louisiana Coushatta Tribe to fight the efforts of the Alabama-Coushatta to game under IGRA.*

The very next day, Abramoff sent Scanlon an email that said:

> I just spoke with Ney who met today with Dodd on the bill and raised our provision. Dodd looked at him "like a deer in the headlights" and said he has never made such a commitment and that, with the problems of new casinos in Connecticut, it is a problem!!! Mike, please call me immediately to tell me how we wired this, or were supposed to wire it. Ney feels we left him out to dry. Please call me . . .

(*see* July 25, 2002, e-mail from Abramoff to Scanlon at 8:54 p.m.). Thus, within days of soliciting $50,000 from the Alabama-Coushatta, Abramoff knew the legislative fix could not occur. Nevertheless, Abramoff never advised either the Alabama-Coushatta or the Tiguas of this material information. In August, the golf trip continued as planned. But, rather than Congressman Ney traveling with his staff, he was accompanied on the trip by Abramoff and Reed, the very individuals who worked to shut down the Alabama-Coushatta's casino in the first place. Thus, Abramoff plotted against the Alabama-Coushatta to close down their gaming enterprise, created a need for his services, and then took money from them for services he could not perform.

As you know, the 2002 Election Reform Act passed without the proposed "fix" for the Alabama-Coushatta and Tiguas ever being inserted into the legislation.

CONCLUSION

What Abramoff and Scanlon did to the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe is a story that deserves to be told. In the first instances, they convinced a tribe that is both related by blood and history,

the Louisiana Coushatta, to spend millions of dollars, much of it going to Abramoff, Scanlon and Reed, to prevent the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe from enjoying the same rights to game under IGRA that the Louisiana Coushatta enjoy and profit from. Thereafter, they convinced the Tigua Tribe to solicit money from the Alabama-Coushatta to pay for a golf trip to Scotland, claiming that spending that money would help allow the Tribe to game under IGRA. In so doing, Abramoff and Scanlon caused the Tigua Tribe to lie to the Alabama-Coushatta, telling the Tribe that the Tiguas were also paying for the trip. All this time they continued to solicit more money from the Louisiana Coushatta so that they could fight the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe's efforts to game. In other words, Abramoff and Scanlon pitted tribe against tribe in a corrupt effort to line their own pockets.

Thank you for your attention to this matter. I look forward to speaking with you soon.

Sincerely,

Frederick R. Petti

FRP/ss
c: Chairman Ronnie Thomas
Members of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribal Council